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Preservation, conservation, and advocacy: a study of the Parktown Westcliff Heritage Trust (PWHT) in heritage management, 1965-2011

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Preservation, Conservation, and Advocacy: A Study of the Parktown Westcliff Heritage Trust (PWHT) in Heritage Management, 1965-2011.

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A Research Report Submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Heritage

Supervisor: Susan Krige

March 2012

Declaration

I declare that this Research Report is my own unaided work.

Prue Mutumi

Place_____ Date _____

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ABSTRACT

This study is based on the Parktown Westcliff Heritage Trust (PWHT). The study focuses on the preservation, conservation and advocacy activities of the Trust in heritage management. It analyses how the Trust has managed to survive for over 40years and how it has adapted to the changes in legislation over time. Of particular salience, the study focuses on 3 historical moments in which the PWHT intervened to save buildings and landscapes from destruction. These moments span from 1965 to the present and they include the destruction of the Parktown Ridge from 1965 onwards, inner city-Newtown 1980 and the Beyers Naude Square in 2004. The moments selected for analysis, explore how the PWHT has managed to survive through two distinct political systems namely, apartheid and democracy. The analysis presented in this report draws attention to the application and interpretation of legislation and policy at both local and national levels in heritage management.

KEY WORDS

Preservation, Advocacy, Heritage Management

ABBREVIATIONS

CBD- Central Business District
CRSA-Constitution of the Republic of South Africa
ECA-Environmental Control Area
HIA-Heritage Impact Assessment
ICCROM-International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS- International Council of Monuments and Sites
JDA- Johannesburg Development Agency
JHP-Johannesburg Heritage Policy
JPC- Joint Plans Committee
NEMA-National Environmental Management Act
NHRA-National Heritage Resources Act
NMC Act-National Monuments Council Act
NMC- National Monuments Council
PHRA-G- Provincial Heritage Resources Agency of Gauteng
PWHT-Parktown Westcliff Heritage Trust
SAHRA-South African Heritage Resources Agency
RSDF-Regional Spatial Development Framework
UNESCO-United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Parktown, a garden suburb to the north of Johannesburg, was originally built close to the centre of a city that was developing rapidly. The need for office space, roads linking suburbs and infrastructural development for a thriving city meant there was an inevitable expansion into bordering areas. This resulted in the encroachment of the once peaceful and quiet garden suburb by offices, roads, parking lots, educational departments and the General Hospital as these could no longer be contained within the Central Business District. Bulldozers were a constant sight in Parktown followed by one demolition after another, a dull colour of smoke and dust rising into the atmosphere. Objections to this had been lodged mostly through formal court cases, up until two housewives realised more needed to be done to save the area. In 1972 the Parktown Westcliff Heritage Trust was formed in response to the constant destruction Parktown had been subjected to. The two women responsible for the initiative, Flo Bird and Isabelle Le Roux, were passionate about Parktown and its historical significance. Similar to most Johannesburg residents who had witnessed the demolition of landmark buildings the women were determined to put an end to these uncontrolled destructive initiatives (Parktown Westcliff Heritage Trust, 1992). There had been constant attempts at saving buildings amounting to marches, demonstrations and protests (Ball, 2010). The need to form an organised body emanated from the realisation that without proper planning, the suburb along with other historically significant buildings in Johannesburg would disappear completely under new development enterprises (Parktown Westcliff Heritage Trust, 1992).

A concerted effort was essential for changing attitudes and perceptions about the heritage of Johannesburg. A number of heritage groups were formed in this period in response to the constant demolitions and these included: The Johannesburg Historical Foundation in 1970 under the chairmanship of Dr Oscar Norwich, the Johannesburg Downtown Improvement Group (JODIG) in the mid-1970s (comprising of property owners, architects and planners) and the Simon van der Stel Organisation in the late 1970s to name a few (Ball, 2010). Such an increase in the numbers of groups advocating for the heritage of the city highlighted the rate at which Johannesburg's older buildings were constantly under attack. The destructive culture of the city was slowly challenged by and through heritage groups that realised the need to conserve the important aspects

of the past. There was a realisation that development that came at a cost of obliterating the past, regardless of how unpalatable the past was, was not necessarily the best approach. The PWHT therefore was there to play a significant role going into a future that appreciated and understood the value of heritage (Parktown Westcliff Heritage Trust, 1992).

Aims

This study aims to describe and analyse the role of the Parktown Westcliff Heritage Trust in its preservation, conservation and advocacy activities in Johannesburg during the period 1965-2011 using three key moments in the heritage history of Johannesburg as follows:

- On the Parktown Ridge from 1965 onwards
- In the Inner city- Newtown's electrical precinct during the 1980s, 1990s and onwards
- On the Beyers Naude Square in 2004

The study will look at specific historical moments in which the Trust intervened to save historical buildings. The research will focus on the changing legislative environment in relation to the impacts the changes had on the Trust. This will help in analysing the extent to which the Trust has adapted to the changes. The study seeks to examine the strategies that the Trust has adopted in carrying out its advocacy activities. The focal concern of the research is to investigate how the Parktown Westcliff Heritage Trust has played a role in conserving heritage in conjunction with other heritage organisations in a changing legislative environment. It is anticipated that this case study will shed light on the broader changes in the heritage environment in South Africa.

Rationale

At the beginning of the year as I started studying towards a master's degree I noticed that the major heritage projects within Gauteng such as the Old Fort and The Constitutional Court, and Freedom Park were government driven. This aroused my curiosity as to whether there were any private or non-government participants in heritage. I chose to move away from heritage driven by the government to focus on community oriented heritage management efforts. I also sought to understand how legislation and policy were applied within the heritage context as I was doing a course in policy, leadership and research in heritage management. In the initial phase of the

project I came across many private heritage organisations but my attention was drawn to the PWHT. This was partly because the houses that are found in Parktown evoked nostalgic memories of my childhood as I grew up in an area that had traces of Victorian/ Edwardian architecture. I started to look for more information about the Trust and its work.

I realised that the Parktown Westcliff Heritage Trust (PWHT) could be an interesting area of study because there is generally a dearth of information on the Trust as it has remained largely unexplored in academic research and writings. This study aims to fill this gap.

The Trust advocates for the preservation and conservation of heritage resources within Johannesburg. The Trust has survived from the 1970s to the present. The focus of the Trust has been on the history of the rich mining magnates and the mansions they built from 1892. The conservation and preservation efforts of the Trust are therefore aimed at a privileged minority group that is white, colonial and associated with exploitation of workers in the city. It is worth researching how the PWHT has survived in a period where political emphasis has been placed on the heritage of the hitherto marginalised racial categories that were largely ignored in the apartheid era.

As a case study the PWHT provided an excellent example of the application and interpretation of legislation and policy both at national and local levels over time. There is very little work that has been done in terms of case studies that show the application of policy in heritage practice, conservation and advocacy in general in South Africa. The study generated another perspective which can be used to view more regional and national developments in heritage management. This study has explored the PWHT activities in key moments in which the Trust intervened to preserve and conserve heritage resources. These historical moments include the destruction of the landscape and buildings:

- On the Parktown Ridge from 1965 onwards
- In the Inner city- Newtown's electrical precinct during the 1980s, 1990s and onwards
- On the Beyers Naude Square in 2004

Methodology

This research was based on secondary publications, policy documents, archival sources including newspapers and interviews. The PWHT has a rich source of archival material that it has kept over the years. The research drew from these archival materials. I carried out interviews with PWHT members and other organisations such as the Egoli Heritage Foundation, City officials and Provincial Heritage Resources Agency of Gauteng (PHRA-G) as they have worked together with the PWHT over the years.

I made use of information from newspaper clippings and magazines that were documenting events prior to, during and after the three historical moments when the PWHT intervened. Electronic resources gave me access to global legislation and advocacy cases around the world I used as a backdrop to the analysis of the South African context. I analysed the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance (1999) and the Nara document on authenticity (1994), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) global policy documents and case studies. These gave me a background to the current South African legislation particularly the National Heritage Resources Act (1999). I made use of government documents such as the National Monuments Act, No 28 of (1969) and the National Environmental Management Act No. 62 of (2008), the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa no. 108 of 1996 (CSRA), the National Environmental Management Act 107 of 1998 (NEMA) and the City of Johannesburg's Arts, Culture & Heritage Services Heritage Policy Framework of 2004 (JHP) placed online. I also used the Parktown Trust's web page. The city of Johannesburg also has an online archive for news reports on the city. All this data informed my research of events and circumstances within which the PWHT has operated as well as the impact this has had on its work.

The PWHT archives were very useful in tracking events that were occurring in the periods that led to the destruction of the landscapes and buildings. This gave me an insight into the methods that were employed by the Trust in response to the destruction. Access to such records helped me establish the link between the legislative environment and the historical moments in which the Trust intervened. The National Monument Council archival records gave an insight into how the legislative environment informed actions and decisions. Minutes from meetings gave me an idea

of the way decisions were made which led to the destruction of the buildings and landscapes as these often included submissions from the PWHT. This helped me deduce how heritage issues have been dealt with overtime using the three instances as guidelines.

I was fortunate to interview some participants that were either directly or indirectly involved in the three historical moments in which important heritage resources were either destroyed or preserved. These interviews have given me a comprehension of the relationships that are fostered by the Trust. In addition the interviews have given me background information on the interviewees and their sentiments on heritage that is difficult to get from archival material. The interviews also provided a rich analysis of the changes in the legislative environment and the strategies adopted by the Trust in fighting heritage battles. The individuals I interviewed are summarised in the table below:

Group	**Significance**
Parktown Westcliff Heritage Trust Chairman- Flo Bird	Formed the Trust and has witnessed and fought many heritage battles since the 1970s
Parktown Westcliff Heritage Trust member- Denis Adams(Tour Guide)	Conducts tours run by the PWHT and has taken part in the Trust's advocacy activities from the 1980s.
Parktown Westcliff Heritage Trust member(sits on the PHRA-G committee)-William Gaul	Handles demolition applications for the Trust and has participated in the Trust's advocacy activities.
Egoli Heritage Trust member-Herbert Prins(chairman and architect)	Egoli Heritage Trust is a private heritage body that works closely with the PWHT.
Architect-Fanuel Motsepe	The Parktown area has a rich architectural background that is of importance to architects. Motsepe worked on the Beyers Naude Project(Kopanong Precinct Project)

Historians-Sue Krige	The link to the history of areas against the background of the political eras at each specific moment can explain the destruction initiatives.
Eric Itzkin (Deputy Director Immovable Heritage- City of Johannesburg's Art Culture and Heritage Department)	He gave me an idea of policy and practice at a local level.
Provincial Heritage Resources Agency-Gauteng(PHRA-G) Grant Botha	The heritage body responsible for heritage resources on provincial government level.

Challenges

This research project has been very enlightening for me. I however faced a major challenge in that some of the interviewees were giving guarded answers. I would have wanted more information from PHRA-G especially with reference to how it has worked with the Trust but this was not forthcoming. This would have given me a different perspective of the Trust from what I got from the other interviewees. In some instances the office bearers had only come into office after the NHRA had necessitated setting up of different government heritage tiers. As a result these officials could only comment on recent events the PWHT had been engaged in.

Chapter Outline

I have set out different chapters to guide my discussion on the three historical moments in which the PWHT intervened to save heritage resources. Chapter one introduces the purpose of the study. It reviews the literature on global destruction patterns and locates South Africa within these patterns. Chapter two gives an analysis of the changing legislative environment in South Africa and any policy or charter that impacts on heritage. Chapter three discusses the backgrounds of the people I interviewed and what inspired them to work within heritage bodies. Chapter three discusses the background and the PWHT intervention on the Parktown Ridge. Chapters four and

five discuss the background and the PWHT intervention in Newtown and on the Beyers Naude Square. The last chapter will discuss the future of the Trust as indicated in the interviews; discuss the other activities the Trust engages in, give an analysis of the possible reasons for the survival of the PWHT and a conclusion will be drawn from the analysis.

Literature Review

Global Destruction Patterns and Conservation Attempts

In this section I will draw on global literature highlighting destruction trends of historic buildings. This is an attempt to show what was happening in the period around 1965 onwards and how it related to the South African context. I will highlight the responses that were evoked on a global scale as a result of the destruction of historical buildings. This will give an idea of the combined preservation and conservation efforts that occurred as an appreciation of the importance of heritage resources.

Placing my research in the global context will help give a basis for what was happening to heritage buildings internationally. In addition this will highlight how the South African apartheid policies had a direct effect on the country's heritage resources from the 1960s as it was excluded from active participation in heritage initiatives on a global level.

During the 1960s in the USA preservation attempts amounted to 'the subject of low-key letter-writing campaigns, polite protest meetings and a little more. Scarcely a major city in the United States has not been touched-in most cases almost completely transformed –by the preservation movement' (Diamonstein, 1978 p.15). This was through the realisation that old historic buildings were important and could be adapted to new uses instead of destroying them. A number of buildings in places like London, Prague or Warsaw were rebuilt and restored to what they were after the World War 2. The preservation movement was fuelled by demolitions of entire neighbourhoods that were replaced by structures that were not comparable aesthetically (Diamonstein, 1978).

Such urban renewal projects led those who could afford better houses to flee to the suburbs but succeeded in frustrating those who could not. The citizens and residents took it upon themselves

to oppose this pattern of destruction. This was characterised by women chaining themselves to bulldozers but most importantly the formation of heritage preservation groups. The groups were made up of mostly environmentalists, architects, historians as they understood the importance of using old buildings for new purposes. Success was aided partly by widespread education of heritage and the 1970s recession which stopped bulldozing as the construction industry was extremely affected. With the threat of destruction bodies like the New York's Landmarks Preservation Commission were formed to save the historic structures (Diamonstein, 1978).

Maddex's work (1985) allows us to see similarities in the destruction pattern occurring in Johannesburg with places in the USA. She highlights that there is another threat to buildings that is not linked to demolition crews but that of buildings falling under neglect. Maddex highlights places for instance the Pennsylvania Station that was destroyed in 1966 to make way for the New Madison Square Garden, under the Pennsylvania Avenue development plan more places such as the Loew's Palace were destroyed. There is a general trend of destruction whereby the valuable or smaller places have been totally destroyed. A general sentiment was that the loss not only meant the loss of buildings but there was a loss in terms of the era in which the buildings came from (Maddex, 1985).

Maddex (1985, p 32) quotes the Dean in the Architecture Department in Tulane University saying that 'the basic purpose of preservation is not to arrest time but to mediate sensitively with the forces of change.' She gives reasons for preservation as the link to the past through buildings, source of identity; diversity as reusing structures is more economical than new construction and for fulfilment of nostalgic instincts. This highlights the need for continuous efforts to nurture the remaining buildings that link to the past as different groups of people attach specific values on them (Maddex 1985). The fate of buildings in Over-the-Rhine in Cincinnati had been decided on when it was declared as a slum in the 1930s. In the same period an area close by (West End) had already been completely demolished. The decline of the area increased in the period 1960-1990 and most of the 19th century buildings were lost. Some reconstruction has been undertaken but the process is slow (Ferdelman & Scheer, 2001). This serves to illustrate the fate of most historic buildings in the name of development.

On the legislative front there are a number of Acts that became useful in saving old buildings within the USA. Maddex (1985) gives us examples of these Acts as the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. This was expanded to include local, state and regional significant areas

or the Archaeological and Historic Preservation Act of 1974. This Act authorised the agencies to salvage or preserve sites affected by federal projects. The use of legislation shows us the context within which preservation movements were operating. The period in the 1970s also shows the most number of Acts speaking directly to heritage preservation. This shows us that there were changes in the way heritage resources were to be treated moving forward.

Many historical buildings in Central European towns have undergone extensive transformation over the years with the result that few of them are the original structures. In fast growing economies such as China the rate of demolition is very high and there is a massive increase in new buildings. In Paris large demolitions occurred between 1971 and 1973 with the destruction of Les Halles. In Amsterdam the demolition of the Bijlmermeer (a large housing estate) was similar to destruction patterns that were occurring in France and the UK (Thomsen et al, 2011). Such destruction patterns can be likened to the events that have been happening in Johannesburg overtime. Using international examples locates my study in the context of what was happening in the rest of the world in an attempt to explain the situation was not unique to South Africa.

A success story can be derived from the meeting of architects from Asia where the theme was on conservation of buildings in Colombo in 1975. Owing to the economic boom in 1977 modern structures were being erected at the expense of the older buildings. In an attempt to save the structures leaders of the country were taken on a tour to view the events. These authorities all agreed on the need to conserve and protect the built environment and this led to the correction of the gaps in the legislation that dealt with monuments in the country. This was met with resistance from the business community as it was seen as hampering progress. This has not stopped the efforts and work of UNESCO through campaigns to include the preservation of important structures of each nation (Silva, 1983).

Global Responses to Destruction and Site Grading Criteria

The Venice Charter came about when the International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments met in Venice to review the Athens Charter of 1931. This was because there was need to accommodate the changes that were occurring in the field of conservation. Ten years after the Venice Charter was adopted it also fell under numerous criticisms. This can be attributed to the fact that the concept of historic monuments and sites was undergoing constant changes and

revisions to suit the needs that were prevalent then. The other weakness of the Charter was that it had been drafted mainly by European representatives and thus it had a bias towards European attitudes and views. Another challenge was the fact that the document had been drafted in French and each time it was translated it deviated further away from the original. This however did not invalidate the use of the charter as a guideline to the protection of the historic monuments and sites (Erder, 1977). Silva (1983) acknowledges the success of the Venice Charter in bringing about change in the preservation of historical monuments but highlights the need to widen its scope.

UNESCO successfully encouraged the documentation of monuments and sites and it created a platform for experts to meet to devise the best approaches to be used in recording data. The drive was to set an example that would be emulated elsewhere in the world. Campaigns were undertaken to promote heritage preservation through driving protection initiatives at national levels (Silva, 1983). This success is shown by Jokilehto (1998) when he writes that 'since the two world wars the modern conservation movement has touched practically all regions of the world as shown by the success of the 1972 UNESCO *Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage'.* The significant progress in raising awareness in the importance of heritage can be attributed to bodies like UNESCO and ICOM around 1945, ICCROM in 1956, Venice Charter in 1964 and ICOMOS in 1965. Feilden (1982) explains that ICCROM makes plans to help in required situations in various member countries.

The Venice Charter's main thrust was to develop a critical approach to conservative restoration of historic properties. Care was to be made to maintain existing structures and reconstructions were to be made using original elements. The Charter was relevant specifically to monuments as opposed to sites but attention was also given to urban areas. These urban areas had suffered from the First and Second World Wars (1914-1918 and 1939-1945 respectively) then later on from demolition due to rapid business growth in and around urban centres. There was an increased importance in conservation movements worldwide and the built environment was added to the historic monuments that had been the main focus of preservation. In 1981 in the Burra Charter the term 'place' is used to indicate cultural heritage and non-physical aspects of culture which were given more importance than physical monuments (Jokilehto, 1998).

There has been a remarkable increase in membership in international bodies like UNESCO and ICCROM coupled with professional associations like ICOMOS. In the 1990s there was a move to

challenge interpretations of international documents like the Venice Charter. This is what led to the Nara Document on Authenticity (1994) as an attempt to include cultural diversity and specificity in order to broaden the concept of a heritage resource. The Nara Document was formulated from the Venice Charter but it expanded on the notion of cultural heritage. This was through the realisation that marginal cultures were being undermined as countries sought to establish national identities. Smaller groups in various countries were also facing possible eradication through concepts such as globalisation. The 1976 UNESCO recommendation included the fact that every historic area needed to be considered together with its surrounding and read as a whole. To add to this new players like property owners have emerged and there have been changes in the definition of heritage. According to data from the ICCROM database in 1994, ICCROM with the help of UNESCO had trained 3000 professionals from over a 100 countries. There is a need to continue the protection of physical structures to hand them on to future generations 'in the full richness of their authenticity', as urged by the Venice Charter (http://www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf).

Authenticity is a concept that is used to capture the most important values that are worthy of conservation in any given cultural heritage. In order to capture the real values there is need to seek clarification and exposure to the values through knowledgeable people who draw from their memories. This is because the Venice Charter acknowledges that cultural diversity is a rich source of knowledge in various forms for example spiritual knowledge. There is a need to respect all cultures for their contributions to societies. Guidelines have been put in place to ensure that true representations of cultures are retained and these encourage: involving and using experts and knowledgeable people available in the cultural context, ensuring values are true representations of a culture and its broad interests and trying to update authenticity assessments and recording them each time values change (http://www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf).

The Venice Charter uses the term monument to mean great historic sites and antique buildings. Brooks (n.d) argues that in Australia this term meant the exclusion of some of the buildings that the general public recognised as historic. The Australian National Committee of ICOMOS came up with new conservation approaches after realising that there was a need to re-visit what was termed valuable. The group sought to avoid use of terms which were all encompassing and possibly had different meanings to different groups. There was need to have a thorough understanding of what made a place significant before decisions on policy were made. The argument was that conservation had to be unique to the specific significance of the resource.

There was a general consensus to use terms that were easy to understand. In coming up with a new approach the Venice Charter was used as a reference point. The Burra Charter was adopted after considering the Venice Charter and the resolutions of the fifth General Assembly of the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) in Moscow 1978 (http://australia.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/BURRA_CHARTER.pdf).

The Burra Charter (ICOMOS) has undergone revisions from feedback given through its use. The Charter is applied to all places of cultural significance and not just monuments. The major strength of the Burra Charter is the fact that it has a universal approach and clear methodology that can be adopted in planning. Cultural significance is defined as "aesthetic, historic, scientific, or social value for past, present, or future generations" (Brooks, n.d). The Burra Charter is most successful when used at the beginning of the project and it seeks to understand the history of a place, physical fabric and cultural significance; to examine future use; propose conservation policies and to outline strategies and procedures for implementing the policies Brooks (n.d). A success story of the Burra Charter is seen in The Rocks area of Sydney which contains a large number of nineteenth century buildings. The area was earmarked for total redevelopment but there were a series of protests by residents and workers which led to the redevelopment plan being dropped. The original fabric of the building is protected, emphasis is on repair over reconstruction, use is compatible with existing buildings and reconstruction is based on earlier forms and detail (http://australia.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/BURRA_CHARTER.pdf).

South Africa: Destruction of Johannesburg and Preservation Attempts

The National Monuments Council Act No. 28 of 1969 was the heritage legislation used in South Africa. The legislation was reflective of the treatment of different racial groups in this period meaning white heritage was more relevant and important hence worthy of preservation. The focus was on monuments and these were described as immovable and movable property in the Act. African culture in this context was regarded as unchanging and only located within tribal homelands. Tied to this was the classification of Africans into different ethnic groups which were further reinforced as ethnic identities in the homelands. As a result Africans were not considered as part of civilisation.

This idea of excluding Africans was perpetuated by anthropological studies that considered Africans and their ornaments as a source of wonder suitable for collection (Coombes, 2004). Hart and Winter (2001) attest to the fact that most of the buildings that were preserved during this period were relevant to colonial whites. They had nothing to do with the majority of the South Africans. Viney and Brink (2000) support this by stating that the preceding laws had mostly been focused on preserving sites and buildings relating to Dutch and British colonial pasts. The preservation of grave sites, later on in the sixties had a political bias in the sense that their purpose was to unite Afrikaners around celebrating a past with heroic acts. This meant that heritage, in focus, was exclusionary and it did not pay attention to the other racial groups in the country in line with apartheid racial cleavages.

By the 1960s, South Africa was shunned by the rest of the world and was not part of any global conservation and preservation attempts. All the developments that were occurring on an international scale as well as the Charters that were being drawn up could not be applied within the South African context. This however does not mean that South African destruction patterns were different from what was occurring in the rest of the world. The Minister of Education had declaration powers but he rarely declared monuments. In some instances some buildings had been declared as monuments without the owners' consent as the Act had such a provision. This had been the result of pressure groups (Ball, 2010). Examples of heritage groups set up included the Heritage Committee (1970s) and the Parktown Association (1972) among others. All the groups had preservation of historic buildings in mind (Ball, 2010).

Balls account of 'The Battle for Markhams' gives us more insight into some of the heritage preservation groups that were formed in Johannesburg in response to constant demolitions. In 1897 Markhams, the tallest building and a prominent landscape in the central business district was set for destruction to make way for a new structure after Foschini had acquired the building. This research essay gives a detailed account of the heritage battles with reference to one site and the interaction with the NMC in that period. In some instances owners would fight against having their properties declared as monuments. This was because of the difficult conditions attached to caring for monuments as there were specific guidelines to be followed in terms of alterations or general maintenance.

Recent work written on Johannesburg shows that planning in Johannesburg was done without really taking into account the cultural heritage of the past. This can be traced back to the early stages of development in the city. Murray (2011) draws our attention to the fact that […] 'the

rebuilding efforts of the 1960s and 1970s eliminated the main points of reference –landmark buildings'. This can be attributed to the legislation that governed heritage and town planning that was put in place as well as the administrative functions of the government that in a way promoted uncontrolled development. The last 120 years in the city have been characterised by demolitions thereby making it difficult to tell what the structures were that existed before. In the destruction process the actual buildings are lost together with their memories and the past they represented (Murray, 2011).

Murray (2011, p.56) states that 'throughout the twentieth century, one frenzied bout of construction followed another, as older buildings –not so long before considered elegant, stylish and avant-garde-were unceremoniously demolished to make room for new additions to the ever –changing cityscape'. The drive was to replace what Murray terms the 'out of date' buildings with more fashionable buildings that were adopted from places like New York or London. A close look at this trend shows a resemblance to the development patterns of most cities internationally. Murray describes this as the 'out with the old, and in with the new' approach to city building. In 1989 the First National Bank (FNB) consolidation resulted in the destruction of seven adjacent blocks and the demolition is remembered as the third largest tear down of buildings in history. At this time however this was seen as a major success as these meant banks were staying within the Central Business District. This held similarities in urban renewal sites such as Canary Wharf in the London docklands, Battery Park in Manhattan and places in Singapore (Murray, 2011).

Wentzel (1975) writes about the general decay that Parktown went through. He highlights the fact that several trees were cut down and houses destroyed. He uses words like 'grey' and 'grim' to ascertain that the buildings that replaced the 'palaces' were not aesthetically appealing at all. This also meant the view from the Ridge was going to be interrupted. Benjamin (1975) also remarks on the obliteration of Parktown with a few areas remaining but these were enclosed by highways. Change creeping into Parktown goes back a long way as boarding houses and sub-divisions were introduced in Parktown around 1934. Areas under demolition were not only limited to Parktown but destruction was within the central business district as well. Mandy (1984) writes about the development plans that always led to a structure being pulled down to be replaced by another. A church that was built at the highest point of central Johannesburg on Von Brandis Square was torn down. The church was relevant in that typical Transvaal towns always had a church as their focal point (Mandy, 1984). Ball (2010) describes this destruction pattern as the 'wholesale flattening' of areas around the city centre and surrounding residential areas. He highlights buildings like the Van Eck House (Eskom Headquarters) which saw its end in 1983. Shortly after that the

Colosseum Theatre was destroyed in 1984. Beavon (2004) describes the demolished buildings as ‘art deco gems’ that were replaced by ‘sterile modern buildings’.

Herbert Baker’s ‘Stonehouse’ that was built in 1902 was declared a National Monument in 1968. This was an attempt to preserve and protect the property through the use of the National Monuments Council Act (Benjamin, 1975). Mandy (1984) writes that under the National Monuments Council Act some buildings were declared as national monuments at the request of their owners. In the case of the central Johannesburg this was problematic in that owners needed to make optimum use of a valuable site. Mandy (1984) argues that in Johannesburg the drive was to promote maximum economic return on investment for capitol at the expense of historic or aesthetic value. Individuals and organisations especially Parktown Association and Johannesburg Historical Society fought to stand against the advancing city developments. In another case the City Council wanted to rezone all of Parktown for duplex luxury flats but in 1957 there were protests to save the area by the residents. Complaints were launched to the city council and angry letters were written to the press. This was an attempt to stop the continual destruction of the area. Parktown still had value as a good and quiet residential area. Property owners were still fighting into the 1960s as there were evident inconsistencies in the different reports that were written. In 1968 articles were written in protest and there were silent tears. Many properties had been taken over and despair was setting in (Benjamin, 1975).

On another front in the city centre Ball (2010) describes the preservation attempts that were occurring on a regular basis. In 1955 there was a public demonstration to save the Standard theatre from destruction. Students from the architecture department also fought to save the Van Eck House (formally Eskom House) from being torn down in 1983. Regardless of the success or failure of such activities it is worth noting that attempts were being made to stop the continuous destruction of important structures. Mandy (1984) writes that Johannesburg possesses buildings that are very valuable because of their elegant craftsmanship and period styles. This then is useful in establishing why it is then necessary to preserve old buildings instead of supporting development that always comes with destruction. Attempts that were underway to save the buildings also highlight the methods that were employed by the preservation groups to ensure survival of ‘worthy’ properties.

Changes in Legislation and Trends in a New Context after 1994

The attainment of democracy in 1994 meant that South Africa could be accepted into the global arena. Acceptance into the global arena and becoming a member of the international heritage bodies like UNESCO meant the country had to align with the current conservation trends. Change in heritage management after 1994 is evidenced by The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (CRSA); the National Environmental Management Act No. 107 of 1998 (NEMA) and the National Heritage Resources Act No. 25 of 1999(NHRA). The Constitution emphasizes strongly on human rights and democracy. In addition the Constitution addresses the need to protect the environment for the benefit of current and future generations. Section 2 of NEMA highlights the importance of environmental management to serve the cultural needs of the people. In section 23 and 24 of NEMA attention is drawn to investigate possible impacts likely to occur on the cultural heritage as a result of environmental activities.

The National Monuments Act, No 28 of 1969 was replaced by the NHRA which sought to address the shortcomings of the original act. The aim of the NHRA is to promote management of heritage resources at all levels of government (local, provincial and national). The Act empowers civil society to care for their heritage resources. The NHRA gives guidelines to govern heritage resources management and gives a system for identification of heritage resources. A new body was formed under the NHRA and this is known as the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) which replaced the National Monuments Council (NMC). Heritage legislation was implemented to align heritage management to the democratic dispensation in South Africa. The legislation also addressed the need for the list of heritage sites of national significance to contain sites that were significant to the nation as a whole (Hart and Winter, 2001).

The International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance (1999) provided the model for developing guidelines that are used by SAHRA and other heritage organisations. Guidelines direct heritage assessment, resource management and policy development. The Burra Charter was adopted for use in 1979 and has undergone three revisions from feedback given through its use. Revisions were adopted in 1981, 1988 and 1999 (Brooks, n.d (http://australia.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/BURRA_CHARTER.pdf). There was a shift from the term monuments to ‘heritage resources’ in the NHRA. Heritage resources are defined as any place or object that is of cultural significance. Cultural significance refers to aesthetic, architectural, historical, scientific, social, spiritual, linguistic or technological value. National estate in the NHRA includes

structures, buildings, historical settlements, landscapes, geological sites, graves, burial grounds, movable objects, archaeological sites, paleontological sites, movable objects and sites relating to slavery. This shows the scope was extended beyond the original monuments covered in the National Monuments Act (Kotze and Van Rensburg, 2003).

In becoming a member of international heritage bodies South Africa has adjusted its legislation to fit into this context. The country has to submit reports to World Heritage Committees and UNESCO highlighting work that has been done and cultural property inventories. Such actions resulted in raised awareness of the importance of conservation practices (Kotze and Van Rensburg, 2003). Viney and Brink (2000) point out that in the Burra Charter significance is no longer merely determined by the 'association with the great', but that the association of groups of ordinary people with places of cultural significance, regardless of their relative general 'importance' in the community , is equally if not more important. In assessing heritage SAHRA uses a set of guidelines derived from the Burra Charter as shown below:

- Identify heritage resource and understand its significance
- Gather information pertaining to the significance
- Assess and report in a statement of significance
- Identify obligations likely to arise and gather information that may affect resource in future
- Develop policy and formulate a statement of policy
- Develop strategies to be implemented through a management plan
- Monitor and review assessment (Kotze and Van Rensburg, 2003).

Murray (2011) gives a comprehensive outline of the destruction pattern and some of the responses that were evoked as a result. Beavon (2004) highlights the planning and to some extent the destruction of Johannesburg and Soweto focusing mainly on apartheid segregation laws and their effect on settlement patterns. Destruction still occurs although there is new legislation that stipulates the protection of heritage resources. There are however some success stories. For example 2011 has seen a number of significant heritage sites declared by the Provincial Heritage Resources Agency-Gauteng (PHRA-G) within Johannesburg. There is a move towards coming up with a Heritage Roll as well to document all heritage resources in the city. Some buildings have received provisional protection meaning they are protected for two years pending more deliberation and information seeking. If they qualify they will receive the formal protection. An

example of one of the declared sites in the Central Business District is the Albert Street Pass Office and in Westcliff, St Aubyn's house (Davie, 2011). Blue plaques are used to symbolize heritage sites and to make a record of Johannesburg's history. Heritage organisations involved in putting them up are the City's Department of Arts and Culture, the Egoli Heritage Foundation, and the Parktown and Westcliff Heritage Trust (Mabotja, 2011).

Chapter 2

Acts, Charters and Policies used in Heritage Management in South Africa.

This chapter provides a context for the global and local legislation that affects heritage. I will discuss the changes that occurred overtime and how the heritage legislation was eventually adjusted to align with global heritage legislation. South Africa has, to varying extents, undergone political, social and economic transformation since the democratic transition in 1994. Consequently, apartheid era legislation has gradually been reformed in line with the country's democratic dispensation.

Within the area of heritage management, the National Monuments Act, No 28 of 1969 (NMC Act) was repealed and replaced by the National Heritage Resources Act No.25 of 1999 (NHRA) which sought to address the short comings of the earlier Act. In enacting the NHRA (1999), the South African state used the Australian ICOMOS Burra Charter (1999) to draw some guidelines and these inspire the current legislation. In the legislative environment the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa no. 108 of 1996 (CSRA) and the National Environmental Management Act no. 107 of 1998 (NEMA) superseded the NHRA and were initially used in the protection of heritage. I will analyze the legislation and the charters in relation to heritage management. I will also analyze the City of Johannesburg's Arts, Culture & Heritage Services Heritage Policy Framework that was drafted in 2004 (JHP) to guide heritage development in the city. The changes at successive stages highlight the legislative context the PWHT has been operating in from the 1960s to the present. The analysis starts with the NMC Act. This formulates a basis for comparison with the subsequent acts. The analysis will also aid in tracing the successive changes that influenced the Trust.

National Monuments Act, No 28 of 1969

The NMC Act was the major piece of heritage legislation that framed heritage debates in South Africa until 1996.In the period prior to The National Monuments Act (NMC) (1969) the South African authorities seemed to have been battling in coming up with relevant conservation strategies. Viney and Brink (2000) write that after seven years of operation the Historical Monuments Commission of 1923 had not succeeded in conserving much apart from fixing their

distinctive bronze plaque on declared buildings. The preservation of grave sites, later on in the sixties had a political bias in the sense that their purpose was to unite Afrikaners around celebrating a past with heroic acts. This meant that heritage, in focus, was exclusionary and it did not pay attention to the other racial groups in the country in line with apartheid racial cleavages.

The National Monuments Act (1969) is said by Viney and Brink (2000) to have been similar to earlier laws but it excluded natural beauty in the areas that were under protection. This body of legislation gave direction to the protection and preservation of heritage with specific reference to historical and cultural heritage. It had a bias in regarding remains from the past as monuments. They were regarded as important for purposes of their representation in the future or the value they held from the past. The Act made reference to monuments on a national level. The NMC could declare a building provisionally as a monument enabling its protection for 5years. In this period more research was carried out to determine whether it was suitable for permanent monument status. The National Monuments Council (NMC) operated under the Department of Education. The Minister was given absolute authority in matters of heritage. As an example the Minister had the sole power to declare national monuments that he saw fit in terms of the movable/immovable properties' aesthetic, scientific or historical positioning.

The Minister also used his discretion to grant permission for the removal or export of findings by a property owner. A new development significant in this period was when the state gave the NMC funding to buy monuments or to give grants to monument owners for maintenance purposes. In recognising properties of historic significance the time frame to be considered was 50 years with regards to old buildings, provided the state was not liable for any of the incurred losses through the issuing of a national monuments council permit. The NMC was tasked with recording all places that were worthy of conserving in the country around 1986. In order to enforce conservation laws some regional offices of the NMC were established in areas like Kimberly, Pretoria and Durban (see Viney and Brink, 2000). Conservation practices around the 80s were more regulated but South Africa was isolated from the rest of the world at a political level meaning it could not participate in certain developments occurring globally. This had an impact on the heritage environment and conservation of heritage. The attainment of democracy in 1994 meant South Africa was no longer isolated globally. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa No. 108 of 1996 (CRSA) and the National Environmental Management Act No. 107 of 1998 (NEMA) played a significant role in heritage management before the National Heritage

Resources Act No. 25 of 1999 (NHRA) was formulated. The CRSA and NEMA were the local pieces of legislation that had an influence on the NHRA.

Local Influences on the NHRA

The CRSA was founded on democracy and realised the need to unite the country given its divisive past. The Constitution is also used as the supreme law of the country as it invalidates any conduct that goes contrary to what it stipulates. The CRSA in section 24 makes reference to the need to conserve the environment for the benefit of current and future generation. Overall the Constitution seeks to promote a country that respects human rights thus giving every individual an opportunity to survive without prejudice. According to Bruwer (2000) the new Constitution gave powers to National and Provincial government with respect to cultural matters. This meant that new legislation was required for heritage in South Africa to align with the constitutional requirements.

Sections 2, 23 and 24 of the NEMA make reference to the conservation of cultural heritage. Environmental management according to section 2(2) must serve the cultural needs of the people in a just manner. Section 4(a) (iii) explains that damage to landscapes and sites of cultural heritage must be avoided or minimized and corrected in cases were change is unavoidable. Section 23(2) (b) highlights the need for researching into the possible impacts on the cultural heritage in an attempt to reduce the negative impacts thereby maximizing on the potential benefits. Section 24 reinforces the need to assess the potential impact and cumulative effect of proposed developments on the cultural heritage. In aligning with global practices the Burra Charter was used in coming up with the new heritage legislation.

Global Influence on the NHRA

The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance 1979- 1999.

Aligning with global practices meant the country needed new legislation in heritage management. The Burra Charter was used in coming up with new legislation and has a holistic approach to heritage management. The Burra Charter gives general guidelines as to how to conserve and manage places that have cultural significance. These guidelines are of use to decision makers, those advising on cultural matters or owners of places that hold meaning. The argument for use of

such principles is the fact that cultural places enhance peoples' lives and they give insight into the past. Furthermore they determine what happens potentially in the future in the sense that they shape identities within societies. Cultural significance in the Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter, 1999 means aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations.

The significance of a place should guide any decisions that are made about the place and care should be taken not to alter the meaning that the place has. Viney and Brink (2000) give three categories that can be used in carrying out work on a place as a) work that will protect fabric, b) to explain the significance or c) to make the place useful. This can be a coat of paint to a wall, information pamphlets or increased access to originally inaccessible places. Records that are clear should be kept in order to inform anyone taking over the conservation of the place in the future. All processes must be done in a logical manner. All decisions made need to be appropriate for each specific context taking into account the needs of the owners and the participation of the immediate community. Viney and Brink (2000) point out that significance is now determined by a wider range of factors than were accommodated previously. This is due to the fact that the Burra Charter argues for a more inclusive way of establishing cultural significance. (See appendix 1 for the Barefoot Burra (Brink, Krige and Lewin (2000) as a simple outline of the Charter). The Burra Charter was used in coming up with the NHRA.

National Heritage Resources Act No.25 Of 1999

In 1999, new heritage legislation was implemented to enable the democratisation of heritage in South Africa. There was also a need for the list of heritage sites of national significance to contain sites that were significant to the nation as a whole. This was moving away from the NMC which had a bias towards mostly colonial white heritage to accommodate the other racial groups within South Africa and was in tandem with the new state's efforts of inclusive nation building. Acceptance into the global arena and becoming a member of the International Council of Monuments (ICOMOS) meant the country had to align with the current conservation trends. This necessitated the new legislation as well as new bodies like the South African Heritage Resources Agency which replaced the NMC. The NHRA makes use of the term heritage 'resources' rather than monuments. Heritage resources in this case are places or objects of cultural significance. Cultural significance as defined in the NHRA means aesthetic, architectural, historical, scientific, social, spiritual, linguistic or technological value or significance. The definition of a heritage

resource has been broadened to include living heritage and this encompasses oral customs and traditions or belief systems that are deemed valuable to preserve. With the influence of the Burra Charter the Act highlights the need to research, analyse, document and record heritage resources.

Section three of the NHRA explains that heritage resources are part of the national estate and gives an extensive definition of what makes up the national estate. Examples of what fall under national estate includes buildings, historical settlements, geological sites, palaeontological and archaeological sites, graves burial sites and movable objects. The national estate is however not limited to the listed examples. This had the effect of encompassing resources that had previously not been considered as worthy of preservation. Section five of the NHRA gives the required guidelines to follow and principles to uphold for anyone (authorities, bodies, persons) who uses the Act in heritage management. These include acknowledging the value of heritage resources and the role they can play in the country's development. There is a realisation that heritage practitioners need to be educated. The Act stresses the importance of communities and adherence to the Constitution.

In section 5 of the Act reference is made to the need to increase accessibility of heritage resources. Conservation initiatives are now approached at local, provincial and national levels. Section seven of the Act emphasizes the grading criteria for heritage resources. This means that Heritage conservation and preservation will not be dealt with only at a national level but at local levels thereby making community involvement feasible. The level of cultural significance of a Heritage Resource will determine the level of governance attached to the management of an area or object, for example unique and exceptional resources are managed by SAHRA. Those resources that are significant in a specific area will be managed in a province or region. The local resources are then managed under local authorities.

More positive developments have been the attachment of environmental impact assessments (EIAs) in line with any development. Cultural Resources Management (CRM) has also been attached to the EIA processes. In making use of the recommendations from the EIAs, Conservation Management Plans may be drawn up as these are now mandatory in terms of the new Act. Grade I resources have got exceptional qualities that make them significant to the whole nation. Grade II resources are part of the national estate have special qualities which make them significant in the context of a province or region. Grade III resources comprise of any other heritage resources that are worth conserving. (Refer to appendix 2 for detailed information on sections 3, 5 and 7 of the NHRA). Under the NHRA three tiers of governance were established in

heritage management and these are the South African Heritage Resources Agency, Provincial Heritage Resources Agencies for each province and the local heritage authorities.

The Three Tiers of Governance

The South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) replaced the National Monuments Council (NMC). This was an attempt to look at heritage from a new perspective going into a new period in time. The main mandate of this organisation is to coordinate activities in the identification and management the country's heritage resources. Furthermore this organisation has to fulfil functions like policy formulation and resource recording. The SAHRA also takes an active role in the protection and conservation of South African Heritage Resources as well as amending any legislation that deals with the national estate. Repatriation of the country's cultural resources has also been deemed the responsibility of this organisation. Another interesting area the SAHRA is responsible for is the researching and recording of the living heritage of the country. Section 13(1) of the Act shows SAHRA has to undertake a regulatory, advisory and coordinator role within heritage management. This is achieved by guiding the activities of other heritage bodies.

Provincial Heritage Resources Authorities (PHRAs) are responsible for grade two heritage resources that are of a provincial significance. Local Heritage Authorities are responsible for identifying and managing grade three heritage resources at a local level. Both authorities in this system should be able to account for any decisions they make. The reporting structure is such that SAHRA assesses the viability of the PHRAs which in turn assess the local heritage authorities. The local heritage authority in Gauteng drafted a city policy to guide heritage management in the city. The policy was drawn using the NHRA guidelines which were adjusted to apply at a local level. This policy is discussed below.

City of Johannesburg's Arts, Culture & Heritage Services Heritage Policy Framework 2004

The JHP was formulated to protect the city's heritage as Johannesburg is known for high demolition rates favouring new development from the time the city was founded. This policy was also drafted to position heritage in the City's Growth Development Strategy for 2030 (GDS 2030). The GDS 2030 sought to position the city as a 'World Class City'. Johannesburg's heritage

buildings in the inner city and downtown had fallen prey to neglect and disrepair. The response was to draft a policy to guide the preservation of heritage in the city. The policy also acknowledged that racial policies destroyed the character of multi-racial and black settlements. There was a realisation that Johannesburg could plan for the future in a creative way by capitalising on past events. The policy drew from the NHRA referencing the powers given to local authorities to identify and manage heritage resources of significance. Johannesburg is described as unique in the policy and the cultural and physical heritage creates a sense of place but at the same time affords a local identity. Heritage tourism that is well managed can contribute to the economic development of the city according to the policy document. Instead of demolishing heritage buildings the document suggested adaptive reuse which could lead to an economic development of the surrounding areas through a knock-on effect.

Section four addressed a cooperative effort towards managing change in the city in a way that could sustain cultural heritage at the same time allow creative development to occur. Research efforts that would culminate in a Johannesburg Heritage Register towards conserving the city's heritage were envisaged in the policy. Significance attached to any given area would be guided by section 3(3) of the NHRA. City owned heritage was to be constantly maintained, monitored, restored, marked with heritage plaques and over time legally protected. The guiding principles for the management of sites were adopted from the Burra Charter. Section seven of the policy drew attention to the importance of including all people and communities in heritage management. In the same section guidelines were given in relation to demolitions where only unique cases were permitted but relics from structures were to be kept possibly in a city museum. The city was to work together with SAHRA and PHRA-G in carrying out sustainable heritage management practices.

Interviewees' Responses to the Differences between the NMC Act Period and the, NHRA Period, and the City of Johannesburg's Approach to Heritage

Dealing with officials in the National Monuments Council period was made difficult by the fact that when dealing with government officials people were sworn to secrecy. As a result the city made decisions whether they affected heritage or not and the NMC could not go against the decisions. Adams (2011) captures this sentiment when he says they always had a 'good run' with the officials then. Gaul (2011) describes this well when he says 'we fight all the time that is what we do we fight'. The question then was always about how to avoid reporting back for example to a group of 93 residents who had given over power of attorney through their signatures. Another

setback in this period was the fact that the NMC was not strong enough to go against the city. The Act itself was 'primitive' as Bird (2011) remarked comparing the NMC Act with other countries' legislation such as Australia. The Act was only changed after a confrontational meeting that was attended by Bird and Dr. Prins had occurred in Pretoria (Bird, 2011). The fifty year protection clause which was added after the meeting helped immensely especially in Johannesburg as unlike in other areas, the city did not have a protection list (Bird, 2011). Adams (2011) describes the NMC Act as eurocentric/elitist and narrow. This means that it focused on mostly European heritage and had a bias in what constituted heritage. The officials in the NMC are described as being reluctant to take decisions, not proactive and this was worsened by the focus of the Act (Bird, 2011).

A good example to show how declarations were delayed in the NMC period was with the Parktown Ridge Conservation Area. This area was only declared as a protected area when the new government came into power. This process took nine years to reach completion showing the extent of the delays (Bird, 2011). In trying to water down the protests to save buildings Flo Bird was put on the NMC and she was made responsible for demolitions. This was because the NMC was failing to keep up with her heritage demands. Instead of being daunted by this move she says this opened up more opportunities for her. In the period that she served she managed to get more places declared as monuments and above all she was privy to the secrets of the council. This put her in a better position to carry out heritage battles (Bird, 2011).

According to Prins (2012) the city in the National Monuments Council period did not take the 50 year rule seriously. In addition to this the city did not offer any support to heritage bodies and never took any decisive action in heritage matters. Prins (2012) uses the word 'lukewarm' to describe this attitude the city had towards heritage. In an attempt to push the city into some form of action the PWHT participated actively in trying to save the Colosseum but as Prins (2012) put it 'the city ignored'. Another problem in this period was that the heritage fell under many different ministries. This had the effect of diluting the importance of heritage as the mandate of the specific ministry had first preference. Heritage was in effect an afterthought. In terms of cultural significance measurement Prins (2012) is of the opinion that the Trust uses the guidelines as given in the National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA). The Burra Charter as Prins (2012) mentions is the one that influenced the NHRA and played the most significant role in coming up with the current Act. He attaches great importance to the fact that most authorities at provincial or national level are aware of the Burra Charter guidelines.

The National Heritage Resources Act in comparison with the National Monuments Council Act has been described a wonderful piece of legislation. Bird (2011) praised the Act by stating that:

> 'There is a lot in the new legislation that helps, a lot of emphasis is put on value of the community, and oh it's a good act, a beautiful act. It is very inclusive, very inclusive, and extraordinary- everyone's monument is a monument, it is terrific. I would have loved to see certain monuments go but hey they are monuments therefore protected'.

Adams (2011) responded by saying that:

> 'The act is a good one, because there is a whole lot of social history out there, we are still learning and I find it fascinating'.

An aggregate of the responses that I obtained from the interviewees highlighted some of the changes in the new act. They made reference to the fact that power is no longer centralized as in the NMC Act but goes down to lower levels and provinces have the power to manage their own heritage. There was a reversal of imbalances that were previously not addressed by the NMC Act. The heritage resources now being dealt with are very inclusive. The heritage resources do not simply deal with majestic buildings, monuments and grand structures or colonial buildings. There has been a movement away from architectural/aesthetic value which was central in the NMC act. Architectural quality is still considered but constitutes broader aspects of heritage such as socio-cultural community values. The NHRA acknowledges intangible heritage and this was noted as a brilliant development. The terminology, ideas and composition of the NHRA have changed radically from the NMC Act. The NHRA values communities and this position comes through very strongly in the new act.

Heritage responsibilities are now spread through three tiers as opposed to the NMC Act which dealt with monuments on a national level. The heritage landscape was described as democratised meaning there is a highly inclusive approach to heritage management. The NHRA is more aligned to international thinking in heritage. The fact that the NHRA makes reference to 'national estate' makes it 'all embracing' meaning all heritage resources are protected. The NHRA now requires Heritage Impact Assessments (HIA) and Environmental Impact Assessments (EIA) with development proposals. This has been used extensively to protect threatened heritage resources as development initiatives have to be weighed in terms of how they will impact heritage and the environment.

A very different view of the Act was given by Motsepe (2012). According to him the NHRA fails to protect the heritage of the historically disadvantaged but works perfectly in protecting heritage of the historically advantaged. He says this is because the structure of the Act places more focus on 'established' (historically advantaged) heritage and not on 'struggling' (historically disadvantaged) and emerging heritage (future mixed heritage that includes all components of established and struggling heritage) (Motsepe, 2012). This goes contrary to other analyses of the Act that show this Act as all encompassing. The answer to this contradiction is given by Botha (2012) who stated that the NHRA focuses on heritage from all cultural backgrounds and is an inclusive Act. The problem that he brings to light is the fact that people do not know about the Act so it becomes impossible for them to advocate for protection of what they might deem significant in their contexts due to ignorance (Botha, 2012) An analysis of the changes between the NMC Act and the NHRA done by Bruwer (1999) shows that the NHRA is a more inclusive Act compared to its predecessor the NMC Act.

Bruwer (1999) explains that democratisation of the heritage environment means that there is a more effective, participatory and transparent management of the national estate. People at local level are capacitated to identify and manage heritage resources significant to them. Conservationists are in this regard also able to register with SAHRA and heritage authorities are mandated to cooperate with them. Anyone is now able to put forward suggestions of culturally significant places that can be included in the provincial heritage registers. These aspects had not been catered for in the previous Act thereby making the NHRA a better tool to use going forward. This analysis of the Act by Bruwer (1999) shows that the NHRA is indeed a more inclusive Act that embodies everyone as opposed to the preceding law the NMC Act.

Prins (2012) explains further that the Act is not problematic to work with but the problems lie in the allocation of resources. The heritage agencies such as SAHRA and PHRA-G created as a result of the Act are not properly capacitated to carry out their duties efficiently. The Trust according to Prins (2012) does not interact well with PHRA-G and is very critical of the inadequacies of the agency. He however adds that it is impossible to interact with people one holds in contempt. In terms of manpower at PHRA-G Prins (2012) says it is difficult to attract skilled professionals to run PHRA-G on a budget of one million Rand. A survey carried out indicated that the agency needed a budget of between twenty and thirty million to run optimally. He explains that PHRA-G is mostly reactive in carrying out its functions (Prins, 2012). Johannesburg though according to most of the interviewees is to some extent an exception in that there is reasonable support at a local level from Itzkin who is the Deputy Director Immovable

Heritage in the City of Johannesburg's Art, Culture and Heritage Department. Provincial Heritage Resources Agency-Gauteng officials are described as grossly inefficient. They are said not to answer calls, lose documents and files and are described as lazy. It took PHRA-G eight years to declare Mike's Kitchen. Mike's Kitchen (a restaurant in Parktown) is housed in what was previously known as Eikenlaan (Oak House), a house that was built for James Goch. The house was designed by J.B Nicholson and it was completed in 1905. In the fight with Imperial (a company responsible for the demolition of the Richmond Laundry Site where Parktown protested extensively) PHRA-G had not responded to some of the letters sent out for the whole year. SAHRA is blamed for some of the shortcomings of PHRA-G in that it handed over power without enough support, infrastructure or resources to the new body.

Botha (2012) explains that the major functions of PHRA-G include evaluating applications from people who want to alter or demolish heritage buildings. As a team the members on the panel analyse the reports to determine what is worthy of protection and if buildings are not conservation worthy a demolition permit can be issued. In circumstances where alterations are allowed then the prerogative is to make sure that alterations are done according to set guidelines in line with the NHRA. The PHRA-G members use the guidelines set out in the National Heritage Resources Act (1999) (NHRA). He highlights that Heritage Impact Assessments are crucial in determining the fate of a building. Botha (2012) makes reference to sections of the NHRA that they use extensively such as Sections 27, 29 (these sections give information in line with declarations, protection, alteration and demolitions) and Sections 34 and 38 (in relation to demolitions and changes of sites or buildings).

Adams (2011) however adds that in as much as there are problems at PHRA-G there has been some commendable work done in the year 2011 in comparison with the declaration delays and loss of documents that normally happen at PHRA-G. Itzkin (2011) feels that PHRA-G does not have a good public presence as most people really do not know the role it is supposed to play in heritage. In some instances people go to the city to seek for demolition permits and then they are redirected to PHRA-G. The Growth Development Strategy (GDS) documents of the city generally do not include heritage. As a result of this Eric Itzkin drafted a policy specifically for the city to cover this gap. The Johannesburg Heritage Policy document was influenced by the GDS 2030 which focused on growth, development and reaching the goals of a world class city. Itzkin then drafted the document to go in line with the city's strategy by positioning heritage according to the set goals. In the GDS for 2040 he feels that heritage can be fitted into the notion of 'liveable communities' as one of the areas targeted for improvement in this newest document. Another area

that needs to be improved is the consultations that are done in drafting the GDS. He mentioned that consultations are done outside of the heritage organization and heritage as a function is not consulted specifically for its contribution (Itzkin, 2011).

Chapter 3

The History of Parktown Ridge its Destruction and the Rise of the PWHT

Chapter three starts off by discussing the background of the interviewees and how they joined heritage. The chapter then sets out to highlight the development of Parktown as a suburb and gives examples of the people who lived there and the houses they had built for them. This chapter shows why the Parktown Ridge is highly valued. Changes started to occur within this residential area leading to the destruction of many houses. The chapter will outline the events surrounding the destruction periods. As a result a heritage group was born out of this destruction pattern. It survives till today. The chapter gives some of the work that the PWHT has done in the area from the 1970s until now. This will aid in establishing how the Trust has survived and in deducing the strategies it has adopted to survive. In order to understand the reasons behind the establishment of the Trust, it is useful to capture some sentiments in the words of the interviewees.

Interviewees' backgrounds and how they joined heritage

Bird's background struck me as different in the sense that she was not raised in the 'rich and trendy' parts of Parktown as she explained. In spite of this she has devoted much of her work to this particular residential area. She was raised in Parktown but in a compound that housed white collar workers. She attributes her love for heritage mostly to her childhood experiences which constantly put her in touch with the city buildings and public facilities. This led to an appreciation of Johannesburg's history which was coupled by a drive to raise awareness of the importance of heritage. Through her experiences she regards herself as a historian but highlights that this is a profession she has acquired over the years and not necessarily through any formal education. She states emphatically that Johannesburg is the centre of history in South Africa as it is characterized by the discovery of gold, struggles and uprisings (Bird, 2011).

Dennis Adams who is currently one of the PWHT tour guide has a financial background but was drawn into heritage after going on a tour offered in Parktown. He described that 'history sprang to life for him and there was great thrill in entering houses he never would have dreamt of being invited into before' (Adams, 2011). Adams eventually trained as a guide and has been leading tours from the late 80s until now. This is a clear example of how people were drawn into the fight to save Parktown based on an appeal to their emotions. Of particular interest is the fact that

Adams has never stayed in Parktown but he still was driven to join the fight for Parktown through the tours offered (Adams, 2011). Itzkin developed a passion for heritage during the time he was working as the cultural history curator at Museum Africa. The opportunity arose for him to pursue his career in heritage as municipalities are now required to play a role in heritage together with other levels of government (Itzkin, 2011). Gaul joined in through persuasion from Bird as one of the residents who were concerned with safeguarding the nature of the suburb. Gaul captured this sentiment well when he said that 'well living in Parktown Flo doesn't give you much of a choice I had to join and help with the fight' (Gaul, 2011). This shows the fighting side that Bird has and an ability to harness people and resources to drive a cause.

Herbert Prins is currently the Chairman of the Egoli Heritage foundation. He is originally from Bloemfontein but he developed a passion for heritage as he was studying Architecture at the University of the Witwatersrand. I was specifically impressed by the fact that he is not from Johannesburg and yet has devoted his life to fighting for the city's heritage. He went on to study Town Planning and in the 1980s he took a course in Conservation. He cites the Modern Movement in South Africa as one of the reasons that propelled him to focus specifically on heritage and historic buildings. He worked in the Regional Committee of the National Monuments Council. He was a member of the Simon Van Der Stel Organisation and the Egoli Heritage Foundation grew out of this organization. He has since worked with fervour in Heritage related projects and on some of the projects he has worked closely with the Parktown Westcliff Heritage Trust (PWHT) (Prins, 2012). Grant Botha and Fanuel Motsepe have an architectural background and they have interacted with the PWHT on some specific projects. Grant Botha holds a Diploma in Architecture that he obtained from the Pretoria Technikon. He joined the province in the early 1990s and later on moved to PHRA-G when it was formed in 2003. In the early 1990s his work focus was mainly in restoration of buildings. He is currently handling applications for declarations by the PHRA-G and he has been doing this since 2003 (Botha, 2012)

Fanuel Motsepe specialised as an architect and urban designer. He studied towards a Bachelor of Architectural Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand. At the University of Cape Town he did his second degree - Bachelor of Architecture. He holds a Masters in Human Settlement that he studied towards in Belgium. His interest in Architecture can be traced back to his childhood as he was fascinated by church bell towers and floor plans. His work is inspired by the unexplored possibilities that are held in indigenous knowledge and practices. He constantly seeks ways to redefine the built environment as opposed to keeping the inherited built environment as it is. He was involved in designing the O.R Tambo Memorial and Robben Island Museum Project. He

worked on the Gauteng Provincial Government Precinct Project. Motsepe was previously a partner in Ngonyama Okpanum and Associates (NOA) where he was head of the Johannesburg branch from 2000-2005. Currently he is the director of Motsepe Architects (Pty) Ltd which was established in 2005.

Silas Raseala grew up in Petersburg and matriculated in Johannesburg when his parents moved to stay in the city. After his matric he worked in various places and he eventually enrolled with the Johannesburg College of Education for a four year Diploma Course. The College of Education later merged with the University of the Witwatersrand following a ruling that colleges had to merge with universities. Silas came into contact with the PWHT during his college years when he joined the PWHT education programme. His passion and respect for heritage was developed through the six month intensive course on heritage offered by the Trust. He says he now sees the need to value heritage resources. Raseala currently works for the PWHT and believes that it is essential to conserve heritage resources. This view according to him was ingrained in him through the education programme and working with the PWHT. As an example of the students trained by the PWHT in the education programme, Raseala acts as a testimony to the effects of teaching and exposing people to heritage. He also did not grow up in Johannesburg but learning about heritage has made him aware of how vital conservation is and he helps in protecting Johannesburg's resources (Raseala, 2012).

The Birth of a Garden Suburb along the Ridge

The Parktown Ridge attracted the elite of early Johannesburg away from the uncomfortable conditions originally found in areas such as Doornfotein, Turffontein and Braamfontein. These three areas were characterised by canvas tents, dirt tracks, timber and corrugated iron shacks. The area had wet hot summers, bleak winters, dust storms and bitter winds. The wealthy therefore sought fresh air and peace. A bonus was in the form of the view offered along the ridge. Florence Phillips and her husband Sir Lionel Phillips started the northward movement when their palatial home- Hohenheim which means home on high was built for them in 1892. This site afforded them the view to the Magaliesberg a stretch of 50 kilometres of uninterrupted view. The land on which Parktown was developed was part of the Braamfontein Farm. The land originally belonged to the Geldenhuys brothers but was bought by Herman Eckstein who formed the Braamfontein Estate Company with a plan of prospecting. There was no gold in the area and this was when he decided to use the valleys for plantations and the ridges for residential development. Smith (1971) in Parktown Westcliff Heritage Trust (1982) writes that Parktown in 1892 was the first part of the

farm to be developed for residential use, then Parktown West in 1895 and Westcliff was developed in 1902. Advertisements of land in Parktown and Westcliff highlighted the fact that the area was on elevated terraces and ridges and had beautiful views (PWHT 1982).

The area was fenced off with gates that were closed once a year. The farm was run as a single private estate by the Braamfontein Estate Company until around 1904 when Parktown was incorporated into the Johannesburg Municipal area. The Braamfontein Estate Company provided services such as horse and cart sanitary services, roads, electric street lights, a fire brigade and a connection to a domestic electricity supply plant at Hohenheim. Water was obtained from one mile away at Sans Souci and stored in the domes which were located where the College of Education stands today. More people were attracted to the suburb and amenities were developed to cater for the population such as elite private schools, Park Town School for Boys currently known as Parktown Boys High School and Roedean for girls and an Anglican Church-St Georges. The land values rose from 25 pounds an acre to 1000 pounds per acre in the space of three years from 1892 to 1895 (Aaron et al (1972) cited in the PWHT (1982). Houses in Parktown and Westcliff set the standard for garden suburbs in Johannesburg. Rich top soil was transported into the area to cover the rocky surfaces of the ridge to enable the planting of trees and palms as was the trend in the 1900s. In building these homes no expense was spared as some had more than 20 rooms, expansive staircases and imported material (chandeliers, tiles and wood panelling). This can still be seen in the homes that survived the Parktown destruction for example at Northwards (PWHT, 1982).

Parktown Houses, Architecture and Influential People of the Past

Parktown is richly endowed with varying architectural styles. Examples of these include large Victorian mansions, Parktown Baronial Styles (building incorporating many different styles) and French chateau designs. A vernacular architecture was introduced after 1902 by Sir Herbert Baker as he started using indigenous materials that were readily obtainable. Baker started quarrying along the Ridge to obtain quartzite rocks as these had proven to be hard, durable and attractive. This style blended well with the ridge and soon characterised Parktown. This achieved the state and appearance of permanence Milner was seeking when he had invited Baker from the Cape. Baker pioneered domestic architecture and moved away from the traditional Cape-Dutch architecture that was prevalent in the era. He built many grand houses along the ridge and they were venues for many social gatherings and entertainment. The ridge was not only used for residential purposes but in some instances such as in the 1922 miners' strike it was used to shell

the rebel strongholds on the Brixton ridge. The rebellion was intense in Parktown and Westcliff as most of the managers and company chiefs lived in Parktown. Wentzel (1975) cited in PWHT (1982) writes that the Parktown and Westcliff Ridge offered an impressive view of the battle and residents gathered in the street to watch the events (PWHT, 1982).

Parktown and Westcliff Ridges held houses for the most prominent people in the early development of Johannesburg. Sir Lionel and Lady Phillips commissioned Baker to build their home named Villa Arcadia just below the ridge. Lionel was one of the executives of the Corner House and was heavily involved in the plans for the Jameson Raid. Colonel Llewellyn Andersson was another executive in the Corner House who built in Parktown and his home was named Dolobran designed by Cope-Christie. He was a distinguished soldier. Pallinghurst was a grand stone mansion built on the edge of the ridge in Westcliff for the Schumachers. Raymond Schumacher was the youngest member of the Corner House when he joined the firm in 1894. Glenshiel was designed by Baker for Sir William and Lady Dalrymple in 1910 on the highest point of the Westcliff Ridge in 1910. Sir William was one of the mining magnates and was an honorary colonel. Sir Drummond Chaplin had Marienhof built for him in 1902 by Baker and he was very actively involved in mining and politics. Marienhof was taken over by the Oppenheimers in 1922 and renamed Brenthurst. Sir Ernest Oppenheimer formed the Anglo-American Company, stabilised the diamond industry, and was Mayor of Kimberly and a Member of Parliament. Parktown is a rich example of influential people in the establishment of Johannesburg resulting in what the city has come to be (PWHT, 1982).

Change and the Rise of Heritage Conservationists in Parktown

Change in Parktown started in the early 1920s after a realisation that the large homes were too big to be kept as family homes. Hohenheim was converted to Otto Beit Convalescent Home, Sunnyside became a student hostel between 1924/1925 and Villa Arcadia became a Jewish orphanage. Boarding houses and residential hotels were also built in this period. As the city of Johannesburg started expanding more land was needed and Parktown with its elaborate gardens was an ideal location. Provincial departments started buying large pieces of land to build close to the city centre. Architecture in the area then gave way to chrome, glass, steel and brick in place of Baroque and Victorian. Currently the area is a mixture of older buildings that have been preserved and modern ones. Examples include the Johannesburg College of Education and the Johannesburg Hospital. The College of Education was transferred from Braamfontein in 1979. The college was built in an area that previously held 50 of the original Parktown sites. The Johannesburg General

Hospital project was commissioned in 1968 when the original Hillbrow site was no longer adequate to cater for hospital and medical school facilities. The Hospital was built on the original site of Hohenheim on the crest of the ridge commanding a majestic view of the northern suburbs. The hospital is half a kilometre in length and dominates the Johannesburg skyline (PWHT, 1982). In the 1950s large properties were taken down to build an Afrikaans Commercial school and hostels. Bournestead (a house built by Sir Percy Fitzpatrick on the Hohenheim estate) is an example of the properties destroyed to make way for the project. Northwards (house in Parktown built for John Dale Lace) was used as a student residence from the 1960s after SABC had given it up after using it for a few years (Wentzel, 1975).

In 1961 the council needed more open spaces and 25 built areas off Empire Road were destroyed. There were traffic problems due to the way Parktown had been established and Onderkopjes (a Parktown mansion owned by Edouard Lippert) was totally demolished. Onderkopjes was destroyed to make way for the Oxford Road Motorway. Witwatersrand University acquired land around the Parktown Oval to build residences and the Graduate Business School but it still needed more land. The University took over the North Lodge and converted it into a student's hostel and a dean's lodge. The building of the General Hospital was deemed an intrusion in the residential area. Benjamin (1975) describes this by writing that 'the administrator acted on their minority recommendation: and so Parktown's oldest mansion gave rise to the biggest concrete box of all'. In the 1960s the mansions lay under threats of destruction with newspapers predicting the end of Parktown as a residential suburb. Most of the areas were described as dead, unrecognisable or war-torn by the people who had once stayed in the area. This expresses the level of destruction that was occurring in the area as bulldozers were a constant sight in Parktown. This helps us to understand the changes that were occurring and what led to the rise of conservation and preservation attempts. It was an attempt to stop the commercial sector from establishing itself in an area that was supposed to be solely residential. Property owners also had a vested interest in their buildings. They were concerned about the intrusion and its implications on the value of their property (Benjamin, 1975).

The destruction of substantial buildings in Parktown led to protests among the residents. Flo Bird, born and raised in the compound area in Parktown together with Isabel Le Roux came together to form a heritage organisation to save the historic buildings from destruction. Flo explains that the PWHT had its beginnings in the desperate efforts of the Parktown Association which fought expropriations in the 1960s. In 1972 however Flo and Isabel put forward a plan which stipulated the buildings and areas that were to be preserved. This was in response to the proposed M1

highway that was going to destroy the remaining Parktown buildings. These buildings were already under threat from the rezoning and commercialization of the suburb (PWHT, 1992). The average life of a building in Johannesburg at this moment in time was fifteen years (Bird, 2011). Bird (2011) explained that during the 1960s heritage battles had been fought but this was mainly done through the courts. She explained that the Trust was not in operation then but it was mostly rich property owners who were taking the city to the courts. She explained that they used to watch as the rich went to court and lost one case after another. Fighting in court failed to yield results and Parktown was still targeted for all the institutions that needed more space. Bird (2011) explained that the rich people who were fighting to save their homes had more properties elsewhere so the fight was not intense or emotional as they had alternative accommodation or could easily build elsewhere.

Itzkin (2011) highlights that it is not very surprising that a heritage group was formed in Parktown given the special historical character of the area and the dramatic changes that were occurring at a fast rate. As a heritage body the PWHT stopped at nothing to protect heritage buildings and this as Bird (2011) highlighted went as far as lying down in front of bulldozers to send a message across. Bird (2011) explained that:

> 'For the rich a house is not a major investment, but middle class people fight because it is an emotional investment –you will fight with all you have'.

This marked the beginning of a noticeable trend in Parktown when the fight was joined by the white collar workers. They had been born and raised in Parktown and they had developed an attachment to the area. This group of people had not acquired money through mining exploits but used to live in the less wealthy area in Parktown. . They had more to lose if their houses were destroyed in comparison with the rich who had open alternatives. This is what can also be attributed to some of the successes that were experienced in terms of saving Parktown. Initially the City Council ignored these efforts but as the fight intensified the City was forced to take notice of the events unfolding in the area. The Trust realised that there was more to gain in exposing the beauty of the area to the people and this led to tours being offered through the historic sections in Parktown in 1981 (PWHT, 1992). Prins (2012) is of the opinion that the Trust was formed by Flo Bird mainly as a result of her interest in heritage particularly the heritage of Parktown. The Trust's formation was not only the result of Flo's character but also a perception that the area's heritage was irreplaceable (Prins, 2012). At a later stage however the Trust branched out to include Westcliff, a number of other Northern suburbs and other general heritage matters. In terms of the

Parktown Ridge the Ridge itself is of heritage significance but is constantly under threat because of the view sites that attract new development initiatives. The Trust contributed to the Ridge Policy and its successful application (PWHT, 1992).

Bird (2011) explained that she felt formal objections through signatures were slow and not very effective hence the need to establish a body instead to drive the process more efficiently. A renowned engineer at that time advised Flo Bird that advocacy group opinions would never be regarded more highly than engineers' reports hence there was a need to adopt other fighting strategies. This led to the realization that 'you don't fight on technical grounds but on emotion' in order to win (Bird, 2011). Such a stance was reinforced as a result of the failure of the 'rich' to save the Ridge. The fight had been carried out through the courts but most of the Ridge had still been destroyed. Flo emphasizes that in battles to save any heritage buildings it is critical to make use of anything within your grasp from the bible, to toyi toyi that is protest marches with banners and placards or combining efforts with other heritage groups (Bird, 2011). To capitalize on emotions people were encouraged to open up their homes to tours in order to showcase unique features in some instances architectural qualities or well-manicured gardens. As a result a sense of pride was fostered within the neighbourhood and this led to relationships developing amongst people together with strong emotional ties to the area (PWHT, 1992). The area that was to be protected though was not to be limited to Parktown as Flo says they were prepared to fight for heritage as A whole and the concept was not about a 'not in my backyard' type of approach to destruction occurring elsewhere (Bird, 2011). The group was concerned about the heritage of Johannesburg and was prepared to stand up and fight for it.

In the fights for buildings there was a constant need to justify why buildings were worth saving. The reasons they mostly gave in the NMC period included architectural qualities or association with gold discovery and exploitation earlier on. The more people realised that Parktown was faced with the threat of obliteration meaning they would lose their homes together with their memories, the more they became prepared to join in the fights. As a result money for tours was raised through the residents. There was an overwhelming response to the effect such that in 1982 over 500 people turned up for a tour. Bird (2011) remembers this time vividly as she was faced with a serious dilemma, she did not know whether to send some people back or try and handle a huge crowd on a tour.

The PWHT Education Programme started tours for schools in 1986 and these were designed to bring history to life for students. Primary school children responded positively to the programmes.

The schools week was started in 1987 which aimed at teaching school children about heritage and its importance. The Johannesburg College of Education brought in trained students to lead the various tours. The Trust sought to be non-racial and in 1991 brought in students from the Rand College (coloured teacher training college) and handled pupils from 31 schools including private schools. Raseala one of the student teachers who took part in this programme described it as enlightening, he got to understand and appreciate the value of heritage (Raseala, 2012). Northwards is one of the houses used for guided tours and at The View boys are drawn to the military accessories. The Trust started operating independently in 1983 and registered with the Department in 1987 and received a fundraising number. The Trust succeeded in saving The View and Mikes Kitchen through well publicised functions and teas (PWHT, 1992).

Arnold Benjamin who was a popular journalist, who wrote for The Star, wrote extensively on Parktown and took photographs of the original homes in the area. He is cited in PWHT (1992) explaining that his interaction with Parktown was inspired by the same reason that motivated Parktown's First Lady Florence Phillips-the need to get some fresh air. He was staying in Berea in the 1960s and he would stroll to the woods to see Victorian architecture and how the rich of early Johannesburg used to live. As Parktown was fast disappearing Benjamin and some colleagues took pictures of the mansions and wrote on the architecture, social history, garden design and town planning. He explained that highways and development originally was at the edges of the suburb but soon encroached into the centre of Parktown. Expropriations, planning uncertainties and bulldozers characterised Parktown from the 1960s whilst he was doing his research in the area. Residents he had the privilege of interviewing originally would exclaim that they thought they were living in the country but this was giving way to blocks of flats. Another resident Arthur Suzman cited in PWHT (1992) remarked that even though development meant financial gain for some it would result in a loss that could not be measured in monetary terms. This was in a legal battle which lasted for many years as he was trying to keep developers, provincial planners and the City council from destroying the character of Parktown (PWHT, 1992). Bird (2011) emphasized that in the fight to save Parktown legal battles were not the best approach. She explained that this method had been put to use by the remaining rich mining magnates but the level of destruction showed the inappropriateness of the method. This is why she had resolved to fight development based on emotions and by demonstrating (Bird 2011).

Peter Dayson cited in PWHT (1992) highlights the effects of the destruction along the Ridge with reference to the gardens. He highlights that even where the buildings survived in the case of Northwards and Arcadia little remains of the original landscaping. He explains that the old

Parktown gardens especially those designed by Baker had a clear and easy flow between the interior and exterior spaces. Carmen Welz cited in PWHT (1992) writes about the plight of Parktown explaining that in South Africa conservation was about conserving nature only. There was no reverence for the built environment and the age of the buildings in Johannesburg (over 100 years) led to a feeling of inferiority according to Welz. The ages of the buildings were measured for example against Cape Town with buildings boasting 200/300 years and Europe with structures over 800/900 years. She attributes this relative youth of the buildings as one of the reasons why there was insufficient protest from the ordinary man, civil engineers and town planners when Parktown was under threat. She writes that conservation education in South Africa was non-existent and the National Monuments Council Act was an inadequate piece of legislation (PWHT, 1972).

Carmen Welz cited in PWHT (1992) writes that the Conservation area legislation only came into being in 1986 which was too late to save the suburb as most of it had been destroyed. Most of the planning that took place was also secretive and the speculation was that the authorities had set out to destroy Parktown. Speculation was based on that the Apartheid Government had set out to destroy all traces of English heritage of which Parktown held significant examples of this heritage. There were no financial incentives such as rate rebates, tax concessions, or assistance for national monuments. Carmen writes that up to the 1960s small groups of home owners objected, petitioned and appealed but failed to achieve any substantial interventions. The formation of the Parktown Association which was joined by residents associations, Johannesburg Historical Foundation, the Heritage Committee, the Institute of Architects and other conservationists marked a new beginning for Parktown. Carmen explains further that fights were engaged on many different fronts such as in courts, in the media and council chambers. Some fights were lost and others won but Parktown has survived. It is home to the first conservation area proclaimed in Johannesburg (PWHT, 1992).

The Conservation Area in Parktown and the Ridge Policy

The Parktown Ridge Conservation Area was declared using section 5(9) of the NMC Act. The By-Laws required for protection and management of the area were published in the Government Gazette No. 20566 of 22 October 1999. SAHRA became responsible for implementation of By-Laws when the NHRA was adopted. In terms of Section 58(11) (c) conservation areas became Heritage Areas under the NHRA. The NHRA made provision for a heritage advisory Committee that is the Parktown Ridge Conservation Advisory Committee (PRCAC). In March 2001

Principles of Heritage Conservation were published and these had been drawn up by the PRCAC (Annexure 2, HIA by Prins, p1, 2005). The declaration of the Conservation Area is an example of the work undertaken by the NMC in its last days of operation before the NHRA replaced the NMC Act.

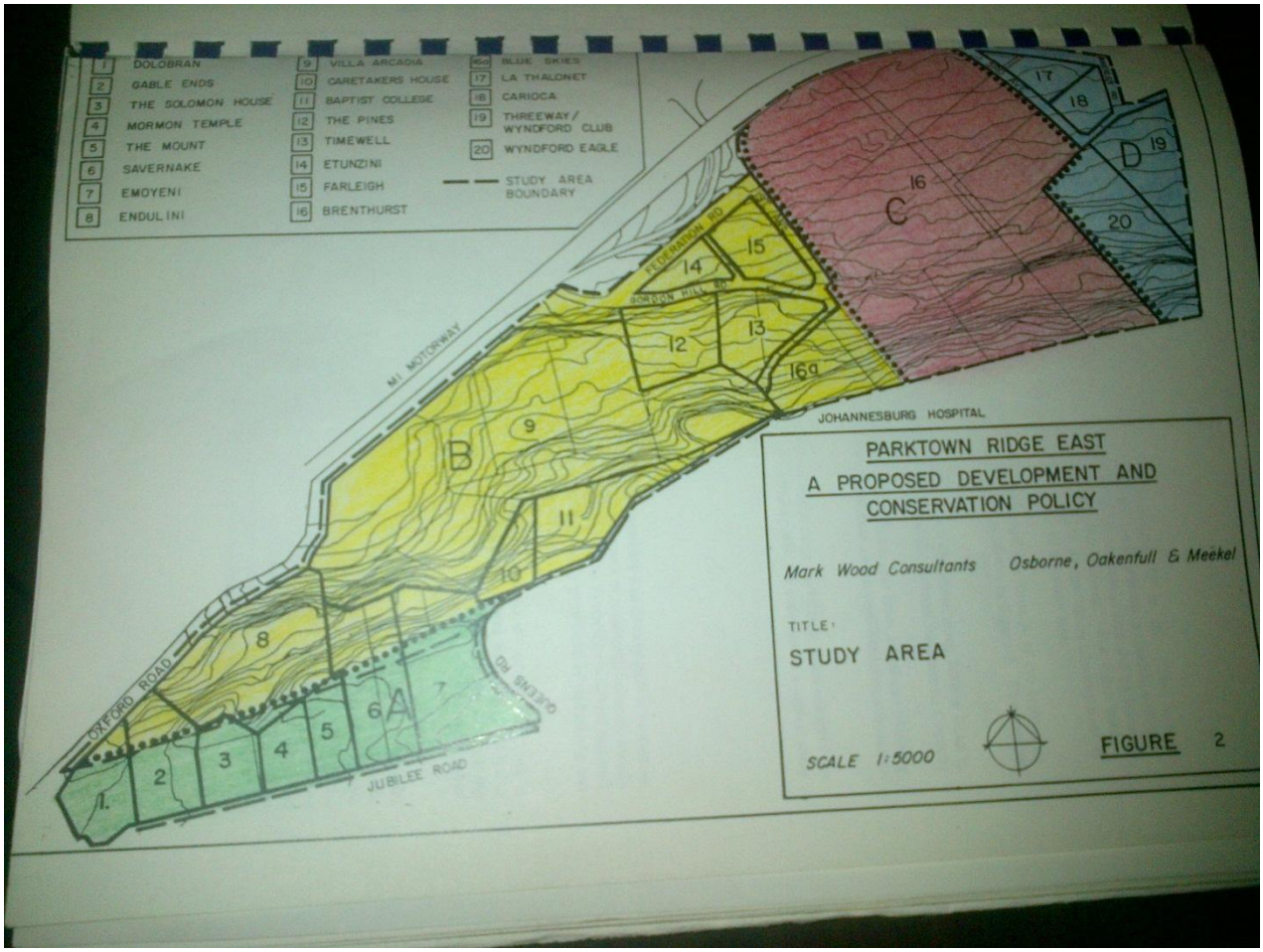
In the fight for Parktown the Trust contributed to the writing of the Ridge Policy. The Ridge Policy was designed to counter the influences of land- use change and the disturbance of the character of the area (quiet residential area). The policy was also a response to the demolitions and intrusions in the area and was seen as a permanent way of dealing with any future proposals in Parktown. The steering committee was made up of property owners along the Ridge, representatives of the Parktown Association, city council members, University of the Witwatersrand and the Transvaal Institute of Architects. Mark Wood Consultants were appointed to undertake the technical evaluation and preparation of the report. Osborne Oakenfull and Meekel were appointed to investigate the land-use aspects and town planning schemes. The policy targeted specifically conservation and development initiatives in the Parktown East Ridge area. It was submitted to the council as a basis for an official policy to be used in considering land-use proposals and development applications (Mark Wood Consultants & Osborne Oakenfull and Meekel, 1992).

The policy therefore was to determine the levels of change the area could accommodate given the historic importance and character of the ridge, the town planning and traffic constraints in relation to land use and zoning in the area and to come up with a guideline to base future developments in the area. The area already held a number of declared National Monuments and according to the National Monuments Council Act there was good reason to declare the area a conservation area. The conservation area is defined along and below the ridge in the North-Eastern section of Parktown. The M1 forms the boundary in the North. In the south the area is defined by the ridge-crest along Jubilee Road and the northern boundary of the Johannesburg Hospital site. The western side is bounded by Victoria Avenue whilst the eastern extent is defined by the Parktown/Killarney boundary. The policy gave an extensive description of the properties within the boundaries. The noise levels were noted to have been increased as a result of the M1 highway; the area had also been invaded by offices and was no longer purely residential (Mark Wood Consultants & Osborne Oakenfull and Meekel, 1992).

The policy gave arguments as to why the area should not be subjected to more development as follows: The area was not within the peripheral zone targeted for the expansion of the city centre

but formed a part of the northern suburbs. The area would not be able to handle increased traffic flow as the typical roads in the area such as Oxford road were narrow. An example of Villa Arcadia's location further restricted traffic turning movements. Landowners were in opposition to any further development in the area. The Johannesburg City Council ridge policy would also restrict any developments on the steep northern slope of the Parktown Ridge. However factors that would support change in the area were also proposed in the study as follows: The area had mixed architecture with no clear uniform style characterising the buildings as representative of a particular historic period. The addition of the Johannesburg Hospital had reduced the visual quality of the area coupled with the fact that most gardens were not maintained and did not reflect the original. The area was already home to other non-residential entities. The M1 motorway had isolated the area from other northern residential areas that Parktown is supposed to be a part of. The noise levels due to the M1 motorway were inappropriate for the correct quality of residential environment that should characterise the ridge (Mark Wood Consultants & Osborne Oakenfull and Meekel, 1992).

An analysis of the pros and cons led to the following guidelines: the change to non-residential functions would be permitted for more appropriate functional and economic uses. New development would be allowed but in a limited way so as to discourage the proliferation of non-residential, educational and institutional zone as those found to the south. Historic buildings were to be conserved as well as the relationships between the historic buildings and their surroundings. A visual balance was also supposed to be maintained between the spaces that were exposed to views from the northern suburbs. The policy contained the details of the twenty properties that were within the boundaries defining the Ridge Area. The suggested developments and extent of development which allowed taking into consideration aesthetic value and historical value were contained in the document (Mark Wood Consultants & Osborne Oakenfull and Meekel, 1992). The area was eventually designated a Conservation area (now Heritage area). The map below shows the properties that are found in the Parktown Ridge East area:



Parktown Ridge East Properties (Mark Wood Consultants & Osborne Oakenfull and Meekel, 1992)

According to Bird (2001) the Trust still follows closely any developments along the Ridge and advises accordingly. This is true of developments on number 9 Rockridge Avenue. The Trust also keeps track of the general maintenance of houses along the ridge and gardens. Bird (2003) acknowledges that the tours are still a resounding success. The Trust regularly has to deal with bookings and subscriptions that are over the numbers they can handle on given tours. Raseala is commended for his invaluable contribution to the Schools' Programme the Trust offers. Conservation efforts in Parktown have included negotiations with prospective developers to retain heritage elements on buildings. Developers are encouraged to reduce negative impacts on the environment. Bird (2003) refers to instances involving the University of the Witwatersrand's Ouetenhuis in Escombe Avenue, a sub-division on Pallinghurst Road and development on the Donald Gordon Medical Centre. Bird's (2003) report also shows the PWHT contemplating joining with the Johannesburg Heritage Trust as a future survival tactic. This is because the Johannesburg

Heritage Trust has more money, close relations with the authorities and good contacts in the business community (Bird 2003).

The PWHT adjusted the Ridge Policy in line with the City's Regional Spatial Development Frameworks in 2005. In the same year the Trust advised on the proposed development on 19 Rockridge Road as a group that is concerned with developments along the Ridge. This was in response to the Heritage Impact Assessment prepared by Prins (2005) which gave detailed information on the proposed development. The original house on the stand was designed by Robert Howden in 1921 for Mr JA Hardman who was a merchant in Johannesburg. The original house is still discernible and part of the Arts and Crafts tradition of the Parktown Ridge Conservation Area but later additions were deemed inappropriate and out of scale (Bird 2004). The report makes reference to the student residences that were developed on the Northwards property in the 1960s. The Transvaal Education Department demolished the stables and built Knockando (the student residences) and this property was transferred to the Johannesburg College of Education in the 1980s. The character of Knockando is out of place in the area in that it has no reference to the historic buildings especially Northwards. When coming from the north side of Rockridge road the residences obstruct the Baker house. The proposed development would partly hide the Knockando block considerably to retain the visual aesthetics of the heritage area. There was an application for a partial demolition of the structures that had been added to the property between 1921 and 1968 as they distorted the original aesthetic and style of the ridge houses. The building worthy of retention was the 1937 plan (Prins, 2005).

Prins (2005) highlighted that the owner was seeking a cost effective use of the site suggesting a hotel or bed and breakfast (B&B). The drawbacks of the plan would be that a business would disrupt the quiet nature of the road and add to the noise and air pollution in the area. A hotel function would disrupt the allocation of a family to a house and have the same effect as the Knockando residences. The residents in the area were also opposed to the idea and the owner was seeking a harmonious solution. The disadvantages associated with the proposal of a hotel function led to the suggestions of demolishing the 1957, 1962, 1968 and 1969 additions. The 1921 and 1937 structures would be kept in line with section 34 of the NHRA. In accordance with section 38 of the NHRA the HIA suggested dividing the land into five parcels, building three new houses, restoring the original Howden home and retaining the natural features on portion five (Prins, 2005).

The PWHT response to this proposal highlighted that the area fell within the Parktown Conservation Ridge Area. The response emphasised that heritage included the ridge, the kopjes as well as the built environment and that development impacts should be assessed. The PWHT and Parktown Association represented by the Joint Plans Committee (JPC) opposed the demolition of the original house, the Grotto and the iron gates the Dominican Sisters kept from their home in Valley Road when it was demolished for the M1 freeway. The JPC made reference to the Regional Spatial Development Framework of the City of Johannesburg which restricts development on the ridges. It states that no development is permitted on slopes greater that 1:4 and slope of 1:3 must be kept intact. The two units proposed on the north were not acceptable and the response stressed the importance of avoiding past mistakes on the ridge such as Knockando. The report done by the JPC stressed the importance of the Stone Age workshop on 27 Eton Road and the need to acknowledge any archaeological findings on 19 Rockridge Road during the development. In addition the JPC highlighted Marian House and the effect the proposed development would have on it, the green belt in Parktown that needed to be maintained and the importance of not having structures beyond the building line (Joint Plans Committee, 2005).

The HIA made use of the By-Laws concerning the Parktown Ridge Conservation Area published in the Government Gazette in 1999. The purpose of the By-Laws was to protect, maintain and enhance Parktown Conservation Area's historical and aesthetic significance. The area is governed by a Conservation Area Advisory Committee. The By-Laws stipulate the guidelines that should govern development within the Conservation Area. This includes alterations of existing buildings, demolitions, paving and materials to be used, scale and proportions and putting up advertisements to name a few examples. In coming up with the final HIA for the proposed development, Prins corrected the omissions and inaccuracies as suggested by the JPC. He also answered some of the queries raised by the JPC and defended certain decisions from an architectural perspective of what would be feasible. This was the case with the chapel on the site that could not be retained as what made it significant (the furnishings within) had long been stripped . As a solution he suggested a commemoration instead to honour the fact that the site had served as a convent for over 40 years. The final HIA proposed to retain the original 1921 and 1937 structures, removed the two buildings proposed for the lower portion of the site to retain the green belt and left the communal stand undeveloped to protect the kopje and flora in the area. This development proposal is an example of how the PWHT monitors proposed developments along the ridge to preserve the portions which survived the demolitions and aid guided development (Prins, 2005).

Bird (2011) celebrated the major successes achieved in Parktown as given in an extract from the report below:

> Defeating the Motorway and its successor the Arterial A6 was our greatest victory and we did it part by making the heritage accessible so that people knew the Parktown homes and were willing to fight for them. That fight was the origin of the Trust. Westcliff joined with Parktown knowing that if Parktown were to lose they would come under fire. We were part of the Johannesburg Metropolitan Action Group that defeated all those grandiose freeways-M3, M4, M5 and M6. We have fought to retain heritage buildings as part of new development.

The above extract highlights how some of the historic buildings were retained in Parktown amidst the invasions. The fight against the Arterial A6 saved the rest of the houses that had survived the demolition peak period from the 1960s going into the 1970s. The proposed highways that were not developed due to protest by the PWHT mean that the area can safely show its historically significant grand homes and extensive gardens. Bird (2011) also highlights that by July 2011there were 16 Provincial heritage Sites in Parktown and many houses had been saved through concerted efforts. Prins (2012) gives an example of the declaration of Hazeldene Hall as one of the greatest efforts of the PWHT.

The work of the Trust in Parktown and the Parktown Ridge continues today from the time the Trust was formed. This has been the result of collaborative work with owners, other heritage organisations and engaging with the city and appropriate legislation. The Ridge Policy is an example of how the PWHT used the NMC Act then to draft a policy that would ensure the safety of the area in years to come. When the NHRA came into use the Trust adjusted the policy to align with the Act as the previous Conservation area now fell under Heritage Areas. Another way the Trust adjusted was when the Ridge Policy was aligned with the Regional Spatial Development Framework (RSDF). The Ridges are Environmental Control Areas (ECA) defined by the Town Planning Schemes and are protected in terms of the Regional Spatial Development Framework. The PWHT has used this extensively especially in controlling paint colours used especially where subdivisions are allowed. The ECA is also useful in controlling advertisements and when launching objections to proposed developments. In the RSDF 2006 Region 4 sub area 8 the PWHT added to the framework by inserting clauses which enhanced the document. The RSDF's main objectives for the area are to protect the amenity and character of the area yet allowing development at the same time. This then ensures the protection of the heritage buildings found in

the area, controls business encroachment into the area, ensures conservation of the Ridges and controls traffic density in the area. An example of the additions made by the PWHT to the RSDF is that 'no subdivisions in Parktown West (other than those evenly abutting the roads listed in intervention 3) smaller than 1000sqm to be supported within the Environmental Control Area'. The Trust also added that developments and retentions in the area should be guided by the heritage property lists and the NHRA (Bird, 2011).

It is clear from these initiatives then that legislation has been central to the Trust's operations. In order to keep pace with new initiatives in heritage management, the PWHT has continued to adjust its work and adapt to new developments in heritage management. Gaul (2011) explained that the Ridge Policy has been used extensively in the maintenance of Parktown and the Ridge. He gave an example of the proposed advertising on the Johannesburg Hospital in 2011 that the Trust objected to vehemently. Gaul (2011) explained that to the residents it was:

> like a re-opening of old wounds, it is bad enough we have to live with the hospital as a reminder of a failed attempt at preserving that part of the Ridge but to place a huge advertisement there would be like rubbing salt onto a fresh wound.

Gaul (2011) explained further that in response to the RSDFs they managed to fight another owner in the area who wanted to dig the Ridge to accommodate a swimming pool and tennis court on his property. He alluded to the difficulties attached to this type of action when he admitted that this brought in many complications. These complexities arise from the fact that conflicts are engaged in with the people whom the Trust in some instances turn to for help. In spite of the difficulties the Trust constantly seeks to remain focused and protect heritage using all means available.

Chapter 4

Newtown Electrical Precinct

This chapter gives a background to Newtown and highlights the significance of the buildings found in the area. The work in this chapter seeks to show the link between all the buildings found in the precinct and how their uses evolved over time. The work of the PWHT and its allies is highlighted at the moments where they had input into saving the buildings in the precinct. The buildings that were saved in Newtown by the PWHT are a clear indication that the Trust is not only concerned with white colonial history. The fight was to preserve Newtown's buildings as they were central in the development of Johannesburg and all its' people. Electricity generated in Newtown serviced the city's needs for a very long time before and after Eskom was established.

Electricity Generation, the Subsequent changes and Adaptive Re-use in Newtown

Newtown's power stations served Johannesburg catering to the electricity needs of the city as the city grew. The building of the power station in 1906 was driven by the need to service the Electrical Tram network. Tram sheds were built between 1906 and 1907 for use in servicing and housing the trams. An explosion occurred in 1907 in the plant leading to the closure and abandonment of the plant. The building that housed the power station was transformed into a workshop for repairing electrical parts and machines and was known as the Electric Workshop (Krige and Beswick, 2008). The Second President Street Power Station was built hurriedly and for some time the city's electricity requirements were sufficiently catered for. The power station that was on the President Street boundary now houses the Sci-Bono Discovery Centre or Electric Workshop. The hastily built power station that is the Second President Street Power Station of 1907 was located where the SAB World of Beer Museum stands today (Krige, 2010). By 1916 demand was steadily increasing and this power station was failing to generate the required power. Extensions were made to the Presidents Street Power Station between 1916 and 1922. In addition to the power shortages encountered in Newtown other problems in the area included strikes organised in the Mary Fitzgerald Square and power station attacks. In 1922 particularly a coal strike impacted on the Second President Street Power Station and by February the plant had run out of coal (Krige and Beswick, 2008).

The Jeppe Street Power Station was built between 1927 and 1934 and it had a smaller Turbine Hall, a North Boiler House and three concrete cooling towers. This was after the Electricity Act which created the Electricity Supply Commission (Eskom) had been passed in 1922. This was an immediate threat to municipalities in that they would no longer gain profits from selling power. Municipalities would no longer be independent of Eskom. After lengthy negotiations the Johannesburg Municipality managed to argue in its proposal that the new power station it intended to build was merely an extension of the old one. This secured the municipality the freedom to generate its own power. In 1930 extensions were made to the Turbine Hall, North Boiler House and four cooling houses were added. In 1934 the Turbine Hall was extended and a South Boiler House added. All these additions meant that power produced exceeded demand (Krige and Beswick, 2008).

In 1942 the Orlando Power Station was built to supply more electricity to Johannesburg but failed to keep up with the ever rising electricity demand. Two power stations were added (Kelvin 'A' and Kelvin 'B') in the 1950s. The combined functioning of all these power stations meant Johannesburg had enough power well into the late 1950s. Although the City did not integrate with Eskom they used to share power at particular moments. In 1958 the Jeppe Street Power Station was not meeting the required demand and the wooden cooling towers were destroyed. The Station was initially closed on weekends and public holidays then eventually closed down in 1961. This did not result in the station's end as a producer. Between 1967 and 1970s Aero-jet gas turbines were used to generate power and they functioned optimally. The Rolls Royce jet engines which were installed in the Turbine Hall to power gasoline turbines renewed the function of the Station. This installation proved useful during the 1970s when coal prices soared and at the same time coal deliveries were not constant. It is essential to note that the people who were working in the power stations lived in close range to their workplace. Migrant labour was mostly used within the power stations (Krige and Beswick, 2008).

On the north boundary of the electrical precinct is a fully preserved Municipal Workers Compound and a set of shiftmen's and managers' cottages and domestic workers' quarters. The background to this compound was that it initially belonged to the City's Department of Transport and Cleansing in 1913 and was bought by the City's Gas and Electricity Department between 1928 and 1930. The structures therein were an adaptation of the compounds found in the mining areas. They were characterised by concrete bunks in shared single sex dormitories, shared lavatories and baths as well as tight controls (pass laws) and supervision. Workers were not allowed visitors and punishment for misconduct included being doused with ice water or being

tied to a tree outside throughout the night. There was a marked difference between the white managers' accommodation and the rest of the workers. White supervisors had the privilege of staying in cottages behind the compound. The compound was U-shaped and allowed the white manager to keep an eye on the workers from one central point. The 'induna' lived in a room on the south-east corner and was in charge of the other workers in the compound. This ultimately showed the treatment of workers along racial lines and the prejudices of the society from as early as the 1900 (Krige and Beswick, 2008). The compound buildings were grouped together refurbished and declared as a National Monument in 1995. The compound's significance is not only local, regional or national but is symbolic to all Africans as workers came from various countries in Africa (Krige, 2010).

In 1974 the compound was set for destruction, the city started moving workers to the Van Beek Street Hostel (one of the biggest compound for electrical workers) but some workers continued living in the Newtown compound until the 1980s. The city council in the 1980s was faced with indecision regarding future plans for Newtown (Krige and Beswick, 2008). The area was slowly deteriorating and the Electrical Precinct was turned into a workshop and storage area, the compound and cooling towers were used as storage facilities. The cooling towers were destroyed in 1985 in spite of opposition from the National Monuments Council, members of the public and architecture academics. The PWHT was one of the groups that objected to the destruction of the cooling towers in Newtown. The compound was saved after Bird's continuous questioning resulted in a correct identification as a compound after it had been erroneously marked as storerooms. The city was seeking demolition permits and as a result wanted a way to pass off the compound as insignificant. Through further probing from Flo Bird the compound was correctly categorised by one of the architects working with the city on the project. Bird then used her influence on the NMC as she was working for the NMC then to have the compound declared a National Monument thus getting it saved from destruction. In the same period Bird took photographs of the Newtown area mapping all structures and buildings in the area clearly. There were plans to build a hotel in the area instead from the 1980s, 1990s and in the early 2000s the Johannesburg Development Agency brought the idea up again. Bird (2011) described these plans as

> appalling from a heritage perspective. How can you build a place of luxury in an area that was associated with such suffering as men were separated from their families? The building of a high rise modern structure would eat up the only green space in the area and would result in a structure that has no link whatsoever to the historic fabric in the space.

Bird (2011) explained that the Trust had to fight the hotel initiative twice firstly in the early 1990s and later on after 2000. The pictures below show the appearance of the compound buildings in 1987:



Appearance of the Newtown Compound in 1987 (Flo Bird)



The Newtown Compound in 1987 (Flo Bird)



White Manager and Workers Houses 1987 (Flo Bird)

Greed and indecision on the part of the council led to an even further decline of the area. GAPP Architects and Urban Designers sought to preserve the historical character of Newtown after

winning a competition to redesign the area in 1988. There were ownership battles and confusion in the transfer of properties in the area. The tram sheds on the south east corner of the electrical precinct were demolished and in their place the South African Reserve Bank was built in 1996. This project marked the commitment of the democratic government to Newtown and its development as a cultural precinct. Development in Newtown was occurring together with other initiatives to regenerate buildings in the inner city that had fallen prey to deterioration and decay. By 1997 the Electric Workshop had been upgraded and paving and cafes were introduced in Newtown (Krige and Beswick, 2008).

The black workers' compound and cottages 'second life' was its adaptation to house the Workers' library and Museum, to honour the migrant workers and offer library resources to trade unions. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) cited in Krige (2010, p118) argues that heritage resources have two lives that is a first life and a second life. The second life allows resources to perform a function different from the original function. This concept is echoed in the NHRA as 'adaptive re-use' and the Act gives extensive guidelines as to how this should be carried out (Krige, 2010). The workers' compound was adapted to the library and museum function in 1995. This area constituted the only declared National Monuments in Newtown. The buildings were restored by conservation architects Alan Lipman and Henry Paine in 1996. The buildings were once again neglected. Only in 2008 Henry Paine returned to the site to restore them. The Newtown Precinct was declared a protected heritage area by SAHRA in June 2005. This was in response to the JDA (Johannesburg Development Agency) plans of urban renewal. These plans included the building of a multi-storey luxury hotel in the centre of the electrical precinct. There always exist major conflict between multi-million rand projects and heritage conservation. Krige (2010) argues that what is preserved at times is in line with what is politically 'current'. She gives an example of Sci-Bono where no specific reference is made to the historic function of the building in relation to the rest of the precinct. Museum Africa which was part of the original Newtown buildings still continues to struggle with minimal funding for operations in relation to other heritage projects such as Constitution Hill (Krige, 2010).

The old power station housed over 300 squatters by 2000. Previously the buildings had been hidden from public view by a corrugated iron fence. The buildings became accessible and visible when this fence was demolished. Many people were attracted to the place for various reasons; photographers and architects for aesthetic reasons and homeless people for shelter. An argument ensued for the eviction of the squatters as they were seen as a potential threat to the South African Reserve Bank and urban renewal projects. Stands were obtained in Orange Farm to relocate the

squatters. The formation of the JDA in 2001 highlighted the city's dedication to city regeneration. Other notable improvements in Newtown included the building of the Metro Mall, artworks installation, streetlamps, stalls and the Mary Fitzgerald Square. The industrial sheds that used to house the city trams were changed into the Bus Factory Craft and Design Centre. . These developments thus marked a new path for the revitalisation of Newtown (Krige and Beswick, 2008). The pictures below show the appearance of the Turbine Hall and the North Boiler houses before they were adapted for reuse:



Turbine Hall before Redevelopment (Flo Bird)



South Boiler House Prior to Development (Flo Bird)

AngloGold became a separate company from Anglo American in 1998 and this meant the company needed new offices for its ever increasing staff compliment. The decision to stay in the inner city was an initiative to show commitment to the urban renewal efforts as well as to keep close ties with business partners who were still in the city. The city authorities' efforts in delivering services to Newtown further convinced AngloGold that Turbine Hall would be an appropriate choice for their new offices. Construction however only began in 2005 as the Company Board had to agree on the proposition. The design of the building required the demolition of the North Boiler House. There were objections to this destruction from heritage bodies and this had not been anticipated. The South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) requested a Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) and recommended the site to be of Provincial Heritage significance (Krige and Beswick, 2008).

The HIA carried out by Prins (2005), emphasized the fact that AngloGold was going to conserve the two buildings that constituted the power station. The South Boiler House in this regard would be an accessible public space. Access in this regard to the AngloGold headquarters, Turbine Hall and the rest of Newtown. This heritage area would therefore be a shared space as opposed to belonging solely to AngloGold. This was summed up in the HIA and is cited below:

> As a measure of their desire to attach themselves to two historic Newtown structures, AngloGold Ashanti intend to conserve the South Boiler House and incorporate it into their headquarters building. In this way the South Boiler House will become a public space providing a means of access through it into their headquarters building, to the Turbine Hall and to Newtown (Herbert Prins, Turbine Square Development, HIA 2005 cited by Krige and Beswick, 2008 p90).

In addition to the preservation and sharing of heritage space the project would bring in an injection of 180 million rand which would boost social and economic development in Newtown. Other heritage buildings in Newtown stood to gain in that they would be viewed as important in light of the Turbine Hall project. The new headquarters block was going to conserve the South Boiler House and in the process conserve the Turbine Hall. AngloGold Ashanti had given assurance that the project was going to be mutually beneficial. The project was not meant to alienate the public but would encourage interaction and sharing of the space.

Debate around the North Boiler House

The PWHT as part of a group of objectors to the demolition came again to the fore. This was in response to the HIA that had been drafted in favour of the demolition of the North Boiler House.
Prins used the Burra Charter to put forward his argument for the demolition. The Charter suggests that demolition is generally not acceptable but in some cases it becomes essential as part of conservation. Saving the North Boiler House in this particular instance would result in the building of a structure that was not in harmony with the existing structures. The HIA therefore clearly stated that

> 'if the viability of the site for the development and that of Newtown are not to be compromised, then, despite what appears to be a contradiction in terms, the demolition of the North Boiler House would best serve the interests of conservation in Newtown and its economic survival' (Herbert Prins, Turbine Square Development, HIA 2005 cited by Krige and Beswick 2008 p90).

In response the PWHT in a renewed role was used as a vehicle by a group of objectors to argue against the demolition. Documents were submitted in 2005 objecting to the destruction of the

North Boiler House. The PWHT became part of a greater group of objectors who were not in favour of the demolition. Architects such as Henry Paine and William Martinson were amongst the objectors. The two architects had done an analysis of the architecture of the North Boiler House and Turbine Hall. The report commended the redevelopment efforts but highlighted aspects that needed to be addressed. There were concerns with regards to the statement of significance. Of particular importance was the fact that there was a need to expand on the statement to show the cultural and architectural intrinsic worth of the buildings. Other areas that deserved more attention included adaptive reuse of the North Boiler House which the objectors felt had not been dealt with in depth as well as the dependability of the building.

The objectors wanted the HIA prepared in favour of demolition to consider more alternatives before taking demolition steps. Barry Van Wyk cited by Krige and Beswick, (2008) however acknowledges that interactions especially with the PWHT were very rewarding. The exchanges added to the design process in that the new northern wing would commemorate aspects from the previous building. SAHRA was also involved in the project; in the end a consensus was reached. After various revisions to the plans approval was eventually granted in 2004. The 'second life' of the Jeppe Street Power Station started in 2008 when Anglo-Gold Ashanti finished the conversion of the building into its International Headquarters. These are beautiful demonstrations of adaptive re-use/second lives. In Newtown the PWHT was also instrumental in saving buildings in the Market Precinct.

Market Area Precinct of Newtown

The Market Theatre, Museum Africa and Kippies Jazz Bar in the 1990s were the only areas that stood against complete degradation in Newtown. In 2000 the City Council and Gauteng Province moved in to save Newtown through investments of millions of rands. Krige (2010) captures the importance of the buildings in Newtown by writing that

> According to the NHR Act the *association* of a person or a particular community or communities with a place is a measure of cultural significance, it is also not only about individual buildings. The Act recognises heritage significance resides in the whole (the precinct), its landscape, as well as the parts (the buildings), the idea of a heritage precinct or area adds to how we understand and work with heritage (Krige 2010, p 108).

Buildings in Newton convey a wealth of information in the development of the early town. The market building in Newtown was constructed when the market was moved from the current

Beyers Naude Square in 1906 (Davie, May 2004). This market, according to a media release from the City's department of Arts, Culture and Heritage cited by Mntengwana (October, 2006), 'was the largest building of its kind in South Africa when it opened in 1913'. Vast supplies of goods were sold from the building that is- fruit and vegetables; grain; poultry and meat. A wagon market was held to the south of the building in a large open space known as the Outspan. Here farmers housed their wagons and stabled their stock (Mntengwana, October 2006). The retail market comprised the main hall of what is now Museum Africa.

The building now houses the Market Theatre which has three theatres that were converted from trading spaces in the eastern end of the building. The vegetable signs from the market can still be found on the walls in the foyer. The theatre was opened in 1976, and operated in defiance of the apartheid era regulations. Museum Africa uses the rest of the building and permanent exhibitions showcase the discovery of gold, fossil records and a look at township life (Davie, May 2004). This was made possible as the city officials had realised the need for a new market in 1964 as the current one was now failing to cater for the space demands. A new site for the market was found at City Deep, five kilometres south of the CBD. It took 10 years to build and the fresh produce market moved there in 1976 (Davie, May 2004). The PWHT took part in saving Museum Africa and the Market Theatre from attempts to alter and damage these structures. The plan had been set out to construct adjoining exits and entrances linking the two buildings to encourage the flow of people from the theatre to the museum. This was seen as a good way to encourage people to visit the museum. The PWHT objected to this proposal arguing that this would disturb the character of the building. The project was not supported as there was disagreement about the architectural merit and value of the building (Bird, 2011).

The fight for heritage in Newtown shows the advantages Bird had when she served on the NMC. She managed to save the compound together with the city's engineers who sought to preserve the old tram sheds, Electrical Workshop and the Jeppe Street Power Station. In saving the workers' compound Bird used the NMC Act's fifty year clause creatively on this occasion. City officials had wanted to get rid of the compound as it stood as a stark reminder and embarrassing point of the oppressive system (Bird, 2011). This shows that the PWHT was not only interested in white and colonial heritage but sought to educate future generations about the oppressive past. Retaining the buildings in Newtown also reinforced the relationships of the buildings based on their past uses. In all the new developments aspects of scale were considered to maintain the visual aesthetics of Newtown.

Even though the PWHT failed to save the North Boiler House, the new structure put in this space is very sympathetic to the architecture of the old boiler house. The adaptive re-use the building has been put to is testimony enough that the old and new can exist in harmony. In the AngloGold development the PWHT pioneered an outstanding example of the application of the Burra Charter principles. In particular the very eloquent Bird with her history in heritage coupled with the Godsell's engagement of the public and the participation of various groups led to constructive application of ideas. New development does not always have to come with demolition of existing structures but innovative designs that are modern and appropriate at the same time.

Chapter 5

Beyers Naude Square

This chapter gives the background to the current Beyers Naude Square and the changes that the area went through over time. It will give an account of the initial fight by the PWHT against the erection of walls that enclosed the space. The chapter will then discuss the Kopanong Government Precinct Project and the response it generated from the PWHT and other heritage bodies. The chapter will then show the result of the debates, court cases and heritage impact assessment that characterised the period following the introduction of the precinct proposal. These events highlight that the PWHT worked with and continues to work with other heritage bodies in saving Johannesburg's Heritage.

Background to the Beyers Naude Square

The discovery of gold in Johannesburg in 1886 led to the birth of a new town. The town took its shape from the largest square in the country then, the Market Square. It was six blocks in size and stretched from Rissik Street in the east to Sauer Street in the west. It was bordered by President and Market streets. The square always had wagon tracks, horse and ox droppings. A general dealers' market was formed in the eastern portion of the square whilst the western half was a cattle market. The photo below shows the typical appearance of the square in 1889 with all the animals that were accommodated therein (Davie, May 2004).



The market square in 1889
(Photo by: Museum Africa) cited by Mntengwana, October 2006)
http://www.joburgnews.co.za/2006/oct/oct4_birthday.stm



The town's first government building, on market square (Davie, May 2004)
http://www.joburgnews.co.za/2004/may/may20_square.stm

Development however continued to occur around the square such that by 1895 shops, offices and banks appeared on its perimeter. The first buildings in the space included the market house built in 1888 and a shelter which housed the town's first fire-fighting machinery. In 1888 the first government building was erected on the eastern edge along Rissik Street and the post office occupied one wing of the building. The post office took over the entire building in 1892 until the post office operations necessitated a bigger building. This was built in 1897(the current Rissik Street Post Office) and further additions were made to the building in 1905. In 1906 the city council took over the market with the intentions of building government and municipal premises on the site. Such a decision led to the relocation of the market to the north-west of the town (currently Newtown). Building had started on the present City Hall opposite the post office by 1910. By 1915 a small park was laid out in the western section of the square and was named the Market Square Gardens. In 1915 the City Hall was opened and the square's name was changed to the City Hall Gardens. As the city grew more development took place and in 1935 a central library building was opened on the western edge. Following this development the square's name changed again to the Library Gardens in 1939. In the same year this name was changed yet again to the Harry Hofmeyr Gardens. This was in memory of the town's mayor who had served from 1911 to 1912 (Davie, May 2004).

Clegg House on 82 Commissioner and 31 Simmonds streets was constructed in 1935.The New Library Hotel located on 67 Commissioner and 1 Fraser streets was built in 1938. In 1939 the People's Bank located on 73-75 Commissioner and 33-35 Simmonds streets was constructed. Development continued in the area with the Second Rand Water Board Building on 3 Fraser Street constructed in 1941. Volkskas on74-76 Market Street was built in 1948 whilst Litorn house

on 69-71 Commissioner and 2-4 Fraser streets was constructed in 1959. In 1960 the First National Bank was built on 78 Market and 37-39 Simmonds streets. The Custom House located on 5 Fraser and 68-70 Market streets was built in 1967. Another building constructed in the same area was the SARB House on 78-80 Commissioner Street and its completion date is unknown. These ten buildings were earmarked for demolition in the 2004 Kopanong Precinct project which sought to increase the size of the current Beyers Naude Square for use as a government precinct (Davie, January 2004). The Beyers Naude Square with the space that it offers has attracted different development initiatives from the time it served as a market.

The Civic Spine Project and the PWHT Response

The late 1980s to 1990 marked a new plan for the environmental upgrade of the Civic Spine a project that is popularly remembered as 'Madgid's folly'. This was because the mayor for Johannesburg in the 1980s Edgar Madgid undertook to improve this space then by uniting the main buildings which included the cenotaph (a memorial to World War 1 victims), the library, the post office and the Oppenheimer gardens. The plan included the building of walls and gates around the square. Many articles written in the 1990s attest that this project having used up about eleven million rands of the ratepayers fees was an absolute mistake on the city's part. This project had been contested strongly by the PWHT and other heritage organisations. This was due to the fact that historically the square had always been a space where citizens gathered in preparation for demonstrations, celebrations or to engage with the government. Closing off the square by walls and gates therefore defeated the whole essence of having the space for public use.

Bird was still serving on the NMC and was instrumental in drafting the report which highlighted that the plan to build walls and gates on the civic spine would destroy the original function of the place. She fought the wall building using the NMC as well as the PWHT. As a market place this site was predominantly public and closing it off would destroy its character. The other concern raised was that the roads were going to be narrowed and this would inhibit pedestrian mobility. As a public space, creation of narrower roads meant that people would be forced to move along and not have enough time to move around or relax in the space. More roads were planned for the area and this would mean more traffic, noise pollution and air pollution in the area. The report advised a more integrated approach to planning which would take into consideration the value of the monuments around the space and the effect of exposing them to traffic. The only merit given to the plan was that it would indeed unite the buildings increasing their relevance and importance in

the space if viewed as a unit instead of independently (Transvaal Plans Committee: National Monuments Council, 1989). Herbert Prins, then chairman of the Simon Van Der Stel Foundation is cited by Perkins (1990) explaining that the walls of the spine destroyed the most important civic space in Johannesburg, obscured the cenotaph and beautiful buildings such as the library and the city hall. Prins had vowed then that they would take all necessary steps to get the walls destroyed.

Woodgate (1994) writes that the project was launched in May 1990 but four years later the only commendable development was between the Rissik Street Post Office and the City Hall. She explained that delays were a result of bureaucratic errors as well as structural and design defects. Bird (2011) explained that there had been attempts to stop the Library Gardens walls but in this instance the battle had been lost even after an appeal. The general feeling was that each time there was a space shortage in town the parks and open spaces came under the most threat. Some of the developments that were carried out after failed protest had consequences. The place was littered and housed thieves, homeless people, beggars, shebeen owners (unlicensed alcohol traders) and derelict fountains (Woodgate, 1994). The Sunday Times Metro (1997) highlighted in no uncertain terms that the civic spine project was a 'stupid' mistake by the apartheid era city council to try and rule the city. This was because an initially open space that was popular with the people was taken and ruined by the walls. Gardens were cut off and paved over. People were not very enthusiastic about the whole space and the cenotaph was obstructed from public view. Adams (2011) recounted that the walls always smelt of urine thus defeating the use of the area as an open space. The Sunday Times article celebrated the possibility of having the walls destroyed and the area redeveloped (Sunday Times Metro, June 1997). It is interesting to note that the NMC Act's 50year clause that had worked before in the fight to save Newtown buildings failed to save the Civic Spine.

Beyers Naude Square and the Kopanong Precinct Project

Currently the square is known as the Beyers Naude Square in honour of Christiaan Frederik Beyers Naude who passed away in 2004. This man played a significant role in fighting apartheid by going contrary to his upbringing to fight against oppression in South Africa. Development initiatives and plans however still continue. The Provincial Government moved into the inner city from Pretoria and purchased 18 buildings at a cost of approximately R150 million starting from 1995.The Gauteng province bought the City hall in 2001 and in February 2004 bought the square. Having the provincial government offices in the city would express the government's confidence in the CBD. As a result this would impact positively on the property development, business

interests, and commercial/retail sector in the CBD and inner city residential initiatives. In January 2004 the Gauteng provincial government had finalised plans for the proposed new precinct in Johannesburg's CBD. The precinct was to be called the Kopanong Gauteng Provincial Government Precinct. Plans included a new square that was to be created alongside the Beyers Naude Square. The precinct would consist of a street underpass, skywalks joining buildings, underground parking. The main focus of the project was a square called the New Heritage Square to the south of the current Beyers Naude Square and adjoining the square. In order to realise the plans of the square 10 inner city heritage buildings had to be demolished. These would be replaced by an amphitheatre, a Tswana homestead, a symbolic obelisk and an Orientation Wall. (Davie, January 2004). Fanuel Motsepe is the architect who designed the proposed precinct.

In an interview in 2012, Motsepe explained the background of his project -the Kopanong Precinct Project in which the Beyers Naude Square lies. Motsepe highlighted that there were a number of factors that informed the project. Squares have always been spaces where the public could engage authority hence there was a need to maintain this particular square. The square had been reduced from four blocks to one and a half blocks thus limiting occupancy and the voice of the citizen. The Apartheid government reduced the square to prevent public mobilisation abilities. In addition structures (walls) were added on the sides of the squares for control purposes but this was done under the pretext that the Civic Spine was lifeless. As a result small shops were part of the design to encourage people to move around the square. The other negative factors affecting the space are the steel belts, the roads bordering the three edges of the square, as they posed a threat to pedestrians wanting to cross into the square. There is no commercial or retail activity to encourage pedestrian flow. Simmonds street cuts across the square and Fanuel emphasized that ‘therefore in essence there is no square but a Beyers Naude World War 2 Memorial Garden’ (Motsepe, 2012)

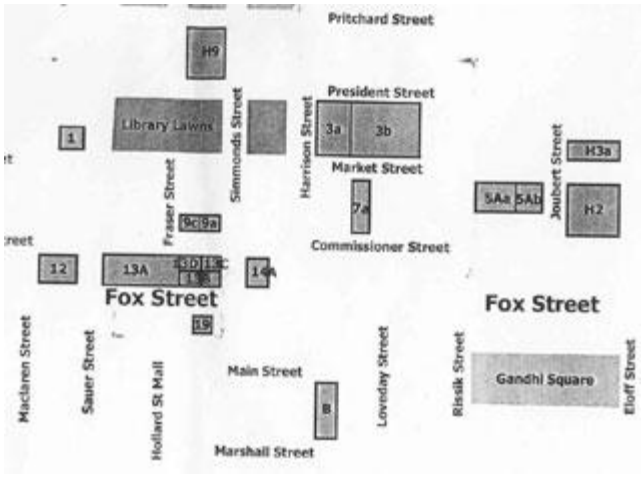
Motsepe explained that the City of Johannesburg that had been designed by colonial masters was less restrictive than that developed by the apartheid masters. The city had squares namely Landrost Square and Von Brandis Square. These two squares later on had buildings constructed over them to stop all political activity that was occurring on the squares hence the need to increase the Beyers Naude Square. All major roads intersect on the Beyers Naude Square that are the North-South major arterial routes which include Sauer, Simmonds, Harrison and the East-West major arterial routes which include Rissik, President, Market and Commissioner. Since the city is anti-pedestrian there arises a need to widen these roads to encourage social and economic growth. This was why the Kopanong Precinct Project envisaged a widening of the roads together with

increasing the size of the square. This would encourage pedestrian flow and as a result encourage activity in the precinct and surrounding areas. Pedestrian flow would be the result of the square acting as both a convergence and a dispersal point (Motsepe, 2011).

Historically the square was used as a market space, recreation space as well as an assembly point for the public when in dialogue with the city officials. The market component was eliminated when the market was moved to Newtown. The square then became a space for recreation and public assembly. Motsepe remarked that as it is, it fails in both because its spatial configuration does not allow free use by the public. A survey of the city that Fanuel carried out in preparation for the project showed that there were thin pavements, two squares and 1.83% public space as opposed to private space. Other cities have ratios of between 30% public space in relation to 70% private space and for some 40% private spaces in relation to 60% private space. The project was therefore an opportunity to transform Johannesburg into a 21st century city with a realisation that space allows people to develop (Motsepe, 2011).In order to realise this project there was a need to demolish two blocks in the southerly direction. These two blocks consisted of 10 buildings. Five were protected by heritage legislation and five were not. A long battle ensued. The PWHT was one of the heritage bodies that challenged the precinct plan.

A Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) report was given to SAHRA for approval of the demolition as most of the buildings were older than 60years old. An argument put forward for this plan was that it would bring together the government offices strewn all over the city to one central location focused around the square. This was targeted at increasing efficiency and improving inter-departmental communication. The precinct designed by Motsepe of NOA Architects would be bordered by Pritchard Street in the north and Fox and Main Street in the south. In the west the precinct would be bordered by Kort Street and Rissik Street. The HIA referred to this area as Complex 7. NOA Architects explained that the Beyers Naude Square was a collection of colonial and modernist buildings. The addition of the heritage complex would introduce elements of indigenous architecture expressed in 21st century design and construction techniques (Davie, January 2004).

The picture below shows the Gauteng government offices as they appeared in 2004



Gauteng government offices at present

(Davie, January 2004) http://www.joburgnews.co.za/2004/jan/jan29_gauteng.stm

The picture below shows how the proposal intended to bring the government offices together.



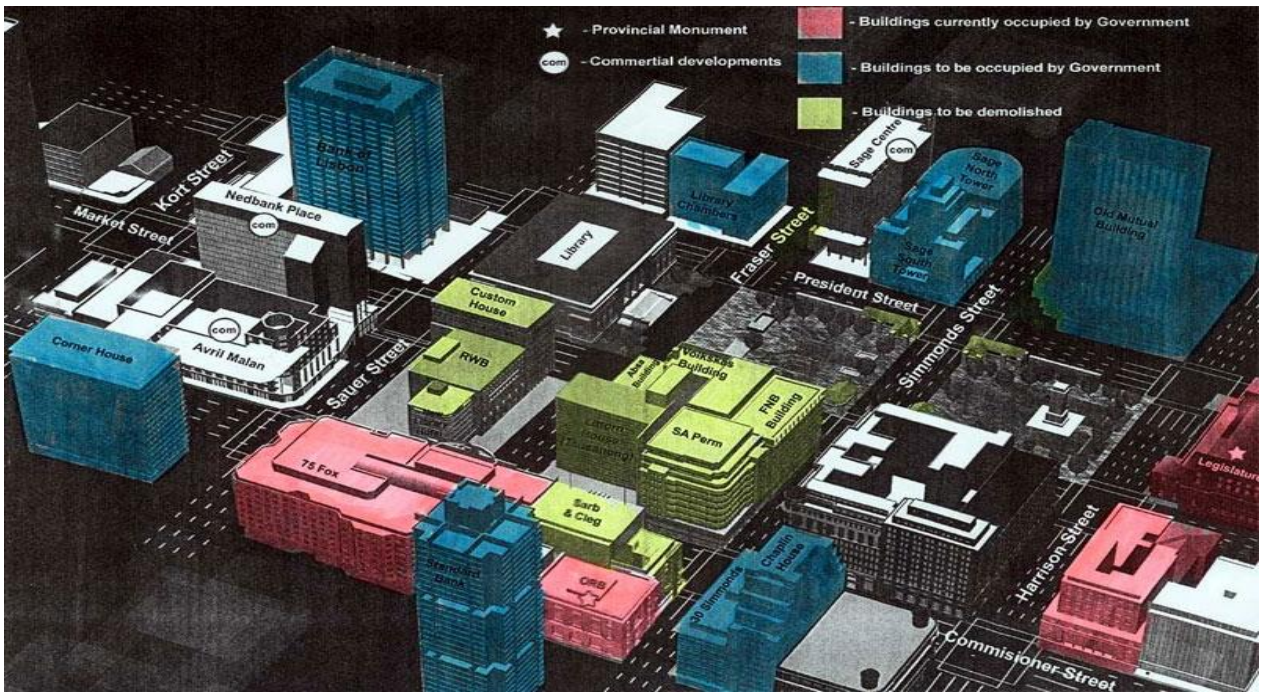
The location of the future GPG Precinct

(Davie, January 2004) http://www.joburgnews.co.za/2004/jan/jan29_gauteng.stm

Granting a demolition permit meant the SA Perm (People's Bank), the FNB Building, Litorn House, the Absa building, and Volkskas building would be demolished. Chipkin (1880s-1960s) a renowned Johannesburg architect describes the Volkskas building as the ‘first major piece of architecture built in Johannesburg by the growing forces of Afrikaner finance capital’. In addition the New Library Hotel, the Rand Water Board building and Custom House would also be destroyed. Some facades would be kept and these included the façade of the Rand Water Board building. This would be preserved and become the façade of the new Matlotlo Extension on the

corner of Simmonds and Commissioner. The Rand Water Board building had been put forward in 1976 as worthy to be declared a national monument but unfortunately this had not occurred. The facade of the Volkskas building would be retained and the rest of the building demolished. (Davie, January 2004).

The picture below shows the Proposed Demolition Plan – The buildings in Green were set aside for demolition.

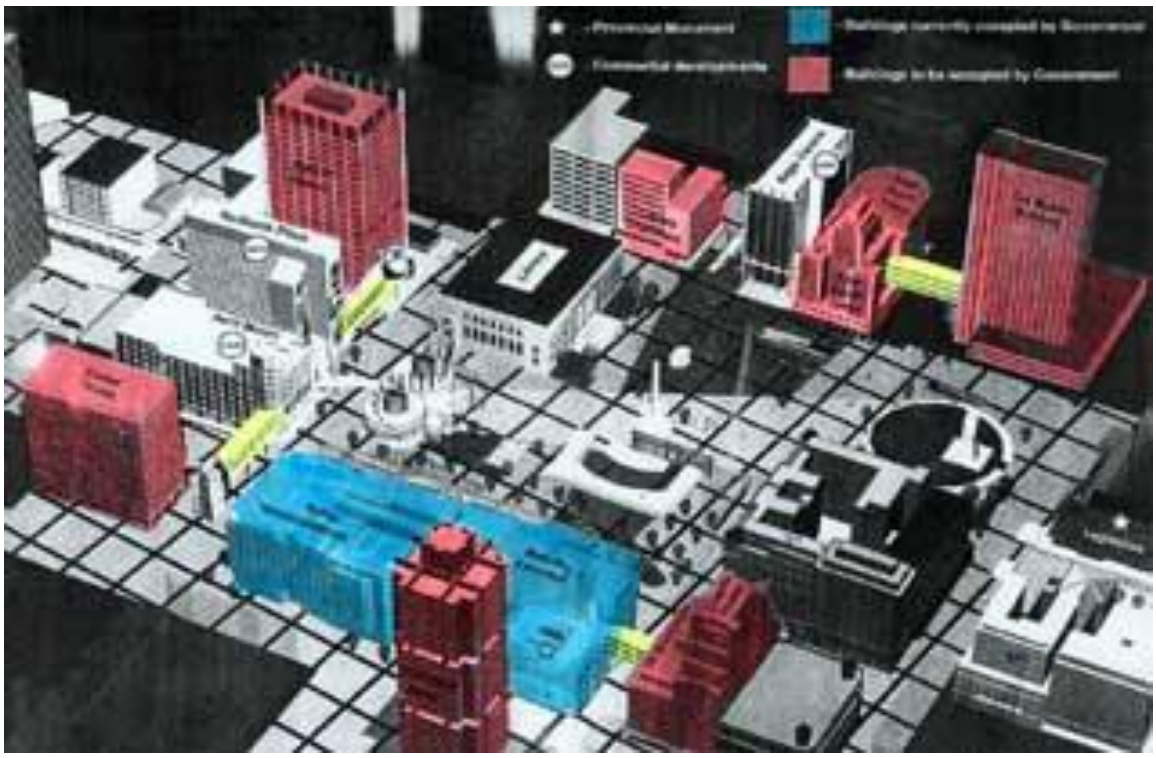


(Davie, January 2004) http://www.joburgnews.co.za/2004/jan/jan29_gauteng.stm

The new square would be called the New Heritage Square and would have six heritage facades facing on to it. The two facades of the Central Library, two facades of the Corner House, the Harrison Street façade of the City Hall, and the Rand Water Board façade. The square would contain an Iron Age Tswana homestead assembled in steel and glass. This would be called the New Heritage Complex linked to Nedbank Place on the corner of Market and Sauer streets by a New Heritage Bridge. The building would be accessed from the underground parking. The purpose of the proposed building included art and culture related uses on the ground level whilst the upper levels were reserved for restaurants and cocktail bars. Porches around the complex

would be used for street trading. Off centre of the new bigger square would be an amphitheatre with an obelisk, column or a feature within a fountain. Close to this would be the Orientation Wall that would serve as a link between the old and new facades. The walls around the square and the kiosks would be demolished to open up the square. The Nedbank Place wall would be used for advertising and the square would have trees planted all over it. (Davie, January 2004).

The picture below shows the appearance of the New Heritage Square if the proposed buildings were demolished.



(Davie, January 2004) http://www.joburgnews.co.za/2004/jan/jan29_gauteng.stm

The picture below gives a representation of the square in a north westerly direction.



(Davie, November 2005)The extended square looking North West
http://www.joburgnews.co.za/2005/nov/nov17_underpass.stm

The picture below shows the trees planted around the square and the central point of the square as it would appear after the construction.



(Davie, July 2006)The focal point of the square, diagonally opposite the cenotaph
http://www.joburgnews.co.za/2006/july/jul5_govtprecinct.stm

Parking space would be made available under the new square. An underpass would replace the four blocks of Market Street that would be incorporated into the square. This would begin before Kort Street to the west, and exit after Harrison Street in the east. The underpass would be created in such a way that it would have heritage significance for future generations. Gateways on the square would include the Fraser Street Gateway on the north side of the square and the Market Street Close Gateway marking the start of the square from the west. Four skywalks would link the four corners of the enlarged square. The Bank of Lisbon Tower and the Corner House Tower would form two gateway towers on the western corners of the square. The towers would join

Corner House and Avril Malan building, and the Bank of Lisbon and Nedbank Place. The facades of the towers would be used for advertising and at the same time the towers would house cafes, cocktail bars and restaurants overlooking the square. (Davie, January 2004).

In September 2005 the public had a chance to comment on the proposed precinct. There were varied opinions and responses to the proposed creation of the square (Davie, September 2005). SAHRA initially received 40 responses to the HIA which expressed disapproval. Of the objections that were initially received most did not give any specific reasons for the overall disapproval. Thabo Kgomommu Provincial Manager of SAHRA's Gauteng office said that a final decision could be expected in February if no anomalies arose in the waiting period (Davie, January 2004). Jennifer Kitto of SAHRA also commented then that the general response to the demolition was negative as people were not happy with the destruction of heritage buildings (Davie, January 2004). SAHRA originally questioned the initiative. In a report it compiled in March 2004 it expressed concern as to how the new square would relate to other squares in the city. The report commented on the effort to create public space and regenerate the city centre but still doubted the project's approach. The agency was against the incorporation of the Rand Water façade in the Matlotlo extension as it stated that retention did not convey significance. Other areas of concern included the cost of the project and the need to create a balance between what would be gained against what would be lost. SAHRA had then recommended the use of the Gautrain experience as a model for the impact assessment and public participation process (Davie, September 2005). The report had also recommended that the proposal to demolish the buildings be abandoned and the buildings be adapted for re-use. The demolition of nine of the buildings would represent the loss of a valuable heritage resource, according to the report (Davie, 0ctober 2005).

Fanuel Motsepe of NOA Architects highlighted that the square was not an attempt to devalue the city's history but to pave a way for the future of the city. Arguments for the continuation of the precinct plan stated that the plan deserved to be considered fairly as it had immeasurable investment potential. The project would also benefit the historic areas in the city through new investment. One architect Clive Chipkin was cited by Davie (2005) in support of the project and he described it as a 'rainbow precinct for a rainbow nation'.

> Clive Chipkin, the only architect in favour of the development expressed that it is, 'A new, 21st century building housing largely entertainment and viewing facilities, will echo

> the structural forms of the new Mandela Bridge and resonate with memories from our pre-colonial past. It is a perfect counterpoint to the honky-tonk building shapes along the Sauer Street edge of the precinct. Major interventions in cities are not expected to be straightforward but they should be undertaken, otherwise the past and present become the enemies of the future'. Chipkin is not perturbed by the idea of extending Beyers Naude Square, the site of the city's origins and a place where 'old regimes wielded discriminatory power'. (Davie, September 2005)

Response from the PWHT and other Heritage Organisations

The PWHT and other heritage organisations were not in support of this project from the outset because of the resultant loss of significant heritage buildings. The PWHT and other heritage organisations emphasized the fact that the destruction of nine of these buildings would be a loss of valuable heritage resources. The buildings showed how the city had developed overtime. The precinct plan did not show how it was going to present the layered historic development of the original Market Square. The heritage organisations felt that facades would not be adequate to represent this history. They also challenged the skywalks and the symbolic gateways. Instead of demolition they suggested adaptive re-use of the buildings and pedestrianising some streets. (Davie, September 2005).

Davie (2004) writes that Bird was outraged by the proposal. Bird as cited by Davie (2004) asked questions concerning who had come up with the idea and she expressed her anger with the development concept. Bird explained that these were buildings that made up the city and likened their destruction to murder. The similarity emanated from the realisation that once the buildings were gone they were irreplaceable (Davie, January 2004). Bird cited by Fraser (October 2005) reiterated that the decision was 'ill-mannered' in relation to the square. She said that in principle she supported the decision to develop a government precinct because it would contribute to the much needed inner city revival. She however had different suggestions as to how this could be achieved. This shows that she had constructive ideas that would help in reconceptualising the precinct idea. She proposed the creation of smaller, linked squares throughout the city. She suggested closing Market, President, Simmonds, Harrison and Rissik streets on weekdays between 6pm and 5am and from 2pm on Saturday to 5am on Mondays. This area could then be opened up for various activities such as cycling, skateboarding, jogging or music events. Bird explained that the underpass would impact on the viability of the shops at street level. The

skywalks would isolate the workers from the surroundings they were meant to interact with. Of utmost concern though would be the loss of the Art Deco heritage. A solution she proposed to this was an alternative square that would stretch to the north of the City Hall and south of the Beyers Naude Square therefore creating a square along Fraser Street South (Davie, September 2005).

This alternative square meant the parking lot around the Barbican building would form the northerly section of the square. There would be a valuable open space for the residential sector north of Kerk Street. Two buildings in President Street would be demolished the 60-year-old Lewis & Marks building and the Old Mutual building. A direct benefit of this would be to offer City Hall occupants sunshine and an outdoor space for the provincial legislature functions. Fraser Street North could be pedestrianized with fountains along it continuing down Fraser Street South thus making the space pleasant. The shopping mall of Kerk Street could be pedestrianized as part of opening up the space. Bird highlighted that the activity in Kerk Street would spread to Fraser Street and if the City Hall was made more attractive this activity would spread to Simmonds Street. The RSA building on the corner of Fraser and Market Streets could also be demolished to open up a smaller park connecting to Beyers Naude. In addition to all her suggestions Bird said that SAHRA was obliged by law to consider these alternatives for promoting open space in the city (Davie, September 2005).

Prins (2012) emphatically stressed though that on all these occasions the PWHT was working closely with other heritage organisations. He gives examples of these groups, such as the Simon Van Der Stel Foundation and the Johannesburg Historical Society. Prins was the Chairman of the Simon Van Der Stel Foundation a body that was active in preserving Johannesburg's heritage. On the Beyers Naude Square, Prins (2012) says the PWHT was very prominent in opposing the proposed developments. Another group of concerned citizens was made up of heritage architects; Henry Paine, Herbert Prins, Lone Poulsen, Marcus Holmes, Mira Fassler-Kamstra and Alan Lipman. They jointly responded to the final HIA report. They were concerned with the lack of transparency in the process and they queried why a national competition had not been held for the development. The group explained that no clear procedures had been followed to ensure the best project was selected and used. They cited that the NHRA requires a report on consultations with interested parties. This is because the project would result in the city being changed beyond recognition hence the need to actively engage the public views and not dismiss them. An alternative suggestion offered by these architects was that there were far fewer heritage buildings to the north of Beyers Naude Square making it the more advisable side to demolish. The architects

made it clear that they were not opposed to increasing public space but were against the demolition of certain structures that they believed were valuable to all South Africans (Davie, September 2005).

In response to these suggestions, Motsepe revised some elements of the original proposal. He voiced concern that the critique was governed by emotions instead of facts. He argued that the memorialisation of the 10 buildings would be strengthened. The skywalks would flank streets instead of spanning the streets. He maintained that the enlarged square would still fall short in comparison with international squares. He agreed to shelve the amphitheatre but maintained that the underpass would not interrupt traffic flow. The pavements along Market Street would be widened. Motsepe added that he would rest the granite portion of the Rand Water façade at an angle to the ground with a granite slab on the ground recording the history of the building. A fountain would be positioned around the slanted façade and bricks from Custom House would line the space below the granite. Laying the slab on the ground would symbolise the end of the colonial era in the country. The same design would be applied to the Volkskas building. The Eduardo Villa panels and columns and beams in the Volkskas building would be retained. The vault beneath the People's Bank building would be retained and the history recorded. The mosaic façade of Litorn House would be retained and placed on the northern wall of the Gauteng Shared Services Centre (Davie, September 2005).

Neil Fraser in his October Citichat explained that the approach of the government in addressing concerns was contentious. This was because of the limited number of reports made available for public scrutiny despite the overwhelming negative response from the public. He commented that the consolidation of the government departments was creditable together with the demolition of the walls. The plan according to him ignored the fact that a square already existed and it was serving most of the needs listed in the HIA for demolition. Fraser addressed the economic aspect of the project by highlighting that surveys showed that underground parking bays were expensive to build but the plan was to build underground roads. Fraser (2005) cites a *Sunday Independent* report (25 September 2005) which pointed out that independent assessors appointed by SAHRA stated that the plan was invasive and did not meet basic requirements for public open space design. Fraser alluded to the fact that the Civic Spine mistake would be mirrored again in the current Kopanong project if SAHRA refused to listen to the public concerns. He also pointed out that as custodians of the legislation government was supposed to lead by example by following what the NHRA specified (Fraser, October 2005)

Fraser writes that SAHRA caved into the provincial government demands thus missing an opportunity to set a good precedence in heritage affairs. A rejection of the plan would have shown that SAHRA and the NHRA could not be compromised by anyone. SAHRA also discredited heritage specialists and appeared to have taken a decision before the public consultation process. Clause 38 (3) of the Act specifies that if heritage resources are to be adversely affected by a proposed development, alternatives must be considered. Fraser (October 2005) cites a comment made by SAHRA that:

> 'After considering objections to the idea, the advantage of a development to house provincial government offices in one area, weighed more than keeping the buildings. In line with the new dispensation in the country, SAHRA has also considered the socio-economic spin-offs that will flow from the project. If the project goes ahead, the regeneration of the inner city will be enhanced'.

Fraser pointed out that these spin offs had not been made public and there were no supporting projected figures. He questioned why the costs of the basement parking and sinking Market Street had not been made public.

Despite earlier anxieties expressed by SAHRA about the Kopanong project the agency gave permission for the demolition of the 10 heritage buildings. SAHRA argued that there were more than 100 art deco buildings in the city dating back to the 1930s and 1940s. This statement implied that the existing art deco buildings were enough and the city could get rid of some of them. This was interpreted by private heritage bodies as showing a lack of understanding of heritage buildings. This is because each building is unique in its own sense thus being significant in its own capacity a concept that is echoed clearly in the NHRA. Fraser wrote that art deco buildings along Commissioner Street are more important than isolated buildings scattered in the city. The decision to demolish the buildings would also compromise SAHRA's ability to retain buildings in future demolition requests. This would be because every developer would value their project according to what it would contribute to the city at the expense of heritage buildings. The statement made by Thabo Kgomommu on Monday, 17 October 2005 regarding the approval of the demolitions was to the media only and interested parties had not been invited (Fraser, October 2005). In her article Davie (October 2005) expressed that this was a sad decision for heritage in the country. She wrote on the various responses evoked as a result of the approval.

Kgomommu as cited in Davie (Oct 24 2005) argued that demolition of these heritage buildings would result in other Art Deco buildings becoming more visible. SAHRA was of the opinion that the buildings set for destruction were not the best examples of Art Deco in the city. The agency highlighted that if the 10 buildings were destroyed other more significant heritage buildings would become more visible. Motsepe welcomed the decision and so did Clive Chipkin an architect and author of a major architecture book on Johannesburg though he did not comment on SAHRA's decision. Motsepe however stressed that the decision was not taken lightly. He explained that the plan would give importance to memorialising the destroyed buildings. Motsepe was prepared to reach a compromise that would suit all interested parties. Chipkin remarked that whichever decision taken there would be disgruntlement as this was the 'essence of urban contradiction' (Davie, October2005).

Bird cited by Davie (October 24 2005) however, described the demolition decision as 'absolutely outrageous' and commented that 'SAHRA were a bunch of cowards for bowing to what province the province wanted'. If any demolitions were to take place Bird emphasized that these should be to the northerly buildings which had negligible significance. Bird described the Rand Water building in Fraser Street as 'a great building' and said there was 'nothing like [the People's Bank in Commissioner Street]'. She made it clear that if the matter was not resolved she would have no reservations about appealing the decision or taking it to the Constitutional Court (Davie, October 2005). Conservation architect Henry Paine was equally shocked and was cited saying 'this is shattering, a travesty' (Davie, October 2004). Paine explained that the proposal design was bad and wasteful of heritage resources. He raised concerns that the private sector would not undertake a costly project of this nature. Paine estimated the underpass would cost more than R100-million with the entire project costing over R1-billion. He argued that the project needed open debate to come up with what was best for the city. Paine reiterated that the project was massive and very few architects would have the requisite experience to deal with it. Prins representing a group of concerned citizens and architects made a representation to the Minister of Arts and Culture (Pallo Jordan) serving in 2005. The report pointed out clearly that the buildings were amongst the most important in the city and that SAHRA was creating a bad precedent. Prins was surprised at the decision as a group of three independent architects which consisted of a respected Cape Town conservation architect and two professors of architecture had dismissed the project and SAHRA's approval as irrelevant (Davie, October 2005).

The next stage involved environmental impact assessment that was carried out by Tswelopele Environmental Consultants as required under the NHRA. The public was given until 15 December 2005 to comment on the draft. The report they drafted stated that the project would create a space for cultural exchange. Tswelopele pointed out that traffic flow would be interrupted along Market Street. To this Motsepe proposed an underpass under Market Street beginning at West Street and ending at Rissik Street. The EMP put forward measures to control dust and prevent accumulation of vehicle exhaust fumes. The safety and security of pedestrians and traffic was specified in the document. The EMP suggested consultation with noise specialists to protect people working in the vicinity. The construction phase was expected to generate employment thus having a positive socio-economic impact. The overall report recommended the underpass construction as the impact assessment had not revealed any possibility of a negative impact as a result of the construction initiative (Davie, November 2005).

The City and the Province met to discuss the proposed demolition. The aim was to compare plans of the province against those of the city. The city was against the proposal and therefore needed more information regarding the province's desire to see the demolition through despite public protest. SAHRA was of the opinion that the square would redress past imbalances, result in better presentation, appreciation and conservation of heritage and that there were other buildings that could be declared and conserved in the city. SAHRA was satisfied that the public outreach that had been set up through different media was adequate to base its decision upon. Bird commented on this by expressing that the plan was not simply ignoring heritage interests but the taxi drivers as well (Davie, July 2006). Bird (2011) explained that she was prepared to engage the taxi drivers in the fight. She commented that the underpass would impact directly on the taxi operation as the drivers would have to change their routes considerably. Bird stated that she would incite the drivers and have the city 'drawn to a complete halt' if the plan was carried forward (Bird, 2011).

Challenging the Demolition Decision

The NHRA was used to challenge SAHRA's decision to demolish the heritage buildings. This was according to the lawyers who handled the case against SAHRA stipulating that SAHRA did not have the authority to give demolition permits. Terry Winstanley of Winstanley & Cullinan Environmental Law Specialists pointed out that the NHRA clearly states that SAHRA does not have the power to order the demolition of building. In addition the Act does not allow SAHRA to act on behalf of PHRA-G under which the demolition of the buildings should have fallen. The SAHRA committee heard the appeals against the demolition decision on 19 July 2006. The

committee was made up of Gloria Rabyanyana (a lawyer), Bannie Britz (emeritus professor and architect), Gershon Manana (an architect) and Ciraj Rasool (and University of Western Cape history professor and chairperson). The four parties to appeal the decision were the South African Institute of Architects, Herbert Prins and architects, the Parktown and Westcliff Heritage Trust, Neil Fraser and the Johannesburg Heritage Trust. An independent report compiled by out of town architects Gawie Fagan, Franco Frescura and Nina Maritz had concluded that the destruction of 9 out of the 10 buildings would result in a loss of valuable heritage resources (Davie, July 2006).

Terry Winstanley from Winstanley and Cullinan Environmental Law Specialists represented architect Herbert Prins and heritage architects Henry Paine, Lone Poulsen, Marcus Holmes, Mira Fassler-Kamstra and Alan Lipman. Her argument was that at the time was that the 3 year term of the SAHRA appeal committee was about to expire and had been unconstitutionally extended by six months. This meant that any decisions taken by the agency in this period would have been invalid until SAHRA's institutional arrangement had been regularised. She argued further that the heritage resources authority only had a commenting function. Winstanley highlighted that there had been an inconsistency with the demolition decision in that the HIA prepared by the architects had clearly advised on adaptive reuse and reconsideration of the underpass arguments that were evidently ignored. Winstanley referred to the cultural significance of the buildings pointing out that 'they displayed particular characteristics valued by a community or cultural group, demonstrated a high degree of creative or technical achievement at a particular period and were of a strong or special association with the life or work of a person of importance in the history of South Africa' (Davie, July 2006). Clearly these arguments were based on the NHRA's stipulation of how to measure cultural significance and the argument also reflected the influence of the Burra Charter on the NHRA. She explained further that the decision reflected a bias towards outside influence on the part of the agency and an incorrect view of socio-economic benefit at the expense of heritage. Winstanley was concerned that the full reports were not read in coming up with the demolition decision (Davie, July 2006).

Allyson Crutchfield of BK&M Attorneys presented the argument on behalf of the PWHT. She reinforced the points about the impropriety of SAHRA acting on behalf of PHRA-G, the disregard of cultural heritage and historical significance of the buildings, the failure to analyse and consider the given reports and the failure to actively engage interested parties in the decision-making. She stressed that there was a need to be objective when selecting the memories to uphold in a city. There is a danger of obliterating the good and the bad memories thereby failing to gain from the

potential value they add to society. The NHRA brings to our attention that heritage resources are irreplaceable. They can also play a role in understanding the past in an attempt to bridge social injustices (Davie (July 2006).

Fraser's argument was constructed from a business perspective. He pointed out that renovations on the old buildings would cost around R300 million as opposed to demolition which would cost R500 million. A loss of around R2 million a year in revenues would occur if the buildings were demolished. Fraser pointed out that the restored buildings would still contribute economically through rates and service charge payments. Fraser quoted the independent architects report which showed that the future square would cater for 12000 people as opposed to the current squares capacity of 16000 people. (Davie, July 2006).

The SA Institute of Architects was represented by Lara Grenfell of Cliffe Dekker Inc. Her argument was that the buildings were part of the national estate and were culturally significant. Grenfell added that there was a sympathetic approach the world over to what constituted heritage. In giving examples she pointed to the re-use of significant buildings like the Old Fort and the Constitutional Court construction. Fanuel Motsepe of NOA Architects responded to all these arguments by saying that he needed more time to respond to the appeals. Architect Phil Mashabane of Mashabane Rose Associates and chairperson of the committee that approved the demolitions responded by saying that no information had been provided regarding the exact significance of the buildings. (Davie, July 2006).

Fraser in his citichat on the 24th of July 2006 highlighted that the City Council withdrew its objection to the demolitions earlier in the year in 2006. He felt this was through the undue influence of the province exerting pressure on a junior council and forcing the council to follow the province's orders. The remaining five objectors were told not to deal with the procedural and technical issues in their presentations as the appeals committee was responsible for this. They were obviously not pleased with this approach but carried on with the objection. Fraser handled the economic aspect of the proposal and was assisted by Professor Lone Poulsen on the architectural and design matters and by Sue Krige on the heritage considerations. The concept of celebrating African Heritage prior to the discovery of gold was not wrong or the uniting of government offices. What disturbed most people was the idea of sacrificing existing significant buildings in the process of honouring the forgotten heritage. (Fraser, July 2006). The report compiled by Krige presented arguments for retaining these buildings that had been classified as

colonial. In her argument she gave the Union Buildings complex as an example of adaptive re-use. The building is colonial architecture and was associated with segregation practices yet at present it represents the liberation of South Africa

This then challenged the approach to obliterate the buildings on the basis of their original functions or the group that had built them. This argument highlighted an example of adaptive reuse of buildings. It also demonstrated how the buildings could be embraced even under a different political regime. More excerpts from the report showed that the NHRA is very clear in its approach to heritage. This is shown by the need to address past imbalances and by bringing people together. The way to support this then is by understanding the past with its injustices in order to educate the current society on others' experiences (Fraser, July 2006).

Krige explained further that heritage does not only focus on the negative aspects of past societies. Heritage should not be viewed as people hanging on to the past but a way for people to make peace with the past and formulating a more desirable future.

> 'Redress does not mean the destruction of heritage resources on the basis of their association with a particular historical period, regime and/or exploitative and exclusionary practices and painful memories. We are dealing with how people see, understand and use past and present practices in the present' (Krige cited by Fraser, July 24 2006).

Heritage matters deal with complexities and layers of history that cannot be translated simply by memorialisation. A correct representation exists within the space hence the need to retain buildings as they symbolise complex histories and development patterns that cannot be told by a façade. Johannesburg has had a history of demolitions and destructions that have wiped out entire histories and this was before protective legislation was promulgated. To repeat these behavioural patterns would mean a continual loss of the few places people can learn from. Krige's report expressed this by highlighting that

> 'An historic site contains the histories of all the people who are and have been associated with it. The traumatic and transforming urban experience of Johannesburg is common to all its inhabitants, though the experiences were intensified by race, class and gender. Many areas in Johannesburg had both their physical layers and their memories expunged by forced removals and/or by barely controlled expansion. The Johannesburg CBD has been a

prime site of these forces of destruction. The existing square is important as one of the markers of the urban experience over time. (Krige cited by Fraser, July 24 2006).

Compromise Achieved

In September, the SAHRA Heritage Appeals Committee approved the demolition of five of the original 10 buildings in the proposed government square. The buildings were the RSA building, Clegg House, SARB House, the People's Bank Building and Thusanong. The buildings that were to be retained included the Rand Water Board, Volkskas, Custom House, New Library Hotel and the First National Bank Building. This was after the committee had heard appeals from the appellants and conducted an inspection of the buildings. Written reports together with oral and visual submissions had also been made. A detailed HIA then concluded that demolition of especially 9 buildings would represent a loss of valuable heritage resources. There was an agreement that regardless of their state buildings were a valuable resource and decisions to demolish should not be hastily done. Recycling, re-utilisation and incorporation into the proposed precinct were taken into consideration by the committee. Another suggestion taken in by the committee was that the square could be made up of smaller gathering spaces instead of one large space. There was an initiative from the committee to consider the addition of an architecture and urban history museum into the square. The museum would not only focus on the square but serve the city and the province. (Davie, 26 September 2006)

The JDA represented by Lael Bethlehem was also in support of the recommendations. The City was concerned with broader issues such as transport disruptions and value of the buildings that were proposed for demolition. Fraser commented on three areas of the committee's report: the saving of the buildings, the honest assessment that was done and the fact that SAHRA had not given into political imperatives. Bird was pleased that the buildings along the square on Market Street were to be saved and that the traditional shape of the square was to be retained as a record of history. Prins did not comment extensively as he still wanted to discuss the outcome with fellow architects but mentioned that they could possibly be happy with the discussion. Motsepe needed more time to consult with the province and analyse the report. There would have to come up with an innovative alternative as the retention of buildings meant the proposed square would have to be changed. (Davie, 26 September 2006)

Motsepe (2012) said that 'after much consternation and upheaval it was agreed two blocks in the northerly direction would be demolished instead'. The agreement was a result of a compromise by all interested and affected parties. There was only one protected building amongst the northerly block buildings but it had been altered countless times. The building's significance had been considerably diluted so the PWHT agreed to have it demolished. After lengthy negotiations and finally reaching an agreement Fanuel notes that corrupt officials stalled progress once more. Delays resulted from redoing and rethinking the project in a way that would benefit the officials financially.

The buildings in the southerly block have now been stripped. This is due to the fact that government had agreed to protect the buildings but enquiries into the corruption allegations and corrective action have to be conducted first before the project is carried forward. According to Fanuel the project failed from an architectural point of view because the heritage groups were not keeping pace with developments of Johannesburg as it appears today. He stated further that the protestors were not users of the city. A survey that he had carried out amongst a sample of inner city users showed that 96% of the users were in agreement with the project with only 4% of the users unaware of the project. Motsepe emphasized that no objection came through from city users as they do not identify with the buildings as their heritage. He says that suburban dwellers objected because it is 'their heritage'. To this he added that some of the applications he has worked on at PHRA-G from PWHT for example are sent through because of personal association with members as opposed to appropriateness (Motsepe 2012).

The Beyers Naude Square case shows a detailed application of the NHRA and how it was used extensively to protect heritage. The PWHT and other heritage conservationists drafted their arguments based on both the overall spirit and letter of the law thus making a case for the survival of the threatened buildings. Important for this case study and research project is the way in which it highlights the PWHT's dedication among other heritage organisations to all kinds of heritage. The PWHT passion for heritage is clearly not limited to Parktown. This complemented what Flo Bird stressed in an interview in 2011 that the Trust was not only concerned with Parktown but heritage in general as well. The continued fights of the PWHT and other heritage bodies have to some extent retained the open space as the open public space it has always been meant to be.

Chapter 6

Going Forward-Visions and Challenges for the Future

This chapter outlines the other work that Trust does and how this work is financed. This section discusses the future of the Trust as highlighted by the interviewees. These contributions came from the members of the Trust as well as the people they have worked closely with. This section will also discuss the strategies that have been used by the Trust over the years in carrying out advocacy activities. Following this discussion a conclusion will be given as to how the Trust has managed to survive until now.

Current Activities of the Trust

The PWHT continues to offer a range of tours either on foot or by bus depending on the distances that have to be covered. Examples of the Tours offered include Views from the Ridges (a view of the largest man made forest), Villa Arcadia- Baker Beauty and Splendid Views (a tour through the gardens, old coach house and stables) and Our Mining Heritage (a tour of the mines, dumps, battle sites). The Trust runs a schools programme where young children are taught about heritage and the importance of heritage conservation (Adams, 2011). These school programmes are not limited to Parktown but Bird (2011) mentioned schools in Crown Mines that they teach and in Hillbrow. There is a Research Centre in Parktown that the Trust runs and is open to the public for research purposes. Bird also conducts a heritage related show on Radio Today called Heritage Today. On this show guest speakers are invited and a heritage topic is given for each Tuesday the show is conducted. This is in addition to the decision making boards some of the members sit on, such as William Gaul who sits on the PHRA-G committee. The PWHT puts forward recommendations for declaration of heritage resources that are worthy of preservation (Bird, 2011).

The Trust has listed all properties in Parktown and part of Westcliff and graded them in relation with their significance (using a grading system formulated by the Trust by modelled on the Burra Charter guidelines). The Trust is still responsible for putting up blue plaques on significant places, buildings or monuments. The work of the Trust also involves fighting for threatened heritage resources in Parktown as well as other areas in Johannesburg. The activities of the Trust are

largely financed by loyal members who pay regular subscriptions. Finance is also received from donors and well-wishers. In addition the tours offered by the Trust bring in additional income coupled with the events that the Trust organises to celebrate Victorian and Edwardian heritage. These events include high teas and on such occasions people dress up in costumes reflective of the Victorian era (Bird 2011).

The Future of the Trust

Motsepe (2012) reiterated that the baggage of the past is dragged into conservation attempts and it 'clouds' and 'muddies' progress. In South Africa, he remarked that heritage is a monopoly of the elderly who want to keep what they know. According to Motsepe heritage should be the monopoly of the young people to guide the future heritage of the country towards 'new heritage'. His argument is based on the fact that younger people will bring a balance into heritage as they are concerned with the past as well as the future. Motsepe said he had noticed that heritage protagonists in South Africa tended to protect heritage for the privileged few. He said that he has observed that people are so precious about the past in South Africa and as a result heritage is exclusionary instead of being inclusionary. Heritage interests still protect the heritage of the formerly advantaged as they want to keep what they know as opposed to what they aspire to. He added that there is a need to allow heritage to evolve with society and not freeze it as is currently happening (Motsepe, 2012).

He is of the opinion that the PWHT will not survive as there is a possibility of new tenants moving into Parktown. These new tenants according to him might not necessarily be interested in keeping Parktown the way it is currently. He said unless the PWHT is joined by younger people who are future oriented there is a great risk of the group disappearing. In his opinion heritage conservationists cause more problems for heritage. This is because, as Motsepe remarked 'the very people who stood up to defend heritage end up causing heritage to suffer because of the way they undertake to protect heritage'. He meant that heritage organisations do more harm than good to heritage. Motsepe explained that heritage matters in South Africa are worsened by the past in South Africa because of the inappropriateness of the heritage in question. Questions that he said needed to be answered deal with whose heritage the buildings represent, whether they should be conserved in the current context and the purpose of the conservation effort (Motsepe 2012).

Even though Motsepe feels that the PWHT and other heritage groups in the city form a monopoly of the heritage environment other people had good to say about the Trust. It is worth noting that

despite the strengths and weaknesses of the Trust or their opinions the PWHT has contributed immensely to the heritage environment in Johannesburg. Were it not for the efforts of the Trust Parktown would have been completely destroyed as well as buildings in Newtown. In fighting to save heritage buildings some amicable solutions have been attained in the past. These solutions have benefits that we can still bear witness to such as the workers' compound, Turbine Hall and palatial homes in Parktown. We can therefore not simply pass off the efforts of the PWHT as selfish given that they fight for heritage with a holistic approach. In the example of the Newtown compound and the Beyers Naude Square these places despite racial policies still were occupied by all races. The buildings in Parktown and Johannesburg city were also built on migrant labour and black people so it becomes incorrect to pass of the heritage solely as 'white heritage'. Heritage does come at times with an unpleasant past by the solution does not lie in destroying the unpleasant aspects but rather in paving a way into a future that realises past injustices to build onto just futures going forward.

Botha (2012) felt that the future of the PWHT was to continuously give guidance to the people in Parktown and work against illegal demolitions and alterations to the buildings and sites. He acknowledged that the work of the PWHT is very important. He expressed this by saying that the PWHT works as the 'eyes and ears' of the PHRA-G in Parktown and related areas. There is an exchange of ideas between the two bodies with the PHRA-G constantly asking for comments and opinions from the PWHT. Botha explained that the PWHT and other heritage bodies have first-hand information and they do commendable work (Botha 2012). Bird (2011) highlighted that the Trust's current projects going into the future include a schools heritage programme. This is targeted at fostering an appreciation of heritage from early stages in children. She explained that as the children grow older and take up various careers they will have an understanding of the value of heritage. Their decisions, whether in engineering, town planning or demolition committees will be influenced by what they will have learnt in the heritage programmes. In addition the Trust is working on a 'List Johannesburg' project which includes putting information on heritage on the internet to make it accessible to everyone who is interested. Closely related to this is the use of the World Wide Web to push the heritage agenda by making use of tools like Facebook or Twitter among others to make people aware of heritage.

The Trust measures success mostly by revisiting the set objectives and measuring them against achievements for the given period. The areas of success are then used to establish how to precede

in future campaigns and the failures highlight the areas that need improvement going into the future. In terms of the tours offered the number of people who turn up, new recruits and levels of interest are other measures of success. A major area of concern is a succession policy as Adams (2011) remarked 'you can see with me and Flo we are not getting any younger'. The group has been researching ways to groom younger leaders who are interested in heritage to carry the work forward. Adams (2011) mentioned possibilities of mergers with other heritage groups such as Egoli or working with the municipalities as possible considerations towards succession plans. Adams (2011) as influenced by his financial background also raised the possibility of the PWHT competing for a share of the tours with established tour companies. This will be an attempt at bringing in more money as he says the Trust is not very good at fundraising. The proposed tours will be out of Johannesburg and will include accommodation arrangements and transport. He however remarks that there is a need to keep only viable plans and fight to stay ahead in heritage matters as he has seen some organisations slide to obscurity from the time he joined PWHT (Adams, 2011).

Itzkin (2011) raised the need for the Trust to carefully consider succession policies and training younger people to carry on the work and ensure survival of the group. According to Prins (2012) the Trust has started on some pro-active work in going out to schools to inculcate heritage values and in carrying out educative and enjoyable tours. He however added that there is a need for the Trust to be more pro-active in saving heritage buildings. Prins says the Trust in some instances is reactive in that 'it kicks up a fuss' when some development goes contrary to heritage principles. Prins described Bird as 'indispensable to the Trust' and he is of the opinion that there is need for a proper back up plan in dealing with succession within the Trust. He suggests mapping out an appropriate direction for the group and attracting 'young active enthusiasts' and black members to get a different perspective of heritage. This is essential in that the scope of the NHRA has been widened hence the need to approach and understand heritage from different groups to ensure survival going into the future (Prins, 2012).

The Trust's Survival

In analysing the interviews and material from the archives the Trust has used a wide range of strategies in carrying out advocacy activities. These have ranged from signing petitions, demonstrating against developments which would result in the destruction of heritage, marching with banners, using the courts to fight heritage battles, using the Acts (NMC Act and the NHRA and supporting charters to save heritage), drafting policies, combining efforts with other private

heritage bodies, heritage education, using emotional attachment to the area, guided tours, sitting on government heritage bodies. In some instances the members acknowledge failures due to uncompromising stances they embarked on. Adams (2011) highlights a problem when he states that they got involved

> 'A little too late at the Laundry site and the nature of the space made it difficult to preserve as it was seen as dead ground. This is because no-one wants a whole lot of mess but the challenge in Johannesburg is making the places viable'.

Bird (2011) admits that the answer to this is to understand that getting a place declared is not the ultimate success but there is a need to monitor all activities constantly. In some instances Adams (2011) acknowledges that compromises work better whereby a commemorative symbol is erected alongside a new use for the heritage building. In this situation heritage does not lose out completely yet a place is also made viable. In trying to water down the protests to save buildings Flo was put on the NMC and she was made responsible for demolitions. She says this opened up more opportunities for her to get more places declared as monuments then and above all she was privy to the secrets of the council (Bird, 2011). The city has a collaborative approach to heritage and Itzkin believes there is a need to form links with communities. This will help in the sense that heritage valued by communities and groups is easier to enhance due to that sense of ownership and attachment that is generated through active participation. The city plaques were modelled on the PWHT plaques as it pioneered use of plaques on heritage buildings. This ensures uniformity and an immediate association of blue plaques with heritage (Itzkin, 2011). In relation to heritage organisations Botha (2012) explained that the PWHT is only one of the many players in the city and to this effect he gave an example of the Kensington Heritage Trust. Off record however Botha mentioned that they usually have clashes with the PWHT and he described Flo Bird as 'feisty'. Another way in which the PWHT interacts with PHRA-G is through William Gaul who sits on the PHRA-G committee enabling a concerted effort in dealing with heritage buildings and sites.

Conclusion

The current heritage legislation is very inclusive and does not focus on specific heritage. This has aided the work of the Trust in that it is protected and recognised under the new legislation. Flo Bird is described as feisty and hardworking by most of the people I interviewed. She is also described as the driving force behind the PWHT and the survival of the Trust has been associated with her character and passion for heritage. Herbert goes further to explain that with the type of

stature Flo has one would think she would be dwarfed or daunted by fighting people twice her size. I agree that the Trust has to some extent survived because of Flo Bird's character but a further analysis of the Trust's activities brought more factors to light. The Trust has managed to formulate a presence within Johannesburg that is strong and easily recognisable. It is no longer easy to ignore any suggestions and recommendations the Trust puts forward. The members of the PWHT are well versed in heritage legislation and international charters. Over the years from the NMC era until now heritage legislation is used extensively in protecting heritage.

It is important to note that the Trust changed its approach to heritage in that it keeps broadening the heritage matters it deals with. The activities of the Trust in this regard are not limited to Parktown only. The Trust has also been quick to embrace the new legislation immediately using the NHRA to benefit heritage. The Trust had Flo Bird on the NMC in the apartheid era and currently has William Gaul on PHRA-G and this has assisted the endurance of the Trust. The PWHT has formed links and relationships over the years with other heritage bodies and has leaned on these organisations for support, sharing of ideas and guidance over the years. Heritage education has also fuelled the survival of the Trust in the sense that the Trust's education programmes have raised awareness in the importance of heritage. Failures have been experienced in the work of the Trust but these have been used to inform future decisions the Trust has embarked on. The PWHT has not stopped fighting. This is what has led the PWHT to survive over such a long period of time whereas other heritage organisations have faded.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

The Barefoot Burra

'BAREFOOT BURRA' QUESTIONNAIRE

1. STATE IN DETAIL WHAT ***WOULD BE LOST IF THE SITE OR AREA WERE TO DISAPPEAR.***
2. Provide a ***description*** of the physical dimensions of site, title deeds, erf number, and GIS coordinates, as far as possible. At least one sketch with accurate measurements should be provided.
3. Provide brief ***historical chronology*** of the site or area. (One page)
4. Is this a site of extraordinary ***natural beauty***?
5. Can this site be protected by another piece of ***legislation*** besides the National Heritage Resources Act, for example, The National Environmental Management Act , the Forestry Act?
6. Is this site's ***primary*** (main) significance ***archaeological, geological, and paleoanthropological or palaeontological***? If yes, provide evidence for this. If so, this site is automatically a Provincial Heritage site.
7. Is this site part of a larger Heritage ***area*****?** Are there other buildings, physical features, ruins nearby associated with it? If so, briefly describe them.
8. Are there any ***similar*** sites or areas in the province and the country? Please list these. Make a short comparison between them. (SAHRA or the Provincial Heritage Authority will provide an appropriate list.)
9. Does the site or area gain its significance from ***an event, a person, a social process*** or all three? Please outline the nature of its significance.
10. What made the person or event ***important***? What kind of impact did the social process have? Demonstrate these ***connections*** with the site or area.
11. If there is no direct connection, show why an ***indirect*** association still confers heritage significance.
12. Show why ***this site*** rather than any other associated with the event, person or social process should be declared.
13. Who are you and what is your ***interest*** in this site? All interests, including financial and political are to be declared.
14. Will any person or organization be subject to ***financial*** loss or gain if this site is declared?
15. What reasons are there ***for not declaring the site*****?** If there is opposition to this declaration, name all parties and their interests. These objections may be personal, political, social, or economic.
16. Why does this site need ***protection***

Appendix 2 NHRA

IMPORTANT DEFINITIONS FROM THE NATIONAL HERITAGE RESOURCES ACT of 1999

i. "Cultural Significance" means aesthetic, architectural, historical, scientific, social, spiritual, linguistic or technological value or significance.

ii. "Heritage resource" means any place or object of cultural significance.

iii. "National Estate" means the national estate as defined in **Section 3.** Section 3.1 states *"For the purposes of this Act, those heritage resources of South Africa which are of cultural significance or other special value for the present community and for future generations must be considered part of the national estate and fall within the sphere of operations of heritage resources authorities."*

The National Estate may inter alia include: **(See Section 3.2 of the NHRA)**

- Places, buildings, structures and equipment of cultural significance;
- Places which oral traditions are attached or which are associated with living heritage';
- Historical settlements and townscapes;
- Landscapes and natural features of cultural significance;
- Objects of scientific or technological interest.

SECTION 3(3) states: Without limiting the generality of subsections (1) and (2), a place or object is to be considered part of the estate if it has either cultural significance or other special value because of:

- Its importance in the community, or pattern of South Africa's history;
- Its possession of uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of South Africa's natural or cultural heritage;
- Its potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of South Africa's natural or cultural heritage;
- Its importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a particular class of South Africa's natural or cultural places or objects;
- Its importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by a community or cultural group;
- Its importance in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement at a particular period;
- Its strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons;
- Its strong or special association with the life or work of a person, group or organisation of importance in the history of South Africa; and
- Sites of significance relating to the history of slavery in South Africa.

SECTION 5 General Principles for Heritage Resource Management

This Section requires that "All authorities, bodies and persons performing functions…must recognise principles asserting the:

- Lasting value of heritage;
- The moral responsibilities of succeeding generations to manage heritage resources in the interest of all South Africans;
- The capacity of heritage resources to promote reconciliation;
- The need to avoid using heritage for sectarian or political gain;
- The need to develop skills capacity;
- The values of heritage as a means to encourage ongoing education;
- The importance of laws, procedures and administrative practices;
- The value of heritage resources as an important part of the history and beliefs of communities;
- The importance of integrating heritage conservation in urban and rural planning.

This **Section lists** what must be dealt with in the identification, assessment and management of the heritage resources of South Africa. These are listed below:

i. Take account of all relevant cultural values and indigenous knowledge systems;
ii. Take account of material or cultural heritage value and involve the least possible alteration or loss of it;
iii. Promote the use and enjoyment of and access to heritage resources, in a way consistent with their cultural significance and conservation needs;
iv. Contribute to social and economic development;
v. Safeguard the options of present and future generations; and
vi. Be fully researched, documented and recorded.

SECTION 7.1 (C)

'Heritage resources assessment criteria, consistent with the criteria set out in section 3(3), … must be used by a heritage resources authority or a local authority to assess the **intrinsic, comparative and contextual** significance of a heritage resource and the **relative benefits and costs** of its protection, so that the appropriate level of **grading of** the resource and the consequent responsibility for **management** may be allocated in terms Section 8'.

Appendix 3

Informed consent for participating in an interview

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. Do you have any questions concerning the study?

Please read and sign the following.

I hereby confirm that I have been informed about the nature and conduct of the study. I have also read and understood the Information Sheet for study participants. I may not benefit personally from participating in the interview.

I may, at any stage withdraw my consent and participation in the study, without there being any negative consequences for me. I have been made aware that my name will not be used in the research report and only a pseudonym will be used instead. The information that I give will be treated as confidential and will not in any way be identified with me and can only be used for the purposes of this study and for any other related academic activity such as publication of the findings in a scholarly journal.

I have also been afforded the opportunity to ask questions about the study.

I declare that I am prepared to participate in this study.

Name of Participant: _____

Date of birth: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

I, Prue P J Mutumi, hereby confirm that the above participant has been fully informed about the nature and conduct of the study.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

If verbal consent is given, the interviewer must sign below in the presence of the participant.

_____ _____

(Signature of interviewer certifying that informed Date

Consent has been given verbally by respondent)

Appendix 4

INTERVIEW SAMPLE QUESTIONS

1. Can you tell me about yourself (a brief family history, education and work history and how you got involved in heritage).
2. What led to the formation of the Trust? (A brief outline of the events that led to the formation of the Trust)
3. Can you describe the Trust's involvement with the following?
    - Parktown Ridge destruction 1965 onwards
    - In the Inner city-Newtown during the 1980s, 1990s and onwards
    - On the Beyers Naude Square in 2004
4. How did you interact with the National Monuments Council Act in carrying out your activities?
5. How did you interact with the city officials under the NMC?
6. How does the Trust measure cultural significance?
7. Are you aware of the global policies that influence NHRA?
8. How does the Trust interact with NHRA and PRA-G?
9. What are the most important changes that are there between the NMC Act and the NHRA?
10. Whose heritage does the NHRA focus on?
11. Who else has the Trust interacted with in carrying out its activities (individuals and organisations?)
12. What is the Trust's present vision and mission?
13. What strategies have the Trust used in carrying out its activities?
14. Can you give me a list of the Trust's activities and how they are financed?
15. How do you measure success in terms of your own vision and mission?
16. How do you see the future of the Trust?