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# A tale of two cities? an examination of the re-imagining of gold mining history at Gold Reef City and in Johannesburg's Main Street precinct

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## Chapter 1- Project outline

### 1.1 Aim

This research report attempts to examine the way in which the story of gold and gold mining, is told, and is being retold, at both the Victorian- themed Gold Reef City and in the Main Street mining precinct in the Johannesburg Central Business District (CBD). The over- arching questions which this report will engage with, and hopefully begin to answer, relate to how the story of gold mining has been consciously formulated at the theme park Gold Reef City, and within a public space, such as the Main Street mining precinct. Both sites are regarded as being products of certain external and internal forces, and as such are looked upon to fulfill different roles for different visitors. Nevertheless, they are both sites that have been and continue to be punted as spaces associated with the city's gold mining past.

While the history of the theme park and the City of Johannesburg itself are inextricably linked to particular founders, labour forces and re-presentations which have been so instrumental in their creation and functioning, this report's focus is not to write a history of the City or the theme park. This report would not be aiming to look at and analyze both sites in terms of historical accuracy (i.e. by this the report means an adherence to principles and requirements of the academic discipline of history) as its focus; nor will it be purely an investigation or discussion of the stories told at either site. Rather it will attempt to uncover the underlying ideologies that have allowed for the particular stories to be told, in light of the changing focus on the City's past by City officials, as well as the way in which the gold mining industry is, at present, facing certain issues. The report will therefore look at how these ideologies have resulted in a particular formation of the mining history shown at both sites. The way in which these ideologies have been made visually and orally visible through display and 'aestheticness' will be dealt with.

Due to it being of a certain scope, however, this research paper will not deal with the Apartheid Museum or the Gold Reef City Casino complex.

## 1.2 Rationale

Swanson (cited in Morse, J.M., Swanson, J.M., and Kuzel, A.J. (eds) 2001:99) writes that the reasons for conducting any form of research are to challenge what is known and accepted in the field, and that all subsequent research findings thus challenge the status quo. Despite existing studies on Gold Reef City, and a growing number looking at the area around Main Street which has been upgraded and mining-themed, there are various reasons this report focuses on these sites:

- The topicality of the mining industry and the 'news- worthiness' of happenings related to the mining industry at the present moment lends itself to a discussion of how and why the history of its past is consciously formulated by various stakeholders and institutions at different times. This very topicality has drawn attention to the mining industry as a whole.
- In the last few years especially, as the City of Johannesburg begins to further promote itself as a 'world-class African city' and not simply as the 'City of Gold', it is important to examine how extensively sites such as Gold Reef City and the Main Street mining precinct have been developed, and how their configurations as public and themed spaces have been adapted, in light of external social, economic and political forces, to incorporate certain aspects or influences pertaining to the area's mining history. How does the idea of becoming a 'world- class African city' impact or affect either site?
- Johannesburg has, since Gold Reef City's 'founding' in the rather uncertain political and social period of 1980s South Africa, been further romanticised and its story mythologised by certain sectors, famous people and greater social events within South African society. The City's Main Street mining precinct, over the past decade, has also seen a change in the way its space has been re-imagined and developed, based upon motivations from its various commercial and private stakeholders and its perceived imagined uses. To a certain extent, this report will therefore and necessarily draw comparisons between the two sites.
- The City of Johannesburg is constantly and increasingly undergoing further urban and social (re-) development, in terms of the use of space and the envisioning of space as being able to fulfill a certain need, or to motivate a type of 'historical' image.

As such, the City is moving further towards representing itself as a ‘world- class African city’, and not as the ‘City of Gold’.

- Gold Reef City forms part of the older, more established way of thinking about and re- presenting the City’s gold mining past. The areas around Main Street, especially those sites seen as being directly associated with mining houses or companies, not only have site authenticity, but the entire mining precinct is being quickly touted as a site that could incorporate another story of the City’s gold mining past.
- In light of this, and previously, a history of gold mining was perhaps easier to celebrate and use unambiguously, but now it is vital to begin questioning the reasons for contradictions between the exclusionary nature of the nostalgic mining past, its imagery and stories at the Gold Reef City Theme Park, and the way in which the notion of ‘African’ is constructed and increasingly being represented at both sites, but in different ways. It is hoped that this report would therefore, in the processes undertaken, be able to highlight the prevalence and strength of these external and underlying ideologies, as they are seen, experienced and incorporated into stories at both sites.
- Despite that fact that there already exists a certain body of academic knowledge on the sites, especially that which deals with Gold Reef City and others similar, the incorporation of ‘on- the- ground’ responses, more so dealing with the Main Street precinct, would add to this body of knowledge in more contemporary manners, and not purely in an academic sense. It would thus provide a sense of how people are feeling towards these sites, and offer insight to the way in which motivations in telling stories of gold mining pasts are understood regardless of their awareness, or lack of, academic discourse around this topic.

### 1.3 Literature Review

The purpose of the literature review is to both acknowledge and question existing theory. As such, this section has been divided into very broad themes, within which certain topics and authors will be discussed, as well as situating this research work and its relevance, and suggesting how it may be able to fit into a further discussion of these sites.

Broad history of the Witwatersrand, and Johannesburg (including labour history, mining)

To begin with, research was done into looking at a broad history of the area, as well as highlighting how settlement patterns and relations to the area have been formed around labour migration, the gold mining industry and apartheid. Authors such as Callinicos (1993), Leyds (1964), Beinart (1994) and Bozzoli (1979) have provided valuable information relating not only to the actual inception of Johannesburg as a city, but also the way in which the city has been formed around the actions and needs of the different people who use the space. For example, Coombes (2004) through her own work, and referring to others, discusses the representation of labour at Gold Reef City. She also draws attention to the issue of access for people visiting the site- i.e. the physical and spatial disconnects, as well as difficulties for visitors in establishing a relationship with the narrative perpetuated. Coombes also addresses studies in the early 1990s that tried to ascertain how people saw the site and themselves in relation to it.

Built environment and 'city' discourse

Much reading and research has been undertaken in looking at the idea of the 'city', as a physical entity, as well as a set of functions and a practiced space. Here, authors like King (1996), Rapoport (1990) and importantly, de Certeau (1988), offer more philosophical insights into the nature of the 'city', and how meaning is created and renegotiated through visitors' interaction within and impact on the space. Bennett (1995), while being mostly a theorist and historian of exhibitionary formations in museums, for example, offers some insight into the way in which power relations within cities affect visitors and their understandings of the surroundings, the narratives and their own pasts. It speaks to the way in which people become aware of institutional power shown to them, and the ideologies surrounding them.

Representations of Johannesburg, Main Street developments and urban renewal

Works more related to architectural heritage, such as Chipkin's '*Johannesburg Style: Architecture and Society*' (1993) highlight spaces and space uses throughout the

City, and how these sites had been envisioned and created. It must be stressed again that this report will not be a history of the city itself, or of the theme park. It is rather a discussion of the motivations for representations involved in the sites, in relation to the City of Johannesburg and changing society.

The notion of Johannesburg as a 'world- class African City' has been promulgated in recent years, in order to show and develop an alignment with more globalised ideas, economy and infrastructure. It would also seem to be more of an ironic trend at sites like these, where notions of universality and progress, wealth and fortune, are seen to exist alongside degeneration and various forms of poverty and squalor. In *Is Johannesburg 'a world class African city?'* (Accessed 9 August 2007 on the World Wide Web, http://www.eprop.co.za/news/article.aspx?idArticle=9060) the writer says that Johannesburg is showing phenomenal population and physical growth as it reinvents itself, but the process is exhibiting extraordinary contrasts of regeneration and decay.

However, that is not always a true reflection of what is happening on the ground with complex and highly differentiated patterns of change shaping the city. In a review article around Mbembe and Nuttall's work, *Johannesburg: The Elusive Metropolis* , they allow for a broader look at the way in which modernity, cosmopolitanism, and urban renewal now includes the African continent, and the way in which Johannesburg is brought further into 'direct dialogue with other world cities, creating a space for the interrogation and investigation of the metropolis in a properly global sense'. (Byala, *The Restless City*, accessed 30 January 2008 on the World Wide Web. http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.cgi?path=47291119641634) Byala writes that Mbembe and Nuttall are 'writing the world from an African metropolis' , and as such highlight the way in which the City is now increasingly going about 'reformulating the vestiges of apartheid Johannesburg to fit increasingly complex post-apartheid realities' (*The Restless City*, accessed 30 January 2008 on the World Wide Web. http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.cgi?path=47291119641634), even to the point of overriding apartheid's memory, both social and historically.

As it may be argued throughout this paper, one can, in fact, apply the same principle to the way in which mining history is becoming increasingly more acceptable to show, and is being shown as a result of certain external factors in the City. By far, the most useful and informative sources of news and information around urban regeneration and issues affecting the mining industry at the moment have been through examining forms of media, especially Internet sources such as joburg.org.za (the official City of Johannesburg website) and iol.co.za (daily Internet news website). These sites offer archived news and industry information, as well as regular updates on developments within the City and in the Main Street precinct. Various articles in the online *Financial Mail* and the property discussion site, eprop.co.za, also draw attention to the ongoing 'overhaul' in the City, and in commercial usage and ownership of the spaces within the City.

## History and purpose of Gold Reef City Theme Park

While there have been numerous important works written on Gold Reef City, there do not seem to be any more recent articles that have focused entirely on the site. However, Hall (2005) does address Gold Reef City with reference to the casino. It seems that more and more work is being done on researching the Apartheid Museum, and its relation to narratives shown and propagated at Gold reef City. The history of Gold Reef City is one that has been borne out of a very definite political, commercial and social era, and one that can be examined in further detail, in order to better understand and provide background information into how this site and others like it have been imbued with certain purposes, narratives and ideologies. Authors such as Rassool and Witz (1996) offer an in-depth critical and 'historical' account of the development of the theme park, and how various elements and ideas seen in underground tours are still perpetuated today when visiting Gold Reef City. They also address the influence of mining houses, not only in the tours themselves, but in the retention and sustainability of the industry itself during the apartheid era.

Theme parks and themed environments-ideology, purpose, theory and other global examples

Eco's (1990) formulation and theories based on the notion of 'hyperreality' form a key part of this research into the nature of theme parks, and creates a strong background for the investigation of the way in which a created idea of an era or set of occurrences come to define sites like Disneyland, Colonial Williamsburg and Gold Reef City. This report has tried to look at as many examples of other theme parks as possible and establish commonalties, patterns and their motivations for creation. Looking at sites like Disney World/Land, Skansen and Colonial Williamsburg are particularly helpful in understanding the way in which different aspects of the past are fitted together (both physically and in theory) in order to offer a compact and digestible history, as well as indicate how various outside pressures influence narrative choice and inclusion. These sites, with particular reference to the Disney Worlds, Wilson (1994) and Wasko (2001) attempt to show how pervasive the 'Disneyfication' of society has grown and spread i.e. the continuation of the theme park narrative beyond the park borders in order to transform society too. Overall, it seems that there is a general agreement on the 'ahistoricity' of theme parks, something particularly emphasized by Witz and Rassool (1996), and Davis (1997).

Baudrillard and his theory of the simulacrum (accessed 2 June 2007 from the World Wide Web, www.ctheory.net/articles.aspx?id=158) and Eco's (1990) formulation of hyperreality highlight the fakeness of any reproduction of history at theme parks and how visitors react to this. The overarching idea present in both authors' arguments, especially Eco's (1990: 3), is that theme parks are the 'simulation of something which never really existed', and that these sites attempt to create something better than the original- if that even existed primarily.

In a sense then, these sites are designed to be even better than the real thing. Witz, Rassool and Minkley (2000) highlight the way in which visitors to sites like Gold Reef City are already aware of the story it shows beforehand, and how these sites are purposely constructed to maintain this gain on certain aspects and prompts. It is the way in which improvements on history and the purposely-selected aspects of the

past are recreated in a safe, experiential 'copy'. The 'World in One Country' (Rassool and Witz 1996) looks more holistically at the way in which society and its culture are packaged, transmitted and consumed, where time and space are compressed into a new cultural product.

Kros (1993) also highlights the way in which Gold Reef City has been created and developed as a popular, fun-loving version of the city's history. Rassool and Witz (1996) examine the paradox between the early Johannesburg as a place of wild fun as well as a site encompassing certain negative pasts and features. Rassool and Witz (1996) look at how this paradox involves the comparison and way in which the Apartheid Museum (although not examined in this report) shows the same city as a place of segregation, brutality and cruelty. This paradox is not mentioned at the adjoining Gold Reef City.

In all the discussions around the idea of the theme park one sees the production of pasts; that the commercial aspects outweighs the 'historical'; access is limited on many levels and that, going back to the research questions, the purpose of a theme park over and above entertainment is not certain. While again, this paper will not be looking specifically at the notions of 'un-authenticity' and nostalgic narrative, these authors' work will help to further orientate my discussion and provide necessary background material.

Theory around historical narratives and ideologies

Here, what seems to have been the most pertinent aspect of the works read relates to the way in which a researcher, even with as much objectivity as is possible, can never really distance himself or herself from the material at hand in whatever sense. Work by White (1978) and discussions around Ricoeur theories (Villela-Petit, accessed 9 August 2007 http://www.onlineoriginals.com/showitem.asp?itemID=287&articleID=11) on the nature of narrative (and historical narrative) have provided a theoretical background. Historical narratives are always created and constructed, and all the choices made in

doing this come from a very certain social and political background. Ricoeur (Villela-Petit,
accessed 9 August 2007
http://www.onlineoriginals.com/showitem.asp?itemID=287&articleID=11) argues that historical narratives which, being based on documents and all sorts of factual material, try to be objective, but cannot altogether dispense with the narrative resources of composition, for they appeal to the historian's creative imagination, to his ability to tell a 'story'. White defines the historical work as a verbal structure in the form of a narrative prose discourse that classifies past structures and processes within very specific tropes and categories and metanarratives. Ankersmit (1998) explains throughout his article that White does not reject the idea of history as a discipline, but rather investigates the way in which we should be relating to the discipline itself, in light of his theories around the linguistic turn in historical texts and meaning- making.

Visuality, visual and discourse analysis

While the study at Gold Reef City and the Main Street precinct would look at and use visual analysis regarding the medium of photography, and how it allows one to map out the ‘city’, and one’s own place in it. Photography in light of authors such as Bester (2005) allow one to identify not only the way in which the city is seen to them, but forms a valuable part of their own identity. However, as a necessary beginning, some theories, for example those by Wells (1997), around the idea of the image itself will be given to substantiate and validate the photograph as a text which has to be read with certain considerations in mind. The aim would be not only to look purely at the images present, but to examine the way in which people’s past and place in the city have been constructed, and whether or not it changes perceptions of the city space and their own identifiable past. The report would aim to include an analysis of responses to certain images and visual presence in order to ascertain how ideologies within visuality are recognized and uncovered.

Relating to the way in which architecture and built structures form and demarcate public space (or space for a certain public), Bunn (1998) and Coombes (2004) have

been useful in beginning to understand how many public spaces are often imbued with social subjectivity and bias. Both authors look at public monuments, museums and even tourist or commercial buildings and how they have been created with certain subjectivity. Looking at architectural magazines related to the early 2000s developments at Gold Reef City, one is able to see how permeating the idea of new Victorian splendour and 'prospectorship' has been added and allowed to continue as part of the ideology imbued or utilized within that particular space.

Looking at visual representations of Johannesburg in trying to understand some of the ways that the city has been re-produced in the past has been important. In particular, Rassool and Minkley (1999) look at the Levson photographic collection, dealing with the mining conditions and compounds in the 1940s in the Free State. Rassool and Minkley (1999) believe that the importance of such a collection is not only important for an enquiry into it's origins, but also the way in which the archiving, cataloguing and representation of photographs of black miners have been added to the overall narrative of life in the compounds. A photograph here is then, much more than the actual image- it belongs to a set of ideological processes and practices, and its analysis is as non- definable as the image itself. As such, Savedoff (2000) looks at the ways in which photographs and visual images have been able to transform representations, and critiques the way in which photography is often seen as unquestioned reality by viewers. Visuality relies on ambiguity, and is a medium of ambiguity in and of itself. Frosh (2003) looks at the intersections between history and photography, and the ways in which images in history are seldom used due to wariness for their representation of any truth.

In looking at discourse analysis, work by Wood and Kroger (2000) has been particularly helpful for information regarding undertaking interviews and surveys. Coming to grips with the ways in which and results from the way in which the data collected and that this is more than likely to be as variable as the respondents are has also been an important realisation. As such, Gilbert and Mulkay (in Wooffitt 2005:12) offer a 4- step procedure for starting to deal with this variability. Their study also highlights three distinctive analytic procedures, and considerations, that

researchers undertake when looking at interview data- broadly related to the ideas of subjectivity, reflexivity, validity and multiplicity. Here, the report seeks to understand the way in which an image present at a site and which carries certain external connotations and ambiguities, is or is not representative of people's understanding of the space, and its ideologies.

### 1.4 Theoretical orientation and framework

After primary readings and research, this report formulates the notion of theory to mean a certain set of realizations or understandings related to a particular issue which have been, or could be tested against and through different modes and aspects of research. Theory draws upon academic paradigms and methods.

As such, from both preliminary readings and the information gathered relating to both sites thus far, it becomes clear that, in terms of development, structure and their content, there have been external ideologies shaping the stories of gold mining shown at either site. It is here, perhaps, that more of a focus will be placed, on the notion of the theme park and its associated set of influential factors and peculiarities.

Theme parks, Gold Reef City included, deal in the business of creating metanarratives and enforcing overall ideas borne of a particular time and of particular personalities. These metanarratives are therefore flexible, and may be liable to be re- evaluated and include other narratives, under pressure from changing societal influences and circumstances. This is an inherent, necessary aspect of their focus and purpose. It is also intricately related to the manner in which Johannesburg (and South Africa) has been re-imagined and the histories simplified or expanded upon for consumption by its visitors. The Main Street mining precinct has been recently redeveloped in order to increase, for instance, pedestrian usage. However, one should examine the area in terms of agency, ownership and ideological influence and the manner in which it may or may not change perceptions and understandings of the 'city' within present discussions around the changing persona of Johannesburg.

Overall though,

- As an indication of the ideologies shaping ‘history’ shown at Gold Reef City, which in turn influences the way in which it makes use of semblances of only a section of the area’s mining past, it can be said that this has been consciously formulated to further a certain idea of Johannesburg’s history, for commercial, aesthetic and entertainment purposes.

- Mining has become commercial capital at both sites, and operates as a means to an end i.e. entertainment, regeneration or the motivation for this to happen. This report assumes that the initiatives, although noble, in Main Street especially, are still not an entirely constructive way in which people are able to interact with their own past and space within Johannesburg.

- Ideologies and external influencers force the theme park to consciously choose and create ‘history’ that glosses over less savoury parts of the mining industry and personal experiences related to this and labour migration, or those that will detract from the ‘fun and fantasy’ aspects of the park. The way in which mining life was experienced on the mines for certain groups is largely glossed over, vastly simplified and even romanticized as a result of these certain ideological influences.

- Imagery of mining has until recently allowed people to act as voyeurs more generally, while as a result of reports in the media now, the images of mining have begun to include harsher, more vivid depictions of life as a person involved in a profession involving an alarming risk and terror. In seeing photographs of both men and women miners, and through interviews and news reports on individuals and not only the mass, one now begins to get a sense of the mineworker as an individual, as a person. In a sense then, this report will attempt to look how, if at all, the long- held, popular, sanitised and reality – detached image of mining, has been reviewed and redeployed in various forms by the City of Johannesburg, such as those seen in the Main Street precinct, in light of externally- influenced public building works and urban regeneration.

- This report assumes many people are almost oblivious to any hidden undertones from developers or corporate influences, and may even be less inclined to want to be aware, in light of the effect created by the regeneration efforts.

- The ‘aestheticness’, safety and upgrading in Main Street are of extreme importance for people that live and work in the area.

- Mining forms the background for activity at both sites, and this may be largely overlooked i.e. both sites are not important in terms of mining history per se, but in terms of the uses each site offers

- Although not examined here, the addition of the Apartheid Museum has acted as a buffer against Gold Reef City having to deal constructively or grapple with any of the atrocities committed during apartheid South Africa i.e. they are exempt from telling any ‘truth’ at this site, as the Apartheid Museum apparently fills this gap. However, the Apartheid Museum is a relative latecomer at the site, and therefore one needs to think of and examine the role of mining in South African historiography and its relation to understandings of apartheid.

- Gold Reef City does not attract, or pretend to attract, visitors based on ‘historical’ accuracy for factual or academic reasons, even if that had originally been the intention of developers. This report argues that Gold Reef City acts largely as being more of an entertainment environment. The more-recently created Apartheid Museum ‘eclipses’ the narratives presented at Gold Reef City.

- Gold Reef City acts as an extension of the great South African ‘gold rush’, albeit in contemporary time, and for certain lucky ‘prospectors’. It indicates the amount of wealth to be garnered and made in the Witwatersrand area. It is a sanitized space, without the danger and dirt of mining or ‘getting one’s

hands dirty'. In fact, this paper argues that visiting this theme park places one in the position of the 'prospector'.

- This park and theme parks in general, offer no ability for self- critique from the public, and no arena for public interaction and discussion around the 'histories' and the legacies shown. However, this report realizes that to expect sites such as these to do so is largely naive, especially considering that they are not focused solely on providing educational experiences.

### 1.5 Methodology

For the purposes of this research project, and due to its very nature as people orientated, it has used what Padgett (2004:19) calls the 'flexible, nonlinear nature of qualitative research'. This type of research is most commonly associated with designing broad conceptual frameworks, and including the weight and experience of academic literature to inform and correspond with the outcomes of data collection. It is by no means a fixed set of processes, or one that is concrete in data gathering or results. The outcomes are just as unpredictable as those people and experiences met with during research stages. Padgett (2004:19) writes that the 'intensity and unpredictability of doing a qualitative study ensures that there will be new challenges every step of the way.'

In response to this Payne (2004:96) emphasizes the need for proper, systematic and instructive conceptualization of the research project and its processes beforehand, which is one of the primary reasons that a methodology matrix has been helpful in summarizing or mind- mapping methodologies used. Maxwell (2002 : 63) argues that the methodology should not be cast in stone as a model to be strictly adhered to throughout the process, and that this would lead to a lack of flexibility when responding to changes, insights and the actual data collected. It has been found that one's methodology is definitely prone to change and cannot be guaranteed. What follows is an outline of the motivations for and applications of data collection

methods chosen in this report, as well as a breakdown of some of the important themes and considerations necessary when undertaking this branch of research.

## The nature of qualitative research and overview

To begin with, Beyer, (cited in Padgett 2004:19-20), highlights certain points that that define a qualitative study:

1. The study appears to spring from genuine curiosity
2. It both acknowledges and questions existing theory
3. It seeks new insights from immersion in the phenomena in question
4. It uses research methods flexibly and imaginatively, as a tool serving the questions pursued.
5. It is an unstinting effort; the author's creativity drove him/her to do whatever it took to arrive at a credible answer to his/her question.

One of the most striking aspects of Beyer's list is the way in which the researcher is positioned, and is as much part of the research as the theory/person/site being studied. This, as will be mentioned again later, is important for the idea of objectivity, and how difficult aiming for and achieving objectivity in qualitative research is.

## Definitions

a.) fieldwork

Payne (2004:94) defines fieldwork as the 'data collection in a social setting that tries to reflect the naturally occurring order of events and subjective meanings of those being studied'. It is the actual, overt collecting of data on site, over a set time period in a specific place or environment. Grills (cited in Payne 2004:95), writes that fieldwork is undertaken to encounter life as it happens where it occurs, to identify patterns and produce an understanding of these. From much of the literature read comes the notion that fieldwork includes that important preparation, thinking and self-reflection undertaken before going out into the field, for example in literature reviews and discussion.

b.) access and ‘gatekeepers’

Access is what Payne (2004:96) calls the selection of a research site and the negotiation necessary to gain entry to it. It is also related to the identification of and communication with ‘gatekeepers’ i.e. those who can give permission to enter a site. This would include managers, officials and even unofficial leaders who may have some influence. Continued access is based on the continued acceptance of their role and actions, and the tolerance of researchers’ presence (Payne 2004:97) Maxwell (2002: 67), as well as Payne (2004: 191), as will be discussed later also draw on the notion of reflexivity.

c.) ethics

Besides dealing honestly and sensitively with the responses garnered from respondents, this also includes the primary stages of gaining access and setting up interviews and other formats for data collection. Payne (2004:97) writes that it is of utmost importance that the project is clearly, fully and honestly explained. Overall, this report holds that ethics within this, and other research projects in general, relates to the consideration of respondents’ and the site’s levels of anxiety and the researcher’s constant aim for professionalism. At any stage, an infringement on respondents’ well- being must be avoided, both in the data collection stages i.e. in questionnaires, as well as in the data analysis stages. Here, this report would suggest that a constant awareness of respect, consideration and of one’s own impact on the respondent and site is of utmost importance. As part of the research process ethical conduct forms will be drawn up for all research material that has been provided, especially for that which has been indicated as purely personal reference material and that which is not to be used during this project.

d.) objectivity (and reflexivity)

Payne defines the practice of reflexivity as being the researcher’s self-awareness of their own ‘beliefs, values and attitudes, and their personal effects on the setting they have studied’ (2004: 191). It would also include the researcher being self- critical about the chosen research methods and their application, in order to facilitate a better evaluation and understanding of research findings (2004:191) The way in

which a researcher conducts him/herself, gathers information and analyses the data must be constantly self- reviewed, self- questioned and self- interrogated. Fieldwork is also largely a reflexive process, with researchers bringing themselves into contact with real-life social situations. In this way then, the researcher is as much part if the research project and society in which it is situated.

e.) participant observation

An aspect or mode of fieldwork. Payne (2004:166) writes that this is data collection over a sustained period by means of watching, listening to and asking questions of people while the researcher partially becomes a member of their setting.

f.) participant listening

An aspect of fieldwork, and described by Payne (2004: 167) as being of the same importance as participant observation i.e. that not all communication is as direct and obvious as what it may seem at the outset. Grbich, (cited in Payne 2004:167), writes that ‘so much of ‘social behaviour’ is conducted through interpersonal communication’. Perhaps here it would include a greater emphasis on post-interview analysis and a revisiting of responses.

g.) documentation

According to Payne (2004:168), there are four main points or stages in documentation i.e. the writing down of research or experience: the mental flagging of an event or occurrence, temporary field notes, full research notes, and cataloguing. Overall, though and in all stages, it is important that any methods used must be as comprehensive and ‘ordered’ as possible.

h.) sample

The group of respondents that answer or participate in data collection according to certain societal qualities, deemed importance or the relationship they may have to the theory or research undertaken. Richie, Lewis and Elam (in Ritchie and Lewis 2003:78-79) describe the selection of a sample group as being selected because

they, ‘have particular features or characteristics which will enable detailed exploration and understanding of the central themes and puzzles which the researcher wishes to study.’

Methodology matrix

Drawing on an example by Maxwell (2002: 84), this report primarily made use of a methodology matrix, in order to provide a clearer and perhaps more succinct, primary methodology. Maxwell (2002: 84) writes that one of the purposes of this matrix is to, ‘display the logical connections between your research questions and your sampling, data collection and data analysis decisions.’ It is literally a grid or table setting out the various types and methods of data collection, as well as examples of the specifics. It is, concisely, a summary of the data collection process and the different components. However, after much refining throughout the research process, the following matrix is the final working methodology model followed as part of this research project.

| DATA COLLECTION METHOD | WHO?/WHAT? | HOW? | WHY? WHAT DO THEY OFFER RESEARCH? | METHODS OF ANALYSIS | RELEVANCE TO THIS RESEARCH |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| INTERVIEWS and SURVEYS | PROFESSIONAL INTERVIEWS:<br>-city space designers and Gold Reef City architects<br><br>SURVEYS:<br>-workers at the site, various professions | Written, hard copies or emails<br><br>Written hard copies | -Decision makers and 'designers' of site, responsible for narrative, owners<br><br>perceptions of the site, past shown, shows relationship (or lack of) to the site<br>talks to relation with site<br><br>Within the survey process, a standardised set of basic questions enables the comparison of responses | Discourse analysis, a comparison between responses | Range of respondents and informants offer both practical, theoretical and personal experience and involvement at sites |
| PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION | Take part in heritage tours, visit sites and spaces<br>Awareness will be paid in particular to audiences around certain exhibits, and commentary heard and experienced around these sites. | visiting the site, going on tours | 'fading into crowd'<br>attempt at objectivity<br>fly on the wall, unobtrusive<br>listening as important as watching | Field notes<br>Audio recordings<br>Comparison with<br>Constant reflexivity | Immersion<br>Experience<br>Ability to see natural running of site, as a 'normal' observer<br>Ability to gauge and experience patterns and understandings related to the site |
| VISUAL ANALYSIS | Examine photography, use of certain imagery and the impact on visual narrative | Taking own photographs, while constantly aware of own subjectivities and research needs<br>Notes and documenting aesthetics | Indicative of motives and methods of creation, 'historical' text, important in very experiential areas<br>Important rich data on experience which cannot be documented in any other way | Analyse displays, show motivations in creation/ settings condusive for creation | Opportunity for critique<br>How this may indicate the ideology behind putting certain images on display, and how this fits into stories of gold mining |
| ACADEMIC & POPULAR LITERATURE | Academic and popular literature i.e. advertising, tourist brochures, magazines and newspapers<br>-City history, popular representation<br>- mining and labour history<br>-theme park literature<br>-material related to the idea of the 'city' and space<br>- narrative theory research ethics & methodologies<br><br>NB- DETAIL AND EXAMPLES IN BIBLIOGRAPHY AND LITERATURE REVIEW | Research in library, on the Internet, examining newspapers and other publications | Backing for ideas, theories<br>Theoretical basis and credibility<br>A source apart from the physicality of site itself<br>Other ideas and writings on topics<br>Examples of others' experiences<br><br>Popular literature is indicative of marketing, public perceptions<br>in advertising- ways in which the site would like itself to be seen | Comparison with physically collected data<br>Application to the site at hand | Theoretical direction |

Figure 1- Methodology matrix.

Explanation of the matrix

a.) Interviews and sample surveys

Payne gives these pointers (2004: 186-187):

- questions must be easily understandable to all respondents
- one should avoid using questions which are too general
- one should avoid using leading questions (ones which expect a certain answer)
- researchers should take care not to combine two or more questions into one
- and finally, one should steer clear of questionnaires involving complex knowledge or mental arithmetic (which may lead to anxiety and factually incorrect answers)

Therefore, this project planned to use a combination of open and closed questions, to allow one to move on to other questions depending on the response and to encourage a freer form of dialogue. It was envisaged that it would bring about a more open, less structured, intimidating two- way interaction, i.e. a 'life history', people on the street approach for respondents at the Main Street site. Questions were kept as simple and easy to understand and deal with as possible. Articulating concepts and ideas as clearly as possible was also important. Questions asked in the survey for respondents on Main Street included information about their impressions, use of and meaning imparted or gained form the site. A copy of the questionnaire, the consent form as well as transcriptions can be found in the Appendices.

While this did seem mostly effective in practice, it was found that as a general symptom of surveying perhaps, people surveyed did react with a certain amount of trepidation and skepticism. Surveys were carried out after an explanation of their ethical rights, but many respondents seemed as though they were rather wary of offering up advice easily, or were simply dismissive. Many of the answers are short and curtailed. However, using this 'life history' method, then, one has to be

constantly aware of background and usage of the site by respondents when coming up with the questions. The researcher felt that the responses garnered may at times have been related to their positions in Main Street, and the context in which the surveys were taken.

In relation to interpretation of the data, this has been done not only looking at commonalities amongst the responses, but through examining individual responses closely. In this way, it has been noticed that are particular broad commonalities amongst the majority of the responses, while there are also individual feelings and responses to the site. In particular, responses towards a particular aspect of the site have perhaps been one of the most telling results. This was undertaken in order to situate respondents more, as well as offer telling signs regarding site use and purpose. This all, again, has depended on an examination of the brief background into the respondent provided within the survey.

The report set out to make use of a more formalized interview structure for those in professional capacities, or those that have a direct influence at the sites. However, it was found that emailing a set of questions to professional people seemed to be the most effective. It was found that many of the respondents here were held to busy schedules and were unable to commit to definite interviews. Some respondents here, too, were skeptical after the initial contact was made, but once they had a more formal idea of the process and the research project itself, they were more at ease. However, due to the nature of their own professions, some respondents were slow to reply to questions, which became frustrating. Gold Reef City would not respond to emails or phone calls, and eventually explained that they did not have the capacity to assist the researcher. This meant that no contact could be made with employees.

b.) Participant observation

As part of the research planned at Gold Reef City, the researcher spent time at the theme park participating in their tour, and in experiencing the site as a visitor. While the scope of research to be gained was hoped to have been wider and more varied,

the most useful information was obtained from this tour, and visits to a small 'museum' which was not part of the tour. It was no longer feasible to create a research diary and document as much of other visitors' experiences. It was particularly useful to record the spoken and visual narratives and transcriptions of audio narratives have been used as background to a chapter within the report, as well as are placed in the Appendices.

c.) Analysis- visual, spoken, data

Initially, this report sought to look at a wide variety of images and spoken data in attempting to answer the research questions. However, it was soon realised that this not only confused and broadened the scope of the question to such an extent that it was not feasible, both in terms of length and time frame involved. It was decided that in terms of the visuality at Gold Reef City it would focus on certain photographic images within their 'museum', images on the tour undertaken and specific imagery available within the park itself. These images were not looked at in terms of what they re- present, but how this is done, and the way in which this confronts and re-enforces ideologies. It was also not an investigation into the nature of the image itself, but attempted to place the imagery within the larger idea of Johannesburg space. The use of visual analysis is not always seen as fruitful or indeed a 'historical' pursuit, due to the way in which there exists an academic 'scopophobia' (Hayes et al., cited in Hartmann et al (eds.) 1998: 7) and general mistrust in the idea of photography as a valid text. However, Payne (2004:240) writes that 'visual accounts can provide very rich data on personal visions that cannot be collected by any other method.'

As was the case with the Main Street mining precinct, certain images within the space were used as points of departure for within surveys, and thus aided the researcher in establishing the reach and importance to certain images. The survey itself was analysed in terms of commonalities between answers overall, as well as the examination of specific answers. This report has found that an analysis of images used at the sites can be instructive and useful in a broader study of the sites. As such, Harrison, (cited in Payne 2004:239), writes that researchers can, 'work

collaboratively with informants, using image-making and images as a way of eliciting information.'

d.) Academic and popular literature

This report started out attempting to examine more than just the theme park; it also wanted to look at the casino in terms of its commercial influence on the ideologies at Gold Reef City. However, this also was too large a scope for the project, and meant that a large portion of the popular literature, dealing with the casino especially, was not necessary. Popular literature included mostly tourist brochures and marketing material obtainable at the sites. This would be used mostly as a way of identifying visitors' expectations, and the imagery used for selling and promoting the spaces. Brochures and pamphlets from the theme park have been used, but this report has to a large extent not incorporated as much popular literature as first expected. Instead, it has made larger use of the Internet for more contemporary issues affecting the city at the moment, as well as the Main Street precinct. Academic literature has been used to identify themes and theories around the issues at the site, as well as those identified and to be studied during this project.

Methodology outcomes

Throughout the research process, it was the intention to argue new points and deliver a report which made use of previous works' and writings but had also attempted to argue different points and come up with a new arguments around both Gold Reef City and Main Street. As such the methodology was flexible and aimed to accommodate any new information and was able to make allowances for respondents and application of the information.

After undertaking the research and information gathering for this project, it is perhaps useful to offer some of the outcomes, regarding processes, and usefulness of the methodology in attaining valuable and useful information in order to answer the research questions,

- The methodology should be flexible, but have ethical and consistent information gathering techniques within the different forms of information gathering.
- It was most useful to balance academic research with questionnaires, surveys or interviews as both forms are able to feed into each other
- One has to be aware of professionalism, courtesy and ethical treatment of the respondents and their dignity.
- It has been interesting and useful to incorporate visuality into surveys, as it denotes the way in which respondents have or have not interacted with the area or concept being investigated.
- The way in which questions are framed or worded has to be clear and understandable
- Different methodologies or 'standard' qualitative methodologies cannot be used as 'blanket' research methods.
- It has at times been difficult to gain information, while at the same time maintaining a respectful relationship with professional respondents. As a researcher, it has also been frustrating and de-motivating at times due to a lack of control over access to data and to resources. Gold Reef City would not allow access to communicate with or interview staff.
- One has to be constantly aware of one's own subjectivities and personal reference points, especially when analyzing and interpreting data. It is perhaps also important to begin to consider how one reacts if data and information gathered was not in line with theoretical assumptions or theoretical orientation. Perhaps then it is important to draw attention to this as being indicative of considerations and impacts on the site that are perhaps more prevalent and realistic. It would thus mean an accommodation of the information and an adjustment within the different means of dealing with this information. O'Leary writes that during research one should recognise and appreciate one's own reality, attributes, ideological assumptions, position of power, worldview and subjectivities and aim to be aware of how these may affect the research process(2004: 43)

## 1.6 Chapter outline

As a largely introductory chapter, Chapter 2 begins with a theoretical and philosophical look at the idea of the 'city', as a type of constructed space that functions as both an entity, and as being a representative of different activities and functions. Meaning- making around and through the built environment and the way in which built environments function as sites of meaning is also discussed. This highlights the way in which the built environment is able to be read as a signifier of human use, political and economic ideals. In this chapter, work by de Certeau (1988) is used extensively in order to draw out main points about the nature of one's interaction with, and impact on the city.

Thereafter, and as overviews, brief histories of Johannesburg and Gold Reef City Theme Park will be given, in order to situate later discussions around the way in which both sites have come to be imbued with certain ideologies during their periods of creation, as well as tell different, influenced stories of gold mining in the city. Chapter 2 also examines the way in which the persona of the City of Johannesburg has changed and re- positioned itself over the past decade or so, from being the City of Gold, to that of a 'World class African City'. It would seem here then, that mining is no longer the only major claim to fame which forms part of the Johannesburg identity, and as such mining has moved to being only a part of this new multicultural identity, within a global framework. This chapter ends with discussion into issues and difficulties faced by the gold mining industry at present, as a means of further indicating the differences between the sites and contemporary formations of the mining industry.

Chapter 3 begins to interrogate the way in which Gold Reef City constructs and consciously creates its own story of gold and gold mining. Already, one may say that by using the catchphrase 'Pure Jozi. Pure Gold' they highlight not only the importance of gold to their own identity, but signify that, in their estimation, the history of Johannesburg is essentialised with the discovery of gold, and as such the two notions are inseparable. Whereas Gold Reef City's story is that of gold, does the Main Street mining precinct look at it differently? Thereafter, the chapter looks at

theme parks as themed space, and incorporates some discussion from Chapter 2, while using Eco's formulation of hyperreality, and the way in which Gold Reef City operates as an agent of this theory. This would also allow one to draw out points as to how this site, aided by the agents and motivations for its creation has imbued itself with a very specific history of gold mining in Johannesburg. Although the issues of nostalgia and 'fakeness' exhibited at the site have been examined in detail by authors previously, this study comes at a time when the mining industry, as discussed in Chapter 2, as well as Johannesburg's persona is experiencing what may be looked at as major changes, affecting not only operations, but the way in which their identity is structured and portrayed. The report addresses the way in which the visuality and orality at the site further enhances their story of gold told. It must be said that this chapter does not attempt to offer a formal theoretical analysis, but aims to rather draw out certain overarching ideologies present in the choice of image, object, or speech at either site. It looks at the Gold Reef City tour narratives and certain park iconography, while chapter 4 looks at aspects of the iconography used within the Main Street precinct.

Chapter 4 focusses on the mining precinct in Main Street, and the way in which its story of gold is or is not a re- imagining of a mining past, i.e. does it tell a different story of gold mining in Johannesburg? This chapter also places the structural developments in the Main Street precinct in the context of the area's commercial ideologies, as well as those which are tied in with ideas and issues of urban renewal and how Johannesburg 'city' space has been and is being re-formulated. Pre-empting a discussion to follow in Chapter 5, the theme of identity will also be looked at here, as a way of analyzing the way in which the 'discovery' of gold is told, by whom and for whom. This, as mentioned, ties in with issues of visuality and iconography as a being representative of the ideologies themselves, as well as the ways in which these identities are tied in with commercial aspects and influences. Greenblatt's discussion of resonance and wonder (1990) will also aid in looking at how the ideologies and attitudes towards gold mining history are highlighted, emphasized or made dominant.

## Chapter 2- An orientation to the two cities
### 2.1 The idea of the 'city'

This chapter, and indeed this report, do not attempt to offer an in-depth historical recounting of the development of either Gold Reef City or Main Street. However, this chapter does by way of introduction discuss some theories and ideas around the idea of the 'city' as a space in which practices are lived.

In terms of this report, there is a constructed 'city' at either site, with particular voices emphasized and many more neglected or hidden. Johannesburg is a city struggling and negotiating its identity and inclusivity in terms of changing global and local narratives, while Gold Reef City exists metaphorically as a city space, and as a representation of the city of Johannesburg. Just as with the City of Johannesburg, its internal dynamics are affected by external factors. Bester (2005:10) writes that, 'Johannesburg – the battleground of modernity in apartheid South Africa – has emerged as one of the defining metaphors of post-apartheid South Africa.' Byala writes that 'contemporary, post-apartheid Johannesburg is a place where signifiers are ripped free of their original meaning, reinterpreted and adapted to ever-changing situations; a region where multiple codes compete for control in highly charged, urban landscapes…as all go about the haphazard business of reformulating the vestiges of apartheid Johannesburg to fit increasingly complex post-apartheid realities.' (*The Restless City*, accessed 30 January 2008 on the World Wide Web. http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.cgi?path=47291119641634)

In '*Re-presenting the City'*, King (1996:1) argues that the idea of the 'city' is yet another construct, a metaphor; to put it bluntly, the city as people come to think of it, does not exist. He goes on to say that,

'…the city designates the space produced by the interaction of historically and geographically specific institutions, social relations and production and reproduction, practices of government, forms and media of communication and so forth. By calling this diversity 'the city', we ascribe to it a coherence or integrity. The city, then, is

above all representation. But what sort of representation? By analogy with the now familiar idea that the nation provided us with an 'imagined community' (Benedict Anderson's Theory of Nationalism and Imagined Communities, accessed 12 January 2008 on the World Wide Web, http://www.revision-notes.co.uk/revision/964.html), I would argue that the city constitutes an imagined environment. What is involved in that imagining – the discourses, symbols, metaphors and fantasies through which we ascribe meaning to the modern experience or urban living – is as important a topic for the social sciences as the material determinants of the physical environment.' (Donald cited in King 1996:1)

As an interpretation, the city may also be thought of as a self- defining and self-producing entity able to manage any disparate attributes. Through regulatory processes the city is also able to normalize and 'flatten out' particular wayward aspects, culture or qualities which may affect or change the state of the city and its operations. In de Certeau's work, it would seem as though the 'city' is the name given to a particular space created by the various aspects within the space. De Certeau mentions and describes three qualities and operations that embody the modern 'city',

1. The production of its own space (*un espace propre*): rational organization must thus repress all the physical, mental and political pollutions that would compromise it;

2. the substitution of a 'nowhen', or of a synchronic system, for the inderterminable and stubborn resistances offered by traditions; univocal scientific strategies, made possible by the flattening out of all the data in a plane projection, must replace the tactics of users who take advantage of 'opportunities" and who, through these trap-events, these lapses in visibility, reproduce the opacities of history everywhere;

3. finally, the creation of a universal and anonymous subject which is the city itself: it gradually becomes possible to attribute to it, as to its political model which is

Hobbes' state[1], all the functions and predicates that were previously scattered and assigned to many different real subjects – groups, association, or individuals. "The city", like a proper name, thus provides a way of conceiving and constructing space on the basis of a finite number of stable, isolatable, and interconnected properties. (1988: 94-95) The city, in this instance, takes on an almost human status, and through its creation and existence is capable of drawing together and describing space.

The city has also become the site for studies in representation, and examinations in to the idea of culture and cultural re-presentation. King (1996:3) describes the way in which representation in a 'city' is analyzed according to the way in which discourse, cultural and deconstruction theories are tested against each other. King also highlights thoughts from Jacobs, for example, who says that 'the boundary between social reality and representations of that reality has collapsed' (1996:3) Wolff believes that 'the effect of various poststructuralist theories (deconstruction, semiotics, Lacanian psychoanalytic theory, Foucaultian discourse theory and postmodern theory) has been to seriously problematise the relationship between 'the real city', the discursive city (and) the disappearing city' (cited in King 1996:3). Overall, though, it would seem that the city as a cultural, physical and discursive presence and set of power or knowledge practices is still being debated, analysed and discussed.

Authors such as Bennett (1995), also link the way in which the 'city', as a system of surveillance practices, propagates the exhibitionary complex, and as such is a site in which these knowledge/power relations occur. While the exhibitionary complex is most often linked to philosophical and analytical issues regarding museums and galleries, aspects of this system of seeing can also be applied to the way in which people may come to understand the 'city'. The exhibitionary complex can be explained as a 'self-monitoring system of looks in which in which… the crowd comes

[1] In his book, *Leviathan* (orig. published 1651), Hobbes explains how subjects within a society may give up certain rights to a ruling body in order to collectively maintain social order and reduce autonomy.

to commune with and regulate itself through interiorizing the ideal and ordered view of itself as seen from the controlling vision of power' (Bennett 1995: 342)

The exhibitionary and surveillance complexes, as Bennett writes, did not only gradually become part of the 'city', they also interacted reflexively with the way in which processes, organizing institutions and attitudes were made increasingly visible to publics (1995: 338). However, this set of actions is often not totally visible or available to all publics. Bennett writes that,

'While the depths of city life were penetrated by developing networks of surveillance, cities increasingly opened up their processes to public inspection, laying their secrets open not merely to the gaze of power but, in principle, to that of everyone; indeed, making the specular dominance of the eye of power available to all.' (1995:338)

So, in light of this, the 'city' is thus a regulatory system of power relations over its own processes and inhabitants, and reflexively, their relation to the 'city'. The 'city' therefore acts as a social, economic and cultural regulator. The 'city' is therefore also defined by the way in which people and institutions understand, see, see themselves and behave within the spaces.

From these arguments overall, one is able to draw out some distinct properties of the 'city',

a) The 'city' as a space is determined, not only through consciously chosen architecture and physical structures, but through the very interrelations and 'cultural' differences brought about by and through institutions and inhabitants. King (1996: 4) addresses this by saying that, the

'way [in which] the built environment, the material, physical and spatial forms of the city, is itself a representation of specific ideologies, of social, political, economic, and

cultural relations and practices, of hierarchies and structures, which not only represent but also, inherently constitute these same relations and structures.'

b) These interrelations are a product of certain historical, social and economic factors.

c) The 'city' is seen as an ordered, and rational collection of smaller spaces, which are kept in place by their adherence to the greater whole or the idea of what that means

d) Just as in an Anderson's 'imagined community' (Benedict Anderson's Theory of Nationalism and Imagined Communities, accessed 12 January 2008 on the World Wide Web, http://www.revision-notes.co.uk/revision/964.html), one can never know or fully estimate other inhabitants or ideologies.

e) One can never really know or understand the 'city'. Kracaeur (cited in Leach 2002:1) writes of the underlying ideologies and 'hidden' facets, that

'the surface level expressions … by virtue of their unconscious nature, provide unmediated access to the fundamental substance of the state of things …. Knowledge of this state of things depends on the interpretation of those surface–level expressions'.

It would seem that it is through conscious analysis and interpretation of the external that one is better equipped to make judgment on an overall meaning of things.

f) The 'city' is therefore not a stable entity

g) The 'city' is seen as a symbol of modernity, and of modern aspirations. In fact, Leach writes that the 'Metropolis features prominently in public imagination as the very site of modernity (2002:1)

h) The 'city' is understood through one's own understandings of symbolism, icons and language. Bester writes that, 'meaning is not inherent in the city or its spaces. It is created through processes of interaction. Meaning within the city is not only defined through the production of space, but also through its re-production in the

movements of the body in space. From the nature and time of entry and exit to the duration and content of a stay, patterns of movement define the city and its value.' (2005:10)

i) The 'city' can also be said to be founded on establishing certain attributes, while downplaying others

j) The 'city' locates, guards and creates 'cultures', while at the same time is the site of 'culture'. Leach (2002:2) writes that the 'city' can be understood as an amalgam of objects of cultural production.'

k) The 'city' is able to initiate discussions around the idea of 'culture'. King (1996 :2) writes, too, that, 'the culture of the contemporary city is not just the subject of representations constituted through different categories of knowledge… it is also addressed by different genders, ethnicities, ideologies, races, classes, sexual orientations, nationalities, theoretical differences of every shape and form'.

## 2.2 Built environments and meaning- making

De Certeau (1988: 91), in '*Walking in the City'*, begins to highlight the way in which built environments and cities are seen as having meaning imbued in them or become involved in the making of meaning through human interaction. During (1993:150) explains that 'de Certeau analyses and presents a theory in the city, or rather an ideal for the city [as] he walks in it.' He adds that for de Certeau the process of walking in the city has its own logic, or, 'rhetoric', and that a 'walker' individuate and makes multiple meanings during this process (1993: 150). De Certeau's work is, then effective in showing how the acts of everyday life take on greater meanings or significance when looked at in light of power relations and greater ideological structures and effects. De Certeau's analogies and comparisons between normal human activities and the way in which these processes are carried out, highlight the way in which the body moves through a space, a site of meanings, all the time. It allows readers to analyse the influence and meaning making which occurs in everyday situations i.e. that people are constantly negotiating and

analyzing their own space and identity based on the surroundings they find themselves in. Bester in *Johannesburg Circa Now*, writes that, In setting up a tension between texts whose apparent transparency does nothing more than render the city immobile, and vital forms of movement that are limited by their opacity, de Certeau emphasizes his interest in the latter, with everyday spatial practices that go by unnoticed but that are fundamental to ensuring fluid and contradictory meanings to a city.' (2005:10)

In his work, through the metaphor of walking, 'an elementary form of this experience of the city; [people] are walkers, *Wandersmanner,* whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban "text' they write without being able to read it', (1988: 93). De Certeau does not fail to take account of the way in which people not only interact with spaces they inhabit, but also the way this space is redefined and reimagined by its users. De Certeau writes that 'the way in which the Concept-city functions [ is as] a place of transformations and appropriations, the object of various kinds of interference but also a subject that is constantly enriched by new attributes, it is simultaneously the machinery and the here of modernity (1988: 94-95) Along with Barthes (in Leach 2002:4), both authors encourage awareness of the reciprocal relationship between the city and its users, and in so doing highlight discursive features of the spaces. Barthes (in Leach 2002:4), writes that,

'The city is a discourse and this discourse is truly a language: the city speaks to its inhabitants.  We speak to our city, the city where we are, simply by living in it, by wandering through it, by looking at it.'.

De Certeau writes that,

'[the gigantic mass] is transformed into texturology in which extremes coincide – extremes of ambition and degradation, brutal oppositions of races and styles, contrasts between yesterday's buildings, already transformed into trash cans, and today's urban irruptions that block out its space.' (de Certeau 1988: 91)

In fact, later, and as a preemptory to Eco's discussion around the idea of the simulacrum, de Certeau explains the city as

'A "theoretical" (that is, visual) simulacrum, in short a picture, whose condition of possibility is an oblivion and a misunderstanding of practices.' (1988: 93)

The ideologies and underlying meanings are not always visible to these meaning makers. De Certeau writes that,

'The paths that correspond in this intertwining, unrecognized poems in which each body is an element signed by many others, elude legibility…the networks of these moving, intersecting writings compose a manifold story that has neither author nor spectator, shaped out of fragments of trajectories and alterations of spaces: in relation to representations, it remains daily and indefinitely other'. (1988: 93)

For the purposes of this report Gold Reef City is posited as an' imagined' city- space that is subject to the relations carried out within certain ideologies and which can be analysed and understood in terms of the theories and ideas posited by de Certeau (1988) and Eco (1990). While de Certeau looks at the way in which people navigate, choose and create identity and relations with and within space, Eco looks at the themed-ness of sites, and the way in which these spaces are simulacra of a perceived reality. Through looking at both theorists' work, one is able to orientate discussion around the perceptions and interactions of people with either Gold Reef City or the Main Street site.

In this report, Johannesburg exists as the stereotypical image of the city i.e. consisting of physical structures, space, economic functions and a more or less fixed population. However, in looking at Main Street specifically, this site is also' imagined, themed space in that it seems to exist as a very isolated city area built around certain ideas and meanings. This will, however, be further discussed later in this report. It must be said that both are spaces which can be read as texts, are liable to 'city' discourse, seen as having sets of practices, rituals and as having a set of histories and purposes.

## 2.3 Rush to the Rand- the beginnings of a 'city'

In a different sense, this section aims to provide a brief description of the founding and development of the city. The information and literature used here is much more empiricist in nature, and provides a different sense of the city and its character over time. While events are portrayed and written as fact, authors here are merely recounting an imagined biography, beginning, as they see it, with the Harrison's discovery of the gold reef in 1886.

George Harrison's accidental 'discovery' of an outlying gold reef on the farm Langlaagte in 1886 and the subsequent gold rush to the area has been widely accepted as the beginning of the dispersed and squalid township that would later be called Johannesburg. Chipkin writes that within a short time a vast mining encampment of prefabricated components sprang up on the triangular surplus ground between the farms Braamfontein, Doornfontein and Turffontein ( 1993:5- 6) Wood and iron buildings were erected in preference to more enduring structures in spite of official opinion that '…we may be here still when our children have grown up'. (1981:43) The erratic way in which properties or claims and equipment was bought and sold was a common occurrence, as were the daily founding and failing of companies and workshops (1981:43)

Mandy writes that the predecessor of the Transvaal Chamber of Mines was established in 1886 and the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce on 1 April 1890, with both offering a unique impact on the city's development and persona. (1984:13). Each has in its own way had a profound influence on the economic development and operational capacity of Johannesburg. Already, by 1887, the population of the site had grown to around 3000 people (Musiker and Musiker 2000:12). By 1898, the Witwatersrand area had already produced 27 percent of the world's gold, and Johannesburg's population had overstepped the 40000 mark (Joyce (ed.) 1981:43). It was by no means a clean or safe environment, and with the creation and flourishing of drinking establishments, as well as brothels, many anecdotes describe Johannesburg as being somewhat of a Gomorrah (Joyce (ed.) 1981:43). Even Chipkin ( 1993:10) writes that writer Herman Charles Bosman had discussed

Johannesburg with a certain sarcastic disdain, 'They are trying to make Johannesburg respectable … they are trying to make us lose our sense of pride in the fact that our forebears were a lot of roughnecks who knew nothing about culture and who came here to look for gold.' From many accounts, it soon becomes apparent that the gold rush to Johannesburg had instilled a gold fever in would- be prospectors, who saw the site purely on financial, almost hedonistic terms. An Englishman travelling to the Witwatersrand in 1889 writes that 'we were all suffering badly from gold fever. Gold, gold, nothing but gold was the conversation…' (Chipkin 1993:10)

By the early 1890's the Randlords – mining magnates such as Cecil John Rhodes, Barney Barnato and Alfred Beit - were starting to create financial empires that were to become important for the further development of the city, as well as industry in the country. (1998: 33) This industry was to have, and still has, a profound, controlling influence on the development of Johannesburg and South Africa. This industry has, to greater or lesser extents, been somewhat responsible for authoring the City's history.

Within ten years of its origins, Johannesburg was the biggest city in the country and by 1936 was recognized as the "largest and most densely populated European city in Africa" (Chipkin 1993:105). From September 1936 to January the following year, Johannesburg staged the Empire exhibition to celebrate the first fifty years of existence, as well as highlight its progress and achievement.
With the increase in capital and the booming economy in the city both before and after World War Two, one began to see the construction of high- rise business and apartment blocks, as well as the further cementing of commercial powerhouses and the establishing of permanent education, social and economic institutions. During the 1960s, economically, the city was thriving. Bremner writes that foreign investment and capital saw the Johannesburg Stock Exchange create and manage new investments and business deals. On the construction and building aspect, 'Tower blocks mushroomed in the downtown area. Nearby, numerous factories were built between 1951 and 1970 employment in manufacturing rose by over 75% to

approximately 230 000 workers (Beavon cited in Tomlinson, Beauregard, Bremner et al. 2003:5) Johannesburg, as a modern powerhouse, seemed to be invincible. Tomlinson, Beauregard, Bremner et al. ( 2003:4) write that due to the continuous and successive waves of investment and economic interest based largely on the mining industry, by 1990, Johannesburg had become a city which was home to some of the country's most important corporations. There is a sense here that the growth and development, as well as the city itself, took on a life of its own, as if it was totally organic. However, this stands in sharp contrast to events that were unseen, and voices that had been pushed below the surface of the city and its narrative of progress. These developments masked the processes, and the people, through and as a result of which the development happened.

However, Chipkin (1993:105) and Tomlinson, Beauregard, Bremner et al. (2003:4) both write of the way in which the economic growth experienced as the result of events such as the Sharpeville massacre in March 1960, also had the effect of increasing internal dissatisfaction with the gold mining industry. Tomlinson, Beauregard, Bremner et al. highlight 1976, after the Soweto uprising as the beginning of a greater awareness of the city's internal cultural, political and social divisions (2003:5) By 1986, Johannesburg's centenary,

'Growing resistance to apartheid revealed the city's racial segregation and political divisions. Its decades of celebrating white dominance and the brushing aside of an alternative black experience of the city were no longer tolerable …black opposition to the image of the "city-with-a-gold-heart" reached its peak and rendered the celebrations meaningless. The city's divisions had cracked wide open' (Tomlinson, Beauregard, Bremner et al. 2003: 5)

Johannesburg's past is on one hand very much related to gold mining, but may be described from more than one point of view, set of experiences or one history vantage point. While certain dominant voices perpetuate descriptions, experiences and pasts related to the City, there are other voices and alternative narratives within the City that do not come to the surface, and may offer an alternative reading of the

City, and how it is and can be described. The nature of Johannesburg's past and its varied influences may allow for a multitude of voices to be heard.

## 2.4 Rollercoasters and Randlords- the creation of the Gold Reef City Theme Park and Casino

'Gold Reef City brims with experiences that the visitor would not find anywhere else… the package-deal of fun, fantasy, historical fact… International travellers savour the offering of traditional African music; dance and history found throughout the complex… tourist[s] [will] find such a comprehensive and colourful depiction of mining life at the turn of the nineteenth century. Learners lap up the educational content…The history lesson is brought to life; youngsters are not just hearing how Johannesburg had its origins, but are seeing, feeling and tasting it…Countless companies have chosen Gold Reef City to host conferences or other serious events…It is well worth a visit to Gold Reef City, to see how this entertainment package is put together and presented. At the same time dare to test-drive one of the over thirty thrilling fun-rides on offer.'
(Gold Reef City homepage, accessed 9 April 2007 on the World Wide Web. http://www.goldreefcity.co.za/corporate/about_us.asp)

Gold Reef City, built by mining industry concerns at a cost of R62 million (Rassool and Witz 1996: 343) is one of Johannesburg and Gauteng's most popular tourist sites, frequented theme parks, and commercial brands. It has positioned itself through aggressive marketing, from its creation in the 1980s, in the 'edu-tainment' market i.e. a place where visitors can learn, and have fun while doing it.

However, the concept behind Gold Reef City, i.e. the sanitized display of mining life during the early days of Johannesburg, is not an entirely recent construction. Rassool and Witz (1996:345) explain that the forerunner of the modern Gold Reef City Theme Park erupted in the early half of the century, largely as promotional tours and exhibitions run by the Chamber of Mines, and geared towards foreign and local visitors. When Gold Reef City was opened in April 1986, it contained many of the

elements that had gone into the underground tours and the gold mining pavilions at the festivals and fairs in the 1940s and 1950s (Rassool and Witz 1996: 345). They write that 'the concept of the simulated mining village, where visitors can partake of all aspects of mining life' came about as a result of 'massive domestic and international publicity campaigns' (1996: 343-344). The Chamber of Mines hoped that once visitors had seen for themselves technology and other aspects of the mine on their underground tour, they would then come to the 'self-realisation' that the 'Natives (on the mines) live under such splendid conditions'.(Witz and Rassool 1996:343-344)

It would seem that the purpose of this was not to glorify the mining industry as such, but rather portray a more available image of the mining industry in terms of the treatment of labourers and mine safety practices, as the Chamber of Mines faced increasing pressure from both labour groups within apartheid South Africa, as well as international criticism (Rassool and Witz 1996: 343). It was about showing visitors that the industry, quite simply, had nothing 'bad' to hide. The Chamber of Mines was concerned that there was 'an impression abroad that Natives are taken by the scruff of the neck and flung down a mine where they stay until they die'.(Rassool and Witz 1996: 343)

Despite the nature of the park changing quite dramatically in recent years, to include casino facilities and the adjoining Apartheid Museum, it is the romantic mining history of the Witwatersrand, and especially Johannesburg, area that the Gold Reef City Theme Park deems to still show with great authority; it is the mining industry and an aspect of Johannesburg that is re- created here with a complex and nostalgic, and highly sanitized imagination. The park places itself as the essential place to visit and learn about the City's history. It seems to be a case where perceived knowledge and historical authenticity is known and told or displayed only by those in charge. Rassool and Witz (1996: 345) write that in the later Gold Reef City tour experiences, much of which is still prevalent today,

‘the visitor was introduced to images of mining through the experience of descending a mine shaft, the underground tour, seeing gold being poured and, inevitably, ‘tribal dancing’. In an underground tableau, the technology of mining is displayed by a live miner repeatedly drilling the same rock as if he were a ‘mechanical’ figure or a Disneyland robot’. The talented ‘tribal’ dancers, who through years of experience have become ‘[e]nergetic and polished’, can now be seen in ‘the Hippodrome’….These were all the ‘thrills’ of the ‘reality’ of mining.’

These experiences were explained and promoted as reality, with the repetitiveness almost emphasizing the safety of the practice. ‘Tribal dancing’, besides being expected by visitors, existed on the mines as result of different influences. The origins of mine tribal dancing in the compounds are left out of the experience, as it would presumably not have fitted into a convenient narrative and overall visual display for visitors. However, while these were shown as displays of authentic mining life ‘reality’, working and living on the mine involved different elements. Reality for miners existed in a totally different context, and the ‘thrills’ which the visitors experienced were and are perhaps diluted versions and experiences of the dangerous nature and reality of mine work. As with the underground experience offered as part of the present tour, Rassool and Witz’s (1996: 345) description of the trip and narrative underground still bears much resemblance to the mining tours today,

‘After the ‘thrills of the downward ride’’, the tourists inspected the underground first aid station and examined the electrical and mechanical engineering, the cables, machinery, pumps and pipes’.



Figure 2- A 1946 Guardian newspaper cartoon which addressed issues of mine safety, wages and life on the mines. The caption reads, 'VISIT THE MINES.GOOD PAY-GOOD EVERYTHING. WHY STAY IN THE KRAALS WHEN A LIFE OF LUXURY AWAITS YOU ON THE MINES?' (cartoon reprinted in Callinicos 1993: 97)

## 2.5 Johannesburg's changing persona- from 'City of Gold' to 'World-class African city'

Bester, in *Johannesburg Circa Now* (2005:10) writes that,

'The city becomes a spatial formation that mediates not only the relationship between 'global' and 'local' settings, but also the balancing act of wanting to occupy these positions simultaneously. The re-construction of the local city encapsulates many of the critical socio-political issues facing a new and ambitious democracy, with the duality of this last position seeming to underpin so many articulants of the 'world class' African city.'

The way in which Johannesburg has started to reformulate its own identity takes place within the context of a growing and developing realization of and affinity with the principles of globalization, a greater sense of what it is to be African, and greater self- reflectivity. Beavon writes that the unfolding geography of Johannesburg has been outlined in broad strokes from its mining camp days in 1886, through the developments that saw it become a major city by the mid-twentieth century, and thereafter the undoubted premier metropolis of South Africa (2004). It has also been shown that in more recent times Johannesburg has been found itself delicately poised in its quest for recognition not only as a world city, but also as Africa's world city. In the process an attempt has been made to convey a sense of the place as a whole (Beavon 2004:278) Beavon also highlights research undertaken by the Johannesburg Council which shows that the City can no longer wholly rely on its

image as a mining city, due to the decrease in domination of the market it is experiencing. In fact, according to this research, 'mining now lost in the category of 'other' and constituting a mere two per cent share.' (2004: 270) So what one sees is the way in which Johannesburg, also a non- primary tourist destination, is being forced to look elsewhere for self promotion, which means determined efforts to become recognised as a "world city", or more exactly, as 'Africa's world city'.(Beavon 2004: 270)

Generally though, South Africa has had to become increasingly self- reflective, in light of its growing global position and reputation as a country with peculiar modernity as well as its economic and social position in Africa. Previously, South Africa's place in the world was as a 'carefully constructed commodit[y]…with its own identit[y] and traditions, and firmly positioned in a seemingly natural world order of international power and subservience.' (Rassool and Witz 1996: 334) In 'A World in One Country', Rassool and Witz (1996 : 364) write that South Africa has come to be gazed upon as existing between the two polar opposites of modernization and of a romantic primitiveness. While A World in One Country discusses tourists and their gazes based on developments in the early to mid- 90s, there is still some correlation and furthering of these images within South African and global environments.

Rassool and Witz (1996) use Urry's (1990) formulation of the tourist gaze, as being the manner in which there is a constructed, systematic prior way in which sites are gazed upon by visitors, after taking in stereotypical images and expectations in media. The tourist gaze on Africa can best be understood and seen in the way in which Africa is viewed as being about getting in touch, but not necessarily engaging with, 'the most 'remote and exotic corners' of the world [which are]…said to hold the possibilities of a 'passport' to material and cultural development' (Rassool and Witz 1996:335) Modern tourists still see and gaze upon South Africa as the sum of it essentialised, stereotyped and preconfigured parts. Witz, Minkley, and Rassool (2000: 2) write that the 'irony of South Africa's modernity is that the country is still mapped out and memorialised for …tourists as a sequence of routes from tribe to tribe in rural and urban settings'.

President Thabo Mbeki described moves to incorporate more aspects of South African identity and heritage in tourism, social and economic settings as a 'renaissance', whereby the 'stereotypes of backwardness and primitiveness' would be dissolved (Witz, Minkley and Rassool 2000: 3). Now South African tourism aims to actively reconfigure its gaze as that based primarily on culture. Although the article does focus largely on South Africa's created position and consciously changed identity, certain parallels may be drawn between that, and the way in which Johannesburg has and continues to address its own persona to include a greater mention of 'Africanness'; ironically with the aim of increasing its international identity. Rassool and Witz (1993: 337) write that South Africa has been located spatially and materially as 'African' and hence liable to connotations of primitive and tribal.

Speaking largely of the country's economic and otherwise position in the nineties, Rassool and Witz (1996 : 337) explain that in an effort to promote the country in its breaking out of international isolation, 'Africanness' has come to be used in descriptions, and juxtapositions, of the country's potential for growth and position as the main economic land on the continent. However, they also argue that although a move to incorporate a broader section of South African community had been suggested, the 'essential elements of the 'world in one country' have remained intact' and South Africa's 'tourist modernity has been packaged in a 'primitive wrapping' (Rassool and Witz 1996: 342), which still helps to perpetuate the idea of South Africa being located as sort of foreign 'object', within a stereotypical African context.

However, recently, the emphasis on 'Africanness' has been viewed as the embodiment of the South African and African possibilities for technological advancement, and of Johannesburg's potential to become the main force in African economic development and establish itself as the pinnacle of technological development on the continent. Bernstein and McCarthy explain that Johannesburg is marketed as the 'New York of Africa, dominating the continent in terms of the scale of sophistication of its stock market, financial services and related activities.' (cited in Preston 2006: 52). Beavon (2004: 270) offers some examples of requirements that

Johannesburg will need to meet in order to match other world cities like London or Tokyo. Generally the city would have to become a safe, low- crime desirable destination city for business and residents, as well as ensuring service delivery, and technological advancements to ensure connectivity with the rest of the world up to world standards (2004: 270)

Perhaps on another level, it would seem that now Johannesburg officials are in the process of ensuring that conscious efforts to reshape the way in which the past is portrayed are positively carried out. In the process, perhaps what one is seeing is a type of purging, and a refocusing of narratives and personae i.e. that the city of Johannesburg is instead focusing increasingly on other heritage and historical aspects in an effort to not only incorporate, develop and highlight other narratives, but make itself more attractive to foreign investment who may be looking for an 'African' affiliation. 'Africanness' has now seemed to have become the buzzword in tourist, economic and political arenas, and as such has become more acceptable to make use of this 'Africanness', and to an extent 'cash in on it'. This notion has come to permeate many spheres of South African life and institutions.

The idea of 'Africanness', and of what that constitutes, denotes or connotes, seems to be constantly changing, and is now no longer, as previously thought of and looked upon as that which is primitive, backwards and tribal. Instead, what this change in persona has highlighted is the way in which this focus on 'Africanness' is capable of incorporating modernity and technology alongside cultural and traditional practice and belief. It would seem that being 'African' is desirable. Bremner (cited in Preston 2006: 49) writes that, 'the 'African' in the city of Johannesburg's vision of becoming an 'African world class city' appears to be 'a quaint, exotic icon of a distant land.' The image of Africanness has been reconfigured in order to make it easier to communicate with, attempt to accept and understand as well as use, by both locals and foreign investors and interested parties. 'Africanness' has actively embraced globalization in an attempt to modernize itself as a unique concept based on culture, as well as highlight both South Africa's and Johannesburg's economic and global potential.

As part of the *iGoli* 2002 development plan, the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality explained that it had a vision of becoming an African world class city which was characterised by the prosperity and quality of life through a sustainable economic growth plan for all of its citizens (Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council 2000: 2). However, there seems to be little or no reference to exactly what a 'world- class African city' is, and Fraser writes that already in 1997 then-deputy president, Thabo Mbeki, enunciated the first 'democratic' and economic vision for the city centre, known as 'The Gold Heartbeat of Africa' (Fraser, *Gold heartbeat of Africa,* accessed 2 February 2008 on the World Wide Web http://www.joburg.org.za/content/view/126/58/). Later, the Johannesburg Metropolitan Council's *IGoli* 2002 plan did indicate what would make the city of Johannesburg 'work', and thus enable it to be known as a 'world-class African city' (2000:2),

- It will work in terms of effective localized democracy, administrative systems and the productivity of its workforce.
- It will work towards meeting the basic needs of all its people, growing the economy and creating jobs.
- It will work for its citizens, customers, residents and ratepayers.
- It will work for the engine room of the economy, that is, the informal sector, micro enterprises, small and medium businesses and the large corporations.
- It will work for non-governmental organizations, trade unions and community-based organizations.
- It will work for its province and for the country as a whole.

*iGoli* 2010, as a later urban renewal and redevelopment plan which was created out of *iGoli* 2002, exists as the city's further attempts to refigure itself with 'an overarching vision to transform Johannesburg into a globally competitive 'African world- class city' (City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Council cited in Tomlinson, Beauregard, Bremner et al. 2003:18) Preston writes that of extreme importance to this plan was that its architects and developers accept and understand the idea of and implications of a world city system and the belief that the competitiveness and

advantages of Johannesburg in relation to other cities would be and must be promoted and developed ( 2006:52). Tomlinson, Beauregard, Bremner et al. (2003:17-18) write that the *iGoli*2010 regeneration and renewal plan represented the initial step in building a more far- reaching and effective Johannesburg. It was in this plan that saw deeper descriptions and functions of Johannesburg as 'a globally competitive African world-class city' (Tomlinson, Beauregard, Bremner et al. 2003:18)

In another vein, perhaps the move from *iGoli* to 'world class African city' can be looked at as an active means of addressing the legacy of a city created, built upon and representative of apartheid's segregationist ideals, ideologies and practices. Tomlinson, Beauregard, Bremner et al. (2003: 18) quote a statement by the City of Johannesburg in 2002,

'It is the belief of the Johannesburg City Council that, by growing the economy of the city, and by basing our dreams of a better life for all our citizens firmly on economic growth, we can aim to confer on the citizens of the City the economic freedom equivalent to the political freedom they achieved in 1994.'

The reframing of Johannesburg's identity seems to be the beginning of a conscious effort to redress and affect the spatial, social and economic legacy of apartheid and unacceptable mining industry practices with the aim of drawing attention to cultural and economic potential, and thus creating greater economic empowerment and investment on a globalised level. Highlighting the city of Johannesburg as a word-class city in Africa; speaks to a greater South African ability and potential, as well as highlighting African potential.

Preston writes and highlights that Johannesburg can now lay claim to this new identity and, 'thereby gain a certain competitive advantage within the continent and within the world system.' (2006:52) It implies that to be a global city is the desired norm and effect of efforts to that end and that being a global city is something that a city should aspire to be. This notion has the effect of metaphorically placing

Johannesburg in the same league as major international cities, and presupposes that Johannesburg operate sin much the same way and with the same modernity and technology as other global cities, with a distinctly African aspect to it. In fact, 'Johannesburg is where the money is. It is the most powerful commercial centre on the African continent. It is an African city that works, the phones dial, the electricity grid is reliable, you can drink the water, there are multilane freeways, skyscrapers, conference centres, golf courses. If you should get lost, ordinary people on the street speak English. Cellphones are everywhere. You can send e-mail from your hotel room, you can bank in any foreign currency, you can watch CNN, and should you fall ill, the hospitals have world- class equipment and doctors who can be trusted with a scalpel.' (For visitors, accessed 2 February 2008 on the World Wide Web, www.joburg.org.za/travel/travel_overview.stm)

However, the way in which the city has wanted itself described shifted with the announcement of *iGoli* 2030, which replaces the terminology of 'a globally competitive African world-class city' with 'a world-class business location' (Tomlinson, Beauregard, Bremner et al 2003: 18) Despite this, the notions of African and world- class are still used together to describe the position the city would like to see and describe itself. As a result of *iGoli* 2030, the City is aiming to become a world class city with effective service delivery in line with standards worldwide, and it reiterated the desire to become a 'world class African city for all' (Tomlinson, Beauregard, Bremner et al 2003: 18).

However, skeptics of the idea point to the growing disparity, divides and anxiety that this notion may present. Bremner draws attention to the way in which such ongoing promotion of the city's new persona could indeed be likely to 'reinforce economic, social, and spatial separation and disparities in and around Johannesburg…post-apartheid Johannesburg is likely to be no more integrated than its apartheid predecessor…divisions of race, class, and space continue to haunt it. '

Bernstein and McCarthy believe that Johannesburg is the most global city in Africa but an 'increasingly unlikely member of a global network of world cities' (cited in

Mabin 2006:no page number) due to the effects of crime and skills shortages has on outsider investor confidence. It makes sense that some people would be more inclined to want to deal with the effects of poverty, grime and general dilapidation within the city areas, and those that impact daily on the lives of people in the city as they go about their daily business. In 'Johannesburg: A world class African city', the writers maintain that their 'vision of a world class city is not one of more hulking bank buildings in the financial district, however many art galleries they contain…[rather it is] one of more well-designed taxi ranks serving ordinary people on their way home to decent neighbourhoods'. (Seedat and Gotz 2006: no page number)

Perhaps too, is a slight fear that to become globalised means that to an extent one's Africanness and unique identity will become subsumed in light of the pressure to conform and please outside interests. In Johannesburg: A world class African city', Seedat and Gotz write that it is this sense of apparent chaos which defines or is a part of the idea of the 'African city', whose ordinary citizens are invariably 'obliged to make their own social and economic 'infrastructures', out of daily improvisations and inscrutable social practices, confounding those in charge of the official order' (2006: no page number). This ironically, forms part of the site's identity. However, it must be noted that the notion of a 'world- class African city' would function in a safer, mutually accommodating manner- one which, 'city governance enables, and works with, the day to day ingenuity and generative interactions through which residents continuously remake their futures.' (Seedat and Gotz 2006: no page number)

## Chapter 3- 'Pure Jozi. Pure Gold'- Gold Reef City's story of mining

### 3.1 Theme parks and themed spaces

De Certeau defines a space as that which 'exists when 'one takes into consideration vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables… [it is] composed of intersections of mobile elements [and is ] in a sense actuated by the ensemble of movements deployed within it….space is a practiced place.' He continues to say that 'an act of reading is the space produced by the practice of a particular place; a written text, i.e., a place constituted by a system of signs.' (1988:117) Themed environments

exist as a world in which their rules in aspects of dress and language, for example, are entirely based on their own practice. As such, the way in which the space is read is manifested by those parts as a result.
So from this, one is therefore able to draw out that all spaces are animated, contested places in which the competing and conflicting aspects or values imbued in their make-up create the very space for their own existence i.e. sites like Gold Reef City and Main Street exist precisely due to the fluctuating interests and dynamic nature of the elements of which they are made. Main Street is a themed environment due to the fact that it has been structured and redeveloped around interpretations of mining, and the mining industry, while Gold Reef City space has been defined by and made applicable to theme park discourse.

However, generally, themed environments make very little reference to relations between events or people, external or internal influences and instead show them as existing without real signs of creation, and are controlled without glimpsing into those processes. They compress and decontextualise that which they show into small, compartmentalized and disjointed spaces, and control the way in which visitors move through the space. One can describe the theme park, as having the quality of existing as a 'false naturalization of past social relations which results from miniaturization and more particularly from self- enclosure' (Bennett 1995: 158). Bryman (cited in Wasko 2001:173-174) emphasizes the way in which theme parks omit or gloss over certain aspects of society as a result of anachronism. He categorizes these omissions as those dealing with 'problems created by industry and corporations, issues pertaining to class, race, and gender and situations involving conflict.' (Bryman cited in Wasko 2001:173) In effect, themed environments attempt to 'freeze' difference. These spaces try to dictate to and create a certain type of visitor through its processes of control and submission. The theme park seems to find a certain safety in the closure, stasis and naturalization of visitor and narrative attributes. However, in considering the agency exercised by visitors, how much do they submit to these processes, or are they able to maintain their agency and contest the narratives they come into contact with?

In beginning a brief discussion on the nature of the theme park, it is important and applicable to this report to bear in mind that over and above the material aspects of these spaces i.e. what one sees and interacts with, it is necessary to consider certain motivations and reasons for the creation of these spaces in general. As such, Davis (1997: 19) alerts readers to the fact that it is useful to think of theme-parked [spaces] as industrial products and look closely at the industry that produces it. Davis emphasises that, 'the theme park is the site of carefully controlled sales of goods (food and souvenirs) and experiences (architecture, rides and performances) "themed" to the corporate owner's proprietary images.' (1997:22) One is not only buying an entry to the space, one is buying part of the brand or the image. Visitors are thus paying for the experiences, as much as they are for the commodities and souvenirs that often come with visiting themed, commercialised spaces. It may also allow visitors to believe that what there experiences are more valuable in the fact that they have cost something extra, that they are important and need to be kept. Having souvenirs also reminds people that they did something or visited somewhere meaningful. In buying products from these sites, they have bought into a lifestyle or an idea.

In looking more specifically at the theme park, Baudrillard (Accessed 2 June 2007 from the World Wide Web, www.ctheory.net/articles.aspx?id=158) writes that theme parks, such as the Disneyworlds, are, 'not only interested in erasing the real by turning it into a three-dimensional virtual image but… also seek to erase time by synchronizing all the periods, all the cultures, in a single travelling motion, by juxtaposing them in a single scenario… No present, no past, no future, but an immediate synchronism of all the places and all the periods in a single atemporal virtuality.' Witz, Minkley and Rassool (2000:10) write that these parks, and as is the case at Gold Reef City, are, the predictable space[s] of 'fantasy, fun…the non-real belongs to the theme park… theme parks generally belong to 'the order of the spectacle and folklore, with its effects of entertainment (distraction) and distanciation (distance). '

From this, one is able to draw out that sites like Gold Reef City are able to elide time, and recreate a compressed past, while wrapped in entertainment and fantasy. One is able to 'step back in time' and take a nostalgic 'trip down memory lane' for a day, and emerge from this timeless experience back into the present. As Bryman explains, the version of the past as seen at theme parks is subject to vast amounts of nostalgia arranged around fictional spaces which not only results in an overtly constructed account of the past, but also, 'serves to link the warm feelings inspired by nostalgia to consumption.'(cited in Wasko 2001:158). These sites are built and constructed so that the images they produce and re-produce are consumed, and bought into, and often dispersed within society. In this way then, theme parks are sites in which experiences and memories are 'produce[d], package[d and sold] as commodities' (Wasko 2001:158)

Theme parks and themed sites also target and legitimate the type of visitor that comes to the site, i.e. that certain groups of people are expected to visit and by so doing maintain the ideals and principles for which the space stands. In *The Birth of the Museum*, and looking at social control and surveillance Bennett (1995) addresses the way in which institutions, such as galleries and museums, grew out of panoptic power relations in surveillance institutions, such as prisons. In these early spaces, visitors were watched and controlled not only by the owners or curators in terms of what they could see and how they had to act in these spaces, but were also exercising self control and decorum in being around others. Society was thus being watched, and watching itself. These principles of surveillance and self- and group conforming are to greater or lesser extents also visible in theme parks, such as Gold Reef City. In sites such as Gold Reef City, general aspects of society and their ideals are alluded to. In this way then, themed environments are reinforced by the visitors, and this encourages mutual self- determination. In fact, in the case of the Disneyworlds, which can be argued to revolve around the family unit as visitor, [depicts families] in various ways throughout the parks… middle-class families are portrayed, for, as most analysts point out, the ideals and values depicted in the parks are decidedly middle class.' (Wasko 2001:162) While Gold Reef City also places quite heavy interest in the middle- class family, especially those with children, it also

seems to target pockets of groups in the way that it markets different facilities within the park.

Anderson (cited in Handler 1987:338), although looking more at the idea of living museums in which the space and theme is animated through the way in which staff and the visitors participate in the re-creating of processes associated with it and its past, aspects of this may be applied to Gold Reef City. Examples of living museums would include Colonial Williamsburg in the United States
of America (Colonial Williamsburg Living History Museum, accessed 15 June 2007 on the World Wide Web.
http://www.history.org/foundation/)
and Skansen in Sweden (Skansen Open Air Museum, accessed 15 June 2007 on the World Wide Web. www.skansen.se)

Anderson (cited in Handler 1987: 338) defines living history as 'the simulation of life in another time', and that museum staff use living history to interpret the life of the past to the public, while reenacting past processes is seen as recreation. It is fair to say then, that living history is above all concerned with attempting to provide realistic or authentic experiences of past times or events. It is this theatricality and sense of performance which is common in both living museums and theme parks.

While there is an amount of lived experience at sites like Gold Reef City; experience that many visitors would regard as authentic; in contrast, other analysts have pointed to theme parks as an amalgam of wholly synthetic experiences. They represent what Eco (1990) and Baudrillard (Accessed 2 June 2007 from the World Wide Web, www.ctheory.net/articles.aspx?id=158), amongst others, have called 'hyperreality' (Wasko 2001: 177), and that themed spaces function or are examples of simulacra of historical events and places, 'a middlebrow impersonation of an epic story that never took place.' (Wilson in Smoodin 1994:128) in which authentic experiences of a past are expected and looked forward to.

In visiting the theme park, and the way in which they often position themselves as being an, or 'the', important site to see for a reliable, essential historical or cultural experience, one is perhaps able to liken this visit to a type of pilgrimage, in which visitors seek something they can identify with. While a pilgrimage is mostly associated with religion, or themes relevant to a faith, it has come to be associated with secular knowledge and pursuits. One may want to make a journey to a specific site which signifies a cultural meaning or a moral belief for them. It is therefore, too, a search for something in sacred sites and centres. It is as though the position of the theme park is as the pinnacle of information, with a reverent tone even being assigned to it. It would thus place Gold Reef City in a spiritual light, and one in which visitors may feel that they can obtain cultural or historical and blessing, a sense of the natural order and a spiritual or enlightened place. Clifford (1997: 39) describes this travel as being less informed by class or gender, and more by 'sacred meanings', which sites like theme parks may offer certain visitors.

### 3.2 Eco's hyperreality

Both Eco (1990) and Baudrillard (Accessed 2 June 2007 from the World Wide Web, www.ctheory.net/articles.aspx?id=158) highlight the idea of hyperreality, as a result of the way in which spaces which have been consciously created in mimicry of another site, theme or set of practices result in the construction of what Eco calls the 'Absolute' or 'authentic fake' (1990:40) Baudrillard describes this hyperreal site as 'The simulation of something which never really existed'. (Accessed 2 June 2007 from the World Wide Web, www.ctheory.net/articles.aspx?id=158). In fact, one of the main qualities of hyperealistic space is that one is often unable to determine whether it is real or not, i.e. more aptly, how much of the space is fantasy. It is the creation of a space in which seeming aspects of reality are packaged mostly in degrees of fantasy, but in such a way as to appear real. It is the simulation and imitation of a transient simulacrum of reality (1990:40-41).

Eco describes and critiques examples of theme parks, in particularly the Disney branded sites, and the way in which they embody hyperreality. Eco writes that it is as

if they were literally created out of nothing (1990:40), and sites like Disneyworld, made to look like a city, is one only in a metaphorical sense (1990:43). In fact, Eco describes them as ' "message" cit[ies], entirely made up of signs, not cit[ies] like the others, which communicate in order to function, but rather a city that functions in order to communicate' (1990:40). Eco also highlights the term 'degenerate utopia' as a means to articulate how he describes hyperreality existing in spaces where one sees ideolog[ies] realized in the form of myth (1990:43).

In highlighting the way in which the context of the city occurs and is noticed, Eco discusses how the 'surrounding city context and the iron fencing (as well as the admission ticket) warn us that we are entering not a real city but a toy city' (1990:41). However, as one moves further into the constructed city, it is difficult not to be taken in by illusion, and get caught up in what Eco terms, the 'realism of the reconstruction' (1990:41).

### 3.3 The Gold Reef City tour narrative

Gold Reef City's tour, 'Jozi's Story of Gold' consists of an introductory video presentation, an underground tour, a visit to the three replica mining houses and thereafter the gold pour. Within each, there is a story told; both to orientate, elaborate and explain. Presumably, these stories would be aimed at answering many of the standard questions asked by visitors, and quite simply feed into the already structured and standardized gaze on South Africa and Johannesburg existent for foreign visitors. It features a young boy named Veli, who is dressed in a school uniform and Joe, the scruffy prospector, who appears to Veli as he is panning for gold, presumably on a school trip to the theme park. While the inclusion of some black people in the tour as actors and props has been a change since the park opened and prior to 1994, the narrative itself has still not shifted as dramatically. The inclusion of a schoolboy in the overall tour narrative already indicates the way in which Gold Reef City positions itself as an educational site, and that as one participates in the tour, one is about to learn and prospect. There is a sense that one is about to 'discover' as both Joe and Veli would do or have done. However, the

outcomes of this prospecting and discovery will follow the same courses and have the same ending. The outcome of the prospecting has been fixed.

The tour itself , however, leaves little to be discovered apart from that which is shown or experienced. One walks and experiences in straight lines i.e. one is not free to engage or question or undertake the tour on one's own course, that which is shown and in a sense then one is following a set timeline of city experience, and a rigid understanding of lived experience within the city. It explains itself as the concise and definitive idea that this is what it must have been like for previous residents. The controlled walking means that the city has already been laid out for the visitor, with specific images highlighted and emphasized. This also emphasises the way in which the story has been created and developed as being a product of specific agency and interests. Who produces the story here? Who is this narrative or story for? Why is it shaped this way? How much agency can visitors have while taking part?

### 3.3.1 The 'Rich Beginnings' introduction

'A unique experience awaits you as you enter the historical world of Gold Reef City...invite you to join Veli, a modern day school boy as he takes the journey of a lifetime…magical trip down memory lane will tell you about the discovery of gold, how Johannesburg came into being and how the lives of men and women formed an integral part of a rich and fascinating heritage.' *('Jozi's Story of Gold' pamphlet, Johannesburg: Gold Reef City)*

The tour, as mentioned, begins with a fifteen- minute video presentation, their 'Golden Heritage Introductory Movie', in their 'Rich Beginnings' theatre. This video is explained as being an overall introduction to the history of the founding and development of Johannesburg as a mining town. Perhaps what is more interesting in a discussion of these narratives is an awareness and examination of what or who has been left out of the story or only given a cursory mention. In using the term 'heritage' in relation to this tour, Gold Reef City is placing the content within a

specific context, and again further emphasising the view of their park as guarding against the death of history and offering a past for everyone. Heritage here is, ironically, meant universally for Johannesburg. The theme of agency and identity are made more noticeable throughout the tour, as one travels from one realm of Victorian Johannesburg to another. The tour, if looked at in terms of de Certeau, consists of a series of linear walks, ones in which one is unable to divert the story told, be diverted or change the direction of the sites visited. The settings of each of the components are starkly contrasted against one another, and there are quite brutal changes in scenery and feeling. This is not an easy tour to follow and does not flow or create a sense of unity, either in content or one's own involvement and understanding of the 'city' and one's own place in it.




Figure 3- The 'Rich Beginnings Theatre'
Photograph taken by researcher

This story begins with the sound of African miners singing, combined with images of Randlords and well- known personalities, as well as architectural, geographical and media representations of Johannesburg, both past and present. Thereafter, one sees a young boy in a school uniform, with Gold Reef City as the background, 'panning' for gold. In the reflection of the water he sees the image of a prospector, named Joe (played by well- known South African actor Ian Roberts). Joe begins to tell Veli, the young boy, the story of the founding of Johannesburg. The dialogue is interspersed with observations, colloquialisms and is generally informal.

Throughout the narrative, there is the notion that gold was first discovered, found and its importance realized here, and now visitors would be doing the same '…And right now you're doing exactly what those first prospectors did, pan, pan, pan- desperate for that first glimpse of gold.'

The area in which gold was 'discovered', and in fact the entire terrain, is described as 'barren', and devoid of any inhabitants apart from a few scattered farmers,

'Let me take you back, back to the days when men poured onto this barren highveld, poured into these gold fields like ore into a crusher.'

'Veli: So there was nothing here-just veld and rocks?'

and

'Joe: Hahaha, the land was largely uninhabited back then, just a scattering of farmers'

It would seem then, that due to the 'discovery' of gold by these men, they had earned the right to own this land i.e. that with the finding of gold automatically came ownership of the land,

'…gold here for the taking…but first …had to buy pieces of land from the existing farmers…that was a big part of the gold rush, son- the rush to get the rights to the land- to stake your claim'

It also denies the possibility of gold being used or found anywhere else. The narrative speaks of the global economic importance of the gold being found here, and the impact this 'discovery' was to have for the future of South Africa,

'The discovery of gold was big, son. The biggest ever in the history of the world …Back then a country measured its wealth and the strength of their currency by the amount of gold they had. The discovery of gold here on the Witwatersrand meant people in governments the world over were ready and willing to buy it.'

and

‘when the government first proclaimed the goldfields- that was the birth of the South African gold mining industry. That proclamation changed the future of South Africa forever.’

In this we have the decisive link between the founding of the gold mining industry, and the implied impact on the country. It also implies the way in which the past has influenced and allowed for the country’s economic position on a global scale, and has seen the development of the stock exchange. It is the assertion of the history of a national institution, used for international gain and reputation. The founding of the goldfields presupposed the existence of a South African ‘nation’ and identity. History, here, is being used to assert the global market value of gold. Gold is thus made more important as a commodity and as a pillar of the country’s wealth, personality and past.

Gold is also the main commodity in the Gold Reef City story of the past, and as such they place high emphasis on the retention of their story of gold mining, and use this within their marketing. Aspects of the story told in the tour echo part of what can be found on the Gold Reef City website, regarding the importance the theme park places on the fighting against the death of history, and the emphasis that should be placed on learning about the past,

‘Veli: Why do I need to go all the way back?

Joe: So you understand what it was like back then, son. If you don’t understand the past, how do you know how you got here, how do you know where you’re going, hmm?’

Apart from the singing by African miners at the beginning if the video, one is denied any real indication of non-European influence and inhabitants. In fact the only other time any indication is made of other inhabitants is when Joe explains how Johannesburg was also called *iGoli* by migrant labourers, ‘Eventually it had another name too. All the migrant labourers flooding into the mine fields called the place ‘*iGoli*’, the place of gold, son, the place of gold.’

Certainly, mention of the type of lifestyle and working conditions were made, but absent within this discussion is any explanation of the mechanisms of later migrant labour practices and hardships. Rather, it speaks of the tenacity of the prospectors, their resolve and their ability to live in rough, dangerous conditions and create the country's wealth; as well as give them credit for the country's development. While men are not described in good terms, it is still nevertheless a story of male industriousness, told from a masculine perspective. The story also paints them as rather shady, gold-hungry and undesirable characters, who were prone to voracious 'gold fever', and as the city started to establish itself, frequented drinking establishments and brothels. This also seems to add to the atmosphere, both of the video, and of the impression of the City in those early days. The prospector becomes a lovable, risk- taking rogue.

'The bars and hotels were full of miners spending their earnings on wine, women and song. It was pretty bleak for some, very rough. Working in extremely dangerous conditions and overall the thud, thud, thud…crushing rock could be heard all day, all night.'

Indications of the wealth and political influence of the mining industry during those early days, as well as now, are also hinted at, without any interrogation and any form of critique,

'companies headed by men like Cecil John Rhodes, Alfred Beit, Barney Barnato, Abe Bailey and Sammy Marks. These men became known as the Randlords. And all the money they made, made them powerful, and bought them political influence, built them beautiful homes, mansions on the ridges overlooking town. Some are still standing today.'

and

'Today, some of the top gold mines of this country produce over 20 tons of gold in a year. It was a massive achievement son, it makes South Africa the leading gold producer in the world and since those early beginnings we provided 35% of all the gold ever mined.'

Throughout the entire tour, Gold Reef City clearly places itself as having been and still is the primary place to visit for any glimpse into gold mining history in Johannesburg. When Veli asks Joe how and where he could learn more this past Joe replies,

You go and explore, hmm? Take a look around…It's about time you all take a look around as well. Go see for yourselves. We have 3 mining house museums- Ohltaver House, the Dowse House and the Oosthuizen House, the gold pour and the trip down the mine itself. All still to be experienced. It's time to step back into the past. Enjoy the Gold Reef City Experience!'

### 3.3.2 The Underground Mine Tour

'descend into the depths of the earth and discover the riches of our history. Experience the heart-stopping feeling of travelling deep below the surface. Feel the cold air and touch the rough rock that holds the wealth of a nation.'
*('Jozi's Story of Gold' pamphlet, Johannesburg: Gold Reef City)*
This description uses emotive language in order to pre-empt the heightening of tactile experience that Gold Reef City predicts will happen during the tour underground, and also to emphasise or attempt to create a sense of nation and national belonging around gold. Here, an awareness of the author of this story, i.e. Gold Reef City, is needed. They never make it explicit who they are addressing as the 'our' and 'nation' in this tour, and never make their own intentions in using these descriptions and in appealing to certain visitors.

During the underground tour, one is given much information regarding the technical and geological aspects of mining. The tour guide provides visitors with scripted information describing the location and nature of the gold seam and gold layers, mining apparatus, explosives, blasting and dynamite, water levels and pumping underground, as well as gasses and air quality.

One particular aspect of this underground tour narrative deals with the underground health stations, which were used for daily safety meetings. It was here that the first mention or indication that the vast majority of miners were not European i.e. the first attempt at indicating that black miners faced the extreme danger and stress associated with mining. The guide describes the area as a 'safety station…so the mine workers held a safety meeting here every morning…issues of safety are of paramount importance… dangerous job in a hostile environment'. One is also aware of the posters that adorn the walls in the area, and the guide explains that they emphasise the importance of being aware of the dangers at all times.' He explains that the language used on the posters is '*Fanagalo*', and that it is a language created from English, Afrikaans and Zulu. In an attempt to further draw out the underemphasized point of who worked here, he says that, '[we must not] forget that there were locals as well as foreigners working on the mines…' He adds that 'Even in modern mines they are speaking in *Fanagalo*…80% *Fanagalo* is Zulu, and 20 English and Afrikaans…plus minus only 2000 words…'




Figure 4- Posters at the underground safety stations, with posters in 'Fanagalo'
Photograph taken by researcher

Later, as visitors are told of the drilling process and how dynamite is placed within the rocks, we are introduced to Philemon the miner. It is when visitors meet with Philemon that a more definite sense of the hardships and strenuous work entailed in mining is gained. Here one is told of the way in which the process of blasting, installing support in the roof and walls is carried out, as well as the danger associated with dynamite and gas fumes.

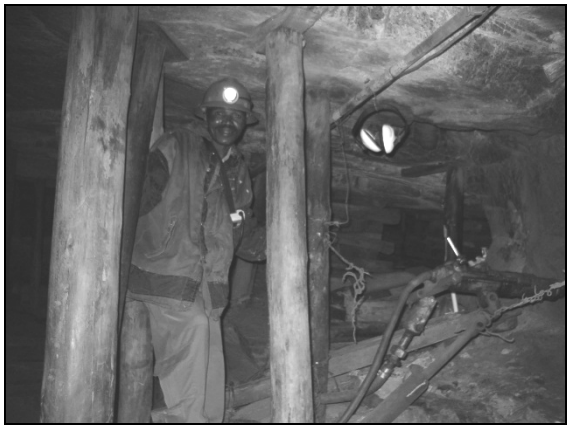


Figure 5- 'Philemon the Miner'
Photograph taken by researcher

Philemon is asked how he is feeling, and the tour guide explains that '[there was] no electricity down here, so workers worked by candlelight…how the early mineworkers would have cut out rock…[using] chisels, [a] hammer and [by] chipping into rock, [it would] take 8 hours…[later, they began to use a] jackhammer…so Philemon is going to demonstrate, [it is very] very loud, you might want to block your ears…'
In this encounter with what has been provided as being a representative of 'a miner', one is given a momentary glimpse of danger, a thirty second thrill ride into the world of gold mining. It does not matter that you are not holding the jackhammer now or at any time, the mere excitement at experiencing danger below the ground allows visitors the opportunity to participate in the show. This theatricality is based on the idea of spectacle. Merely through the fact that the miner has been named, with what can only be described as a common name, and stands in close proximity (in fact, waiting for visitor groups) the act of drilling has been set up, for curious onlookers to experience authentic mine work. This stop on the tour, surrounded by beams and rock supports coupled with the noise, cramped and claustrophobic environment only seeks to heighten the sense of danger that visitors are expected and promoted to

experience. However, it still does not validate the underground experience on the whole, and in fact only creates more of an unauthentic atmosphere in the way in which time has stood still for us to be able to experience this, as if on a conveyor belt towards the next underground 'reality'. It also goes further in juxtaposing the ideas of safety and danger, them and us, and creating a sense of relief that visitors do not have to participate in a miner's life on a daily basis.

This is a hint of what it might have been like for miners to work underground on a day to day basis. However, all visitors are safe from their same experience. The tour guide does then describe the length of time it would take miners to reach the level to be worked on, and the time it would take to return, as well as a reminder of the heat involved. However, visitors did not go underground for up to ten hours at a time and work in cramped, hot, dark and fearful conditions. While Anderson speaks generally about the way in which experiences in the present are transferred to the past in seemingly authentic settings, he warns against the 'project[ion of] our cultural relativism onto earlier ways of life' (Anderson cited in Handler 1987:339). Rassool and Witz (1996:347) highlight the way in which visitors, although searching for and having seemingly found the authentic experience, could never fully understand the experiences of a miner, or be a part of the miner's reality and authentic mining experience; they could never really know what it was like.



Figure 6- Digging in a new direction, setting up the framework
Photograph taken by researcher

### 3.3.3 The mining family houses

When visiting the houses towards the end of the tour, one is abruptly taken out of the underground experience- the darkness, atmosphere and its emphasis on mechanics- and shown around three houses, of which each 'resident' was to have had some unique link to the mining city of yesteryear. One is told that if you were a certain type of person, mostly professional you would be able to live the same way. The houses are described according to the stereotypical family that lived there, and the peculiarities that that would have allowed their house to be used in this way. There is the mine official's house, the Afrikaans/ Trek Boer family home and the schoolhouse. Each is made to stand as representative for which are explained as standard houses for that time period. Some pieces within the house are 'typical', whether it be the décor, the clothing or the *Vierkleur* hanging on a wall.

Far from the darkness of the mines, and the danger, these areas are safe, and civilized with television narratives describing the way in which etiquette and decorum were found here. There is a sense of opulence in the Ohltaver house, juxtaposed with the simplicity of the Oosthuizen house. Each house, constructed with a certain interest in mind seems to be set out to appeal to a specific visitor. These houses seem to be consciously constructed and emphasized to appeal to the European visitor, and perhaps Gold Reef City has not added any example of the interior life of a black mine worker, in order to avoid making the juxtaposition between the houses and lifestyles too noticeable. It is as though they do not believe there to be any interest in the interior life of the black miner, and that they are therefore thinking for the visitor. One is given the impression that to live in Johannesburg would have been like this without the squalor, crime and grime. These are also white, European family houses, and the sense of connectedness with some visitors may be enhanced.

However, one is invited to step out of present into the past, and through the use of particular language, one is expected to find amusement, admiration for the way life was carried out, while at the same time be assured that once this tour is over, you are able to step back into the present. In fact, there is never the real sense of leaving the present.



Figure 7,8,9- Interiors of the mining houses on the Gold Reef City tour
Photographs taken by researcher

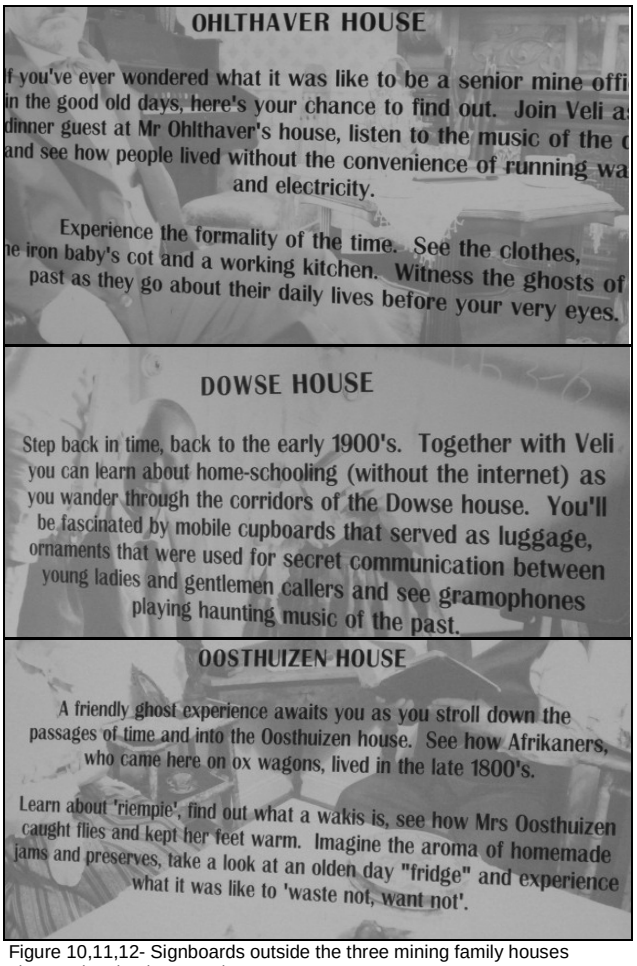



Figure 10,11,12- Signboards outside the three mining family houses
Photographs taken by researcher

### 3.3.4 The Gold Pour

'experience of the heart, soul and mind that you will never forget'
*('Jozi's Story of Gold' pamphlet, Johannesburg: Gold Reef City)*

(Narrative from an imagined mine worker -sounds of chipping, knocking rock and metal, whistling)
'Imagine what it would have been like at 4:30 am on a cold Highveld morning…am waiting at the top of a mine shaft…cold up here, warm down there…there, set the charges, blasting, find rocks have been blasted yesterday…drilling more holes, you yawn. Its early, always early. Sweating, hot down here…smell of man, rock, dynamite. Rock always taken away, follow man away…sweat stains away…roof gets closer, nearly at stone, man turns around, white teeth, swearing already…pile of broken rock in your way…rock is black cant see the gold inside. One day they will have you pulling…watch as the shaft skip arrives, take it to the crushers…all mixed together…big pile of powder… 'cyanidisation'…sold to South African Reserve Bank, sold overseas…bullion durable and malleable…'



Figure 13- Participants are given a chance to see gold being poured, and feel the final product
Photograph taken by researcher

This, the last part of the tour, involves, as did the underground tour, immersion in darkness, while an audio narrative is played to locate the listener. It too, is an abrupt leap from the light and 'safety' of the house museums. Visitors are searched before sitting down, and one immediately made aware through this gesture that this is real gold, valuable gold, and must be regarded with a sense of reverence and awe. There is also a sense of danger, linked to the formality and sense of occasion one is about to experience. It is as though one is blessed in being able to witness and

experience something as rare, beautiful and even spiritual as this. This is the pinnacle of the pilgrimage. Visitors witness the theatricality and the heat of the staged gold- pouring, all of which lasts about ten minutes. This then, this setting molten gold, is the apex of the tour, and the pinnacle of the experience. All the other aspects of this tour have led to this moment. Its wonder is amplified by the darkness and the glowing wealth being molded and cooled. No mention of the real origins of this gold is made, apart from the introductory monologue by an African miner, but that is quickly subsumed and drowned by the sensory experience of seeing Johannesburg opulence on this created stage.

After the gold has set, visitors are allowed to see close up and touch the gold bar, under high surveillance and with a sense of reverence made more noticeable. The bar is placed on a velvet cushion, only to be melted down again, in a never ending cycle of gold mining myth perpetuation.

### 3.4. The Gold Reef City 'museum'

Gold Reef City is also home to a small 'museum'. While it deals mainly with the geological outlay of Johannesburg and the physical structure of Number 14 shaft on which the theme park is built, it does also house copies of photographs, sketches and personal memorabilia related to life on the mines for migrant workers and early Johannesburg inhabitants. Perhaps the most striking aspect related to the 'museum' is that it is not part of or even mentioned during the standard tour. Hardly noticeable from the outside, it would be overlooked by the vast majority of visitors, and was generally empty during visits to the park.

For the purposes of this report, the nature of a set of photographs on display will be looked at in terms of how they relate to the story of Johannesburg's gold mining past, and the way in which certain people's agencies and walks through the city have been inserted in a space associated with concretizing and re- presenting 'history'. Trachtenberg (1989: 6) writes that photographs are, 'free to serve any representational function desired by a photographer and his audience. It is by virtue

of motives, desires, and choices beyond the medium itself that images become tokens of a relation between then and now, between the 'having been' and the 'is'. Images become history… when they are used to interpret the present in light of the past, when they are presented and received as explanatory accounts of collective reality.' Images should also, as Frosh (2003: 91) writes be examined in terms of their fitting into or altering of the context in which they are found or produced i.e. 'The way in which photography and the images presented/represented become part of social memory, social consciousness as a reality, depends on the context too and the framing surrounding the image' (2003:91)

This research report understands the nature of photographs and consequent visual analysis to be based on certain theories posed by Sontag and Eco (both cited in Wells 1997) and Bester (2005). Sontag looks at theories of realism, and stresses, 'the referential nature of the photograph both in terms of its iconic properties and in terms of its indexical nature.' (cited in Wells 1997: 26) For Sontag, the existence of the photograph itself does testify to the actuality of how something, someone or somewhere once happened (cited in Wells 1997: 26) However, the photograph is never a neutral text, and can be said to exist indexically. In a sense then, the photograph acts as a simulacrum for en event or person (Eco cited in Wells 1997:26). Wells (1997:21) writes that, 'in postmodernity it may be that the photograph has no referent in the wider world and can be understood or critiqued only in terms of its own internal aesthetic organization.' Realist theories of photography also stress the points,

- that the photograph itself as an aesthetic artifact;
- second, the institutions of photography and the position and behavior of photographers;
- third, the viewer or audience and the context in which the image is used, encountered and consumed. (Wells 1997: 26)

In looking at photography and visual analysis, it should certainly be important not only to examine the photograph as object, but as an object in a particular space,

which Wells alludes to. While the nature of the photograph- its content and context of creation- can be ascertained as best as possible, it is nevertheless not completely knowable. However, the context in which the images, and its associated meanings, are placed are indeed also vital for an overall understanding of the way in which they alter, reflect or encourage narratives and ideological factors in their existence. Bester (2005: 10-12) looks at the way in which photography highlights and explains viewers' and photographers' relation to the space in which the image is taken, i.e. Bester looks at photography as a text, cultural artifact and indicator of walking in and negotiating meaning and place in the city. It is to this end that this research report looks at photographic images and certain other visuality present in this 'museum' and how this indicates a story of gold mining, and of the city, and how experiences of the city have influenced the way in which photographs have been taken and displayed, and identities negotiated through processes of selection and omission. In alluding to the nature of the power in choosing and photographing subjects and spaces, Bester writes that,

'the photograph [is] a fragment, a moment in time. Even when composed in an essay with extensive and detailed captions, photographs can never pretend to offer a complete view …The point of view of the photographer often changes, thereby creating a set of views into the city that are never static…In taking up the photograph, there are a number of critical perspectives that need to be maintained. For example, what is readable (i.e. photographable) and what is unreadable in the city? Where is the movement of the photographer hindered or restricted, and where is it free?'(2005: 11)




Figures 14 and 15- Views of the interior of the 'museum'
Photographs taken by researcher

The overall theme evident in the following photographs stands in contrast to the material covered in the tour. The photographs on display in this 'museum' exist in no particular order, but depict aspects of life in the mining compounds, in the mines themselves or making a living as a result of the growing influx of people to the area. They are not grouped into any particular sequence, but are merely hung over the central display of the geological layout of the Witwatersrand area. They exist without any information boards or explanation of purpose. Some are more captioned than others. In general, the displays within this space are 'flat', while these photographs border on derogatory. In fact many echo a statement by Levson in his introduction to a photographic exhibition focusing on miners in the Free State (in Minkley and Rassool 1999: 7)

'These photographs are intended as an introduction to the Bantu peoples of South Africa at this crucial time in their development, as they strive to pass from their primitive way of life into the stream of the Western world…the mines depend on an abundance of labour…these thousands of primitive folk return after their short terms of service to their far-away homes, taking a smattering of western 'civilisation' and the strange mixture of good and evil they have picked up…'

Within much Gold Reef City discourse, and imagery, one finds descriptions and allusions to the idea of the 'tribal'. Indeed, as Rassool and Witz (1996:345) write,

part of the original mine tours in the 1940s and 1950s focused largely around the idea of the ‘tribalness’ of the miners, and the way in which they lived on the mines. Tribal dancing was a regular, looked forward to part of the experience, with miners seemingly showing off their talents and culture in authentic, unplanned circumstances. Rassool and Witz (1996: 345) write that ‘dancing was experienced as an expression of the ‘innate savagery of the native’, when ‘the cloak of civilization [was] thrown aside’ and that there was cohesiveness between their ‘tribality’ and the civilization which had been given to them on the mines.



Figure 16- ‘Mine boys’




Figure 17- ‘Mine boys leaving the Rand. The Natives on the mines stay about 6 months and then return to their kraals. A blanket and 1 or 2 primitive cooking utensils usually constitute their travelling luggage’

Within Johannesburg history discourse, one is made aware of the notion of *uitlander*, and many authors, such as Mandy (1984:10), point out that the City was always known for its 'foreigners'. It questions the way in which people have been allowed to form identities based on the function they serve and the graded claims they have on space in the city. However, what one sees at Gold Reef City is a hierarchy within Johannesburg residents, in terms of their transience. One also sees a dichotomy between 'them' and 'us', and it seems as though there is also a definite 'civilised' and 'uncivilised' split, especially when referring to European owners and black miners. Language is often used in this museum to invoke these ideas. In Figure 17, there is a definite reference to both the transience and the uncivilised nature of the 'mine boy'. It seems to imply that with transience and due to the fact that one is only exposed to the city for short periods , it allows only a small amount of civilization to be gained. The 'city', at Gold Reef City, is equated with civilization.

In terms of identity and as a result of both racial discrimination and labour restrictions, it meant that only certain residents were Johannesburgers, while others merely passed through the space, and their identity was formed on this basis. They were not able to form an identity based on the city itself and the processes , but rather they formed an identity in opposition to the city and its processes. They lived around, away from and made trips to the city. On the other hand one may also view this as indicative of the way in which essential identity was retained away from the city space and its influences. Put bluntly, black miners were instrumental in defining the city and its wealth and status. However, they were not allowed freedom and access in getting the city to allow them the lasting 'civilized' identity which is associated with the city. They were the migrant mine labourers who worked *in* Johannesburg, but lived elsewhere. The presentation of mine workers at Gold Reef City reinforces the idea of them as transient, and 'uncivilised'.

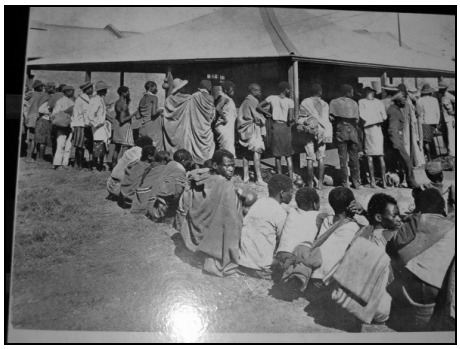


Figure 18-'Natives in the Witwatersrand Labour Association showing their passes'



Figure 19- 'Johannesburg street life-A typical scene depicting street hawkers displaying wares chiefly of interest to Natives'



Figure 20-'The roll call- Four thousand Chinese coolies (sic) on the Simmer and Jack Mines.'



Figure 21- 'Chinese coolies(sic) at work underground'



Figure 22-Life on the compounds- tribal dances and The layout if the compound. (no caption provided by Gold Reef City)

Please note: Figures 8- 14 are photographs on display in the 'museum', no photographer name is given. For this report, the researcher has re- photographed them.

Bester, in *Johannesburg Circa Now* (2005: 10-12) examines more closely the intersection between the formulation and use of the 'city' and the medium of photography, as a way of representing one's negotiation of city experience, as well

as a way for various publics to understand city experience. Bester writes that, 'photography becomes not only a record of the city, but a connector between the public space of the city and publics who 'consume' the city.' ( 2005:10) His work combines theories used in analysing photographic and visual imagery, as well as work on spatial theory by de Certeau, for example. His work offers insight into the way in which publics reconstruct the city space, as well as their own involvement and place within this arrangement. Bester writes that, 'Photography is a useful example of both an exploration of the city and the methodological use of spatial theory in such an exploration…the photograph is a record of walking. Its accumulative effect is a body of evidence that attests to the ways in which photographers and their subjects walk meaning into the city. In this sense, the photograph is central to an understanding of space.' (2005:11) In terms of the way in which they are able to make the city 'readable', it is their 'inherent narrative weakness – a small fragment of time and space [which] makes them sit less clearly within space or place and rather somewhere between the two. This is what makes photographs so interesting in relation to the city and its meaning.' (2005:11)

In applying it to the photographs within the 'museum', one may be able to both look at how these photographs are indicators of past experience for those who lived in the city then, as well as offer insight to the way in which they may feed into a renegotiation of identity and place for the globalizing city of Johannesburg. Bester draws attention to the way in which movement and patterns of movement are important in looking at the way in which cities are defined and created, i.e. the way in which they become practiced spaces (2005:10). In terms of photography, the images are largely disconnected from each other, but when used together they form a series of repeated 'routes' and can thus be seen as spatial practices and allow meaning to be made. (Bester 2005:12)

Not only can these photographs indicate the way in which the city was lived for certain people, or groups of people, and how their place was negotiated, but they are also able to offer one the chance to situate the way in which a certain story of gold mining in Johannesburg has been formulated, i.e. the way in which a formulation of

the city has been allowed for and displayed. This is also in opposition to the way in which the tour neglects to mention this museum at all. For Bester, and for the purposes of this report, it is important to ask questions related to agency and context. In terms of the walking through city space, Bester writes that, 'Walking is the critical text of the city, more so than the image projects by the city itself. It is where meaning is at its most powerful and where it has the most effect. The city that ignores walking is the city that ignores the momentum of interpretation. And without the possibility and momentum of localised interpretations every city dies.' (2005: 14-15) '

Here one would be interested in not only looking at the way in which walking in the city space has occurred for the subjects in these photographs, but the way in which these images have walked and circulate throughout the city space. Bester writes that, 'As consumption's real potential resides in the different ways in which consumers use products that are not of their own making. So, rather than being a passive act in strict accordance with the producer's intentions and instructions, consumption is an act of secondary or silent (or re-)production where alternative and contradictory meanings emerge in contradistinction to the intentionality of its original production (Bester 2005:14-15). He adds that 'the presence and circulation of a representation … tells us nothing about what it is for its users. We must first analyse its manipulation by users who are not its makers. Only then can we gauge the difference or similarity between the production of the image and the secondary production hidden in the process of its utilization. (Bester 2005: 14-15)

In this case, the photographs have been taken and placed in this space to fulfill a purpose. Bester writes that, 'photographs taken, developed and printed still remain invisible unless circulated. Circulation itself always has limits. An art exhibition or coffee table book often leaves invisibility large and looming, a newspaper or billboard less so. The role of the photograph in the production of the meaning of the city is largely contingent on the mode of its use and circulation.' (Bester 2005:12)

It places the subjects in the photographs in another space, and thus are liable to another set of views. The images are thus dislocated even further from their original state. For this report the photographs have become situated within an academic study, so now they are not only liable to be looked at in terms of a change of space, but one that propounds a set of investigative principles, and a different understanding of them and their meanings. Frosh writes that, 'the indexical connection of the image with its referent, and the specific context of its production, is replaced by a principle of generic similarity and iconic equivalence between images. (2003: 92)

These images were necessarily posed and taken for specific purposes. While there is no definite indication of what they may be, one can only assume that they were meant to advertise and advocate mine work, the safety and state of the mine workers in relation to their surroundings and highlight the difference for visitors between them and the 'other'. They seem to be almost documentary-like, in the way that the captions and poses exhibit certain language and technique. These photographs were taken from a certain standpoint, as is always the case, but one should be aware of what this means for the people within the image as well as those behind the lens. Upon taking photographs, a photographer dissects the image and places the subject, the viewed, in a particular subjective, even invasive position. This photographer, and other subsequent viewers, place the image within their own frame of reference and imbue it with meanings. The relationship between viewer and the viewed is essentially one of power, and the act of selection. Bester writes that, 'The relationship between photography and power is critical to the theorization of the practice. The most forceful articulations of this relationship clearly locate photography as a strategy of place. At one level it is the photographer who has power over his or her subject.' (Bester 2005:12)

Interestingly though, the presence of the Chinese migrant workers in the mines is more prevalent in this space than within the tour, albeit with no background or explanation. There are not only visual traces, but on the furthest wall from the entrance one finds a large Chinese tapestry.



Figures 23 and 24- Back wall with Chinese tapestry. Below this are pencil sketches of many of the famous randlords and mine bosses.
Photographs taken by researcher

It would seem, generally, that this 'museum' exists as part of an older Gold Reef City, and older Gold Reef City narrative. It is; however, open to the public free of charge, while one is charged to participate in the tour. Both sites exist alongside each other, and focus on different aspects of the same theme of gold mining in Johannesburg.




Figures 25,26,27- Aspects of the mining 'museum' dealing with more contemporary issues- mine safety, and the risks associated with mining.
Photographs taken by researcher

### 3.5 An imagined Johannesburg as mining town

In looking at the way in which Gold Reef City re-presents Johannesburg as a mining town, this report argues that it is necessary to interrogate how the story is told and how it encapsulates mining and compare this with the gold mining industry being responsible for deaths, illness and exploitation of its employees. It should be kept in mind that the whole economy and political situation was built on the backs of overexploited and vulnerable miners. Again, this section seeks not to give an historical recounting of dates and events, but rather to examine the dominant themes and hegemonic ideologies. The story told at Gold Reef City is one that glorifies gold, democracy of space and life in the early mining camps. However, the cracks are starting to be more noticeable in the way that the mining industry operates, as well as represented in media. How is this addressed, if at all, at Gold Reef City? With the influence and overwhelming presence of the media, the Gold Reef City narrative is shown to be in sharp contrast to what is really happening, and as such this media may be rapidly diminishing the tangibility of gold mining history at GR, or does it? While tensions are easier to see in the media, it may in fact have the opposite effect of merely pushing people further from harsh reality to the veneered 'historicity' which is so evident at Gold Reef City. Wasko (2001: 164) writes that, 'once history is reduced to a series of technical innovations, rather than genuine change, the past can be retold as an imperfect rehearsal for the present, full of the same old moral lesions that support the prevailing ideologies of today.'

In *South Africa: A World in One Country,* Rassool and Witz write that when analyzing tourist spaces, especially those that are marketed as destinations representative of the country's culture and history, one should be aware that it necessarily entails an examination of the 'construction, packaging, transmission and consumption of images and representation of society and its past' (1996:336) . It is, therefore, not only important to look at the images and spaces themselves, but the motivations and ideologies which brought about the proliferation of the images and the site popularity. While the article deals largely with the notion of South Africa as seen through tourist images and gazes, it does, however, provide the opportunity to apply this to the various sites they discuss.

In particular these authors examine, in depth, the way in which the tourist gaze on not only South Africa, but the various aspects and destinations they describe have been constructed by various institutions and tourist practices. They point out that the images (over)used and resultant gaze do not 'merely consist of the random production and reproduction of South African tourist moments by a set of mediating institutions.' The images are borne out of a particular history, and the further entrenchment of these images within tourism, Rassool and Witz write, is a product of their 'encounter with the expectations of the international traveler.' (1996: 336) The result of this process is that South Africa and the sites visited are subject to an essentialisation; that is, tourist destinations are reduced to images that have been viewed or read about by visitors beforehand. Rassool and Witz argue that the result is therefore a set of snapshots of South Africa and its past …[and the country] 'is reduced to a collection of media moments constructed in the relationship between the tourist and the industry, (1996: 336 )'

While much research and academic work has already been done on the topic of Gold Reef City's presentation of an 'imagined' Johannesburg, perhaps in more contemporary times it might be useful if this report examines the way in which, and motivation for, the nostalgia which has been constructed, both in the old mine tours and in the newer formulation of the Gold Reef City tour. Overall, from Rassool and Witz's (1996) work, the motivation to provide underground tours in the early 1940s and 1950s was in aid of instilling the sense, in both foreigners and locals, that the 'natives' (sic) on the mines lived in a state of happiness and cleanliness. In fact, the precursor and early formulations of the theme park included the 'happy, dancing, smiling native' (sic) However, the tour offered at the moment offers visitors what they believe to be, an historical account of the discovery and consequent mining of gold in Johannesburg. The tour characterizes the wealth, power and tenacity of the discoverers as what has founded the city, and led to South African economic leadership. It focuses quite heavily on the idea of triumphing over adversity.

In *South Africa: A World in One Country*, Witz and Rassool describe a trip to Gold Reef City, and its history as being inextricably tied up with that of the frictions

experienced by mining corporations during the first half of the twentieth century. As a precursor to the experience of the modern Gold Reef City, earlier tours onto the mines and into the mineshafts on the Witwatersrand allowed tourists to see the 'communities which have arisen as a result of the discovery of the main reef' (Rassool and Witz 1996: 344). Bennett (1995: 161), in discussing a similar theme park in Australia, offers a concise description of the tensions between the past and present in such theme parks. He says that '[they have] a marked temporal imbalance owing to its disproportionate concentration on the lives of pioneers, settlers, explorers, gold- mining communities and rural industries in the nineteenth century at the expense of twentieth century urban history' (Bennett 1995: 161). This is definitely the case at Gold Reef City, although, as will be discussed later, the theme park has recently added new developments to its fold, including the Gold Reef Casino.

Johannesburg, through these mine visitations, was seen as modern, bright and efficient, with little or no reason to show excess regard for the safety and well- being of the 'native' mineworkers. During the 1930s, visitors were also given the chance to experience 'native dancing', as an expression of primitiveness, while later on this came to be seen as a way in which the 'natives' would enjoy themselves, in their new, civilized mineshaft world (Rassool and Witz 1996: 345). Visitors had no real idea of what it was like to work on the mines, but believed this structured environment as though it was fully authentic. South Africa was seen as an up- and-coming civilized, industrial hub, but with unusual 'African' traditions, still largely the way in which much of South Africa is described today. In fact, as Johannesburg continues to define its persona in light of changing global economic and political importance, one is seeing a greater incorporation of 'Africanness' into its developing identity.

In this sense then, Gold Reef City can be called a location of human histories, but one that is oriented and based largely on certain sectors, interests and ideologies, and very little or trivially on others. Gold Reef City, in particular, was created on the basis of certain ideologies and out of a certain historical, political and economic background. This is still noticeable today, and it is hard to separate these ideologies

and backgrounds from the park itself. Although other authors have already extensively defined the narratives present at the site, these insights combined with an interest in the ideologies made extant at Golf Reef City allows this report to argue that themed environments have been created out of certain interests within certain historical periods.

Also, from reading *South Africa: A World in One Country* and from personal experiences at the site, one could conclude that one is denied any real or tangible 'unpleasant' glimpses onto the lives of the black miners on the Reef, as the images are deemed to be too unpleasant, and contrary to the entertainment value of the site. Now, Gold Reef City is trying to reconstruct or refocus visitors' gazes by appealing especially to children, local and international, but for educational purposes. Nevertheless, the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg and even South Africa is seen as stereotypically pioneer and frontier – based. Hall (2005:21) writes that Gold Reef City harps on nostalgia for an imagined Johannesburg of the gold rush to create a public space that projects security, equality of fortune, and promotes the idea of meritocracy, and the possibility of still striking it rich. Again, we see a theme park that consciously portrays itself as having and showing deep or important roots in South African histories, ones with positive connotations. On the Gold Reef City website,

'The erosion of history is something that we must fight against - especially when it comes to the education of our children. The story of Johannesburg is an amazing one, and for children growing up in the Witwatersrand…understanding this story can shed much light on the socio political environment we all live in today - from understanding why we all live in one of the world's few major cities not developed around a geographic landmark to gaining insight into why Joburg's townships evolved in the way they did (in order to supply labour for the mines). (Jo'burg's hidden history! Accessed 9 April 2007 on the World Wide Web. http://www.goldreefcity.co.za/theme_park/joburgs_hidden_history.asp)

Rassool and Witz (1996: 347) write that, ‘the visitor was introduced to images of mining…the underground tour, seeing gold being poured and, inevitably, ‘tribal dancing’. The actions carried out by costumed museum or theme park workers are important in discovering just how visitors see and interact with the ‘re- created’ history presented to them. The same description which Eco (cited in Bennett 1995: 160) gives to Disneyland can be applied to Gold Reef City- that the ‘facades…are presented to us as toy houses and invite us to enter them, but their interior is always a disguised supermarket, where you buy obsessively, believing that you are still playing.’

As gold mining is integral to the history of Johannesburg, one is in fact given a chance to interact and step back in time to gaze at an ‘authentic’ Victorian Johannesburg, and a prepared image of industrialisation and even civilisation. Bennett (1995:157) classifies the relationship as a ‘miniaturisation of past social relations’, that relations between people and their environment is somehow compressed and simplified- everything that classified the whole era can be seen within a few square kilometres. He adds that, ‘they [open air museums] offer the visitor the illusion of knowable, self- enclosed little worlds which can be taken in at a glance, revealed to the tourists’ gaze in their entirety’(Bennett 1995:158). Again, history, in some form is presented, but the methods and means make it difficult to gauge where the theme park ends and history starts. Gold Reef City conflates heritage and history, and when it uses ‘history’ in its descriptions it implies that it is something that one cannot question and that ought to be learnt. However, when it uses ‘heritage’ it is implying an d demarcating the values that visitors ought to want to have and hold onto to. ‘History’ itself is miniaturized and contained, rather than being allowed to become sprawling and somewhat inchoate and diluted. ‘History’ here is closed –ended and authoritarian and it would be ‘ungrateful’ and unworthy of visitors to refuse the lessons history has to teach them. The Gold Reef City website projects the idea that it is indeed possible to offer an entire mining, apartheid and African history on its grounds and that pleasure can be gained in both. In the process though, it is offering a dichotomy between mining and the history of

apartheid i.e. there is a separation of mining and apartheid history at the Gold Reef City complex,

'International travellers savour the offering of traditional African music, dance and history found throughout the complex. The carefully-documented history of Apartheid, chillingly yet beautifully depicted in the [Apartheid] Museum, is a must-see on a South African visit. And nowhere else will the tourist find such a comprehensive and colourful depiction of mining life at the turn of the nineteenth century.(Golden Delights of Gold Reef City Accessed 9 April 2007 on the World Wide Web. http://www.goldreefcity.co.za/about_gold_reef_city/index.asp)

Perhaps, as a result of the competing ideologies and influences, as well as the material covered, at both sites one sees different regard for history and heritage. At both sites there comes across an ideological struggle about which pursuit for working with the past is better, more acceptable or has greater validity. There are debates around and related to heritage, which have prompted profound discussions in its attempt to chart and understand the processes through which sites, artifacts, even intangible or living cultures come to be designated as heritage. Heritage, then, becomes by and large indefinable. At Gold Reef City, history automatically becomes associated with 'fact' while heritage is often looked at in terms of its arguments for more individual or group agency in defining what past to engage with, as well as investigating modes of representation.

When claiming that the 'history' shown at Gold Reef City is ahistorical, one is saying that it is without history, or indeed academic fact. It also denotes a space that exists as an anachronism but is still able to locate itself in the present through its re-presentation of a selective past or set of pasts. Its 'history' has no beginning or end, and elides time and space through the very way it chooses to show 'history'. Kirshenblatt- Gimblett argues that heritage is also created through processes of display and exhibition, and is linked to the political economy of images and display of culture (1998: 149).

Perhaps then in both sides one of the major arguments or hidden ideologies is the unspoken competition between proponents and advocates for the merits and uses of history and heritage. Gold Reef City argues for historical fact and the overriding mostly singular story of the past, while the Main Street precinct is, if one looks at the use of display and exhibition, seemingly aiming more to uncover and recover hidden voices is trying to incorporate various agencies, albeit with commercial and economic undertones.

### 3.5.1 Gold Reef City imagery- 'tribal' dancers and headgear

Within certain practices at Gold Reef City, there is often a sense of theatricality and performance. In looking at performance and dancing especially, This report is not aiming to repeat the works of other authors on the images of the 'tribal' and the 'happy native' in spaces such as this theme park, but to look at the way in these images are now less readily noticeable as pure African or purely European. In fact often, there is a mixture of imagery and the influence of many sources. However, it is in the viewer/viewed power relationship that one sees a dichotomy between the simple, happy singer and dancer form Africa, the subject of viewing, while the white person is shown and experienced as the clothed, intelligent man from Europe, the viewer. There is now a hybrid of images, and not just the 'tribal African in skins.

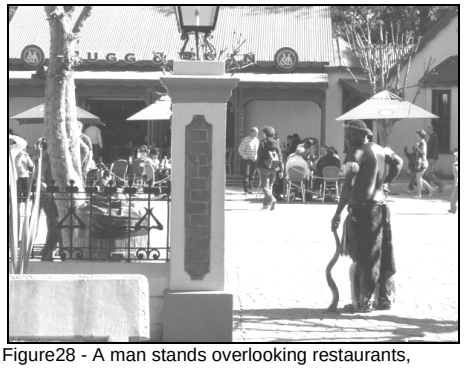


Figure28 - A man stands overlooking restaurants, In a 'tribal' costume.
Photograph taken by researcher



Figure 29- The 'Kenyan Tumblers'
Photograph taken by researcher



Figure 30- Performers in red European - inspired costumes
Photograph taken by researcher

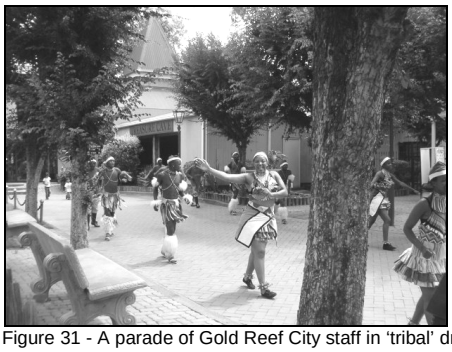


Figure 31 - A parade of Gold Reef City staff in 'tribal' dress.
Photograph taken by researcher





Figures 32 and 33 - Gum boot dancers and staff in 'tribal' uniforms
Photographs taken by researcher

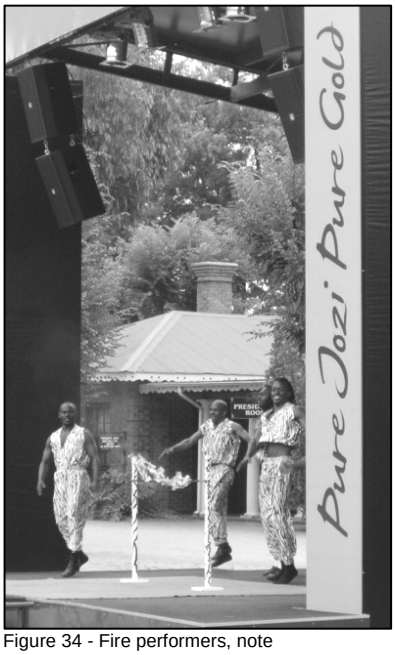



Figure 34 - Fire performers, note the slogan, 'Pure Jozi PureGold'.
Photograph taken by researcher



Figure 35 - Minstrels
Photograph taken by researcher

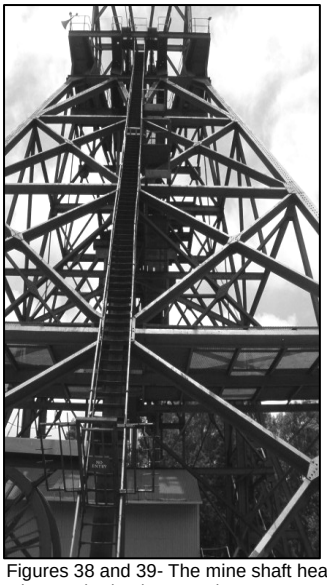


Figure 36 - Rickshaw operators
Photograph taken by researcher



Figure 37 - Ladies in traditional costume
Photograph taken by researcher

One is exposed to performers from all over Africa, the Kenyan tumblers for example, while being able to transpose oneself in an experience 'typical' of Cape Town- listening to a minstrel band.





Figures 38 and 39- The mine shaft headgear and the Victorian fun fair looms over visitors
Photograph taken by researcher

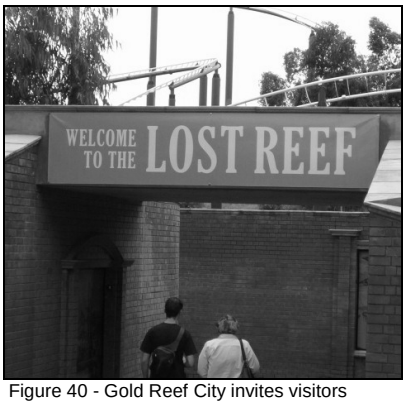



Figure 40 - Gold Reef City invites visitors to experience 'The 'Lost Reef'

Photograph taken by researcher



Figures 41, 42 - Montages showing European inventions and 'Aerial Forecast future city 1900' (R)

Photographs taken by researcher

### 3.6 Issues and events affecting the mining industry

'the gold mining industry alone employs over 348 000 African workers…These workers are recruited from landless, poverty stricken, heavily taxed and backward peasants in the reserves. In 1939 these 348 000 African workers helped to produce gold valued over …R108-million, which gave the shareholders a profit of R40-million. But they only received an average wage of R5, 72 a month. 685 died as a result of accidents, and 1 498 died of disease during 1939. Every year thousands more die of miner's phthisis contracted on the mines, and in most instances the dependents receive no compensation.' (Moses Kotane in Callinicos, 1993:97)

While the gold mining industry at present is facing unique challenges and as such has been in the media quite frequently lately, this is hardly a new occurrence. Gold mining in the area has, since the industry began to face increased labour demands and promoted segregationist or Apartheid legislation throughout its history to its own ends, always been a site of class, 'race' [sic] tension and competing commercial and ethical ideologies. Terreblanche writes that the early in the formation and consolidaton of the gold mining industry, it found itself part of and promoted state-building, during which white political domination was strengthened, but also one in which the state – on behalf of foreign-owned mining corporations – built the institutional and physical infrastructure of white supremacy.(2005: 239) Terreblanche adds that at the same time, it 'created a racially based socio-economic and labour

structure aimed at supplying foreign corporations and white farmers with a cheap and docile labour force (2005: 239)'

Divisions between Africans and Europeans had in fact been constructed by successive white governments and that after the South African War, one saw the British government begin to take drastic measures to stabilize the white working classes and their separation from the black working classes.(Terreblanche 2005: 34). Terreblanche writes that after the 'first forced removal of the residents of the "Coolie Location" to Klipspruit to the south of the city in 1904, the history of Johannesburg has been, to the recent past, one of gradual and more rigid segregation on the basis of race, class and space.' (2005: 34) Mandy writes that, '[black mine workers] were seldom seen in Johannesburg and made no impact on the town's consciousness other than as human machinery to be used in the production of gold and to be returned to store when no longer needed.' (1984:14) Gold mining has always been an industry of exploitation and rights abuse. Apart from increasing segregation, the mining industry has also been a chief proponent and user of migrant labour, and Terreblanche writes that [the mine labour] system [was] designed to turn Africans still living in the native reserves into cheap and docile migrant labour for the gold mining industry (2005: 34)

Bremner et al (2003:3) write, too, that Johannesburg has a history of being a space for '*uitlanders*', whether applied to white English- speaking inhabitants or the black migrant workers forced into the city. In fact, this 'foreigner' philosophy, as well as those instilled by Apartheid laws increasingly saw that blacks were 'temporarily in the white cities to serve in the mines, work in industries and provide services'. Terreblanche writes that for the Chamber of Mines played a key role in institutionalizing the maintaining the migrant labour and compound (kampong) systems, as well as disrupting and compromising tribal chiefs in rural areas. (2005:12). Beinart (1994: 29) writes that migrant labour has been prevalent as a core institution in South Africa as a result of and due to the needs of mining capital, and related economic pressures. He argues further that mining required large quantities of cheap black labour, and the way in which migrant labour and the compound

system worked enabled mine owners to lower wages as they provided cheap accommodation and food. Overall, 'migrant labour gave capitalists a work-force without the full costs of supporting workers and their families in town.' (Beinart 1994:29)

The mining industry has long been blamed for the way in which it was instrumental in the breakdown of family structures and the removal of labour from rural communities. Gold mining has throughout its history in Johannesburg been a major catalyst in the damage caused to families and communities through increasing urban migration, as well as the way in which rural communities lost a valuable workforce, with very little compensation. In justifying the payment of these low wages, government would argue that migrant workers had an agricultural subsistence base in their home areas, and in effect, were 'used to' low wages or very little (Terreblanche 2005:12)

Labour migration and apartheid segregation was primary in articulating and establishing perceived class differences (Bremner et al: 3) The philosophy was also involved in spurring on the forced removals of Africans, Indians, and Coloured people from Johannesburg and expelling them to the urban periphery. The mining industry, as Beinart (1993:28) writes was central to South Africa's expansion...[with Black men…the core of its labour force at the heart of the economy thousands of feet underground.'

However, the arrival and use of labour on the Rand has also included a substantial input from other countries, which more often than not has caused varied amounts of dissatisfaction and upheaval amongst those that were already employed. The mining industry had also seen the effects of the employment of foreign migrant labour, as per successive white governments and their desire to fill labour demands. Terreblanche writes that these governments allowed the Chamber of Mines to recruit large numbers of foreign migrant workers from neighbouring countries, and pay them extremely low wages, as a 'comprehensive system of indirect enforced contract labour'(2005:12)

Mandy writes that in an effort to bring in foreign, unskilled labour from foreign countries was met largely with frustration. As mentioned previously, the mining industry is a site in which 'foreigners' have always played a part. Legislation regarding the employment of foreign labour proposed by the Transvaal Government was duly passed by the British Parliament and on 22 June 1904 the first groups of Chinese labourers arrived in Johannesburg. Over the next two years these workers would number more than more than 50 000 (Mandy 21-22). Mandy writes that this move proved to be incredibly lucrative for the mines, with gold production soaring and the resulting prosperity made possible ambitious railway, road making, irrigation and afforestation programmes. (Mandy 21/22) Mandy writes that the opposition of a majority of the White miners was overcome by the Chamber's promise to keep the Chinese on unskilled work only and by pointing out that their own privileged livelihoods were at stake.(Mandy 21-22) However, these Chinese labourers were repatriated six years later (Chronology). Related to the make-up of labour on the mines came increased dissatisfaction with access to jobs and wages, and the overall political and economic climate in which the industry was forced to operate.

The early half of the twentieth century saw the country's mining industry come under increasingly stringent segregation and early Apartheid laws. This impacted on the movement and lives of people associated with Johannesburg. Scholars have shown that this was to have a definite impact on the labour system within the city. Scholars and political interests have also argued extensively over the way in which mining houses were deemed to have had sway in the state's political and economic consideration. The *Mail & Guardian* writes that it has milked untold riches from the country at the expense of the impoverished majority, been allowed [by successive white supremacy governments] to conduct iniquitous labour practices, and been given free reign to hoard mineral rights (*Mail & Guardian,* 9-15 March 2001 cited in Terreblanche 2005:66-67 )

While it is not the purpose of this report to delve into this extensively, suffice it to say that this debate, and its consequences, are still addressed and pointed to by those who are seeking to understand its effects and how it is in fact shown or

acknowledged. However, as with all history and reporting, there are considerations for bias, and at Gold Reef City, this particular involvement in segregation and apartheid is not chosen as part of its narrative or identity.

Terreblanche also draws attention to post- apartheid redress, and the mining industry's participation in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). According to their participation in and testimonies given to the TRC, it was clear that they would not acknowledge their part in the apartheid state, and in the poor treatment of labour (Terreblanche 2005:66-67). Neither the Chamber of Mines nor the Anglo American Corporation was prepared to even acknowledge that African mine workers had been exploited and degraded (Terreblanche 2005:66-67) According to the TRC, 'the shameful history of sub-human compound conditions, brutal suppression of striking workers, racist practices and meagre wages [in the gold-mining industry] is central to understanding the origins and nature of apartheid' and that 'the failure of the Chamber of Mines to address [its apartheid record] squarely and to grapple with its moral implications is regrettable and not constructive' (TRC 1998: vol. 4, 33-4 cited in Terreblanche 2005: 66-67)

The last quarter of 2007, particularly, saw a large amount of frustration regarding occupational safety among mine workers and their unions come to a head. As a result, mineworkers downed tools in early December in what was billed to be the first ever public demonstration of dissatisfaction of its kind for the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). According to an article on iol.co.za, this 'one- day nationwide boycott in the world's biggest producer of platinum and gold' (*Officials meet to decide mining strike,* Published 27 November 2007, Accessed 2 February 2008 on the World Wide Web http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=3045&art_id=nw20071127104335506C579893) was in 'protest against a spate of mine deaths in the country' (*Still no word yet on mining strike,* Published 2 November 2007, Accessed 2 February 2008 on the World Wide Web http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=3045&art_id=nw20071102111804674C784415)

The NUM said it wanted members to participate in the strike action, 'with the aim of forcing companies to focus on the issue of safety, and has termed recent deaths at mines 'genocide'(*Still no word yet on mining strike*
Published 2 November 2007
Accessed 2 February 2008 on the World Wide Web
http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=3045&art_id=nw20071102111804674C784415)

In reports dealing with mining industry safety aims, it was universally highlighted that on average 200 miners lose their lives every year. In a report given by the Chamber of Mine's Chief Executive Officer, Zoli Diliza, at a conference on sustainable development, the Chamber of Mines is seeking to reduce mining- related death rates by at least twenty percent by 2013. (*SA targets annual milestone in mining deaths*
Published 18 October 2007. Accessed 2 February 2008 on the World Wide Web
http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=3045&art_id=nw20071018175402530C220413) Diliza said that 'To be world-class by 2013, an annual milestone of reducing fatality rates by at least 20 percent a year is needed' (SA targets annual milestone in mining deaths, Published 18 October 2007,
Accessed 2 February 2008 on the World Wide Web
http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=3045&art_id=nw20071018175402530C220413) He added that, although 'Mining is dangerous…[it] is no excuse for harming people' (*SA targets annual milestone in mining deaths*, Published 18 October 2007, Accessed 2 February 2008 on the World Wide Web
http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=3045&art_id=nw20071018175402530C220413) In the largest foreign exchange earning industry, which generated R195- billion in local sales in 2006 and brought in R355- billion in exports, Diliza's report came at a time when safety standards in the mining industry have come increasingly under fire (*SA targets annual milestone in mining deaths*
Published 18 October 2007
Accessed 2 February 2008 on the World Wide Web
http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=3045&art_id=nw20071018175402530C220413)

In another report on mining safety, released late last year and shortly after an accident at Harmony Gold Mine in Elandsrand, North West, when 3200 miners were trapped underground for over 24 hours after a lift cable was cut, it was announced that gold mines accounted for most accidents within the mining industry. (Mkhwanazi, *Gold mining sector 'a killing machine'*
Accessed 2 February 2008 on the World Wide Web
http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=3045&art_id=vn20071018123106329C637155

According to Chief Inspector of Mines Thabo Gazi, in 2005 the gold mining sector accounted for 105 deaths and [in 2006], 113. Gazi added that 'Unsafe work leads to human tragedy and suffering. It takes its toll on individuals, their families and communities. It leads to reduced productivity and competitiveness' (Mkhwanazi, *Gold mining sector 'a killing machine*
Accessed 2 February 2008 on the World Wide Web
http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=3045&art_id=vn20071018123106329C637155)

With recent power shortages and the general crisis within Eskom regarding their ability to supply sustained power to major industry, mining companies have been hard hit by continued closures and general disruption to mining. Many mine operations have ground to a halt, and Eskom had been unable to give indications as to how long these occurrences would affect productivity. With these power outages comes the increased risk of accidents. NUM general secretary Frans Baleni has said that, 'Work in the mines has become a matter of life and death" (*Gold mines come to a halt,* Published 25 January 2008
Accessed 2 February 2008 on the World Wide Web
http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=3045&art_id=nw20080125114142806C788270) and that load- shedding with no prior warning would certainly endanger miners' lives. Recently, a miner was killed in a mudslide (Macharia, J, Roddy, M. (ed.). *AngloGold worker dies in mudslide,*
Originally published 29 January 2008

Accessed 2 February 2008 on the World Wide Web http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=3045&art_id=nw20080129182204239C509879) once some mines had been allowed to resume work underground, and while areas were being checked for safety. Mining, it seems, has been made increasingly dangerous as a result of the present electricity shortages.

Recent developments have also prompted mine owners and bosses to announce the possibility of job losses and a severe crippling effect on the country's economy. With workers not being able to go underground, thousands of miners' bonuses are also being affected (*Gold mines come to a halt*
Published 25 January 2008
Accessed 2 February 2008 on the World Wide Web http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=3045&art_id=nw20080125114142806C788270). Now while this is not directly related to mining industry injustice, it does however point out the way in which lives are affected by the institutions that control or support this industry. Harmony Mines plans to retrench [ten percent] of its 43,000-strong workforce while other companies are waiting to see how the power shortages affect production and impacts on staffing costs and levels (Letsoalo, M. (2008). Harmony to axe thousands, Mail & Guardian, February 1 to 7, pp. 5.) This outlook only serves to show how they are aware of their own importance and impact, as inseparable partners and masters of the economy, who are now ironically using the language of concern for their employees to justify halting certain or all underground operations.

## Chapter 4- Main Street- a re- imagining of a mining past?
## 4.1 Urban re-newal and the framing of Johannesburg 'city' space

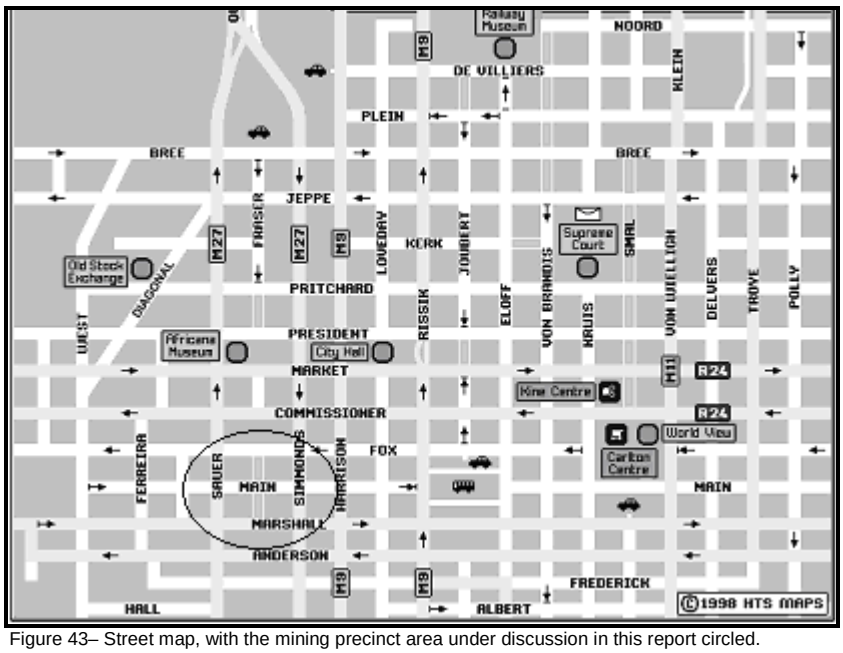



Figure 43– Street map, with the mining precinct area under discussion in this report circled.
Map obtained from http://www.hotels-tours-safaris.com.
Accessed on the World Wide Web 2 February 2008

While Main Street is merely part of the city and Gold Reef City exists as the simulated, 'pretend' city, Main Street is nevertheless a themed space. Main Street is one part of the real city as a whole, which has been, in a sense, annexed with implications both for itself and for the rest of the city from whom it has been created. It should also therefore be liable to investigations around the way it fits into the 'city'. The Main Street precinct, home to banks and mining houses, has over the past decade seen initiatives to upgrade and beautify, as well as make the area more accessible. Fife (2007) and Fraser (2007a; 2007b) highlight the way in which Johannesburg's CBD is being revitalized by the recent redevelopment plans and upgrades, as well as the stream of investors and property buyers keen to own their own part of the city. This also relates to de Certeau's theories around the way in which meaning for walkers in cities is created through the physical spaces, while at the same time these walkers lay possession or claim to certain areas of the city itself. Along with this is the clearer emphasis on the way in which sites around the city, such as the mining precinct in Main Street are being re-invigorated and meaning reinscribed by private enterprises and interested businesses who not only want to

beautify, but improve the infrastructure as well as their own commercial viability. Enclosed sites and precincts like Main Street have been created to almost exist as a safe, clean and crime- free haven in the Johannesburg CBD.

Davie (*New-look Main Street: haven from the hustle*. Accessed on 1 February 2008 on the World Wide Web.
http://www.joburg.org.za/content/view/1846/254/) describes Main Street,

'Diners sit outdoors eating at Nino's, shaded under sunlight dappled by plain trees, mosaic paving strips and street artifacts create an artistic atmosphere, a cobbler sits in his broekie-lace-lined kiosk, pedestrians idle by - a scene from the northern suburbs? Far from it - this is Main Street Mall in the city centre… been given a distinct mining look. Mining artifacts dot the eight blocks that have been refurbished...The street has become a delight to stroll down, even on the weekends when it is quiet, and safety is guaranteed with a street guard for every block. It is now a place of attractive respite from the hustle and bustle of the CBD…Very much a people place now,…make it feel like any themed inner city area of any international city.'

With most writers explaining that the deterioration experienced and characterizing the CBD has been existent since the 1950s, many believe that the 1980s and 1990s saw real urban decline due to the failing apartheid state, as well as increased crime and the departure of many important commercial tenants to the northern suburbs. However, more recently the city has introduced efforts to rejuvenate the city centre, and turn it into a viable and inclusive cultural and social hub. This also seems to be an example of the way in which culture may be utilized within the global trend of rejuvenating inner city and city space decay by officials and interested parties. Davie (*Parks, playgrounds and other public places*.
Accessed 10 December 2007 on the World Wide Web
http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1734&Itemid=49#walk) writes that the City of Johannesburg wishes to create and sustain 'a liveable Inner City with sustainable and cohesive neighbourhoods in which all people, whether wealthy or not, can live in dignified circumstances.' This move is

part of the City of Johannesburg' s aim of creating a 'walkable Inner City, with a safe, clean and green public environment in a good state of repair, and with streets connected to appropriate and interesting public open spaces and or iconic public places.' (Davie, *Parks, playgrounds and other public places*.
Accessed 10 December 2007 on the World Wide Web
http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1734&Itemid=49#walk))

While this is mainly to do with an increased emphasis on pedestrian usage, one also reads of the history and heritage installations meant to highlight and encourage interaction with the precinct's past and present links with some of the country's most powerful and well- established commercial entities. In his paper 'The transformation of Gandhi Square: Re-imaging the Johannesburg city centre', Eric Itzkin (no date) discusses the way in which heritage has been instrumental in the economic interest, redevelopment and urban regeneration seen in areas of the Johannesburg CBD. He also addresses the way in which this occurrence relates to the reconfiguration of post-apartheid city space, the increasing commercialisation of these sites and how this impacts on practical considerations in addressing urban renewal in city spaces and public interaction.

Sindane highlights the fact that Main Street houses a number of mining companies, including BHP Billiton, Anglo Platinum, Anglo Gold, Goldfields and the Chamber of Mines (Sindane, *A street rich in history*. Accessed 10 December 2007 on the World Wide Web.
www.joburg.org.za/content/view/1712/188/)) and due to initiatives by businesses in the street and supported by the City of Johannesburg one has seen Main Street transformed 'into a cobbled celebration of the city's rich and fascinating mining heritage.' (Sindane, *A street rich in history*.
Accessed 10 December 2007 on the World Wide Web.
www.joburg.org.za/content/view/1712/188/) Hans Jooste, manager of the Central Johannesburg partnership explains that the 'The street is rich with mining history and we had to choose a mining theme" (cited in Sindane, *A street rich in history*.

Accessed 10 December 2007 on the World Wide Web.
www.joburg.org.za/content/view/1712/188/) To use the word 'history' in such a way implies that it is natural and even untouched, and that one cannot deny its presence, and even dispute it.

Sindane writes that Main Street renewal project has seen six blocks that intersect Main street being paved, while alongside the road one may find early mining artifacts, for example, grey iron dustbins and underground locomotives (Sindane, L. (2004). *A street rich in history*.
Accessed 10 December 2007 on the World Wide Web.
www.joburg.org.za/content/view/1712/188/)

In an area where streets are named after mining terminology and personalities from a certain history, one is now seeing the incorporation of other imagery related to other early experience in Johannesburg with the inclusion of new objects and resultant associations. However, it is necessary to question the idea of agency and inclusiveness as seen in this site. One should be aware of and investigate the way and in which and motivation for these changes to have occurred. Who is responsible for these changes? Who controls them, and decides what to include and leave out? Which public are they attempting to address, and include here? How is the public constructed around this site? How does the public re-create itself around this space? Urban regeneration programmes like this have also been the subject of criticism for the way in which, as Itzkin states, these spaces '[use] heavy-handed social control, elevat[e] corporate interests and exclud[e] the poor. Improvement districts under private management in many countries around the world tend to encourage more affluent consumers while unwanted elements… tend to be filtered out.' (no date: 13)

Zukin also highlights some of the consequences of the increasing commercial control of public space, such as that in Main Street,

"The disadvantage of creating public space in this way is that it owes so much to private sector elites, both individual philanthropists and big corporations. This is

especially the case for centrally located public spaces, the ones with the most potential for raising property values and with the greatest claim to be symbolic spaces for the city as a whole. Handing such spaces over to corporate executives and private investors means giving them carte blanche to remake public culture. It marks the erosion of public space in terms of its two basic principles: public stewardship and open access (cited in Itzkin no date: 13)

Installations include the famous ancient Mapungubwe gold rhino, now placed in the precinct by the Johannesburg Land Company in order to, 'educate residents about the first gold explorers' (Russouw Replica of Mapungubwe's gold rhino dazzles central Johannesburg' Accessed on the Internet 10 December 2007 www.peaceparks.org/news.php?pid=150&mid=680) Sindane writes that 'An initiative by businesses in the street, including most of the big mining houses, supported by the City of Johannesburg, has seen Main Street transformed into a cobbled celebration of the city's rich and fascinating mining heritage.' (*A street rich in history*. Accessed 10 December 2007 on the World Wide Web. www.joburg.org.za/content/view/1712/188/) Sindane's description connotes ideas of the scenic and quaint, as well as a site that is a hybrid or fusion of different elements and cultures.



Figures 44, 45 - The Mapungubwe gold rhino as seen in Main Street
Photographs taken by researcher

This mining history phenomenon at the Main Street precinct, for example, has almost certainly erupted out of the City's changing 'persona' i.e. in its conscious incorporation of greater 'Africanness' into its image, as well as growing industrial,

commercial and economic forces. Even some of the mining industry houses have adopted or appropriated a decidedly more African name. Also, the mining industry has recently experienced, and continues to experience, ‘upheaval’ and a general state of dissatisfaction, which may or may not have a direct influence on the way mining history is shown in the City.

### 4.2 Greenblatt’s resonance and wonder

To begin a discussion of the display of a replica of the Mapungubwe gold rhino, it would be helpful to undertake an examination here of Greenblatt’s theories of wonder and resonance. (1990) Wonder and resonance, while describing the effects that visual displays have on viewers, also draw attention to the underlying ideologies in their choice, position and prominence for display. The meaning behind placing an object within a space often amounts to a degree of dislocation in possible meanings and a compression of time, space and context. Greenblatt’s notions of ‘wonder’ and ‘resonance’ exist as two ways in which decision-makers actively draw attention to specific objects within a space, either to highlight their solitary uniqueness, or their overwhelming presence as a collection or set of objects with importance or signifying practices, and as visual traces. Although mainly used for the analysis of objects and their position within art galleries and museums, wonder and resonance, generally, are applied within institutions as a deliberate means of drawing attention to certain areas, objects or aspects of objects. These types of display can be achieved by awakening in the viewer a sense of the cultural and historical contingent construction of objects, the negotiations, exchanges, swerves, and exclusions by which certain representational practices they partially resemble. (Greenblatt 1990: 45)

Wonder, as one may imagine, is associated with the outstanding, the sense of an artifact or object being distinctive and of having the ability to capture devoted attention in its singularity, vulnerability or ‘irreplaceability’. Poetically, ‘wonder is a sudden surprise of the soul which makes it tend to consider attentively those objects which seem to it rare and extraordinary (Greenblatt 1990:146). Greenblatt writes that an object that is wondrous would draw viewers by its visual or cultural brilliance, and

‘stop the viewer in their tracks [and be able] to convey an arresting sense of uniqueness, [in order] to evoke an exalted attention.(1990: 170)’ For Greenblatt, wonder also seems to be the process of enhancing or playing upon the already unusual qualities and creative origins, or ‘genius’ of an object, especially due to its irregularity, within exhibitionary settings and using museological display techniques, such as lighting or labeling.

A resonant display or exhibition is deemed able to move or pull the viewer away from only looking at certain objects on their own, and allows them to question the artifacts’ relations to each other and the mode of production. The notion of resonance implies that he artifact or display has the ability to invoke feelings of power and significance outside its own space and composition, within the viewer. It reaches out beyond its display area. It means something to viewers besides that which it represents, and as is the case with wonder, it appeals to the very processes by which it comes to have meaning through its own cultural creation and situation. Resonant displays seem to create their own context despite the fact that they are removed from their original site. The object can therefore claim a universality- it affects and reverberates with emotions, thoughts, consciousness and what Greenblatt calls, ‘complex, dynamic cultural forces (1990:170)’ outside the formal boundaries of the display area, or its origins. It acts as a metaphor for its own representation, and conjures up active representations of itself outside the exhibition space and produces some sort of universally applicable emotive, physical response as well as some cultural relations and sense of past.

It will be seen that displays’ and artifacts’ meanings are negotiated through conscious exhibitionary styles and ideological emphasis; that objects, though being highlighted, become decontextualised and their significance negotiated, as well as through the connotations and associations that viewers ascribe to what they see. Karp, Kreamer and Levine (1992:7) believe that the ‘process of asserting and questioning can be seen most clearly by looking at the multiple ways the same objects are made to stand for different identities…at different places and at different times, the same object can be a piece of art, a sign of a culture’s place in an

evolutionary hierarchy, a sign of heritage, or a mark of oppression (Karp, Kreamer and Levine 1992:7).In the case of museums, but equally the case at both Gold Reef City and in Main Street, Jones writes that, ‘Museums necessarily decontextualise and then re-contextualise their contents, thereby radically altering the matrices through which meanings may be projected, discerned, constructed .’(1992: 911)

As such, Greenblatt’s models draw attention to the way in which dynamic cultural transferals and negotiations, between residual cultural objects and its viewer, occur in often decontextualised, visually- orientated institutions or spaces which host and display artifacts that are deemed to bear significance (1990). The first real indication that Greenblatt acknowledges any constructedness concerns the meaning of the artifacts, and the fact that meanings ‘do not stay still…they exist in time [and are] bound up with the personal and institutional conflicts, negotiations and appropriations (1990: 161)’, because of the very decontextualisation and staticness of the spaces in which the artifacts are found.

Generally, and overall, it seems that ‘the atmosphere has a particular effect on the act of viewing (1990:146)’ and the mere act of viewing increases wonder. Jones writes that the, ‘isolation of an object from others on display is taken to imply value, significance and a need for special attention.(1992:917)’ Therefore, resonance and wonder, are also enhanced or otherwise ‘crafted’ through the artifacts’ significance and mode of display- the arrangement and placement within the institution itself. The modes of wonder and resonance creation it would therefore seem, are mostly curatorial endeavours, and thereby are constructed.

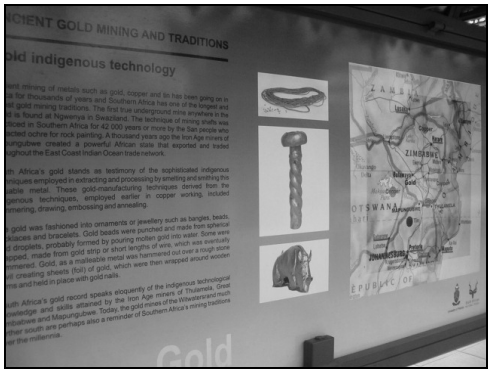
However, they do offer an important glimpse into the museological practices of acquisition and techniques of display, and the way in which an object ‘gains’ importance in and of itself. Wonder and resonance are therefore tools used within spaces and are able to highlight and attempt to recreate the context, from which the objects originate, as well as the artistic skill and creativity inherent in its makeup. In analyzing wonder and resonance, one may also be able to analyse, and even

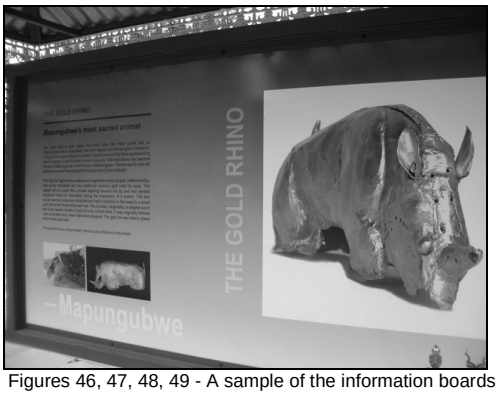
critique the institution and its re-presentation or curatorial processes and the value that designers attach to artifacts and objects within their institution. One is able to; therefore, gain an insight into their intentions in displaying an object or an event in a certain way, and the observer's own interests and assumptions about these matters and the viewing site itself.

In looking at the gold rhino, it can immediately be classified a wondrous object. It is unusual, intricate, denotes wealth, creativity and technical skill. It is one of a kind, while still being representative of something greater in meaning. Used in Main Street, this reproduction of the gold rhino has come to be placed in a new context, albeit one to do with gold mining, but the mode of display, the fact that that it is a reproduction in a simulated mining environment means that the context and ways for understanding this object have necessarily changed. This image has been used in an installation to represent something for which it may not have been was intended. It thus becomes important to examine the agency in its creation as opposed to that related to the reason for its display here. In addition what conditions have brought about this new space and means of display? Greenblatt also asks one to consider the use to which the object first had and what that use has been transposed as now (1990:173). What did it mean to people before, and what does it mean to visitors to Main Street now? How should people feel about this object being in Main Street?

## 4.3 Identity and space- the 'discovery' of gold?







Figures 46, 47, 48, 49 - A sample of the information boards which can be found in Main Street. They relate to gold mining communities and users in South Africa before 1886.
Photographs taken by researcher

Considering the consistent history of exploitation and often bad practice exercised by the mining houses in Johannesburg and South Africa, and the way in which previous mining history narratives have generally excluded or denied the influence of African miners[1], it is ironic that now one sees the placing of an object, wholly associated with an ancient African heritage, within a display setting outside the mining precinct in Johannesburg. One may argue that the addition of a single object perhaps is largely unnoticeable and its meaning negligible, but it is the position and inherent or hidden meanings that inform its importance or usefulness in changing or opening new narratives, and discussions around its place in historical narratives. As such, the Main Street precinct has now become the home of a replica of the famous

[1] While it is acknowledged that acclaimed labour histories by authors such as Harries, Dunbar Moodie, Jeeves, Maloka and others would provide a valuable starting point for an historical, theoretical enquiry of the mining industry, this research report seeks to understand this industry in terms of its *heritage* and *personal narrative* influences.

Mapungubwe gold rhino, added amongst coco pans and the Langlaagte stampmill-items put on display to illustrate how gold mining has moulded Johannesburg. (Russouw, *Replica of Mapungubwe's gold rhino dazzles central Johannesburg*. Accessed 10 December 2007 on the World Wide Web. www.peaceparks.org/news.php?pid=150&mid=680)

The director of the Johannesburg Land Company (JLC), John Dewar, who is responsible for the commissioning of the replica, believes that it, 'serves to educate city residents about the first gold explorers in Southern Africa and how gold mining has shaped the city.' (Russouw, R*eplica of Mapungubwe's gold rhino dazzles central Johannesburg.*
Accessed 10 December 2007 on the World Wide Web. www.peaceparks.org/news.php?pid=150&mid=680)

It is indeed interesting how agency, or the ability to realize this, has always been given, allowed or mentioned after the discovery of gold. It is as though giving people the ability to assert and insert their identity here has always come after the fact. Russouw writes that this company, together with local mining houses has spent the past four years trying to change people's perception of the city centre, and have therefore begun to upgrade the area with assistance from the City of Johannesburg. (Russouw, Replica of *Mapungubwe's gold rhino dazzles central Johannesburg*. Accessed 10 December 2007 on the World Wide Web. www.peaceparks.org/news.php?pid=150&mid=680)However, have they attempted to merely change the area, or have they also thought about the overall implications this may have on the meaning of the area for its visitors?

Dewar (12 February 2008, email communication) says that the JLC formed largely as a means to acquire office buildings in a focus area in the CBD, and upgrade them. The chairman of this company was convinced that the way in which other run-down cities worldwide has been rejuvenated and 'turned around' could happen in Johannesburg as well. The JLC realized that they would therefore have to do

something interesting in order to create buildings and an area which would attract tenants.

Due to studies and survey that Dewar and his property partner had conducted, not only did they develop a mining theme based on the history of the area and its old buildings, but they also found out that many people, 'were very interested in what the old buildings had looked like and were sad that they had been demolished.' (12 February 2008, email communication) They were met with much support for the upgrade from many of the building owners, after consultative processes between them.

Dewar (12 February 2008, email communication) says that the creation and addition of the storyboards came out of a personal interest in the subject matter, and that discussions around the type and nature of displays to make part of Main Street was complicated. It was his wife that suggested the Mapungubwe gold rhino, and the project received much support from Sian Tiley at the Mapungubwe Museum at the Pretoria University and Johan Verhoef of the SA National Parks Board. Dewar says that adding this replica to the site is vastly important as the city, and indeed South African wealth, has been created out of the mining industry. (Roussouw) While this cannot be disputed, the addition of the gold rhino does start to raise questions, of an academic, political and social nature. Through the mere act of placing the replica in this area, one should be aware of the space, and its connotations, in which this particular narrative and history is allowed to be told. It would seem that throughout Dewar's project the idea of the Mapungubwe rhino has been 'absolutely and utterly unique in southern Africa, because that's where gold mining started.' (Russouw, *Replica of Mapungubwe's gold rhino dazzles central Johannesburg*.
Accessed 10 December 2007 on the World Wide Web.
www.peaceparks.org/news.php?pid=150&mid=680)

Itzkin writes that,

'seen in the context of post-apartheid urban reconstruction, heritage offers a means of promoting social integration and healing…by changing the ways in which city spaces are experienced, heritage interventions can be used to re-shape cultural identity. As a source of images and memories, heritage symbolizes 'who belongs' in particular places. New symbols and images give visual testimony to the multitude of presences which have historically stakes claims in the city centre and who continue to influence its changing dynamics. Such re-imaging can heal old divisions and promote a more inclusive and democratic culture. '(undated: 8-9)

Firstly, although Mapungubwe is not part of the Witwatersrand, one may be able to read this move by the mining houses as a visible acknowledgment of not only the existence of gold and gold use elsewhere prior to Harrison's 'discovery' in Johannesburg in 1886, it also serves as a recognition of African gold use, of African ingenuity and history, even though it is conveniently long ago and anonymous. While it may also conveniently beautify these premises, the meter- long replica cannot have been considered and added without prior knowledge and research into the civilization which occupied Mapungubwe Hill, near the Limpopo River/ Shashe confluence from roughly 1220 AD. (Fleminger 2006:29) The replica's tangibility and the manner in which it provides visual evidence of detailed beauty also serve to highlight the extreme historical, cultural and educational value. Dewar explains that, 'You can make this tangible (to people) by doing this sort of thing: otherwise it's just in a book' and that storyboards have also been added to the space in order to document the early gold exploration in Mapungubwe, as well as the rhino's history. For educational purposes, Dewar says that the emphasis should be on the teaching of history which makes more use of South African themes and pasts (Russouw, *Replica of Mapungubwe's gold rhino dazzles central Johannesburg*.
Accessed 10 December 2007 on the World Wide Web.
www.peaceparks.org/news.php?pid=150&mid=680)

In fact, he says emphatically,

'Why teach the ancient history of Rome when we have so much fascinating history right here in South Africa, like with Mapungubwe?...It is completely cross-cultural. It doesn't matter where you come from or what your history is, you would be interested in this. This is all our history.' (Russouw, *Replica of Mapungubwe's gold rhino dazzles central Johannesburg.*
Accessed 10 December 2007 on the World Wide Web.
www.peaceparks.org/news.php?pid=150&mid=680)

While the various actors have different interests and agendas for this site, moves towards reconciliation and healing seem to have prompted quite eclectic and unusual practices in this precinct. Here it thus becomes possible to celebrate a culture and a past which is very distant, both in time and proximity from Johannesburg. It also still seems to deny the presence of prior inhabitants on Witwatersrand before 1886 i.e. it still leaves out the identity and role those prior inhabitants in the area had for this site. However, the nature of the 'city' is that it always represents confluences of cultures and commerce.

Dewar says, too, that since they have been involved in the site, '[they] have learned from the mining industry that they are most disturbed by the amount of mining equipment which is disappearing and which should be preserved as being of irreplaceable historical interest.' The JLC is also looking at creating an indoor and out mining museum, [aided by the Chamber of Mines,] which could also be used for educational purposes.' He says that the company has also had meetings with a number of senior school history teachers who would be very interested in using these facilities as part of their curricula.' (email communication)

Secondly, in a sense, then, it has also started processes and discussion around which not only the ownership of narratives, but the right to have narratives told, has been created and allowed for. It is therefore also about accepting and recognising different histories, which almost certainly has not been the case previously in

industries, organizations and by groups created out of certain political and social ideologies like those of the mining houses. As observed in Itzkin (in Zukin) incorporating new images into visual representations of the city can be democratic. It can help integrate rather than segregate social and 'ethnic' groups, and it can also help negotiate new group identities". Dewar says that due to the proliferation of mining houses in Main Street, it meant an inevitable mining- themed upgrade, but that they 'look[ed] at the question of how all of this relates to post-colonial times and how we can give recognition to historically disadvantaged groups and their role in gold mining.' This indicates symbolic redistribution, but which is still in line with TRC recommendations.

Thirdly, it could possibly be said that it feeds into discussions around the changing persona of the city itself, i.e. that the city is now aiming to describe itself as a 'world-class African city.' The addition of the gold rhino has not only made inroads into the changing of the gold mining narrative at the site, consciously or unconsciously, but highlighted the way in which the city is consciously trying to include other narratives, or is indicative of the way in which it is a hub for other narratives. That is to say, the way in which the city is attempting to include more discussion and emphasis on 'Africanness'. It also speaks of the way in which certain companies and industries, which have benefited from previous advantage over certain groups have attempted to begin changing their image and thus either make amends, or make themselves and their practices (as with the original mining tours) more appealing to foreign investment and faith.

### 4.4 Views on Main Street, and its ideological implications

Bremner, in '*A quick tour around contemporary Johannesburg'* writes that Johannesburg has been 'carved into patrolled, flag-festooned, designer-paved precincts', by corporate interests. In elaboration, Bremner adds that,

‘They hollow out parts of the city and, on the basis of idealized images, construct urban places appealing to the desire, nostalgia or paranoia of people who can pay to be there. None of them have much, if any, connection to the rest of the city or its history. (2006: 56)

In this sense then, Main Street is placed squarely in the realm of the themed space, like Gold Reef City, one in which it is still without a definite context- with mixed and matched objects out of sync with the space and their original situation. Main Street, if one looks at Bremner’s thoughts, is a space in which a certain desire for certain images and meanings, has brought about a specifically constructed, and isolated part of the city. Main Street has also come to represent more than a city street and pedestrian walkway, and has been defined and re- defined by its context, content and connotative practices, and by the inhabitants and visitors to the site. The pedestrianisation of the area allows for walking and is a means of combating decay, not only literally. It increases access and the variety of possible personal city spaces, through the very processes that created these pedestrian spaces in the first place. They become practiced spaces. De Certeau theorises believes the geometry of the planned city is transformed into a series of spaces by those who move through it, making it a set of ‘practiced places’, and this is useful in understanding a sense of the circulation of people in the city (cited in Bester 2005:14).

However, this does not make the city as a whole ever entirely readable. Bester writes that while a city can never be captured in its entirety…extent of the walker’s freedom of movement implies the possibility of a fuller and more complex reading. And because these more dynamic readings imply autonomy, independence and power for the walker, it is possible that walking can constitute a threat to the authority of a place. Freedom of movement within a city permits the possibility of transgression, and the resistance to place is often expressed through different acts of walking…The momentum that sustains alternate meanings of the city requires regular and even movements of the body politic.’ (2005:12)

However, for all intents and purposes, the mining precinct in Main Street still exists as a simulacrum, of the way in which mining still did not happen in exactly the same order or time period as portrayed here. Again, as with Gold Reef City, this themed space portrays mining in a much better light than what was generally acknowledged as a highly exploitative and dangerous industry.

As a result of conducting a sample survey of the area, it allows one to draw out certain commonalities, themes and information about the way in which the site is perceived, used and understood by those who work, visit or pass through the area. The sample was created out of a diverse set of respondents, with varied backgrounds, ages and levels of interaction with Main Street. What is of particular interest in the results from this survey is the idea of agency- in terms of who should be telling the past, and why, as well as who should be learning about this past. Also, what past is this? It seemed as though informants were not aware of their own agency, and the agency given or forced upon them at the site. Generally, they seem to be wary about interacting more with the space. Meaning for respondents in this city space was expectedly varied, according to the way in which they used or felt about the site. Rapoport writes that, 'it appears that people react to environments in terms of the meanings the environments have for them…environmental evaluation, then, is more a matter of overall affective response than of a detailed analysis of specific aspects, it is more a matter of latent than of manifest function, and it is largely affected by images and ideals.' (1990:13) While de Certeau mentions the way in which people are able to lay claim to aspects and areas of the city (1988: 150), respondents at this site seemed to fear being able to do so, or were not able to articulate how they feel that they could engage and 'own' a part of this city.

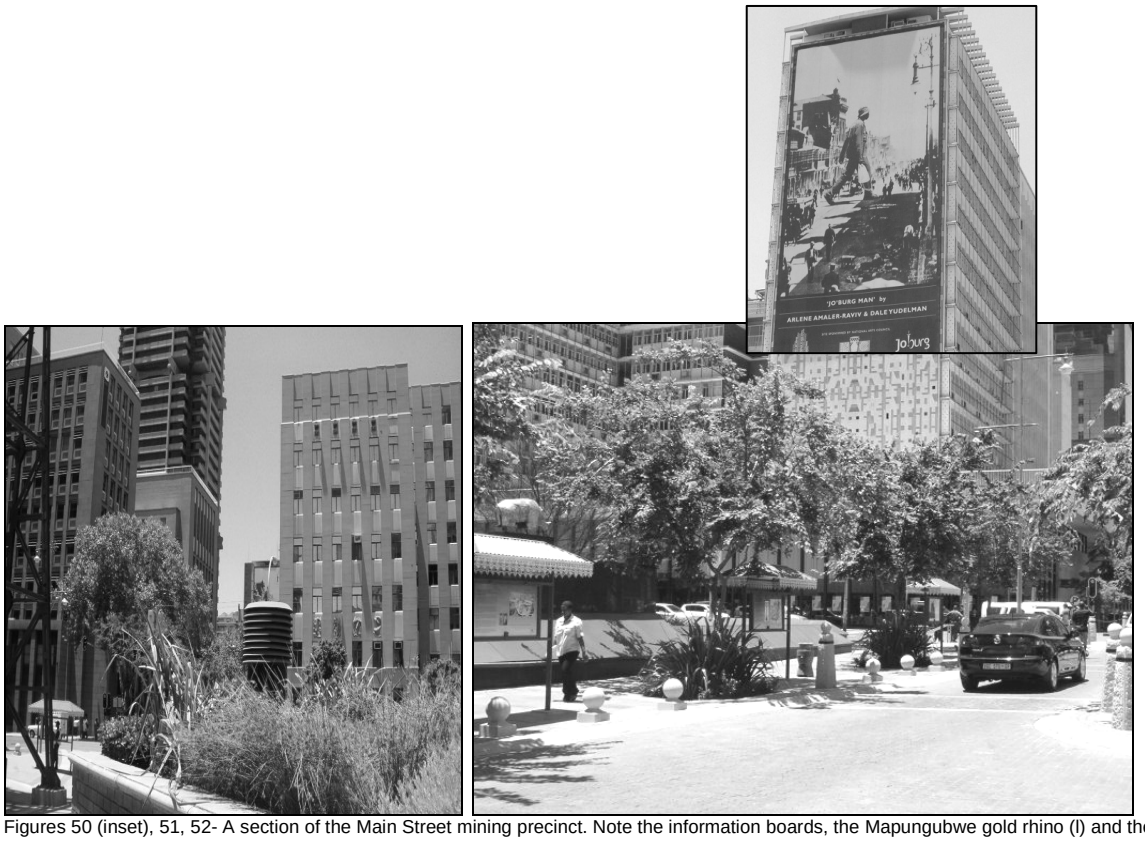
This may be linked with the idea of who tells the past here. While not especially associated with educational possibilities, companies like Anglo American and BHP Billiton were regarded as being highly knowledgeable, and even invoked a large amount of reverence. It appears as though the ideas, images and stories perpetuated by the likes of Gold Reef City and the media professions have perhaps cultivated a type of hero status for the mining houses and their respective directors.

There still seems to be the idea that those in charge know it all, as may be with Gold Reef City. While teachers were not the first choice for who should be educating visitors to the site, it was interesting to learn that the majority identified the mining houses and mining staff as important people to undertake this job. One respondent suggested that security guards should be considered, as they are always in the area, however looking at the response in total, a 'history from below' is not really an option. From the response though, it is clear that there is an assumption that this area is definitely capable of offering some 'historic' value, as well as the notion that heritage is a related to one's own involvement and interest in the issue. One gets the impression that history at this site is imbued with such authority that 'traditional' educators like teachers are not able to penetrate its importance.

The overall idea of the person that should be encouraged to visit the site was the tourist. The 'tourist' is seen as the desirable visitor in terms of education. Does this mean that there is the perception that South Africans and people living in Johannesburg already know it all? Or are not as important? While this report cannot begin to answer these questions, it does however point to the way in which people are automatically assigned to and demarcated in terms of the impact they may have. Overall, in terms of what may be learnt at the site, it seemed that it would be a site to learn about the technologies and processes associated with mining, as well as about the corporations in the area. Learning about the past was often associated with the idea that tourists should be more targeted in the area. There also seemed to be a disparity between the idea of the city's founding and past and the Johannesburg resident's past. Perhaps this is a sign of the way in which people do not associate their past with that of the city i.e. there was a slight difference in the way that 'its past' was mentioned compared to 'our past'. Perhaps this was also due to the fact that not everyone would be or is able to identify with both or relate the story of Johannesburg to their own past. The history of Johannesburg does not belong to everyone. There also appears to be a disconnect between the meanings that people make for themselves as they walk and sit in coffee shops in street seem to them to be dislocated from the history of the city. Perhaps one could assume that this history is not relatable due to its perceived omnipotence, and that to call it their

own would be foolish. One may also assume that people are greatly disoriented by the idea of the mining past that it happened too long ago to be relatable. In addition, Johannesburg, through its ever- changing personality further disorientates and distances its inhabitants from the past as a result. Perhaps, then, one could say that the idea of holding onto or relating to a past is increasingly difficult, as the past and its configurations are not stable enough to allow people to relate to it.

According to the responses, gold mining has connotations of money, the physicality of the process of digging and the purpose of the mine shaft. Gold mining was generally associated with wealth and in some responses, gold was immediately linked to the status of Johannesburg as '*iGoli*' , and that gold was intrinsically linked to Johannesburg and its past. It would seem that Johannesburg was gold and gold denoted the City of Johannesburg. Mining is thus almost a faceless activity with little or no mention of miners, apartheid influences or exploitation. The view of mining is thus also sanitized. Perhaps too, in just the same way as Gold Reef City's portrayal of the safe environments shown to its early visitors, and in order to portray a better image of the mining industry, does this site operate in the same manner? While material covered may be different, the principle of beautifying and upgrading the mining industry and its related areas seems to be a common theme in Main Street too. Coombes suggests that the theme park operates as a model for 'putting an acceptable public face on an otherwise unacceptable industry with an extremely poor record of labour relations and health and safety provisions has clear historical precedents in South Africa.' (2004: 196-197) While these issues cannot be answered with great depth within this report it might help to ask whether these responses are indications of people not caring about what the mining industry has been responsible for, or that critique is more likely to come from those that experienced it first hand. Regarding the latter, is this not generally the case? What does this say about post-apartheid understandings of agency within Johannesburg?




Figures 50 (inset), 51, 52- A section of the Main Street mining precinct. Note the information boards, the Mapungubwe gold rhino (l) and the pedestrian walkways under and around foliage. One can also see the 'Jo'burg Man' on the side of one of the buildings (50).
Photographs taken by researcher




Figures 53,54,55- Some of the mining- themed exhibits, including the Langlaagte Stamp Mill (L), which can be found dotted around the Main Street mining precinct. The Langlaagte Stamp Mill is found outside the BHP Billiton building, while the headgear (R) towers over visitors outside the AngloGold offices.
Photographs taken by researcher

In looking at the overall physical space, the overall sense of the area is that it combines commercial companies and their corporate identities with installations of mining implements, objects associated with gold, all encased within a subtle atmosphere of sociability. The urban renewal, installations and additions go about drawing influences from many sources, and the overall sense one gets is that it represents and hosts cosmopolitanism and a diversity of imbued ideas, and identities. Bester writes that while the stationary aspects of the city impart prior meaning, the moving parts of the city impart and influence subsequent meaning. (2005:10)

In an attempt to increase agency and insert identity into the space, and considering de Certeau's work on the 'city', the portrait of the 'Jo'burg Man' by Arlene Amaler-Raviv and Dale Yudelman exists here as a way in which identity has been re-inserted and shows the act of walking, confidently, through the streets of the early part of last century Johannesburg by a black man. Bester writes that, 'photographs have become one of the most powerful tools for the management of identity.' (2005:14) It has the feeling of movement and may also imply the way in which certain inhabitants of this city are transient, and without a stable place in the city. Bester writes that, 'to walk is to lack a place. It is the indefinite process of being absent and in search of a proper. The moving about that the city multiplies and concentrates makes the city itself an immense social experience of lacking a place – an experience that is, to be sure, broken up into countless time deportations (displacements and walks), compensated for by the relationship and intersections of these exoduses that intertwine and create an urban fabric, and placed under the sign of what ought to be…the City.' (JCN 11) The

In addition, while it is apparently disconnected from the mining theme in the area, it is important in its link with the idea of creating one's own identity, and fortune. It alludes to the possibility of people making their urban influence, and affluence. It shows the possibility of embracing the space and the enormity of opportunities. The fact that the man is black and inserted into an olden day image of Johannesburg goes to show or denote the way in which black people in Johannesburg then were

and even now are, literally, a big part of the big city. Bester writes that, 'what is critical here is the extent to which 'the walker transforms each spatial signifier into something else', to the extent that walking 'affirms, suspects, tries out, transgresses, respects, etc. the trajectories it "speaks"'. Walking is an appropriation of mapped place, 'a spatial acting-out of the place', and its forms of movement imply relations with other walkers.' (JCN 11) It is an over- exaggeration of presence, one that had been and to a certain extent is still being denied or ignored. It is acknowledging their part in Johannesburg now and then through a created olden day image, inserted into a present day space.



Figure 56-A close-up of the 'Jo'burg Man' by Arlene Amaler- Raviv and Dale Yudelman, which overlooks the precinct. Photographs taken by researcher

Within the survey, questions around the inclusion of the Gold Rhino in the precinct were asked. Respondents were asked if they knew about it, as well as their reaction to this inclusion. The gold rhino was unknown to the majority of the respondents. The few that had seen it in the precinct were still uncertain as to how they felt, with one respondent being decidedly indifferent. Even once it had been shown to those who had not been aware of it, it still seemed as though it was understood it as an almost mystical object, and that they could not see how it would fit into a corporate environment. This would seem to be the point at which the notion of inclusivity of other narratives is not understood for this area. It also seemed that people were generally reluctant to know about it. The majority of respondents did not realize the

existence of the signboards dotted around the precinct, and those associated with the gold rhino. There was however a greater fascination with objects such as the coco-pans and the stamp mill. While this difference may indicate the way in which the objects are placed, with the gold rhino situated above eye level and behind foliage, the disinterest shown in learning about it is indicative of perhaps a greater reality. This is perhaps due to domination of the idea of the corporate environment, and a sense of business demeanour overshadowing other possible meanings in this space.

In terms of the use of space and the attitudes towards the physical aspects of the site, many informants spoke of the aesthetics and the comfort experienced while in the space. Safety and beauty were important to informants, more so than the history of the space or its meanings. Itzkin also highlights this in his own paper (undated:12),' Enhanced security is important not only for securing public property, but above all for allaying fears of personal safety. In an environment of high crime and perceptions of crime, threats to public safety negate the principle of open access to public space.' As such the types of changes most noticed in the area by respondents related to the way the area looked in terms of look and safety. Rapoport writes that, 'Meaning also gains importance when it is realized that the concept of 'function' …goes far beyond purely instrumental or manifest function…meaning is central to an understanding of how environments work. (1990:14-15)

It seemed though that the aesthetic elements are not always fully understood or realized- it is just beautiful. In one case, the respondent believed that the recent upgrades had made the area look more appropriate. One can only assume that this meant that the area now matched the sophistication and image of the mining houses which are so prevalent in the area. Rapoport (1990:13) believes that, 'people react to environments globally and affectively before they analyze them and evaluate them in more specific terms…people like certain urban areas, or housing forms, because of what they mean.' Older respondents, though, seemed to be more nostalgic about the

old Johannesburg, and the way things were, but did acknowledge that the city had gone through different stages of growth and development.

In terms of what other installations people felt could be added or what they would like to see, the majority of people wanted things that would be both practical and beautiful, e.g. benches or more trees. One respondent indicated the wish to see buskers, or indeed a greater cultural influence at the site. This may be in order to balance out the very urban, commercial nature of the site as a whole, as well as add interest for tourists, and create some economic opportunities for residents of Johannesburg.

This particular precinct in Main Street was also linked in some cases with being a space of struggle, with one respondent mentioning that the area around the gold rhino had at times been the site where toyi-toying had occurred recently. Main Street, as one respondent highlighted is also a much commercialized space, not only with big businesses, but due to it often being a site in which television advertisements are filmed. The area is looked upon very much in terms of its uses and there seems to be a culture attached to the use of space, which may be related to the way in which the space is demarcated and shut off.

Few people look at Main Street as part of the greater city. Only one respondent mentioned Gandhi Square as their favourite part of the area, which indicated that they saw the site as being dependent on influence from areas around it, even though it is three blocks away from the this precinct. This is either indicative of the way in which people walk through and relate areas to each other in the ways that the city is delineated, or that Main Street exists metaphorically as a larger area than what has been demarcated. The Main Street mining precinct seems to exist as an insular space, or as a cosy, secluded part of the city, away from the crime and grime in other parts. However, this also serves to highlight and place in sharp contrast the degradation prevalent in other parts of the Johannesburg CBD. In a newspaper report, '*Main Street's two faces'*, (City Vision, February 7-13 2008, p.1) Mashaba draws particular attention to the eastern side of Main Street and the way in which it

is a polar opposite in terms of cleanliness, safety and beauty. He writes that, 'Piles of rubbish and car workshops, turned into residential places, are some of the things on the eastern side of the street…[it is] home to hardened criminals who prey on commuters and pedestrians.' In fact one of the residents named in the article refers to this half of Main Street as 'Canaan', and mentions that this side of the street is literally a dumping ground for rubbish, and has poor sanitation. (Mashaba, Main Street's two faces, City Vision, February 7-13 2008, p.1)

There seems to be a racial divide or alternatively a site in which there is a potential to encourage a discussion around 'racial' difference, and encourage a return to CBD space use. There was a perception from one of the respondents that this Johannesburg space is 'black' , which could be a symptom of how the city is regarded generally as being a part of the stereotypical Johannesburg. The site, as one respondent mentioned is a space in which people would be able to get along with other races (sic), and that 'one seldom sees a white person here'. However, it is a transitory space, with impermanent meanings, and no stable identity apart from that of industry and money, and the industry associated with gold.

People walk and make use of the space in individual terms. Many respondents also merely pass through the site, or do not linger in one area too long. The precinct becomes a destination site for those who work in surrounding streets, but its potential to become more than a space to intermingle and relax has not been realized. In light of what the general responses were, it would seem that this is still a symptom of the way in which the city of Johannesburg and its CBD is seen- as one of crime and poverty i.e. the 'stereotypical' image of the city. Most people believed that the changes and upgrades to the area were made as a response to the need to bring more tourists to the area, as well as to beautify, bring economic investment and encourage a return to the city. As such, The site exists within an amount of hope i.e. that 'people are coming back'.

The entire site was understood to be aimed at tourists and people in the area, either those who visit or work in the street. Tourists were the desired visitors, presumably

due to the fact that they are capable of spending vast amounts of money in the city, as well as encouraging the spread of a different side of the city. Expressed over and over was the idea that tourists need to learn about our past and the city's past. This in itself is ironic and indicative of the kind of importance placed on the type of visitor envisaged for the site, hints at the exclusion of others and points to the longstanding commercial importance associated with the mining industry. Rapoport looks at this importance of meaning as also being, 'argued on the basis of the view that the human mind basically works by trying to impose meaning on the world through the use of cognitive taxonomies, categories, and schemata, and that built forms, like other aspects of material culture, are physical expressions of these schemata and domains.' (1990:15). Bremner adds that,

'Maybe, at the end of the day, we are still just a mining town after all. Where most of the people live out-of-sight lives in appalling conditions so that some of the people can get rich quick; where people don't plant things in the earth and watch them grow, but stake their claim, exploit its wealth, and move on. Perhaps, despite all attempts to reconfigure our economy, our politics, our society and our city, it is this unconscious history of self-interested indifference that will continue to shape Johannesburg's future. '(2006: 56)

Dewar says that the upgrades were aimed at, 'Changing the general perception that the Johannesburg CBD is dirty and dangerous…Creating an environment where everybody would feel safe in the street and attract office workers into the streets…Creating an interesting environment for everybody. The area is attracting increasing numbers of visitors and groups of school children.' (email communication)

## Conclusions

It can be said that both Gold Reef City and the Main Street precinct are the results of certain impacting ideologies and influences. While Gold Reef City operates on the basis of nostalgia, it does so with a sense of glorious mining history, which is of its own making. It uses what aspects of the past it deems to be favourable in order to keep visitors 'dumbed down' into wanting to debate and contest the narrative of gold, and gold mining it shows, with apparent authority. The structure of the park allows one to believe and play along with the idea of stepping back into a Johannesburg that 'really was like this'. It uses tactile exploits to further enhance its reputation for showing the 'real'.

This story of gold, that of the prospector and discoverer, is being challenged by the reports in the media. On this front,  one is , especially recently, being shown another side of the mining industry- in opposition to the one shown at the theme park. Images of mining have begun to include harsher, more vivid depictions of life as a person involved in a profession involving an alarming risk and terror. In a sense then, this report attempted to look at the way in which the long- held, popular, sanitised and reality – detached image of mining, has been reviewed and redeployed in various forms by the City of Johannesburg, such as those seen in the Main Street precinct, in light of externally- influenced public building works and urban regeneration. In this way, Gold Reef City still forms part of the older, more established way of thinking about and re- presenting the City's gold mining past, while Main Street is being quickly touted as a site that could incorporate another story of the City's gold mining past. Graeme Reid, ex- member of the Johannesburg Development Agency (interview), even points to the idea of a mining museum for the site, which could address issues associated with the mining industry past and present with respect.

The Main Street precinct, based on the corporate and economic influences it deals with, is still a themed site in which a slanted and even unnoticed gold mining past is displayed. Here, people are aware of the presence of non- corporate installations,

but do not seem able to come to grips with the possibilities that this site could offer. This is not to say that this site is preferable over Gold Reef City, but its re-newal has prompted the inclusion of displays and objects that defy and confuse the narrative seen at sites like Gold Reef City. This site is still new, and finds itself not only within the physicality of the 'city', but also within the larger struggles and negotiations for identity and the way in which people use and create their own space.

## Appendices

### 6.1 Transcription of heritage tour material

‘Rich Beginnings’- Gold Reef City’s video orientation and starting point to the history of the discovery of gold, and the birth of the city of Johannesburg for participants in the tour, ‘Jozi’s Story of Gold’.

(miners singing)

Prospector: I see you’ve found some gold there, son

Young boy: Maybe, maybe not. What’s it to you?

Prospector: You youngsters sure have [found?] some attitude since my day. Mind you, back in the 1880’s, if that was gold you’d found you’d need all that attitude just to hold on to it.

Young boy: The 1880’s? That’s almost 120 years ago!

Prospector: 1886 to be exact. And right now you’re doing exactly what those first prospectors did, pan, pan, pan- desperate for that first glimpse of gold.

Young boy: Look- I’ve already found some.

Prospector: What’s your name, son?

Young boy: Veli. What’s yours?

Prospector: You can call me Joe. Careful there, you catch that gold fever it’ll hold you in its claws for the rest of your life. There’s nothing more beautiful than gold. Nothing more dangerous either. So- you want to go on an adventure? Let me take you back, back to the days when men poured onto this barren highveld, poured into these gold fields like ore into a crusher.

Veli: Why do I need to go all the way back?

Joe: To you understand what it was like back then, son. If you don’t understand the past, how do you know how you got here, how do you know where you’re going, hmm?

The discovery of gold was big, son. The biggest ever in the history of the world. The gold reef stretched all the way from where Heidelburg is today up through Johannesburg and Roodepoort and then south as far as Virginia in the Free State. Back then a country measured its wealth and the strength of their currency by the amount of gold they had. The discovery of gold here on the Witwatersrand meant people in governments the world over were ready and willing to buy it. When the gold here was first discovered, it was hidden in traces in the

conglomerates of outcrops that stuck out of the rocky plain. Some say a prospector called George Harrison was the first person to find it on a farm called Langlaagte in February 1886. Others say George Walker and George Honiball were the first, and then there were the brothers Fred and Harry Struben who also played a major role in establishing the location of the main reef. But shucks(?) that argument is still going on today.

Veli: So there was nothing here-just veld and rocks?

Joe: Just veld and rocks son. Poor farmers and even poorer prospectors…once the conglomerate samples were crushed by established diamond mines in Kimberley, then everyone…gold here for the taking…but first …had to buy pieces of land from the existing farmers…that was a big part of the gold rush, son- the rush to get the rights to the land- to stake your claim.

Veli: So I stake my claim… [what then?]

Joe: You started mining son- getting that gold out of the ground. It all started in September 1886, when the government first proclaimed the goldfields- that was the birth of the South African gold mining industry. That proclamation changed the future of South Africa forever.

Veli: So why did it change things so much?

Joe: Hahaha, the land was largely uninhabited back then, just a scattering of farmers. But when people heard about the gold, they started arriving in their hundreds, in thousands and they all knew the place…their hunger for gold built the city, son. Back then this area fell under the control of the old South African Republic, under President Paul Kruger. Here's an interesting thing, son. In 1886, Jo'burg only had about 2500 inhabitants. Some folks insist that Johannesburg was named after our …veldkornet Johannes Petrus Meyer other folks still swear that it was after one of President Kruger's second names, Johannes. In any course there was Johan Rissik, Acting Surveyor General and Volksraad member Christiaan Johannes Joubert who eventually proclaimed the new city. Well,…definitely named Johannesburg, just a question of after which Johan or Johannes.

Veli: So, which one was it, Joe?

Joe: Who knows. The thing is, …. Eventually it had another name too. All the migrant labourers flooding into the mine fields called the place '*iGoli*', the place of gold, son, the place of gold.

Veli: So what was it like […] back then?

Joe: Arrrh, hard son, very hard. Of course as time passed, the tents disappeared. People began to build houses, offices and shops but still the people poured into town. The ox-wagons and horses filled the dusty streets with traffic. The bars and

hotels were full of miners spending their earnings on wine, women and song. It was pretty bleak for some, very rough. Working in extremely dangerous conditions and overall the thud, thud, thud…crushing rock could be heard all day, all night. Nobody had dug that deep before …and it was every prospector for himself. Every claim being worked independently. To get the gold at first, they needed picks and shovels digging up the surface ore from deep trenches zig-zagging across the stony ground. Then when the trenches were stepped as they went deeper and deeper. This was the beginning of the first real deep level mining. Of course they quickly realized that all this new equipment and mining to depths never reached before would cost a whole lot more money…. Became the only answer, and that created wheel and dealing on a grand scale. For a while the main activity was a just a frantic buying and selling of claims while the actual mining and miners had to wait for the wagon trains to haul the machinery out of the…at Kimberley. Now the people who had the real expertise and the real money were the owners of the big diamond companies already established over in Kimberley, companies headed by men like Cecil John Rhodes, Alfred Beit, Barney Barnato, Abe Bailey and Sammy Marks. These men became known as the Randlords. And all the money they made, made them powerful, and bought them political influence, built them beautiful homes, mansions on the ridges overlooking town. Some are still standing today. But they were the owners son, they traded the gold, sold it all over the world, and in 1892 the first train finally steamed into Jo'burg from the Cape. Communication lines were opening up adding to the speed of the rush and as the City grew, so did the rate of gold production. They were getting more and more gold out there every month. Today, some of the top gold mines of this country produce over 20 tons of gold in a year. It was a massive achievement son, it makes South Africa the leading gold producer in the world and since those early beginnings we provided 35% of all the gold ever mined.

Veli: That's a pretty cool story!

Joe: Why, thank you son.

Veli: So if I wanted to find out more about this stuff, where would I go?

Joe: You go and explore, hmm? Take a look around. I'll join you in a minute. Its about time you all take a look around as well. Go see for yourselves. We have 3 mining house museums- Ohltaver House, the Dowse House and the Oosthuizen House, the gold pour and the trip down the mine itself. All still to be experienced. It's time to step back into the past. Enjoy the Gold Reef City Experience. See you there!

Transcription of the Gold Pour narrative

(Mine worker speaking over the sounds of chipping, knocking rock and metal, whistling.)

'Imagine what it would have been like at 4:30 am on a cold Highveld morning…am waiting at the top of a mine shaft…cold up here, warm down there…there, set the charges, blasting, find rocks have been blasted yesterday…drilling more holes, you yawn. Its early, always early. Sweating, hot down here…smell of man, rock, dynamite. Rock always taken away, follow man away…sweat stains away…roof gets closer, nearly at stone, man turns around, white teeth, swearing already…pile of broken rock in your way…rock is black cant see the gold inside. One day they will have you pulling…watch as the shaft skip arrives, take it to the crushers…all mixed together…big pile of powder… 'cyanidisation'…sold to South African Reserve Bank, sold overseas…bullion durable and malleable…'

## 6.2 Consent form and sample survey form

Private Bag 3, Wits, South Africa

Fax: + 27 11 339 7601
Tel: + 27 11 717 4654
January 2008

Dear participant,

My name is Philippa van Straaten, a postgraduate student at the University of the Witwatersrand, doing an MA in Heritage. I am currently conducting research that looks at Gold Reef City and the mining precinct in Johannesburg, and what the story/ stories of the history of Johannesburg are, as told by these two sites. Overall, and in light of recent developments within the mining sector, this project hopes to look at how the history of mining has been shown at the Gold Reef City site, as well as at certain areas in Johannesburg, especially in the CBD.

I hereby kindly request your voluntary participation in the above-mentioned research by sharing your experience and knowledge.

It should be noted that all the information you will share with the researcher will be treated with the highest level of confidentiality. You may request to be anonymous, as well as that all notes/ records be retained by the researcher and not be made accessible to third parties. The information will not be used for commercial gains other than the purpose of providing a clear understanding of the academic research objectives.

In the event that you feel any discomfort during the research process, you are free to discontinue your participation. You may also refuse to answer questions that you feel are highly sensitive or cause any discomfort.

Your contribution towards this research is highly appreciated, and as mentioned above, voluntary. No special benefits in the form of payment or otherwise will be forthcoming from the researcher as a result of participating in this research, nor will the researcher use this research to receive financial or otherwise benefit. This research is purely for academic purposes.

For more information, please contact Professor Cynthia Kros, History Department and Supervisor on (011) 717 4319 or Cynthia.Kros@wits.ac.za

Thank you for your participation.

Philippa van Straaten

Age: Gender:

Where were you born?

What (other) kinds of work have you done?

How long have you worked in/visited Main Street?

What do you do in Main Street?

What changes have you seen in Main Street?

Do you like the way the area looks?
Why?

What is your favourite thing about or part of Main Street?
Why?

What does ‘gold mining’ mean to you?

Do you know about the Mapungubwe Gold Rhino?
How do you feel about having the Gold Rhino here?

Why? i.e. What does having this item here mean to you?

What can you/people learn about gold mining in Main Street?

What should people learn about Johannesburg in Main Street?

Why do you think these changes were made/exhibits/displays were put in place?

Who should be teaching people about gold mining in Johannesburg?

Who do you think the spaces/exhibits/displays are aimed at? Why?

Who should the space and exhibits be aimed at? Why?

Who do you think uses Main Street the most?

What would you like to see in Main Street?

Other:

## 6.3 Transcribed responses from the sample (consent form not included here)

1.
Age: 29 Gender: Male

Where were you born? Johannesburg

What (other) kinds of work have you done? Flood and fire restoration, retail management

How long have you worked in/visited Main Street? Ten years

What do you do in Main Street? Work in a company on Main Street

What changes have you seen in Main Street? Now more pedestrian friendly, coffee shops and displays

Do you like the way the area looks? Yes
Why? More friendly and cosy

What is your favourite thing about or part of Main Street? Gandhi Square
Why? Like the way the area looks, the big open space

What does 'gold mining' mean to you? Money, employment

Do you know about the Mapungubwe Gold Rhino? Yes
How do you feel about having the Gold Rhino here? Indifferent

Why? i.e. What does having this item here mean to you? Nothing really

What can you/people learn about gold mining in Main Street? Basic story / history of mining before the creation of big industries

What should people learn about Johannesburg in Main Street? That it is the City of Gold. Johannesburg = gold

Why do you think these changes were made/exhibits/displays were put in place? To attract tourists and Jo'burgers.

Who should be teaching people about gold mining in Johannesburg? Schools

Who do you think the spaces/exhibits/displays are aimed at? Why? Tourists- they're more interested in historical things

Who should the space and exhibits be aimed at? Why? Tourists and school kids

Who do you think uses Main Street the most? People in the companies in the area, bus commuters

What would you like to see in Main Street? Buskers
Other:

2.
Age: 26 Gender: Male

Where were you born? London

What (other) kinds of work have you done? Information Technology

How long have you worked in/visited Main Street? First time visit

What do you do in Main Street? Visitor

What changes have you seen in Main Street? Not sure

Do you like the way the area looks? Yes
Why? Pretty

What is your favourite thing about or part of Main Street? Displays
Why? Unusual

What does 'gold mining' mean to you? Money, jewellery

Do you know about the Mapungubwe Gold Rhino? No
How do you feel about having the Gold Rhino here?

Why? i.e. What does having this item here mean to you?

What can you/people learn about gold mining in Main Street? Tools used in mining

What should people learn about Johannesburg in Main Street? Its past, Importance of gold, mining

Why do you think these changes were made/exhibits/displays were put in place? To fix it up? Some other parts of the city are bad.

Who should be teaching people about gold mining in Johannesburg? Teachers?

Who do you think the spaces/exhibits/displays are aimed at? Why? People here

Who should the space and exhibits be aimed at? Why? Kids, people visiting here- to learn

Who do you think uses Main Street the most? People here, tourists?

What would you like to see in Main Street? More trees? Not really sure.
Other:

3.
Age: 17 Gender: Female

Where were you born? Johannesburg

What (other) kinds of work have you done? n/a

How long have you worked in/visited Main Street? Since Standard Six

What do you do in Main Street? Walk through it

What changes have you seen in Main Street? Nicer

Do you like the way the area looks? Yes
Why? Clean, interesting

What is your favourite thing about or part of Main Street? All of it
Why?

What does 'gold mining' mean to you? Mines, people digging

Do you know about the Mapungubwe Gold Rhino? Yes
How do you feel about having the Gold Rhino here? Not sure

Why? i.e. What does having this item here mean to you?

What can you/people learn about gold mining in Main Street? Our past

What should people learn about Johannesburg in Main Street? Safer

Why do you think these changes were made/exhibits/displays were put in place? To make it safer

Who should be teaching people about gold mining in Johannesburg? Teachers, people here

Who do you think the spaces/exhibits/displays are aimed at? Why? People who work here- always here

Who should the space and exhibits be aimed at? Why? School kids, foreign people- need to learn

Who do you think uses Main Street the most? People who work in the area

What would you like to see in Main Street? Benches
Other:

4.
Age: 39 Gender: Male

Where were you born? Kimberley

What (other) kinds of work have you done? Construction

How long have you worked in/visited Main Street? Three years

What do you do in Main Street? Security guard

What changes have you seen in Main Street? Already as it is when I got here

Do you like the way the area looks? Definitely
Why? Beautiful, no criminals, always security

What is your favourite thing about or part of Main Street? Market Street to Sauer Street
Why? Beautiful

What does 'gold mining' mean to you? Money

Do you know about the Mapungubwe Gold Rhino? Haven't noticed- walk to Spar, walk past
How do you feel about having the Gold Rhino here?

Why? i.e. What does having this item here mean to you?

What can you/people learn about gold mining in Main Street? Gold mining offices, precinct (about the this area)

What should people learn about Johannesburg in Main Street? Miners that did the mining

Why do you think these changes were made/exhibits/displays were put in place? Tourists must come and tour here

Who should be teaching people about gold mining in Johannesburg? Security staff- always here

Who do you think the spaces/exhibits/displays are aimed at? Why? Most people are tourists, people who work here just pass through

Who should the space and exhibits be aimed at? Why? Local people- have to know what is happening where they stay

Who do you think uses Main Street the most? Locals in the area

What would you like to see in Main Street? Perfect like this
Other:

5.
Age: 22 Gender: Female

Where were you born? Alberton

What (other) kinds of work have you done?

How long have you worked in/visited Main Street? Every now and then

What do you do in Main Street? Art student

What changes have you seen in Main Street? Cleaner

Do you like the way the area looks? Yes
Why? Clean and peaceful

What is your favourite thing about or part of Main Street? Trees and some displays
Why? Beautiful

What does 'gold mining' mean to you? Money

Do you know about the Mapungubwe Gold Rhino? Yes
How do you feel about having the Gold Rhino here? Not sure

Why? i.e. What does having this item here mean to you? It is beautiful!

What can you/people learn about gold mining in Main Street? Mining technology, instruments

What should people learn about Johannesburg in Main Street? How it grew

Why do you think these changes were made/exhibits/displays were put in place? To upgrade Johannesburg

Who should be teaching people about gold mining in Johannesburg? Mining houses

Who do you think the spaces/exhibits/displays are aimed at? Why? People here- they use it most

Who should the space and exhibits be aimed at? Why? All people

Who do you think uses Main Street the most? People here

What would you like to see in Main Street? More things to do- restaurants etc.
Other:

6. (lady in a hurry)
Age: 27 Gender: Female

Where were you born?

What (other) kinds of work have you done?

How long have you worked in/visited Main Street? Three years

What do you do in Main Street? Receptionist in a mining company

What changes have you seen in Main Street? Improvement, renovations

Do you like the way the area looks? Yes
Why? Looks more appropriate

What is your favourite thing about or part of Main Street? Main Street to Sauer Street
Why?

What does 'gold mining' mean to you? Brings cash

Do you know about the Mapungubwe Gold Rhino? No
How do you feel about having the Gold Rhino here?

Why? i.e. What does having this item here mean to you?

What can you/people learn about gold mining in Main Street? Not much, I work for a copper mining department

What should people learn about Johannesburg in Main Street? Not to fear Johannesburg, safe

Why do you think these changes were made/exhibits/displays were put in place? Everyone coming back

Who should be teaching people about gold mining in Johannesburg? Mining managers

Who do you think the spaces/exhibits/displays are aimed at? Why? Don't know

Who should the space and exhibits be aimed at? Why? Everyone

Who do you think uses Main Street the most? Students, workers

What would you like to see in Main Street? More security

Other:

7. (group of three ladies)
Age: Gender: Female

Where were you born?

What (other) kinds of work have you done?

How long have you worked in/visited Main Street? Sporadically

What do you do in Main Street? Work in Marshall Street for a computer register company

What changes have you seen in Main Street? Renovations, exhibits, restaurants

Do you like the way the area looks? Yes
Why?

What is your favourite thing about or part of Main Street? Sitting and relaxing under trees
Why?

What does 'gold mining' mean to you? Gold as a resource

Do you know about the Mapungubwe Gold Rhino? No (but they do toyi-toyi here sometimes)
How do you feel about having the Gold Rhino here?

Why? i.e. What does having this item here mean to you?

What can you/people learn about gold mining in Main Street? Get gold out of mines

What should people learn about Johannesburg in Main Street? Important companies

Why do you think these changes were made/exhibits/displays were put in place? Company advertising, they shoot adverts here too

Who should be teaching people about gold mining in Johannesburg? People working here- Anglo etc.

Who do you think the spaces/exhibits/displays are aimed at? Why? People here

Who should the space and exhibits be aimed at? Why? All of us

Who do you think uses Main Street the most? Tourists

What would you like to see in Main Street? Benches

Other:

8.
Age: 47 Gender: Male

Where were you born? Rustenburg

What (other) kinds of work have you done? Boilermaker

How long have you worked in/visited Main Street? About two weeks

What do you do in Main Street? Built security huts

What changes have you seen in Main Street? Nothing new

Do you like the way the area looks? Yes
Why? Clean

What is your favourite thing about or part of Main Street? Main Street as a whole
Why?

What does 'gold mining' mean to you? Digging for gold

Do you know about the Mapungubwe Gold Rhino? No
How do you feel about having the Gold Rhino here?

Why? i.e. What does having this item here mean to you?

What can you/people learn about gold mining in Main Street? Can only teach when you go down into the mines

What should people learn about Johannesburg in Main Street? Get along with other races/ people in the space

Why do you think these changes were made/exhibits/displays were put in place? Unsure

Who should be teaching people about gold mining in Johannesburg? Mining instructors and mining houses, these people in the buildings only have knowledge from paper

Who do you think the spaces/exhibits/displays are aimed at? Why? Mining staff and railway staff

Who should the space and exhibits be aimed at? Why? *iGoli,* the gold community

Who do you think uses Main Street the most? Black people, you very seldom see a white person

What would you like to see in Main Street? Not different to what it is now
Other:

9.
Age: 64 Gender: Male

Where were you born? Kensington

What (other) kinds of work have you done? Tram/bus conductor

How long have you worked in/visited Main Street? Thirty/forty years

What do you do in Main Street? Visit friends

What changes have you seen in Main Street? Seen it deteriorate, then be upgraded, buildings demolished, old ones upgraded

Do you like the way the area looks? Yes
Why? Compared to rest of town, it feels safer

What is your favourite thing about or part of Main Street? Few cars this side of Rissik Street
Why? Easier to cross, safer for old people

What does 'gold mining' mean to you? Part of our history, on what Johannesburg was founded

Do you know about the Mapungubwe Gold Rhino? No
How do you feel about having the Gold Rhino here?

Why? i.e. What does having this item here mean to you?

What can you/people learn about gold mining in Main Street? Old equipment compared to now-the technical, mechanical stuff

What should people learn about Johannesburg in Main Street? Not sure

Why do you think these changes were made/exhibits/displays were put in place? To remind us of our heritage

Who should be teaching people about gold mining in Johannesburg? Mining houses in the street

Who do you think the spaces/exhibits/displays are aimed at? Why? Average person, so visible-positions

Who should the space and exhibits be aimed at? Why? Tourists- need to be educated about Johannesburg's history

Who do you think uses Main Street the most? Office people, people on lunch

What would you like to see in Main Street? More benches, trees etc.
Other:

10.
Age: 34 Gender: Male

Where were you born? Polokwane

What (other) kinds of work have you done? Factory work

How long have you worked in/visited Main Street? About a year and a half

What do you do in Main Street? Delivery man

What changes have you seen in Main Street? More beautiful, smarter

Do you like the way the area looks? Yes
Why? Nice to work here

What is your favourite thing about or part of Main Street? No crime
Why? Feel safe

What does 'gold mining' mean to you? More money, *iGoli t*he city

Do you know about the Mapungubwe Gold Rhino? No
How do you feel about having the Gold Rhino here?

Why? i.e. What does having this item here mean to you?

What can you/people learn about gold mining in Main Street? Mining companies

What should people learn about Johannesburg in Main Street? Its past

Why do you think these changes were made/exhibits/displays were put in place? Make its safer, people want to come here

Who should be teaching people about gold mining in Johannesburg? People here

Who do you think the spaces/exhibits/displays are aimed at? Why? Visitors and tourists

Who should the space and exhibits be aimed at? Why? Tourists and people here

Who do you think uses Main Street the most? People working in the street

What would you like to see in Main Street?
Other:

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