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Aesthetics of Power:
Heritage Formation and the Senses in Post-
Apartheid South Africa

Esthetiek van de macht: de vorming van erfgoed en de zintuigen
in post-apartheid Zuid-Afrika
(Met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

PROEFSCHRIFT

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door

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Summary

This thesis looks at heritage formation, material culture and the senses in processes of post-apartheid nation building. It focuses on aesthetics of persuasion and the politics of authentication. Aesthetics of persuasion refers to the ways in which stakeholders craft material cultural forms as convincing heritage indexes and how those forms are perceived by their intended audiences as persuasive. Politics of authentication refers to how stakeholders position material cultural forms as legitimate heritage markers amidst debate and contestation. The thesis contributes to South African and international literature on history, heritage, religion and memory through its distinctive theoretical focus on aesthetics and the senses. It is innovative, furthermore, in being grounded in both textual and qualitative data that includes interviews and field notes gathered during periods of participant observation. The thesis looks at three post-apartheid heritage projects. Firstly, it discusses Freedom Park, a monumental state driven heritage project situated in the capital city Pretoria. Freedom Park commemorates those who died in the struggles for humanity which is intended to stand as the defining representation of South Africa's cultural history, heritage and diversity. Designed for the post-apartheid nation, Freedom Park was also a functional heritage tourism destination that invited visiting tourists to experience and engage with its nationalist, 'African' cultural heritage narrative. Secondly, it looks at the market driven venture, the *Sunday Times* Heritage Project. The *Sunday Times* Heritage Project paid homage to newsworthy historical events and figures that featured during the 100 years of the eponymous newspaper's existence through pieces of site-specific art memorials. The memorials were designed to recover particular histories and engage particular publics, who often engaged with them in subversive, destructive ways. Thirdly, this thesis tunes into the *vuvuzela*, a plastic noise-making instrument that became popular globally during the FIFA 2010 Football World Cup. Designed and marketed to South African football fans, the *vuvuzela*'s popularity led to contestation amongst different stakeholders who struggled over its commercial and symbolic ownership using arguments about its emblematic status as a South African and African cultural heritage object. Focusing on these examples, this dissertation shows how these materially based projects were formed as seemingly authentic, legitimate post-apartheid heritage markers, how those acts of forming involved the reshaping of the senses and sensibilities as modes of apprehending the past, and finally, the modalities of belonging and citizenship they enabled.

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Prologue



Figure 1. Sunette Bridges chains herself to the Paul Kruger statue. Daniel Born, Greatstock, Barcroft Media.

On 7 April, 2015, Sunette Bridges, right wing activist and daughter of a renowned deceased Afrikaans crooner, Bless Bridges, issued a media statement that on the following day she would stage a protest at the Paul Kruger monument in Church Square, central Pretoria.¹ With the support of a right wing political party, the Front National Party, Bridges announced that she would chain herself to the monument to defend it against vandalism and removal. She was reacting to the monument's defacement days before, when it was daubed in luminous green paint.² Many Afrikaners viewed Paul Kruger with esteem. He was the last president of the Transvaal Republic at the end of the nineteenth century and a brave military leader during the Second Anglo Boer War (presently known as the South African War). Sited at prominent location in the city centre, the monument itself had a charged heritage, having been designed by the famous South African sculptor Anton van Wouw and dedicated in 1954 by Prime Minister D.F. Malan. Sunette Bridges and the Front National Party's fears about vandalism and removal were well founded. In the weeks prior, colonial and apartheid statues were painted, covered, wrapped and drenched in human excrement on university campuses across the country in a growing series of student protests about offensive colonial symbols and racial transformation in the higher education sector.

The movement spilled over, outside of campus boundaries days before, when, in Port Elizabeth, supporters of the black left wing party, the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), who had defaced the Kruger statue, set one bronze WWII memorial on fire and toppled a horse memorial in protest against what they claimed were symbols of black oppression in South African society.³ A revolution of statues appeared to be spreading across the country. Afrikaner heritage was seen to be under threat. Statues needed to be defended.

The South African Police Service issued a statement that they would post a guard at the Paul Kruger statue and step up patrols at other colonial and apartheid era statues in light of the upsurge in vandalism.⁴ Outlining their symbolic defence, the Front National Party explained, “This act of defiance is a call for unity of all like-minded individuals and groups to resist any further acts of vandalism or intention of removal of national heritage sites and symbols”. When the protest eventually did ensue, supporters formed a protective circle around the Paul Kruger monument, chained themselves to it, but also chained themselves to the Jan van Riebeeck statue in Cape Town as an extension of the movement to defend Afrikaner heritage. As an expression of a larger self-defined narrative of isolation, marginalisation and exclusion from the South African nation, this group of Afrikaners felt compelled to perform public rituals of defence, chaining themselves to statues across the country to protect South African cultural heritage forms that they identified as theirs.

This curious case raises many questions. Why did statues of colonial and apartheid era figures occupy pride of place in South Africa’s public sphere more than 20 years after apartheid? What of the heated, racial character of the debate, where Afrikaners claimed certain heritage forms as theirs and black South Africans contested those claims arguing they represented a past of oppression? By raising these difficult questions, this case demonstrates the contemporary role of established cultural heritage forms in mediating difficult, complex histories, and the competing claims they enabled, indeed the contestation about belonging in the post-apartheid nation. This thesis is not so much concerned with statues and monuments constructed before or during the apartheid era, however intriguing and challenging they may be. Rather, it looks at the



Figure 2. Heritage Day 1997. Reprinted with permission of Zapiro, www.zapiro.com (All rights reserved).

construction and public representation of new heritage forms in the post 1994 era, addressing heritage projects that were intended to bind the nation together. It looks at how modes of belonging were formulated in the context of a transforming society. Focusing on the post-apartheid era, and how the legacies of the past are reworked to try and foster new modes of belonging, this thesis engages with the productive creativity such practices of forming entails. To put it another way, this thesis is concerned with heritage formation, material culture and the senses in processes of post-apartheid nation building. In order to show the fraught, and complex context in which this research is situated, and to provide some more depth to the discussion unpacked in this text, in the following section I will provide a very brief a historical overview of South Africa. In the following chapter, the Introduction, I will outline the literature in which this text is situated, the theoretical tools used to frame my discussion of heritage formation and the main argument.

Historical Overview

South Africa is an especially fruitful context to explore questions of history, heritage and memory because of its rich, complex and multi-layered history. For example, South Africa is a site of rich natural history, with geological evidence indicating the discovery of some of the oldest geological formations and microorganisms on earth. Some of the oldest hominid remains have been found at archaeological sites such as the Cradle of Humankind. San hunter-gatherers roamed the interior of Southern Africa up to 2 million years ago, and are generally recognised as the first peoples of the region, of Africa and perhaps even the world. In recognition of this indigenous primordality, images from San rock art and language have been incorporated into the post-apartheid national Coat of Arms. This is, however, also a region with a deep colonial history related to maritime “discovery”, trade and global imperial struggles over access to resources in the “New World”. Portuguese explorers first made land in the fifteenth century as part of some of the first European naval voyages of “discovery”. Taking a wrong turn sailing around Africa’s southern coast, explorers landed at Saldana Bay and other sites around South Africa’s eastern and southern coast, and placed a series of stone crosses, known as *padroes*, marking their “discovery” of this ‘new land’. Today the *padroes* are preserved as some of the first Western ‘monuments’ to be erected in the region (Axelson 1988).

Colonial settlement began in the 17th century with the arrival of the Dutch. Under orders of the Dutch East India Company, the first permanent settlers were instructed to build a fort and establish a refreshment station at the Cape of Good Hope for vessels traveling on route to Asia (Ross 1997). French Huguenots fleeing religious conflict in Europe in the late 17th century later joined these first settlers. The decades that followed saw periods of expanding settlement and colonial control that extended from the Cape in waves of violent incursion on the lands of local indigenous people. The strategic importance of the trade route would later lead to armed conflict between the Dutch and English imperial naval forces at the battle of Muizenberg in 1795 and then the battle of Blaauwberg in 1806, when the Dutch finally relinquished control of the Cape Colony (Keegan 1996). Evidence of the Dutch and English colonial presence is pervasive in contemporary South Africa, particularly in Cape Town, evident in place names, colonial buildings, monuments and statues. It is also reflected in language since

English and Afrikaans—a creolised version of Dutch, incorporating a south Asian vocabulary invented by Cape slaves—are two of the most commonly spoken of South Africa’s eleven official languages.

The emergence of modern South Africa is closely associated with the mineral revolutions of the nineteenth century—the discovery of diamonds in Kimberly in the 1860’s and then gold on the Witwatersrand in 1880’s (Worden 1994). The combined forces of colonialism and capitalism focussed on the extraction of gold and diamonds combined in the elaboration of the exploitation of a black populace for labour that propelled the industrialisation of parts of South Africa. Gauteng Province, which derives from the Sotho for the Place of Gold, which incorporates the Witwatersrand, Pretoria and Johannesburg, is the post-apartheid name for the region, and which recognises this mineral heritage. The province’s contemporary indigenous name masks its colonial, Afrikaner heritage however, since, during the nineteenth century, mineral wealth was a stake in the development of an autonomous Afrikaner polity separate from British colonial influence. Trekking into the interior in the early 1800’s, Afrikaner settlers bartered and battled with the Nguni local people for land in an attempt to establish political autonomy. They established the independent countries of the Orange Free State north of the Cape in 1837, and the *Zuid Afrikaanse Republik* in the northern interior in 1852, as well as the minor republics of Natalia, Zoutpansberg and the New Republic during the nineteenth century. While many place names have been changed or are contested, towns and cities with names like Pretoria, Bloemfontein and Krugersdorp are lexical remnants of this colonial Afrikaner heritage. Preceded by the Jameson raid, an attempted coup financed and supported by the British imperialist businessman Cecil John Rhodes, these struggles for land and mineral resources would come to a head in the Second Anglo Boer War, now known as the South African War, of 1899 to 1902. Following British conquest, the Boer republics and British colonies were consolidated to form the South African Union on 31 May 1910. This territorial entity is what is today known as South Africa.

Incorporating English and Afrikaner white nationalisms, the Union of South Africa extended citizenship rights to all whites and instituted the systematic disenfranchisement of blacks through legislative policies of land dispossession and racial segregation. The

founding principles of the Union of South Africa were therefore the legislative exploitation of the black majority. The Union Buildings, a monumental seat of government situated in Pretoria, was especially designed by Sir Herbert Baker to represent and affirm this new union of white power. It is still the site of presidential authority. It was in this political climate, that The Reverend John Dube, writer Sol Plaatje and lawyer Pixley ka Isaka Seme gathered at the Waaihoek Wesleyan Church in Bloemfontein on the 8th of January 1912 to found the South African Native National Congress, which is today known as the African National Congress (ANC). The building was the site of the ANC's centenary celebrations in 2012, and it is to be declared a national heritage site. Afrikaners continued to maintain nationalist aspirations, mobilising politically through the National Party, for example, after WWI and during the inter-war years. The National Party agitated against South Africa's participation in WWII stoking lingering anti-British feeling. Following post-war depression, party leaders managed to rise to political power in 1948, and formally institute the policy of apartheid. Hendrik Verwoerd, the Dutch born theologian who led the party to victory, would later enjoy the ignoble cultural status as the father of apartheid. The many significant buildings, roads and sites named after him have been renamed after the fall of apartheid.

Essentially an intensification of existing segregation policies, apartheid was euphemistically conceived as separate development, where groups from different races were classified, separated and accorded different rights based on arbitrary racial classification. Ranked from whites, through coloured, and black African, South Africans were accorded different degrees of civil and economic privilege according to their official classification.⁵ Black Africans were ultimately stripped of their citizenship, in contrast to coloureds and Indians and Asians who were accorded some measure of rights. Black Africans were simply considered migrant labourers in transition from 'ethnic homelands' to South Africa for work. As a sign of their migrant status, they were forced to carry a passbook—which included details of their homeland of residence, 'ethnicity' and reason for being in South Africa. Black Africans could, however, still claim a few positions of status. Duma Nokwe, for example, would be the first black advocate, before Nelson Mandela. He was however prevented from freely exercising his practise and barred from sharing amenities with other white advocates. Later in this

text, I will touch on the *Sunday Times* celebration of Nokwe's achievement when I discuss the memorial erected in his honour. During the 1950's and 1960's however, the apartheid state reinforced its official system of racial classifications, imposing a host of new legislative instruments to mandate urban segregation, ban interracial marriage and segregate public amenities. Black resistance also ramped up during this time. On the 26 of June 1955, the Congress of the People—a gathering of the ANC, the South African Communist Party, the South African Indian Congress, and the South African Congress of Democrats—was held in Kliptown Soweto, to adopt the Freedom Charter, the statement of affiliation and the principles of the alliance. The Freedom Charter is recognised as an early official statement advocating for a non-racial society based on democratic processes, and is considered to be a key document informing South Africa's Constitution. Considered to be a part of South Africa's legislative heritage (Suttner 2006), the place of this momentous meeting in Kliptown Soweto has been developed into a post-apartheid heritage site (Bremner 2004; Roux 2009). Despite this resistance, race was entrenched as an inescapable everyday material reality since amenities like public toilets were assigned according to race, public transport separated along racial lines and cities divided up according to race. The material signs and markers of this history of racial discrimination, signs declaring benches, busses and beaches as reserved for whites only, have largely been removed from public life. They have been collected by heritage institutions and incorporated in displays that relate a post-apartheid historical narrative about the struggle for liberation, equality and freedom.

In contemporary South Africa all 50m citizens enjoy equal rights. A constitutional democracy, South Africa has nine official provinces and eleven official languages. Population demographics indicate that 80% of the population is black African, 8,7% are coloured, 8,4% white and 2,6% Indian or Asian.⁶ These figures are, however, dampened by economic indicators that reflect an unemployment rate of between 25 and 40%, with young black South Africans hardest hit. South Africa's income inequality register—known as the GINI coefficient which measures the distribution of wealth across households, with 0 indicating perfect equality, and 1 indicating perfect inequality of distribution of wealth—of 0.63 is one of the highest in the world.⁷ There is a pervasive idea that wealth is still associated with whiteness, which is bolstered by 2011 Census data that shows white households still enjoy the highest income relative to all race

groups.⁸ While democracy inaugurated an era of equal rights among all races, economic freedom still appears far off for many South Africans. The Constitution also recognises freedom of religion, and religiosity is widely practised in South Africa. While some data sources indicate religiosity may be in decline, official Census data indicates that roughly 79% of the population identifies with the Christian faith, Protestantism being the main denomination, while African Traditional Religion is also prevalent.⁹ Islam, Hinduism and Judaism claim between 1.5 and 0.2% affiliation.¹⁰

Religious plurality is one expression of South Africa's cultural diversity. A number of minority groups who observe religious customs and traditions central to their cultural identities. For example, Muslim communities in Cape Town celebrate a south Asian heritage, and an Indian population in Durban takes pride in being a part of the Indian diaspora. Among the majority black African population we find the Zulu, Xhosa, Venda, Sotho and Tswana, that share similar customs and traditions but which are also unique in their own right. Clearly South Africa is culturally diverse. This diversity presents both a challenge and an opportunity for nation building, since cultural distinctiveness is also seen as a barrier to national unity. Nevertheless, in recognition of the country's broad cultural spectrum, the post-apartheid state's official motto is Unity in Diversity.

The argument advanced in this thesis, about heritage formation, about the senses and nation building, is struck against this historical background. It pays attention to the different ways in which a range of stakeholders has tried to engage with questions of belonging and citizenship by mobilising the idea of heritage. More specifically, this text is aimed at addressing how historical knowledge is socially and culturally processed using material representations of particular versions of the South African past to understand the post-apartheid present. In working out the connections linking history and social, cultural and political life in contemporary South Africa, this thesis looks at three heritage projects established during the post-apartheid. They form three illustrative examples of such processes of reworking the past and framing modalities of belonging. Firstly, it looks at Freedom Park, a monumental state driven heritage project in the style of the heroes-acre, erected in the capital city Pretoria. Commemorating those who died in the struggles for humanity and freedom in South Africa, and covering

a time span of 3.6 billion years, Freedom Park is intended to mark the defining representation of the primary contours of South Africa's cultural history, heritage and diversity. Secondly, it looks at the market driven venture, the *Sunday Times* Heritage Project (STHP). This is a commemorative project that paid homage to newsworthy historical events and figures that featured during the 100 years of the popular weekly newspaper, *The Sunday Times'* existence, through the erection of artistic memorials across South Africa. Thirdly, it looks at the *vuvuzela*, a noise-making instrument that gained global notoriety during the FIFA 2010 World Cup as the distinctive sound of the tournament and South African footballing culture. A plastic football supporters accessory, the *vuvuzela* became a subject of intense public interest during the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup as parties struggled for its commercial and symbolic ownership on the basis of arguments that invoked the instrument's significance as an icon of South African cultural heritage. Focusing on these three new material heritage forms initiated by different agents of influence, this dissertation engages specifically with how they were formed and framed as apparently legitimate markers of post-apartheid South Africa's heritage index; how those acts of forming involved the reshaping of the senses and sensibilities as modes of apprehending the past; and the kinds of modalities of belonging and citizenship they enabled. In the following chapter I will outline the theory and literature that forms the foundation of this thesis.

1. Introduction

“I wish to underscore that heritage is not lost and found, stolen and reclaimed. It is a mode of cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past.”

Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture*

“One way of understanding ‘heritage’ is as the mobilization of culture in the service of the present ... Heritage is serious play.”

Martin Hall and Pia Bombardella, *Las Vegas in Africa*

“Heritage distils the past into icons of identity, bonding us with precursors and progenitors, with our own earlier selves, and with our promised successors.”

David Lowenthal, *Identity, Heritage and History*

Nation Building and Post-Apartheid Citizenship

Citizenship and nation building are implicit in any discussion of heritage formation in post-apartheid South Africa in part because the struggle for liberation centrally concerned not only universal suffrage, but also the universal endowment of human rights. The advent of democracy and the granting of universal citizenship rights occurred in light of the recognition of a deep history of political exclusion and dehumanising oppression. To illustrate, the end of apartheid flowed from a negotiated settlement between the apartheid government and the liberation movements, principally the ANC. This led to a period of on-going negotiations from 1990 until 1993 during which various political factions, liberation movements and the apartheid government negotiated rather than struggled over the future political profile of post-apartheid society. Following tense and fraught negotiations conducted during a time of brutal political conflict and violence, and when it seemed that South Africa was on the brink of civil war, an interim Constitution was agreed to in 1993 paving the way for the first free elections. This document comprised a remarkable political deal as part of a negotiated settlement marking the end of the liberation struggle, the conclusion of the

apartheid state's monopoly on political power and the black majority's entry into the democratic processes.

In the following section I will discuss literature related to the history of nation building and post-apartheid citizenship. Thereafter, I will outline the theoretical premises that inform this text, namely heritage formation, politics of authentication and aesthetics of persuasion, and demonstrate their value through a detailed discussion of literature relevant to each concept. I will then contextualise this thesis in South African heritage and memory studies literature, before concluding with an overview of the research questions, outline the main argument and summary of the chapters of the thesis.

The official post-apartheid Constitution was adopted in 1996 (Segal and Cort 2011). While drafted by a specially elected Constitutional Assembly, the Constitution was fundamentally informed by input from the wider South African public. A concerted state-driven media campaign, “the largest public participation programme ever carried out in the country”, was initiated to inform the public about the new instrument, its importance and the public's ability to participate in its drafting (Deegan 1999, 31). The drafting of the Constitution enabled public education about democratic processes, the greater inclusion of the public in political discourse and facilitated greater buy in to the new political dispensation. The highest law in the land, the new Constitution not only served to institute a democratic culture based on transparency, it was also the product of these principles. The Preamble of the Constitution affirmed these values, declaring, “We, the people of South Africa, recognise the injustices of our past; honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land; respect those who have worked to build and develop our country; believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity”. The Constitution extended citizenship to all, declaring, “there is a common South African citizenship”, the rights and responsibilities that attach to the designation, and charged the state with the responsibility of ensuring for the protection of this right (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996). As the product of ‘the collective wisdom of the South African people ... arrived at by general agreement’, the new Constitution embodied the traditions of inclusion, negotiation and compromise, instituting a democratic political culture of equality of all before the law (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996).

Nestled in the web of legislation bringing the new political apparatus into being was the nascent image of the post-apartheid nation, one based on the terms concluding the institution of democracy. As Alexander Johnston puts it, “It was the values of the settlement, enshrined in the Constitution that embodied the nation and trumped all other kinships and affinities, whatever they were based on” (2014, 321). The Constitution’s affirmation of citizenship enjoined South Africans in a political relationship with the state in a manner that made the idea of the nation appear natural. This was a civic framing of the nation, based purely on the according of citizenship rights within a democratic political framework. This was an incomplete and complicated civic image of the nation, one that suggested that it was bound together, and together to the state, not through a common blood bond, but through a democratic rights culture. This model of nation of course elided the social, political and historical forces that tested these bonds. As I will show in Chapters 2 and 3, post-apartheid heritage policy was formulated on the basis of this assumption, and the symbolic power of democratic values to bond and bind a divided South Africa to promote and strengthen state driven models of reconciliatory nationalism. Flowing from the national compromise of the negotiated settlement was also the outright attempt to protect and preserve the heritage of all South Africans. In the same way that there were no apparent winners or losers in the transition to democracy, there was also no wholesale ‘cleansing of the public sphere’. The state’s position on heritage during the mid and early nineteen nineties was therefore explicitly meant to avoid the kind of triumphalist iconoclasm that accompanied the political transitions in Eastern Europe for example (see Ochman 2010; Forest and Johnson 2002). As I will show, this decision would be officially codified in key heritage policy instruments as the dominant principle informing the management and maintenance of representations of South Africa’s difficult, divisive past.

The change in dispensation was accompanied by a mapping of a broader cartography of post-apartheid toponymic ascription, and the adoption of a new commemorative calendar of sacred days. While the removal of statues and monuments in mediating the transition to democracy was avoided, the renaming of cities, towns, streets and major infrastructure was taken up in earnest as a toponymic exercise in shaping a sense of inclusion. For example, nine provinces were created out of the previous four and the

former homelands, with many being given new indigenous names, and some conjunctions as in the case of Kwa-Zulu-Natal. In contrast to the trend across southern Africa, where the post-colonial break was marked by the renaming of the country, as in Rhodesia to Zimbabwe and South West Africa to Namibia, South Africa itself was not renamed (see Guyot and Seethal 2007; Swart 2008; Ndletyana 2012). Supplementing the new toponymic designations was the institution of a host of new commemorative days. Officially ratified in 1995, as Ciraj Rassool (2012) explains, the new set of commemorative days were the product of the ANC government's reconciliation with the apartheid state and the Zulu Nationalist Inkatha Freedom Party. They were explicitly meant to be inclusive and accommodating, by, for example, retaining old public holidays like the 16th of December, known as the Day of the Vow, but renaming them to celebrate an occasion or value central to the new dispensation, in this case Reconciliation Day. New commemorative days were also added, including Youth Day, Women's Day, with the most significant of all being Freedom Day, celebrated on 27 April, marking the occasion of the first democratic elections. Marked as it was by the changing of names of cities, towns and street names, and a new set of sacred commemorative days, the transformation to democracy structured a fundamental political and cultural reorientation in time and space.

The new Constitution also made provision for a Constitutional Court to adjudicate over the rights and recourse of different parties within the new dispensation. The Constitutional Court was intended to be a special judicial forum for asserting the supremacy of constitutional values and an institution that materially represented their essence. Situated in central Johannesburg on a site known as Constitution Hill, the Constitutional Court is located on a charged historical site called the Old Fort Prison. First used by the Boer Republics to house British soldiers, the prison was later used to incarcerate black men awaiting trial, including political activists. A women's section was also added in 1910. Women who were arrested for a variety of crimes, from petty pass law infringements to sedition, were detained here, for 73 years. The prison complex was decommissioned in 1983, but then reclaimed in the early 1990's as a heritage site because of its harsh and symbolically significant penal history, and later as a suitable



Figure 3. Constitutional Court, Constitution Hill.

location for the Constitutional Court. Since its redesign, Constitution Hill has become a successful heritage tourism destination. The courthouse itself is somewhat of a heritage site. It incorporates some of the building material from the old prison and employs innovative design features to emphasise inclusiveness, transparency and indigenous African concepts of public justice (see Freschi 2007). The Robben Island Museum, a UNESCO World Heritage Site, in Cape Town, employs similar principles of topographical re-inscription and temporal reorientation, actively engaging with the site's traumatic history as part of a heritage tourism narrative that emphasises resistance and the triumph of the human spirit (Buntman 2003). As a site “created to transform pain into power”, and mark a “patriotism of pain” (Chidester 2012, 102), the Constitutional Court subversively built on the ruins of apartheid, on the pain of the past, to enable the institutional work of exercising justice and healing as part of the process of articulating a new post-apartheid future (Segal 2006).

The Constitution provided an important set of values at a time when suspicion still reigned between different racial and political groups in the mid-nineteen nineties. It

gave added impetus, but also added complexity, to the question of what it meant to build a nation. Providing a broad, inclusive political vocabulary that recognised the multitude of cultures, races and ethnicities that comprised the South African polis, the Constitution also framed a complicated debate about the post-apartheid nation. While it made provision for universal human and citizenship rights, it also privileged the historically marginalised majority. The Constitution's validation of redress is done in light of the material injustices of the apartheid past. The state has followed suit, extending this legislative privileging through the institution of labour policies that mandate affirmative action in many sectors of the labour market, a wide social grant system meant to improve the lives of the most impoverished, and economic policies aimed at stimulating black economic development. Social and economic redress is a central tenet of the new constitutional dispensation. Adam Habib and Kristina Bentley (2008) frame redress as a nation building instrument insofar as it is bolstered by a rights regime perceived to be fair and just, or acceptable by the white minority who have to bear the burden therefore, and which is meant to enable South Africans to shape a collective future. Race and historical redress, of enjoining the few in the privileging of the many, in a constitutional dispensation that recognises all, has therefore been the framework for what South African social scientists refer to as the national question.

Considering South Africa's rich cultural and racial diversity and complex history, the search for a common national subjectivity that respects this diversity can aptly be summed up by Brendon Boyce (1999, 234) when he asks, "What should the post-apartheid South African nation look like?" Grappling with the question of what the nation would look like and under what terms nationalism would be formed, in the 1990's social scientists approached the question of nation-building with a degree of suspicion and speculative caution. Pierre van der Berghe (1991) was of the view that nation building was a cover for a kind of national death where dominant groups articulated unifying ideologies that intentionally suffocated ethnic minorities. Johan Degenaar (1991; 1994), raised concerns about the move towards national unity in general, since in a post-Cold War world the idea of the nation was giving way to global unity, and out of caution for the idea of the nation being mobilised as a manipulative construct by the state. As a means of ameliorating what was perceived as vertical social pressure, some theorists were want to advocate for the building of democratic

institutions and the promotion of democracy as holding the keys to forging the nation. For example, Brendan Boyce (1999, 231-243) argued for inclusion of the masses and the expansion of civic participation when advocating for “constitutional patriotism”, a Habermasian idea conveying a universal allegiance to democratic ideals (see Müller 2006). Advocating for affiliation to a set of shared constitutional values and ideals as a model for nation building, Boyce sought to critique top-down, state driven attempts to coercively hail the nation. Similarly, Gerhard Mare (1999, 244-260) claimed that because of the racialised terms through which the state was pursuing a national identity, “any attempt to create a single political identity ... is doomed to failure for a very long time”. He argued instead for a wide notion of democracy as an open platform for staging a broad, inclusive claim to the nation. His views would be echoed by Hendrik Pieterse (2002, 2) who argued that the mobilisation of race as an explicit criteria for redress complicated and perhaps even damaged the ANC government’s nation-building projects, saying it “may do more harm than good”. For him, a more productive path to a united nation was through fostering a robust democratic culture.

Concluding his assessment of South African nation building projects at the time, Robert Mattes (1999, 261-286) summed up that, indeed, data suggested that South Africa was showing some signs of constituting a nation. He proposed that during the 1990’s the state had managed to engineer an “ideational basis for community independent of culture and descent” that drew on the signs, angst and fervour of the transition to democracy. This image of nation was wrought against the person and symbol of Nelson Mandela, the Constitution, new symbols of state and the ideas of democracy, non-racialism and reconciliation. In these terms, the sharing in the historical experience of forming a new democratic apparatus and actively participating in its emergence serve as the terms under which a diverse, divided nation acknowledged their communal bond as being based on a form civic nationalism. Kogila Moodley and Heribert Adam (2000, 54) propose that civic nationalism is “based on citizenship and equal rights for all residents”. They claim that this is related to patriotism, which they refer to as “pride in belonging to a common state in which all citizens actively practise their civil rights in a democratic culture”. Framed in this way, they wonder whether South Africans “despite their racially divisive legacies, can hope to achieve a common patriotism” (ibid). Robert Mattes (1999) optimistically answers in the affirmative, saying “the potential for black

and white South Africans to find common pride in that victory in such a historically divisive sport as rugby”, and “the palpable wave of patriotic flag-waving”, indicates that patriotism could be the grounds for such a common bond. Hailed as a nation, as part of the institution of a new democratic political order, South Africans in the mid and late-1990’s could be said to be held together as a nation through civic bonds and patriotic allegiance to the state. As Sabello Ndlovu-Gatsheni puts it, “secular and civic nationalism as well as civic conception of citizenship constitute the religion of the South African state” (2007, 9).

In this context of debate about what would bind the nation, the post-apartheid state tried to mobilise its own social cohesion projects. One of the earliest, state-sponsored post-apartheid models of nationalism was the idea of the rainbow nation. This phrase is widely attributed to Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu in his address at the final public hearing of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) hearings, when he said, “as we put our past behind us to stride into the glorious future God holds before us as the Rainbow People of God” (Meiring 1998, 379). This Christocentric, spectral model of the nation was meant to emphasise South Africa’s equality in cultural diversity and racial difference, and was intuitively appealing in part because it segued with new symbols of state, like the colourful new national flag and the new amended national anthem, *Nkosi Sikelel iAfrika* (see Maake 1996; Mac Ginty 2001). It did however run counter to the ruling ANC’s long-standing vision of a non-racial society, but was intrinsically supported by the rights culture inaugurated by the Constitution which affirmed tolerance of difference. This multicultural image of the nation was taken up and championed by President Nelson Mandela primarily because it was seen as a model that could help “promote national reconciliation through mutual respect of differences” (Baines 1998, np). I will touch on some of these reconciliation efforts in Chapter 7, especially as they were mobilised around sports-mega events, and their resonances in the *vuvuzela*’s emergence as a post-apartheid heritage form. The rainbow nation concept was popular and was believed to be implicitly efficacious as an accessible, positive, even feel-good, model for South Africans to contemplate their bondedness as a nation (Møller et al., 1999). The concept of the rainbow nation did not go unchallenged however. Critics argued that it framed a passive, uncritical nationalism, because it invoked the idea of the new nation as, in Abdul-Kader Tayob’s (1999, 85)

words, “a magical kingdom, where diversity is celebrated and consecrated. No questions are asked and none are presumed to be lurking”. Moreover, as Gary Baines (1998, np) has argued, this concept was problematic for the way it reified and essentialised “cultural self-definitions among minorities and other groups which constituted the nation”. As commentators like Neville Alexander (1997) proposed, it also negated the series of power relations, and material and economic stakes that attached to the classifications that made up the spectrum of races constituting the new rainbow nation.

On the occasion of the adoption of the Constitution in the South African National Parliamentary Assembly on 8 May, 1996, vice President Thabo Mbeki delivered a rousing, historical speech on behalf of the African National Congress. Entitled ‘I am an African’, Mbeki’s speech was a grand, sweeping rhetorical excursion across South Africa and Africa, canvassing the various cultural, ethnic and racial, floral, geographical and zoological tributaries that have come to add to the formation of an African South African identity. It was certainly the most inclusive proposition of post-apartheid national identity advanced by a politician. As Colin Bundy (2007) explains, Mbeki’s speech was timely because it was advanced a model of nationalism at a time when faith in the notion of Rainbowism appeared to be fading primarily because of reluctance on the part of white South Africans, especially those associated with the former regime, to participate in the TRC process. Under the rubric of the African Renaissance, this model of nation resonated with the ANC’s nascent Africanist ideological roots and was seen by the organisation as a more inclusive model for staging claims about the nation (Filatova 1997). Initially advanced as an instrument of foreign policy towards Africa, the African Renaissance concept was developed into a philosophically inspired developmental model that linked economic and social development with romantic notions of African history and personhood and applied as a model for South African identity (see Makgoba 1999; van Kessel 2001). Ascending to the presidency, Thabo Mbeki would champion the African Renaissance project as a major ideological tool galvanising the nation and inspiring a Pan-African awakening. It would form the basis of a kind of ethno-nationalism that privileged Africanness as a binding ethnic category that South Africans were invited to identify with. As will be demonstrated, Thabo Mbeki’s Pan-African, African South African ideas would

permeate major heritage projects like Freedom Park and frame South Africa's Bid for the 2010 World Cup.

Colin Bundy (2007, 80) proposes that these models of nationalism were complemented, more or less, by a kind of ethno-particularism, "or the assertion of sub-national identities as primary", by minorities like Indians and Coloureds who felt economically, socially and culturally excluded by dominant state sanctioned nationalist frameworks. When the racialised notion of black plasters over distinct cultural and ethnic differences in service of the nation, and those differences are accentuated by material stakes such as economic opportunities they create the grounds for contestation for the terms of who indeed belongs to the nation. As Gerhard Mare puts it, "at this level, nation building competes against impossibly deep and complex identity formation and racialised material interests" (1999, 255). According to this reasoning, the previous dominant models tended to economically, socially and culturally privilege either black Africans or white South Africans, or place undue emphasis on individual rights and citizenship at the expense of ethnic or group distinctiveness (see Giliomee 1996).

This thesis will address the question of national subjectivity and nation building by showing how the nation was explicitly or implicitly called into being through a series of post-apartheid heritage projects. Specifically, I will show for example how the state tried to mobilise an inclusive, unifying cultural identity at Freedom Park, how the *Sunday Times* tried to appeal to the nation as constituencies of distinct publics, and finally I will show how the *vuvuzela* was implicated in uniting a nation through a kind of sporting patriotism. In each case, we find claims about the significance of particular heritage forms reflecting, asserting or contesting models of nation and citizenship. Focussing on how particular materially based heritage projects were mobilised to appeal to the post-apartheid nation, my discussion of heritage is founded on a particular set of ideas about how to approach the past. In the following section I will discuss the notion of heritage formation outlining its relationship to questions of memory, heritage and history.

Heritage Formation

As the quotes introducing the chapter suggests, a crude way of defining heritage would be to say that it is a cultural modality that frames particular orientations to the past in

the present for purposes of binding of group subjectivities. Claims to and about heritage emerge in particular historical contexts, and in each case, set in motion different sets of political contests over the primacy of subjectivities, the past, territories and resources that attach to such claims. Such dynamics can be mapped through different trajectories of the term's origins and application in South Africa. For example, one strand of this narrative concerns the processes of galvanising a white nationalism in the years leading up to the institution of the Union of South Africa in 1910. In Britain in the early to mid-nineteenth century, heritage encompassed ideas such as public ethics, cultural property, nation and race and then travelled to South Africa where it was taken up by "loyal unionist 'progressive' coteries" after the Anglo Boer War, "as a means of imagining and propagating a new South African national identity within the international context of the British empire" (Merrington 1998/1999 132-134). This was an elite group of influential Unionists who imagined that heritage "manifested in antiquarianism, in aesthetics and mysticism, and in aristocratic gestures that include[d], significantly, attitudes to nature, land and landedness". In practice, it would also entail concern about the management and conservation of forms of material culture, such as buildings, arts and crafts, that were viewed as reflecting the united, common history of English and Afrikaner nations (Merrington 1998/1999, 132-134). This notion of heritage as material culture was extended in the early 20th century with the passing of legislation such as the National Historical Monuments Act of 1923 and the Natural Monuments and Relics Act of 1934 which empowered the establishment of a series of oversight bodies charged with the task of cataloguing and conserving South African material cultural heritage. Another strand of this narrative relates to the state driven institutional practice concerned with the trafficking in the relics and remains of black indigenous peoples. The Bushman's Relics Act of 1911, the first piece of heritage legislation passed in South Africa, was meant to embargo trade in remains and relics of the Khoi and San, which had been heavily trafficked under dubious means to Europe apparently for purposes of scientific analysis (Legassick and Rassool 1999; Shepherd 2008). Instituted as policy to control the flow of human and natural material culture of black indigenous peoples and the codification of the aesthetic vanities of an elite white minority, the South African inflection of the concept of heritage can fairly accurately be identified as having originated around practises concerned with forms of material culture that reflected the entrenchment of dominant white nationalisms following the

institution of the modern South African state just after the turn of the 20th century. This thesis seeks to attend to the interruption of this particular genealogy, by looking at the formation of heritage at a different political moment, namely the incorporation of the South African nation in the democratic era.

As this South African example indicates, heritage as a concept concerns framing particular versions of the past that are claimed to be significant for particular collectivities. Historically, the cultural phenomenon of heritage is intimately bound up with the emergence of nationalisms and nation states in Europe. As Brenda Schildgen (2008, 123) explains, for example, “It was the [French] Revolution that gave birth to the idea of public, collective interest and to the radical idea that French monuments with either an artistic or historical value belong to the nation and provide pleasure and education for the citizens of France”. It is from the French that we inherit the idea of heritage as patrimony, or “what one receives as a citizen as inheritance from the previous age” (Schildgen 2008, 126). Stuart Hall (2005) affirms this in his discussion of heritage in Britain, where he argues that heritage may be viewed as the “material embodiment of the spirit of the nation, a collective representation of the British version of *tradition*, a concept pivotal to the lexicon of English virtues” (2005, 24 original emphasis). Both Hall and Schildgen introduce us to a classic conception of heritage as apparently inherently valuable property that is unrenowable and which requires careful management and conservation. This is the discourse advocated by heritage bodies like the World Heritage Council, which classes monuments, buildings and sites as forms of heritage that “are increasingly threatened with destruction not only by the traditional causes of decay, but also by changing social and economic conditions”.¹¹ Under the auspices of defending the patrimonial legacy of humanity and society, organisations such as UNESCO carry out the work of developing expertise and institutions to be able to manage and care for fragile assemblages. Well-meaning and commonsensical, this discourse of heritage reflects the power dynamics the idea of heritage can enable.

As Laurajane Smith (2011) points out, this particular framing reflects an early wave of academic theory developed in English social and political conditions of the 1980’s. She traces the origins of heritage studies, therefore, to David Laurajane’s 1985 text, *The Past is a Foreign Country*. She explains that this text questioned English post WWII

policy that framed heritage in preservationist terms on one hand, and exploitative economic terms on the part of the recreation and tourism industries on the other. Other authors advanced similar arguments at the time. For example, Patrick Wright, in his 1985 book, *On Living in the Old Country*, looked at the public's fascination with the British past and the spread of the preservation and conservation discourses that flowed from mainstream ideas of heritage as a finite, seemingly sacred material culture. And Robert Hewison's 1987 book *The Heritage Industry*, posited the burgeoning of a commercial complex that generated seemingly kitsch consumer products whose only value proposition was that they indexed some kind of romantic national past. For Lowenthal, Hewison and Wright, heritage was seen as 'a kind of false history' coopted by the state and the forces of the market for purposes of commercial exploitation and political control.

This utilitarian idea of heritage as a suspect mode of representing the past still permeates a body of sociological heritage studies research (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996; Graham et., al 2000; Graham et. al 2005). As I will show later in this chapter, similar concerns about false history and the reductive commodification of culture also filters through South African heritage studies literature. It is also notable that a body of heritage and tourism research has been developed which challenges dismissive assumptions about the market as exerting an 'adulterating' cultural force. It emphasises for example, how capitalist framings of heritage in leisure and entertainment help financially sustain community run cultural heritage projects and facilitate the articulation of alternative, subaltern heritage and identity claims (MacCannell 1973; Bruner 2005; Comaroff and Comaroff 2010).

Historically, museums, as premier heritage institutions, have been a prime site of social incorporation and civil education. Indeed, a distinct body of literature has been developed within heritage studies, literature that addresses museums as heritage institutions as the site of knowledge production about the nation and national identities (Macdonald 1998; 2002; Macdonald and Basu 2007). In France, as Brenda Schildgen (2009, 127) argues, the French Revolution "transformed religious collective memory into national cultural memory when art and artefacts were wrenched from their erstwhile places in churches, castles, and private collections to find a new home in the

national museum". Tony Bennett (1995) illustrates this transformative evolution of the museum in Britain through a Foucauldian analysis that emphasises the museum's iconic status as an institution of modernity. The transformation from rooms and cabinets of curiosities owned by the rich to being formal public institutions revolved around the question of the pedagogical value of assemblages of historically significant material. One segment of the upper classes was of the strong opinion that "should museums be opened to the public, they would fall victim to the disorderliness of the crowd" (1995, 99). The public mob posed a threat to the collections and "their sacred aura of culture and knowledge by unseemly forms of behaviour" (1995, 99). For optimists, however, having "the drunk and debauched rabble of the pub" enter these institutions of higher culture would be "a means of exposing the working classes to the improving mental influence of middle-class culture" (1995, 99/100). The ameliorative effects of the museum were not simply cultural or cognitive, but rather they were "instruments capable of inducing a reform of public manners - that is, modifying external and visible forms of behaviour" (1995, 100). "[A]s a space of emulation in which the working-classes, in being allowed to comingle with the middle-classes in a formally and undifferentiated sphere, could learn to adopt new forms of behaviour through imitation", museums imposed their own set of proscriptions on "behaviours associated with places of popular assembly" (1995, 100). The potentially dangerous behaviour of the public was reigned in and ultimately reformed through the application of a range of rules that forbade activities such as "eating and drinking, outlawing the touching of exhibits, and quite frequently stating - or at least advising - what should be worn and what should not" (1995, 100). Complementing the rules were architectural changes that transformed the relations between "space and vision" within the confines of the museum.

Through these changes, the museum could assert a vicarious form of disciplinary power where, "the public could not only see the exhibits that had been arranged for its inspection but could, at the same time, see and be seen by itself" (1995, 100). Demonstrating the historical emergence of the museum as an institution of modernity, Tony Bennett highlights how the exercises of expertise help to construct institutions that amplify the value of material assemblages, seemingly setting them apart, as sacred even, that frame the public's the terms of affiliation with the nation. This thesis is

centrally concerned with this kind of production of ideas of and about heritage as central to political subjectivity. Specifically, it addresses the productive forms of power heritage claims enable in regards to the positioning of material forms as sacred, how such acts of positioning empower institutions and experts as guardians of particular truths about the South African past and the post-apartheid nation, and the disciplinary education of South Africans as a nation.

Related to the study of heritage is that of memory, particularly in the area of collective memory. Maurice Halbwachs is credited with coining the term collective memory in his 1950 text, *On Collective Memory*. Halbwachs took up Emile Durkheim's propositions about ritual practice, collective representations and the idea that notions of time were expressions of patterns of social arrangement and applied them to his own deliberations about history and memory. Durkheim's own ideas about collective recollection were developed in the later parts of the *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, where he wonders about religious import of commemorations, mass gatherings such as rallies and marches that take place according to a kind of sacred calendar. He notes, for example, "There can be no society that does not feel the need of upholding and reaffirming at regular intervals the collective sentiments and collective ideas which make its unity and its personality". Ponderingly he goes on to enquire, "What essential difference is there between Christians celebrating the principle dates of the life of Christ ... and a reunion of citizens commemorating the promulgation of a new moral or legal system or some great event in the national life" (Durkheim 1915, 427). In Durkheim's estimation, the mass gathering of people celebrating occasions sacred to the state and the nation could be seen as freighted sacred significance in the realm of the secular, as the tenets of a kind of civil religion (Bellah 1967). There is distinct body of literature on commemorations that look at the relationship between political rituals of gathering, collective memory and national identity (Gillis 1994; Dabrowski 2004; Ziemann 2013). My use of the term commemorations generally refers to the purposeful recollection of particular historical figures or events, which do not necessarily entail ritualised mass gatherings with a symbolic focus. It will also be used as a noun for the products, or focussed sites, of commemorative labour, referring to material heritage forms or particular heritage sites.

Halbwachs took up some of these ideas about collective practise, about recalling the past, and the social to craft his own theory of collective memory, which rested on three classes of memory: autobiographical memory which belonged to individuals and related to personal experience; the collective memory which belonged to all or many members of particular groups and related to shared social experience; and history, which was a domain of factual information presided over by expert professionals. These were distinct yet interrelated spheres of recollection. For example, autobiographical memory was always framed by the social situation of the individual recalling particular experiences, or, in Halbwachs (1950, 48) poetic phrasing, “it is individuals as group members who remember”. The collective memory therefore permeated the possibilities of individual recollection and worked to sustain group identity. As Staiger and Steiner (2009, 5) put it, “the collective memory ... provides uniqueness and continuity within a group by marking out a common normative horizon of expectation and experience” that binds a collectivity. This is a vital, social form of memory, manifest in various discursive forms, such as narrative, but also practises, rituals and performances. Historical memory provided a rigid factual structure within which both autobiographical and collective memory could be articulated. By shifting debate on memory from an individual cognitive exercise to a shared, collective enterprise, Halbwachs enabled the sociological analysis of how recall of particular versions of the past help to bind social groups. Halbwachs’ work forms the foundation of the booming mainstream memory studies research.

If Halbwachs is seen as the founder of one tradition in memory studies, Aby Warburg is seen as the founder of another. Recognised for coining the phrase “social memory”, Warburg worked as an art historian in the late nineteenth century, developing iconology as a new interpretive method. He promoted the interdisciplinary study of culture through art historical methods, notably for emphasising how idioms, indexing different levels of emotional intensity, known as pathos formula, travelled across works of art, periods and places. He saw images as indexing a survival, or a *Nachleben*, “the posthumous meaning of an image” as Aleida Assmann put it (2015, 106). Placing emphasis on images as cultural objectifications of historical representations, Warburg therefore laid the foundation for interpreting memory using objects of visual culture (Erl 2008, 9). His ideas are seen as the foundation of the “cultural memory” tradition

of memory studies, which is associated with and has been vigorously developed by Jan and Aleida Assmann since the nineteen eighties. Rooted in a German tradition of anthropology, in this tradition culture is employed as the fundamental substance that binds groups together across time, or as Aleida Assmann puts it, “culture creates a contract between the living, the dead, and the not yet living” (2008, 97). Jan Assmann defines cultural memory proper, as “a form of collective memory in the sense that it is shared by a number of people and that it conveys to these people a collective, that is, cultural, identity” (2008, 110). He argues further that cultural memory is like an institution, that is, it is “exteriorised, objectified and stored away in symbolic forms that ... are stable and situation-transcendent” (Ibid). It can be related to institutions and practises of historical preservation, the “actively circulated memory that keeps the past present as the *canon* and the passively stored memory as the *archive*” (Aleida Assmann 2008, 98 original emphasis). It is ‘based on fixed points in the past, but cast in symbols, it continually illuminates the present’ (Aleida Assmann 2008, 113). In that sense, “in the context of cultural memory, the distinction between myth and history vanishes” (2008, 110-113).

This thesis is inspired by the analysis generated by memory studies literature. Memory studies is notable for emphasising how recollection is an active process, involving cultural practises, how memories can be materially based or take material form, and relatedly, how practises of mediation are implicated in framing versions of the past (see Erll and Rigney 2009), and finally, how practises of recollection may cohere collectivities (Connerton 1989). But it also takes heed of some of the conceptual challenges posed by the concept of memory in general, and collective memory in particular. In the main, this relates to the concepts and terms that sometimes describe similar properties and features of memory.

I would like to briefly review some of the concepts that emerge out of memory studies literature. For example, we can proceed from a basic distinction between official and vernacular memories, two politically loaded, opposing classes of knowledge generated about the past (Bodnar 1992). Both are forms of public memory (see Phillips 2004), which is distinct from popular memory (Johnson and Dawson 1982), a field that deals with oral histories as an alternative historical archive. Popular memory could be classed

as a form of counter-memory, or memories that run against the grain of historical continuity (Foucault and Bouchard 1980). Leaving sources and authority aside, memories can also have different properties. Literature suggests that they can be ‘hard’ or ‘soft’, for example, which relatively indicates properties of forms of media such as texts, or expressive forms of communication, in which cultural memory manifests (Etkind 2004). Memories are mobile and transitive. For example, Alison Landsberg (1995) has described the possibilities for popular culture to generate memories that virtually run wild and attach randomly to hosts as ‘prosthetic memories’, as form of public memory. We could also inherit memories from more direct sources in the form of ‘post-memories’, which refer to the inter-generational transfer of traumatic experience (Hirsch 2008). Memories can scatter, fragment and radiate in unpredictable, yet instructive ways. Take the memory industry developed around the Holocaust. Some have argued that this social trauma has been privileged, but as Michel Rothberg (2009) explains in *Multi-Directional Memory*, its growth also helped facilitate the blossoming of the recollection of a host of other marginalised post-colonial memories. But memories are also persistent and enduring. They may remain imprinted in our minds as vivid images, like Kodak moments, as ‘flashbulb memories’, that glow with the emotional intensity of having witnessed a powerfully moving event (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2003). We may want to forget, and turn to a text like *The Art of Forgetting*, which shows the role of material things as place holders that facilitate the disruption or dissolution of memory (Forty and Küchler 1999; see also Connerton 2009). Alternately, we could clutch fondly at memories in an attempt to overcome the feelings of homelessness from a past that is warmly remembered when we become nostalgic (Boym 2001). Memory studies literature has clearly thrown up a potpourri of concepts for approaching the ways in which the past may be recalled. My conceptual appraisal does not do it sufficient justice, other than to show the sheer complexity of this dense vocabulary of mnemonics. As a concept, memory is useful for providing an analytical metaphor that helps to explain the apertural qualities of bringing the past into focus. By that I mean, the idea that holding one version of the past in focus obscures acuity of other versions, and the contestation that occurs around the clarity of focus of competing versions of the past.

Collective memory also carries some conceptual vagary to the extent that, as Jeffery

Olick (2008, 26) put it, “we often talk about other issues in terms of collective memory, thus risking a loss of conceptual specificity”. The question of the exact relationship between the individual and society that the idea of collective memory suggests is also not always made sufficiently clear, especially when assertions are made about the relationship between practises of historical representation and nationalism (Bell 2003). There are more precise critiques of memory as an analytical concept that focus on how we can make accurate distinctions between memory and notions of culture (Berliner 2005), or myth (Gedi and Elam 1996) as well as history (Megill 1998). The two most important drawbacks pertinent to this thesis are firstly, that because it is associated with cognitive and discursive frames of reference, memory does not sufficiently pay due attention to the broad range of affective and corporeal purchase representations of the past may have. Secondly, and relatedly, it does not provide the tools to address how surplus meaning is generated around practises of historical representation in relation to material cultural forms. Taking heed of much of the informative and productive work emerging from memory studies literature, I rather want to focus on how collectivities relate to the past by engaging with material cultural forms, and how those engagements enable particular attachments to those forms, and the versions of the past they appear to represent. This literature on memory studies broadly forms the background to my position on this field of study. Later in this chapter, I will discuss South African literature that addresses the past through memory studies.

Both heritage studies and memories studies provide important theoretical tools for engaging and understanding the past. As I have shown, both memory and heritage are also subject to critique. In this thesis, therefore, I am not so much interested in taking ideas of memory or heritage as a given per se, as I am in the notion of heritage formation. Heritage formation refers to the casting of material cultural forms as heritage through sacralising practices that set these objects apart at the centre of social relations and maintain their significance as powerful registers of the past for the ‘hailing’ (Hall 1996) of collective identities. Such a position enables questions such as, how and in what ways did state authorities materialise a specific set of concepts about time, culture and national identity into Freedom Park, as a national site of commemoration? How did the *Sunday Times* corral and choreograph a series of institutions and organisations around ideas of South African cultural identity, history and commemorative aesthetics

to bring the STHP into material existence? How did different actors with different stakes converge in their disputes around ideas of the *vuvuzela's* African and South African cultural heritage significance? Here, formation refers to “both a social entity (as in social formation)—thus designating community—and to processes of forming” (Meyer 2009, 7). My use of the term heritage is rooted in the idea that it is a “social and cultural performance ... which people actively, often self-consciously, and critically engage in” through developing interpretations of the past on the basis of engagements with material culture (Smith 2011, 23). Such a positioning extends the categorical definitions offered at the outset of this chapter by highlighting how processes of forming generate surplus meaning. A concept in the religious studies, the surplus is the extra-significance, the excess of meaning, generated through religious labour and is often identified as an indicator of the sacred. In this context, I wish to show that practises of forming generate a surplus, greater than their initiators original intentions, that appeared to distinguish material as heritage forms.

The sacred is a central concept in the study of religion that has been characterised by contrast, contradiction and ambivalence. This is expressed etymologically in Latin, with its roots in Roman cultic devotional practise, *sacer*, and its derivations such as *sacrare* and *sacrificare* and *sancire*, which explicitly meant to set aside as *sacre*. The *sacre* was opposed by the terms *profanus*, referring to the ritual activities outside of the sacrum, and *fas*, or the sphere of possible human actions outside of religious proscriptions (Colpe 1987, 7964-7978). This contrast is also manifest in psychological theories of religion dealing with encounters with the sacred. Edward Bailey proposes that, as a phenomenon of experience, the sacred is ‘generally recognised’ as displaying four characteristics, namely, that it is experienced as special, as having high value, “in consciousness, as fundamental, even primordial”, and in communication it is lively, yet indefinable.¹² Yet these descriptions of the experience of the sacred implicitly register the contrasting series of proscriptions, taboos, and restrictions related to the perception of the sacred.¹³ Placing emphasis on descriptive recognition, Bailey’s definition resonates with Mircea Eliade’s ” (1959, 10) idea of the sacred as a manifestation of ultimate reality, the beyond, in reality that is recognised as such, “the sacred shows itself to us”, and humans “become aware of the sacred because it manifests itself, shows itself, as something wholly different from the profane.

My framing of heritage formation is grounded in two contrasting, classical characterisations of the sacred that riff on its inherent ambivalence as a distant, awesome and transcendent otherworldly force on the one hand, and an essentially social, human creative expression that is central to, yet set apart from, processes of creating the social world on the other. I have already sketched the contours of a tradition that takes the sacred for granted as a force that is recognisably manifest in the world. The contrast to this is a tradition that sees the sacred as fundamentally social, or related to the social, but set apart therefrom, an idea which is situated in the work of Emile Durkheim. Emile Durkheim reached for hyperbole in his framing of the sacred's relationship with the profane, saying "In all the history of human thought there exists no other example of two categories of things so profoundly differentiated or so radically opposed to one another" (1915, 52). But they were related to patterns of social arrangement that made them manifest, suggesting that they were inseparable from, but irreducible to, the practices of social life that brought the sacred into resonance. For Durkheim, the sacred could not be located in Gods, things or rituals, explaining that, for example, "By sacred things one must not understand simply those personal beings which are called gods or spirits; a rock, a tree, a spring, a pebble, a piece of wood, a house, in a word, anything can be sacred. A rite can have this character; in fact, the rite does not exist which does not have it to a certain degree". But there was a productive tension between ritual and social action and material forms manifest or representative of the sacred, which is indicated by the example of the totem, which for Durkheim was the ideal example of the sacred: it functioned at once like a symbol, pointing to clan affiliation, but was also a "sacred thing itself through a transfer of value" (Miller 2002, 32). Invoking these modalities of the sacred, of power and meaning manifest in the world through and in relation to focussed social action, I wish to show how heritage formation reflects the "ongoing mediations in which anything can be sacralized" through focussed ritual attention, and "the inevitable contestation over ownership of the means, modes and forces for producing the sacred" that this process entails (Chidester 2011, 84). In that sense, I wish to show how heritage formation frames what David Chidester (2012, 18) calls the political economy of the sacred, where the scarcity of heritage resources 'generates struggles over position, power and ownership over the sacred, the immediate and infinite availability of materiality for interpretation and

reinterpretation, for ritualization and consecration, but also for desecration, generates a surplus in signification' in South African heritage practise. Deploying this specific terminology, I therefore also situate the notion of heritage formation in a growing critical cultural and religious studies vocabulary, featuring captivating terms such as "fabrication" (Latour 2005, 22) and aesthetic formations (Meyer 2009) that aim to apprehend the power and appeal of material forms.

The concepts sacred, sacredness, ritual and enchantment have variably been deployed in analyses of cultural heritage institutions and artefacts in an attempt to grasp the contemporary purchase and power of heritage as a concept (Duncan 1995; Brooks 2012; Buggein 2012; Macdonald 2005). These analyses have looked at the ways in which sacredness has been invoked in contexts where heritage has been foregrounded as a framework for interpreting material cultural forms. This thesis embarks from the position that heritage making inherently involves processes of sacralisation, since, as I foregrounded earlier, heritage formation concerns the setting apart of particular material cultural forms, that intentionally or not, cloaks them in an aura of surplus meaning.¹⁴ Focussing on the valorisation of material cultural forms as heritage, this thesis signals that practises of forming reflect the theoretical interests of the NWO Project, *Heritage Dynamics*, the international multi-sited project that looked at the dynamics of heritage formation in Brazil, Ghana, the Netherlands and South Africa of which my dissertation research was part. This Dutch funded research project, led by Birgit Meyer, Mattijs van de Port and Herman Roodenburg between 2008 and 2012, attended to the politics of authentication and the aesthetics of persuasion that play out in these diverse contexts using anthropological theory and methods. It is the primary research facility in which this thesis is situated and out of which it flows and I will return to emphasising this text's indebtedness to the project throughout this chapter. By claiming that such practices of forming are constantly contested and that these contestations also concern debate about the resonance of particular material forms, this thesis specifically signals its embeddedness in the project's primary theoretical concerns with how heritage forms are situated in different politics of authentication and mediate aesthetics of persuasion. In the following section, I will outline the significance of authenticity for understanding heritage as a phenomenon and explain the usefulness of the notion of the politics of authentication for understanding the dynamics of

contestation, debate and negotiation that articulations of heritage formation concern. I will then discuss the significance of aesthetics for understanding heritage, materiality and the senses and explain the usefulness of the notion of the aesthetics of persuasion for interpreting the dynamic processes of mediation, apprehension and appreciation of meaning practises of heritage formation entail.

Politics of Authentication

As far as heritage formation is concerned with claims of legitimacy regarding material representations of the past, it also indexes struggles of authority over cultural and historical grand narratives. In that sense, this thesis is concerned with contests over authenticity and its significance for understanding practises of heritage formation in post-apartheid South Africa. How did the state assert the legitimacy of Freedom Park? How did the *Sunday Times* authenticate its claims about the heritage significance of its commemorative project? What kinds of evidence did different stakeholders marshal to corroborate their claims about the *vuvuzela*'s cultural heritage significance? Significantly, authenticity has re-emerged as an important concept in international social science literature, registering, for example, as an important category of analysis in anthropology and culture (Handler 1986; Bendix 1997; Taylor 1991; de Witte 2004; van de Port 2005) and anthropological debates about art objects (see Wilsmore 1986; Dutton 1985) and cultural artefacts (see Sylvanus 2007; Shiner 1994; Kingston 1999). How to theorise authenticity? In the *Ethics of Authenticity*, Charles Taylor (1991) argues that the malaises of modernity have led to the framing of a version of authenticity that encouraged individual subjectivity. It failed to stage 'common horizons of significance', which would enable recognition of the other, and the building of lasting, meaningful social and political bonds. Charles Lindholm (2008) has advanced an argument of authenticity that proposes an account of its cultural significance as a modern, Western phenomenon. Building on the work of Lionel Trilling (1993), Lindholm explains that the contemporary preoccupation with authenticity spanning the art world, food and self-styling, emerges from a historical shift in cultural privilege from sincerity to authenticity. His argument is premised on Jean Jacques Rousseau's theory of sincerity and authenticity. Consequently, he argues that there are "two overlapping modes for characterizing any entity as authentic: genealogical or historical (origin) and identity or correspondence (content)". In these terms, Lindholm claims that that which

is considered authentic should display the character of similitude between essence and appearance: “their essence and appearance are one” (2008, 2). Lindholm’s argument is useful as an entry point into the basic conceptual features of authenticity and as a history of its emergence in the history of Western modernity. It does, however, have its shortcomings. For one it posits a concealed essentialism, one that suggests that authenticity can be accurately located either in appearances or essences. Extended to heritage formations and the aura of legitimacy they command, Lindholm’s theory of authenticity therefore does not sufficiently attend to the social, political and cultural stakes vested in framing material cultural forms as authentic indexes of the past.

Authenticity also appears as a central category of analysis in heritage studies literature (Lowenthal 1992; 1995; Schoorl 2005) in relation to heritage sites (see Handler and Gable 1996, 1997; Cohen 1988; 2002), buildings and the built environment (Starn 2002; Gregory 2008) and particularly in the area of heritage and tourism (MacCannell 1973; Wang 1999; Macdonald 1997; Bruner, 2005). A seminal demonstration of an ethnographically based discussion of authenticity is Edward Bruner’s (1994) analysis of Abraham Lincoln’s New Salem, an outdoor museum styled as a replica of the 1830’s town in Illinois. Branded as an “authentic reproduction”, New Salem serves as a fruitful context for analysing the processes surrounding the management and staging of authenticity, or “a view of historical reproduction based on a constructivist position that sees all culture as continually invented and reinvented; and to argue for transcending such dichotomies as original/copy and authentic/inauthentic” (1994, 397). Drawing on the testimony about the kinds of practises employed by New Salem employees about authenticity and its significance at the site, Bruner was able to identify four different, overlapping, registers of authenticity. Firstly, at times authenticity meant “historical verisimilitude”: as in a replica that is “credible and convincing to the public and true to history” (ibid.: 399). Secondly, authenticity related to the idea of genuineness, or the idea that New Salem would be believable to the original occupants, that it was “true in substance, or real” (ibid). Thirdly, authenticity referred to the notion of the original: unique cultural and historical and material value that is irrefutable, and which, by definition, eliminates any resonances of authenticity generated by copies/productions, since the historical factuality of original material survivals can never be reproduced (ibid.: 400). Finally, authenticity referred to the idea of that which is “duly authorised,

certified or legally valid” in terms of official fiat (Ibid). By pointing out these registers of authenticity Bruner takes us beyond the idea of authenticity-as-given in the framing and function of heritage forms. He draws our attention to the slippery discursive links connecting ideas of historical accuracy, representation and political authority, and the kinds of contestation over authenticity out of which heritage formations emerge.

Foregrounding the significance of authenticity for understanding practices of heritage formation, this thesis signals its embeddedness in one of the primary theoretical concerns of the Heritage Dynamics project. Engaging with questions about how cultural heritage is constructed, the project grappled with the paradoxical nature of cultural heritage as a phenomenon that is “a construction subject to dynamic processes of (re)invention within particular social formations”, and which remains appealing precisely because of its “denial of being a fabrication” (Meyer, Roodenburg, Van de Port 2008, 3). Heritage emerges as powerful in part because it persuasively fabricates its significance as self-evidently authentic. On one hand, therefore, the project engaged with the taken-for-granted nature of cultural heritage narratives as authoritative, fixed and stable tropes of meaning that derive their status value in part from commonly accepted ideas of their authenticity. The project therefore adopts a constructivist position that construes “authenticity ... not [as] an essence to be discovered, but a quality produced in cultural forms” (2008: 3). Focussing on the intricacies of how cultural labour is employed in claims about the validity of cultural forms, the project deployed the term politics of authentication to describe the contested conditions in which cultural heritage narratives, initiatives, and performances have been portrayed as authentic, and as a conceptual tool of analysis for working out the contestations that define such claim making processes. Applying this concept in this thesis, I seek to move beyond the mere unveiling of power relations that inform practises of heritage formation. Instead I wish to show the meaningfulness of such power plays, how they endear heritage forms with meaning, as part of on-going, complex and contested processes of authorisation. Placing an explicit focus on how legitimacy is invoked and portrayed through narratives of authenticity, this thesis is therefore situated within, and contributes towards, a wider body of theory in heritage studies that critically engages with the role of power and authority in heritage making processes (see Bennett, 1995, 2004).

Aesthetics of Persuasion

Anthropological discussions of authenticity have also implicated aesthetics, materiality and perceptions of the genuine as significant for how the past is constructed and conveyed. For example, Dydia Delyser (1999, 604) demonstrates the interplay between these concepts in her research into how authenticity “is constructed [and] experienced by visitors and staff” at a living history museum in the town of Bodie, California. A former mining town abandoned in the nineteenth century, Bodie was appropriated by the California Department of Parks and Recreation in the late 1950’s to feature as a cultural heritage exhibit and museum that would “retain all [the] exterior appearance and charm of the authentic ghost town” (1999, 602 original emphasis). Following its reclamation, the Department “laid out a plan for the preservation and presentation of the landscape” based on a policy of arrested decay. As one official explained, “the philosophy we espouse here is ‘arrested decay’ ... restoration implies that it’s all going to be fixed up and made pretty and painted like back to the way it was ... No, no, we don’t try to ‘restore’—we do try to maintain it”. Another way of putting it was to say that officials tried to “keep [Bodie] standing but make it look like it’s still falling down”. Strikingly, the routine maintenance work employed to keep Bodie standing played an ambivalent role in the preservation of the town’s authentic appearance. On the one hand, staff harboured varying notions of what authenticity as preservation meant, while on the other hand, tourists were not always able or even interested in distinguishing between what had been restored and what remained in its original condition. While Bodie’s visual aesthetic was purposefully designed to register as authentic undisturbed material culture, the reactions of workers and visitors suggested, rather, that it was hard to locate authenticity in the visible materiality of the Park. This suggested that “authenticity is not tied to the accuracy with which [Bodie] represents its past”. That is despite the fact that “Bodie’s past is what both visitors and staff experience: they employ Bodie’s authenticity to engage with the mythic West, a romanticized version of the Anglo-American past that upholds dominant contemporary Anglo-American values”. As such, authenticity was “a vehicle through which the narratives of the mythic West, of progress and American virtues” that were made “tangible to visitors” through persuasive material aesthetics (1999, 602 – 624).

This example also alludes to the notion that the manufacture and maintenance of

material aesthetics plays a key role in the staging of realistic, believable displays of authenticity and their power to stir up strong emotive connections to the past. The relationship between material aesthetics and forms of public appreciation is central to my analysis of practices of heritage formation, and, as such signals this text's embeddedness in the Heritage Dynamics project's theoretical concern with aesthetics. Specifically, I wish to draw on Birgit Meyer's concept of the aesthetics of persuasion which can be described as a tool for analysing the ways in which mediations of heritage and practices of forming resonate with subjects phenomenologically, at the level of the body and the senses, and the significance of those sensorial resonances for appreciating the heritage initiatives that initially evoked them. Appreciation should not be understood in the narrow sense of referring to the pleasurable experience of beauty. Rather, it refers to the sensorial apprehension and mediation of knowledge. Framed in this way, aesthetics of persuasion dispels the notion of cultural heritage as 'objects on display out there in the world', but instead as material forms that are close to lived experience, and thus relates "a strong notion of authenticity" (Meyer, Roodenburg, Van de Port 2008, 4). Employed specifically in the context of the study of religion, mediation and materiality, aesthetics of persuasion is useful for my engagement with heritage in so far as it enables me to ask questions like, how did visitors visually and corporeally apprehend Freedom Park's 'African commemorative aesthetic' while on tour? What can we make of the hands on physically inflicted damage wrought on some of the *Sunday Times* memorials? How was it that the shocking sound of *vuvuzelas* was perceived as signifying the African heritage of the nation?

The notion of aesthetics deployed here is meant to signify much more than "the now common meaning ... limited to the beautiful in the sphere of the arts and its disinterested beholder", and is instead found in "Aristotle's much older and more encompassing notion of aesthesis" which refers more to our "total sensory experience of the world and our sensitive knowledge of it" (Meyer and Verrips 2008, 21 cited in Meyer 2009; see also Howes 2003; 2004). Aesthetics therefore refers to the dynamic interface between sensing subjects, corporeal subjectivity and the material world. In my understanding, aesthetics of persuasion registers specific, nuanced ideas of the relationship between materiality and the senses.

Firstly, I take the notion of aesthetics of persuasion to refer to a non-dualistic concept of material culture that posits materiality as meaningful in the ways in which it resonates with particular cultural and historical tropes of meaning (Miller 2005). Resorting to materiality, I wish to signal this thesis' framing in the material turn in the humanities (Bennett and Joyce 2013; Coole and Frost 2010; Tilley et al. 2006). More specifically it is situated in the material turn in the study of religion, which, provoked by a turn away from belief as a central category of analysis, has generated exciting research on the place and central significance of material culture in the study of religion (Morgan 2010; Vasquez 2011; Houtman and Meyer 2012; Stolow 2012). Privileging materiality in this way does not mean abandoning the significance of symbolism or discourses. Nor does it mean a radical turn to ontology. Rather it means taking seriously how and in what ways the material substance of stuff influences the possibilities for rendering discourses and symbols sensible. And how those practises set those material forms apart as sacred. By adopting such a materialist position regarding heritage production and interpolation, I wish to transcend the classification of heritage as either tangible or intangible that prevails in heritage studies. These categories are associated with UNESCO who adopted them at the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural heritage conference (Smith and Akagawa 2008). While having considered the concept since the early 1970's already (Aikawa 2004), the formal adoption of intangible heritage as a distinct category of cultural value was meant to incorporate cultural expressions and cultural practises into the broader rubric of heritage which until then had exclusively focussed on materiality. Associated with this institution and its preservationist aspirations, this distinction fails to take into account the interconnectedness of materiality and cultural practises or the idea of cultures changing over time (see Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004). I will try and show how such distinctions between tangible and intangible are unproductive insofar as they fail to capture the dynamic interrelationship between practises and the material means that render meaning sensible. Freedom Park was an exciting heritage site largely because of its evocative yet abstract architecture, and the sound of the *vuvuzela* would not have been able to generate fierce debate if it was not easily replicable as a cheap plastic horn. In this thesis, therefore, I return again and again to reflect on the qualitative nature of the materiality of post-apartheid heritage forms by looking at the roughness of stone used to construct the Freedom Park, the durability of laser cut steel of some of the STHP

memorials, and the plasticity of the *vuvuzela* during the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The concept of aesthetics of persuasion allows me to adopt this reflexive position on materiality and its significance for understanding how particular ideas of the past are brought into resonance.

Secondly, I take the notion of aesthetics of persuasion to refer to the multi-sensory ways in which material forms are perceived and understood as heritage. This position on the senses is grounded in theories about the multi-sensory, culturally specific modes of perception developed in the anthropology of the senses (see Brenneis 2005; Howes 2003, 2004; Claasen 1993; Seremetakis 1996; Verrips 2006). It figures humans as sensuous, creative beings that interact physically with material cultural forms, and whose engagements affect them. Such a framing attends to the proposition Derek Hook (2005) sets out in his theorising of monuments in South Africa: “Understandings of the body as a primarily discursive entity, as a socially constructed form, will not suffice if we are to offer a compelling account of the ideological aura of monuments which affects the bodies of its subjects” (2005, 695). This use of aesthetics as a register for materiality and the senses also positions my thesis in the phenomenological shift in heritage studies internationally, which is marked by a turn towards the senses and apprehension as meaningful terms for analysing and understanding heritage (see Edwards et al, 2006; Chatterjee, 2008; Candlin, 2004, 2010). Making an argument for the significance of aesthetics as a particular register for understanding the senses in practises of heritage formation, I wish to make clear my awareness of the variable distribution of modalities of sensory apprehension, and the important critical philosophical work of Jacques Rancière (2010). Following his work, I wish to make clear that I do not take the senses and modes of sensing as given, but as fields of contestation between different social forces contesting cultural and political dominance. In doing so I wish to show how practices of heritage formation are implicated in shaping post-apartheid sensibilities, or, that the aesthetics of persuasion is also about a politics of aesthetics. These concepts of the politics of authentication and the aesthetics of persuasion provide the theoretical foundation of my discussion of heritage formation and the senses in post-apartheid South Africa.

Heritage, Memory and Nation-Building in Post-Apartheid South Africa

There is a rich body of literature on heritage, history and memory in South Africa. One

particularly well-developed area of research looks at a selection of museums and South Africa's transition to democracy (Crooke 2005; Davison 2005; Goodnow et, al 2006; Geschier 2005; Corsane 2006) with some literature specifically focussing on smaller, community museums (Rassool and Proselendis 2001; Mgijima 2006; Ralphs 2008), and the challenges posed to heritage bodies to adapt to the political change (Hart and Winter 2001). Another fruitful area looks at archaeology, archaeological practises and heritage as a particular material culture requiring strict forms of management and control (Weiss 2007; 2005; Shepherd 2007). A sub-field of literature addressing questions of heritage and nature is also exciting, showing the conflict structured between discourses of culture and nature that flow from colonial concepts of conservation (Meskell 2012). In contrast, this thesis will look at heritage forms, material forms, whether a heritage complex, a series of memorials and a musical instrument. This thesis is distinctive, furthermore, in the South African heritage studies literature primarily because of its framing in theories of aesthetics, authenticity and the senses. Yet it also links up with extant literature on heritage, memory and nation building in post-apartheid South Africa in at least three ways. Firstly, it contributes towards ongoing domestic debates about the conceptual distinctions between heritage, history and memory. Secondly, it extends the discussion of the role of the state and civic organisations in shaping a post-apartheid commemorative culture. Thirdly, it contributes to the analysis of the relationship between practices of heritage production and capitalist consumption practises. In this section I will review some of the literature related to these three areas of research, showing how this thesis is both related to and distinguished from this body of research.

Theorising heritage and public representations of the past in post-apartheid South Africa has taken place within a context of ongoing debate about the significance of, and distinctions between, the concepts of history, heritage and memory. These distinctions are borne out in a set of texts that engage the discussion through comparative analysis of case studies mobilised by competing stakeholders who seek to insert themselves in, and contest, debates about the narrative of nation (McEachern 2002). Annie Coombes' (2003) widely cited book, *History After Apartheid*, is an illustrative and useful entry point. Coombes claims to be interested in "new national histories in the public sphere that engaged the larger structural narratives" and how they relate to "individual lived

experiences". She grounds her argument in the broad themes of community, public history and memory, specifically stating that her text is an attempt to position herself between traditions of writing history from below and history from above. Using a series of case studies established during and after apartheid, she analyses how "strategies for embodying different models of historical knowledge and experience are negotiated in public culture through a variety of material visual means - in monuments, museum narratives, the reanimation of particular sites and spaces, and through contemporary fine art" (10 – 11). Steven Dubin's (2009) cheekily titled text, *Mounting Queen Victoria*, also focuses on the visual, attending specifically to "a broad range of museums, from those focusing upon art, cultural history, natural science, and natural history, to agriculture, military matters and traditional crafts", exploring how curators have tried to come to terms with their colonial and apartheid legacies in response to the transformation of South African society. I also explore aspects of visual culture in Chapter 2, specifically interrogating the connection between visual culture and heritage formation using the notion of visibility developed by Nicholas Mirzoeff (2011). There I show how the Freedom Park project was formed as a material heritage site that was meant to influence perceptions of the past through ideas of vision and seeing. Foregrounding visual culture and public history as the keys to understanding public modalities of the South African past, Coombes argues that "the visual and material manifestations of new public histories are both produced by and effectively inform changing definitions of community and nation during periods of political transition where such concepts become crucial stakes in the resolution or management of social conflict and/or renewal" (1). For Annie Coombes, the visibility of public history served as the key to understanding how particular social formations come into being under circumstances of contestation about the past. Kim Miller has also analysed the relationship between visual and material culture in South Africa, looking at T-Shirts as a particular media of memory around the TRC (Miller 2005). What I would like to stress is that, my understanding of the relationship between visual culture and materiality is different as far as I try show how material culture is positioned as heritage and how such positioning concerns and enables the shaping of binding sensibilities of vision.

Landscape of Memory authored by Sabine Marschall (2010a) is explicitly framed as an extension of Annie Coombes work, and is described as linking up with *History After*

Apartheid on the basis of its “centrality of ... focus on representing the past and the controversies surrounding such representation”. *Landscape of Memory* is distinctive, however, in that it attends exclusively to ‘commemorative monuments, memorials and public statuary’ erected in the post-apartheid period (10). Sabine Marschall states that two assumptions inform her research. She contends that commemorative monuments’ role is “to induce purposeful remembrance in the interest of forging a particular historical consciousness and shaping collective memory upon which group identity can be based”, and argues that monuments can be seen as material attempts to “redefine the nation’s existing landscape of memory and condense societal forces around symbolically charged readings of the past resulting in complex and sometimes contradictory identity discourses” (2). Chapter 5 of this thesis also looks at the dynamic qualities of monuments erected by the *Sunday Times*, focussing specifically on the different ways in which public engagements with the monuments brought different registers of the modality of touch into resonance. Nevertheless, to interrogate the dynamism of material commemorative media, Marschall situates her analysis in an interdisciplinary interpretive methodology that incorporates theory from memory studies, cultural geography, oral histories and life-stories, art history and media studies, which afford her the freedom to explore the “multifaceted dimensions of monuments [that] provides alternative conceptual perspectives for their interpretation” (5). As the title of her book suggests, her text is situated in theories of collective memory. Significantly, *Commemorating and Forgetting* by Martin Murray (2013), which also engages with a diverse series of post-apartheid commemorative projects, is also grounded in theories of collective memory. Overall, Sabine Marschall argues that “post-apartheid monuments ... are intricately bound to and determined by the literal presence, metaphorical power and specific physical properties of the commemorative markers inherited from the old order. New monuments are a way of signifying both rupture from the past (emphasising the novelty and difference of the new order) and continuity with the past (connecting the established systems which may, however, be interrogated and re-evaluated)” (2010a, 3). For Sabine Marschall therefore, it is memory as material stuff that is the key to understanding the contradictions and complications that inform representations of the South African past in the post-apartheid present. This thesis builds on Sabine Marschall’s invaluable, pioneering work, and addresses two case studies she has already covered, namely Freedom Park

and the STHP. My thesis extends her discussion of these projects by adding data that covers later periods of research, by contributing anthropological depth in the form of data gathered during periods of participant observation, and by introducing theoretical nuance by approaching the material with a different set of theoretical questions.

By framing their analyses in theories of visual culture, public history, curatorial practice and collective memory these authors also implicitly signalled their doubts about the analytical usefulness of heritage as a concept. For example, in Sabine Marschall's estimation, the concept of heritage was problematic because it posed problems of analytical precision. "Heritage is difficult to define not least because it is all-encompassing, containing tangible artefacts and structures of the past, as well as landscapes and intangible aspects of culture such as traditions, customs and oral memory" (2010a, 1). And it was problematic because it posed problems of historical representation since, as Martin Murray claims, it is "bogus" history that ignores complex historical processes and relationships and sanitizes the less savoury and uncomfortable dimensions of the past" (2013, 204). Murray and Marschall, continuing a trend in South African literature about approaches to analysing the past (Nuttall and Coetzee 1998; Miller 2011; Harries 2010), therefore turned to the concept of memory instead.

Sometimes the distinctions between related concepts like memory, history and heritage are not entirely clear, and perhaps drawing such conceptual distinctions could be problematic. For example, how can we distinguish between history and heritage? This was borne out in the debates that framed Annie Coombes claims about public history, debates that concerned the distinctions between history as an academic discipline versus heritage as a 'pseudo-academic' enterprise that would potentially revitalise waning institutional support for history in the humanities (see Nuttall and Wright 1998, Copley 2001; Comaroff 2002; Maylam, 1995). Cutting across these divergent views Ciraj Rassool (2000, 5) persuasively argued that such distinctions were not useful, that the concept of heritage can be embraced, not as some lesser zone of historical inquiry, but rather as an "assemblage of arenas and activities of history-making that is as disputatious as the claims made about the character of academic history". The flourishing literature on post-apartheid heritage was therefore punctuated by a lively, ongoing debate about

the best conceptual language through which to interpret the past. By arguing for the notion of heritage formation, this thesis is therefore centrally situated in this debate and offers its own contribution by, for example, reclaiming the term heritage as significant concept in relation to practises of forming and sacralisation.

Heritage and the State

While an abstract theoretical debate lingered in one body of post-apartheid literature on heritage history and memory, more substantive concerns were also raised about state and civil agents of influence such as Non Governmental Organisations (NGO's) with an interest in history and heritage. Specifically, it concerned the apparent contrasting ways in which the state and independent civic organisations created and contested public representations of the past, and the divergent forms of political subjectivity these representations were meant to bring into being. This could be construed as a problem of heritage and citizenship. In a Western democratic political paradigm, heritage is often framed as the inheritance of citizens, indicating that belonging is in part defined according to a legitimate claim to ownership over a store of cultural resources. Citizens have an interest in accessing these resources because they provide an important set of representations about the past that explain and affirm the histories that bind different political and cultural subjectivities, and provide insight into the forces that shaped reality in the present. Transparency, proper preservation, care, management and adequate access provision to these assemblages are central to the promotion of citizenship because they ensure the flourishing of political identity. Different political interest groups have a stake in framing heritage resources and heritage narratives in an attempt to exert an influence over the populous. As I have already discussed, heritage was a form of power exerted to educate and discipline a citizenry.

For example, a central motivation in the state's attempt to stake its claims over South Africa's cultural heritage resources was to frame an appealing, persuasive vision of the post-apartheid nation. In a country with a history of deep division, this project was always presented as well intended and inherently good. It developed a policy strategy that construed heritage as a vehicle for promoting transformation, reconciliation and nation-building. The National Heritage Act 25, of 1999 declares, for example, that South Africa's heritage resources played the role of "contributing to redressing past

iniquities ... facilitates healing and material and symbolic restitution". As is discussed in Chapter 2, the first series of national commemorative projects initiated by the post-apartheid state, the Legacy Projects, were developed to address these very issues. As an emblematic example, Freedom Park, for example, was seen to represent the amalgam of South Africa's cultural diversity, hence asserting ideas of reconciliation into the past, and nation-building since it would represent previously 'hidden' histories. Through the portrayal of what I will call an African commemorative aesthetic, the state sought to define and hail a kind of African post-apartheid cultural identity. Attached to this discursive thematic were ideas of income generation and the notion that heritage could be a vehicle for economic development. As is discussed in Chapter 3, tourism, and the creation of heritage sites and destinations, specifically, were seen as a primary medium through which the state imagined it could drive economic development. While furthering the values of the Constitution, the state implicitly attempted to coerce the South African populous through these nation-building projects, in an effort to domesticate the nation, to ensure the state's political authority and install a docile citizenry. The state's inherent authority and dominant ability to craft all-encompassing grand narratives of and about the past therefore left its claims to and about the nation open to scrutiny.

Through the Department of Arts and Culture, the state has been earnest in its attempt to 'correct' the heritage tableau, but even its well-intentioned new heritage projects and the ideals they were meant to broadcast was open to critique. For example, as is discussed in Chapter 3, the kind of cultural tourism promoted at Freedom Park was based on idealistic representations of indigeneity that ironically could lead to the perpetuation of the 'tribalist' divisions established by the apartheid state (Witz et, al 2005). And as is discussed in Chapter 6, the dominant state-sanctioned notion of 'Africanness' employed during the 2010 World Cup conflated relations between South African cultural subjectivity, notions of Pan-Africanism and transnationalism, especially when used to brand the nation. The state held a dominant interest in, and wielded significant discursive and material influence over, the character of heritage representations circulating in the public domain. But while seeming to promote a honourable set of values and ideals, they were not without fault.

Clearly, the state's crafting narratives of the nation render its primary motivations into the debate, by for example, focusing on the grand picture of South African cultural heritage and paying particular attention to a particular, grand 'African' cultural identity at the expense of the particular. Beyond these spheres of influence, other interest groups have also inserted themselves into the national debate about heritage and belonging by establishing cultural heritage initiatives that highlighted the significance of the traumatic historical experience of particular groups that have been variably referred to as communities. The District Six Museum, and the Lwandle Migrant Museum are cases in point (see Witz 2007; Rassool, 2006; Rassool and Prosalendis 2001; McEachern, 1998). Focussing on the trauma of the forcefully removed, marginalised and sometimes virtually forgotten communities, these local, small scale heritage institutions not only brought attention to apparently unrecognised, particular periods of South Africa's history. They also mobilised the trauma of these particular communities to critically engage with dominant notions of history and heritage. Engaging in practices of recovery and recognition, these community museums contributed to democracy by promoting civic engagement that enhanced "the possibilities of constituting a vibrant, independent public culture" (Rassool 2006: 288). These institutions of memory could be seen to be promoting an active citizenship and a conscientious national subjectivity because they "challenged, questioned and opened to debate the limits and frameworks of the new national citizenry rather than merely sought to reflect it" (Witz 2008, 4). By arguing for a notion of heritage formation that takes into account the important contestations about citizenship and cultural identity heritage enables, this dissertation will also pay keen attention to role of civic and state agents of influence in developing different heritage projects. It will explore the contradictions and complications that arise out of such contestations, and it will show how the framing of particular heritage narratives facilitates sometimes complicated forms of cultural and political subjectivity.

Heritage and the Market

The changes in the South African socio-political environment, and the search for a common South African subjectivity that spans race and cultural divisions has also created new opportunities for businesses to market their products. Corporate entities have initiated a multitude of sales promotions, selling products and services using the discourses of South African history and heritage. In doing so, they have posed

questions of heritage and consumption, or legitimacy of heritage forms either produced or circulated in the capitalist market (Marschall 2005; Alsayyad 2013). How can we evaluate the legitimacy or value of cheap tourist souvenirs as meaningful, valid heritage artefacts (Hitchcock and Teague 2000), or staged cultural performances by indigenous people who perform their culture for tourists? In South Africa, for example, some corporate entities initiated advertising promotion campaigns that explicitly tried to capitalise on uncertain, vacillating public sentiments about the new dispensation by placing their products in frames of reference directly related to mainstream political rhetoric. Promotions were meant to create public interest by offering product focused interpretations of social change that were cast in narratives that sometimes explicitly staged alternate orientations to the South African past. A 1995 Bonnita Cape Fresh Milk advertisement declared for example, “Why cry over spilt milk, when we can build a healthy nation. The past is just that ... the past. It’s the future that’s important” (as quoted in Bertelsen, 1998, 227). Some interventions extended beyond advertising narratives, however, and manifest in real material projects that took the guise, or appropriated the language, of heritage and public history. Some of these projects included theme parks (Witz et al, 2005), casinos (Hall, 1995; Hall and Bombardella, 2005), and shopping malls designed explicitly to reflect or affirm episodes of South African history. These forms of themed corporate appropriations could pose problems of historical representation, sometimes privileging brand value over historical veracity. For example, Worden and van Heynigen (1996, 242) cite the case of the “tensions between public, corporate and academic concerns” with the heritage and public history as they emerged around the development of Victoria and Alfred (V&A) Waterfront, a luxury shopping mall located on prime real estate near Cape Town harbour. Here, historians were enlisted to improve the public image of the development especially for locals. Specifically, developers hoped to deepen the local maritime history of the site, as a former fishing village and slave trading port, because of a perceived elitist appropriation of Cape Town’s working class history of a port city. The historians’ efforts were subsequently suppressed, primarily because of their attempt to represent the stark realities of trauma and exploitation that attached to those histories and which continued to shape living conditions in the post-apartheid city.

At other times, such corporate entities mobilised heritage ventures either as projects

tied to corporate social investment schemes, as is the case with the Apartheid Museum (Bremner, 2007), or initiated corporate ventures styled as heritage that were aimed at reframing particular brand images. In these instances corporate entities tried to refigure their commercial legacies to tie into the transforming nation, as was the case with South African Breweries and its museological projects (Mager 2006). When looking at “the significance of branding in the construction of post-apartheid heritage discourses”, Anne Mager has shown how the South African Breweries (presently known as SAB Miller), celebrated their centenary in 1995 by building a museum, the South African Breweries World of Beer, in Newtown Johannesburg. Designed to relate the history of the company and beer brewing and consumption in South Africa, the museum was also an attempt to reframe the corporation’s history to align with the reconciliatory narrative of the post-apartheid dispensation and strategically reposition its products in South African social history. For this corporation, therefore, ‘heritage was key to the remaking of its brand identity, marketing strategy and corporate success’ (Miller 2006, 170). These issues are discussed in detail in Chapter 4 where I address the *STHP*, and address how the newspaper went about asserting the authenticity of its heritage project and intervened in public sensibilities of taste for news and commemorative media.

In South Africa, commercially driven heritage projects have been criticised and even dismissed on the grounds that they reduced cultural forms to superficial images and signs for the sake of profit. Indeed, the various instances of corporate interventions in, or inventions of, the past canvassed above indicate that the burgeoning South African transformation narrative did present a profitable opportunity to advance corporate interests such as marketing and branding. What these examples also indicate, however, is that commercially driven heritage ventures appeared to also democratise public notions of history, heritage and social transformation because they advanced contrasting versions of the nature of post-apartheid reality in relation to the South African past. Contributing to public debate about post-apartheid heritage and nation building, corporate driven heritage projects therefore posed important questions about the relationship between heritage practice and practises of consumption. As I have already pointed out, this thesis attends to the problem of heritage and consumption by advancing a notion of heritage formation that takes market forces seriously, as it enables a critical engagement with how a range of stakeholders negotiate their heritage claims

within the constraints of, and in relation to, market forces. It also enables me to look at how ways those forces come to bare on their circulation and ability to hail notions of citizenship, and belonging.

Research Questions, Methodology and Chapter Outlines

My analysis of heritage formation and the senses is informed by three research questions. In my understanding, these questions define the distinctiveness of my research. Firstly, I ask, how were these material cultural forms positioned as apparently legitimate registers of the South African past? This is linked to a subset of questions regarding, the kinds of cultural, economic and political stakes different interest groups invested in developing, asserting and sustaining particular claims about the authenticity of these heritage forms? And, what can heritage formation tell us about heritage as a modality of framing the sacred? Secondly, how were these projects of forming designed to appeal to, and intervene in, collective aesthetic sensibilities and sensory modalities of apprehending knowledge about the past? Thirdly, how did these heritage forms mediate propositions about the nation? Relatedly, how were they implicated in appealing to forms of political subjectivity and agency, particularly citizenship? And how did the collectivities addressed by these different projects negotiate or even contest the claims made about the legitimacy of these forms as well as membership to forms of political community? In this thesis, I will show that heritage formation indexes the location and practice of making and remaking post-apartheid society in relation to material forms, and the resonant, deeply felt modes of being and belonging that those practices of bringing the past into resonance enables.

My cases studies allow me to bear out these dynamics of authenticity, aesthetics and national subjectivity. As has already been highlighted, I look at Freedom Park in Pretoria, the *Sunday Times* heritage project and the *vuvuzela*. Indeed, at first glance this presents as a quirky set of case studies, leading from a monumental heritage site to a disposable plastic horn. Yet, I hope to demonstrate that they are each promising, illuminating examples that directly address the questions I wish to engage with. These case studies are significant for analysis for at least three reasons. Firstly, these are examples of heritage formation that manifest during the post-apartheid dispensation, therefore, sharing a common time frame. They are a series of new projects that were

initiated, proposed or staged after 1994, often explicitly as a means of addressing the apartheid past and with the purpose of playing a role in post-apartheid nation building. Secondly, each of these case studies index different domains of political, economic and cultural influence serving to illustrate different approaches to heritage formation. For example, Freedom Park was a state driven heritage project, the market and the media was represented in the case of the *STHP*, and ‘the people’ were represented in the case of the *vuvuzela*. That said, I fully acknowledge the messy, productive interconnections between different forms and domains of influence, between capitalism and politics, for example. Thirdly, each of the cases are characterised by different kinds of materiality and design, indexing different material foundations for different claims about heritage. As I will show, Freedom Park was designed as a monumental heritage complex with many elements styled to display an African commemorative aesthetic, as a means of staging claims to and about South African cultural identity. This stood in contrast to the memorialisation of the *STHP* with its series of small-scale, site specific memorials which were meant to stage every day, engagement with locative histories at sites across the country. In contrast, the *vuvuzela*’s ephemerality carried the complexity of practises of heritage claim-making, presenting as a popular but frail material substrate upon which a range of colourful heritage narratives were developed and staked. Staging competition and contestation between a spectrum of actors, the *vuvuzela*’s sacred significance as a heritage form emerged out of its association with the powerful collective effervescence of the tournament.

I engage in a discussion of these cases using data gathered from textual sources that include archival records, scholarly articles and books as well as news articles published in mainstream print and electronic media. I have also incorporated anthropological data generated from participant observation and interviews. To be more specific, as part of my research I spent 3 months of field work at Freedom Park from mid-to-late 2010 into early 2011. During this time I conducted a series of interviews with management staff as well as those in the research and marketing units. This was to get a profile of the general mission and ethos of the project and what officials thought their role was in developing it. Complementing this aspect of the research, I spent a large proportion of my time shadowing tours, where, over the course of approximately 30 tours, I followed and observed guides conducting their work. From these encounters I developed

detailed notes about tourist engagement and the role of tour guiding in relation to the narratives that Freedom Park administrative officials had provided. I did not interview visiting tourists, nor did I employ other qualitative research methods such as questionnaires, which in hindsight, is a weakness of this text.

For the *Sunday Times* Heritage Project, during 2010 and early 2011, I travelled across the country to locate and document the state of 28 of the 36 *Sunday Times* memorials that were eventually erected. This was in order to corroborate whether the florid narratives about the compelling power and appeal of the memorials were true, how and in what ways they functioned in public space, but also to document their condition years after having been erected. Time as well as the vast distances between some of the memorials, some located in the rural Eastern Cape and some that were not even publicised as being finished, prevented me from locating all the memorials. As part of this aspect of the research, I interviewed the four journalists who were responsible for the selection and development of the narratives in each of the provinces where memorials were erected, as well as the former editor of the *Sunday Times*, Mondli Makhanya, and the head of the project, Charlotte Bauer, as well as officials managing the actual arts management aspect of the project, and some of the artists who designed some of the memorials. These interviews were intended to gauge what management officials thought the project was about, their original intentions and how this changed during the project, and what they thought about it in hindsight after its completion. Supplementing this data, I spent many hours observing public interaction at some of the key memorials in three of the cities where memorials had been installed, sometimes conducting short interviews on site. Data for the *vuvuzela* was gathered primarily from news and online media covering the period before and during the 2010 World Cup Tournament. I conducted two interviews with Mr Neil van Schalkwyk, one of the key stakeholders in the narrative I address. At times I have tried to employ pseudonyms where I felt the data was sensitive, specifically in the chapters addressing Freedom Park, but have generally used participants real names since many were open and accommodating and did not explicitly object.

Drawing on the core concepts of the politics of authentication and the aesthetics of persuasion set out above, Chapters 2 and 3 and 4 and 5 are arranged according to the

intentions of the authorities who initiated the project and then a chapter on how their intended audiences engaged physically, sensorially and discursively, offering opinions and insights of personal experience that may have affirmed or contested the intentions of their designers. Each chapter is also framed roughly according to a sensory modality, from vision through to sound, but I do not wish to infer any sense of hierarchy with such an arrangement.

Chapter 2 looks at Freedom Park's formation as a national heritage site. Placing emphasis on the concept of the monumental, I argue that Freedom Park was meant to frame a sense of visuality for apprehending the past, and show how the state used indigenous knowledge resources to sacralise and legitimise the project. In Chapter 3 I look at Freedom Park's formation as a heritage destination, showing how visitors perceived it as an informative site of leisure and recreation using Birgit Meyer's (2009) concept of aesthetics of persuasion. There I show how tour guides structure a compelling guided narrative through the site that frames experiences of the seemingly sacred significance of the site. In Chapter 4 I look at the formation of the STHP, particularly interrogating the claim that the project was a benevolent, philanthropic venture in a broad discussion about publicness, authenticity and value production in post-apartheid heritage practise. Chapter 5 deals with the afterlife of the memorials, specifically addressing the question of ruination, public feeling and the sense of touch. Chapter 6 discusses the emergence of the *vuvuzela* as a popular football supporter's accoutrement that was positioned as an African, South African heritage form. That chapter addresses questions about origins, authority, agency and ownership of heritage forms that travel through global circuits of consumption, collective effervescence and the binding power of sound. Concluding the thesis, Chapter 7 is a comparative appraisal of the 3 case studies addressing the key research questions raised in the Introduction.

Notes

¹ Protesters to chain themselves to Paul Kruger statue to defend it.' Accessed at <http://www.citypress.co.za/news/protesters-to-chain-themselves-to-paul-kruger-statue-to-defend-it/>, 7 April, 2015.

² 'Paul Kruger statue defaced', accessed at <http://iolmobile.co.za/#!/article/paul-kruger-statue-defaced-1.1841256>, 7 April, 2015.

³ 'EFF damages PE horse memorial', accessed at <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/EFF-damages-PE-horse-memorial-20150407>, 7 April, 2015. 'EFF members torch war memorial statue', accessed at <http://www.sabc.co.za/news/a/029b8f0047e02d58ad78ff4405f77b26/EFF-members-torch-war-memorial-statue-20150304>, 7 April, 2015.

⁴ 'Security stepped up after Paul Kruger statue defaced.' Accessed at <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Security-stepped-up-after-Paul-Kruger-statue-defaced-20150406>, 7 April, 2015.

⁵ Race and racial language is still used officially for purposes of measuring and implementing policies of social and economic redress. According to that standard, black refers to all people of colour including black Africans, Coloureds and Indians. Official Census data also records racial demographics, using 5 categories, African, White, Coloured, Indian/Asian and Other that respondents are invited to self-identify with. Following this scheme of classification, in this thesis, generally, and where not necessarily qualified, I will use the phrase black Africans to refer to racially and ethnically black subjects, black South Africans to refer to the collective of people of colour, whites to refer to Caucasians, coloured and coloureds as those who are considered to be, but necessarily of, mixed racial descent, Indian as the group of people who are of Indian ethnic extraction. Taking this position, I fully acknowledge that racial categories are fraught and loaded.

⁶ Statistics South Africa, "Mid-Year Population Estimates 2014", pg. 3. Accessed at <http://beta2.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0302/P03022014.pdf>, January 31 2015.

⁷ This marks an increase from the 1995 figure of 0.59 suggesting that South Africa has become economically more unequal during the first 20 years of the democratic era. Accessed at the Central Intelligence Agency World Fact Book, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2172.html> 31 January 2015.

⁸ Statistics South Africa, Census 2011. Average annual household income by population group of household head. Accessed at, <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P03014/P030142011.pdf>, 31 January, 2015.

⁹ WIN-Gallup International 'Religiosity and Atheism Index' reveals atheists are a small minority in the early years of 21st century. Accessed at http://www.wingia.com/en/news/win_gallup_international_ac_religiosity_and_atheism_index_ao_reveals_a_theists_are_a_small_minority_in_the_early_years_of_21st_century/14/, 31 January, 2015.

¹⁰ Statistics South Africa, Census 2001. Religion, pg 24-28.

¹¹ Convention Concerning the Protection of the Cultural and Natural Heritage. Accessed at <http://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/> 31 January, 2015.

¹² Edward Bailey. "Sacred", in the Encyclopedia of Religion and Society, edited by William H. Swatos Jr. Accessed at <http://hrr.hartsem.edu/ency/Sacred.htm> 31 January, 2015.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ There are occasions, of course, where such a proposition may appear to be counter-intuitive. The exhibition of human remains appropriated under circumstances of colonial domination, collections culled during genocidal atrocities and assemblages of Nazi and Holocaust ephemera are examples of cases that challenge this proposition. Yet even in such extreme situations dominant stakeholders have struggled to domesticate and contain the aura of enchantment that often attaches to strategically managed or displayed objects of 'dark heritage'. Indeed, the management and display of such charged material, travelling through a processual series of practises of categorisation, preservation and exhibition, arguably also imbues them with unintended surplus meaning.

2. Visualising the Post-Apartheid Nation at Freedom Park

“To look, see and observe are different ways of using the organ of sight, each with its own intensity ... Only by observing can we achieve full vision, when at a given moment or successively, our attention becomes concentrated, which may just as easily result from a conscious decision as from an involuntary state of synaesthesia, whereby what is seen pleads to be seen once more, thus passing from one sensation to another, arresting, slowing down the process of looking, as if the image were about to be produced in two different places in the brain with a temporal discrepancy of a hundredth of a second ... which suddenly becomes an absolute presence.”

Jose Saramago, *The History of the Siege of Lisbon*

“The look, we said, envelops, palpates, espouses the visible things. As though it were in a pre-established harmony with them, as though it knew them before knowing them, it moves in its abrupt and imperious style, and yet the views taken are not desultory ... so that finally one cannot say if it is the look or the things that command.”

Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Intertwining-The Chasm*

“[F]or it is in becoming memorial or monumental that a true perfection is attained by civil and domestic buildings; and this is partly as they are, with such a view, built in a more stable manner, and partly as their decorations are consequently animated by a metaphorical or historical significance ...”

John Ruskin, *The 7 Lamps of Architecture*

Introduction: Monumentality and Heritage Formation

Grand ambitions to erect a monument of a nationalist order in South Africa emerged soon after the institution of the democratic dispensation. A notable early proposal was lodged in late March 1996 when the artist Danie de Jager approached the office of the South African Presidency with a plan to erect a Freedom Monument to commemorate

the nation's transition.¹ Drawing on the grand liberation narrative surrounding the election of President Nelson Mandela, de Jager's design centred around a 33 metre high hand, modelled on the president's open *manus* energetically breaking up through a set of prison bars. Entitled 'Mandela's Hand', de Jager's proposed monument would further be embellished with "40 plaques depicting the freedom struggle, an eternal flame in an amphitheatre and a wall with the word 'freedom' written in 100 languages".² To emphasise the monument's political and ideological significance as marking a break with the past and inaugurating a new democratic present, de Jager further proposed that it be located on one of the hills directly opposite the Voortrekker Monument in the capital city Pretoria. President Mandela initially showed an interest in the project, meeting with de Jager and his financial backers, Abe and Solly Krok, who made their fortune selling skin-lighteners during apartheid, to learn more about it. In the immediate aftermath of the project's announcement, and the President's apparent affinity for it, scholars, public intellectuals and heritage professionals criticised and derided the proposal. For example, upon reading the announcement about the new project, the then director of the South African National Gallery, Marilyn Martin, could not help but think that "the proposed R50 million statue of President Nelson Mandela's hand was an April Fool's joke".³ The reason that the project had to be a joke, contended Martin, was because "it was a bitter irony that a sculptor of the apartheid regime together with a Minister and business people, were now in a position to decide on a "freedom monument" for South Africa's new democracy".⁴ The irony was readily apparent. Danie de Jager had handled nationalist public art projects before and was best known for his sculpture commemorating the institution of the South African Republic in Strijdom Square, Pretoria, that featured four prancing horses atop a 15 metre high plinth, entitled Freedom Symbol.⁵ Looking at the seemingly absurd parallels underwriting this proposal, Marilyn Martin concluded that Danie de Jager's 'Hand of Freedom' did not represent a noble tribute to an iconic leader in transitioning a divided nation into democracy, but rather a monumental punch-line that pointed to the ideological complexity regarding visual commemorative practise post-1994.

The hand design itself seemed to capture and crystallise the overall farcical nature of the proposal. The problem with the design, Martin pointed out, was that "the image was fascist in concept, appearance and scale" and rather than appearing to reach "upward in

victory, the hand seems to be that of a person drowning and asking for help”.⁶ Or as Neville Dubow put it at the time “People who care about the level of public symbolism in the new South Africa obviously shared that sinking feeling: a mixture of incredulity and despair at the crudity and crassness of its central feature”. Indeed de Jager’s hand appeared to deal in the iconic aesthetic traditions of fascism, totalitarianism and communism. The monument signalled a fascist tradition in the sense that it appeared to valorise the physical person of Nelson Mandela, based as it was on a proposed model cast taken from his hands. Furthermore, as Neville Dubow explained, “As to the dominant concept behind the Mandela memorial – the arm of the leader cast large in bronze – there is a precedent for that ... And it’s pretty chilling. I am thinking of the Victory monument in Baghdad, commemorating the ‘victory’ of Iraq over Iran, in which a pair of giant forearms [cast from a mould taken from Saddam Hussein’s forearms] spring from concrete ... to a terminal height in a triumphal arch of crossed swords 40 meters above the ground”. At 33 meters in height, de Jager’s monument was also criticised for its sheer size, or the tradition of ‘gigantism’, that was associated with the socialist realist commemorative style widely adopted in the former Soviet Union (Lahusen and Dobrenko 1997; Gutkin 1999; Fowkes 2002). Based on these criticisms of the monument’s aesthetic heritage, Dubow despatched de Jager’s proposal “to the dumb, numbing gigantism that has appealed to the totalitarian mind ... It [therefore speaks] the language of dictators not liberators”. In light of the project’s numerous aesthetic flaws, therefore, Dubow could confidently declare that the design was “blatantly the wrong image for the nation that we are trying to build”.⁷

What would the right design be for a new national monument? Not long after dismissing the de Jager proposal, the state initiated a project that would try and find the right design for a post-apartheid monument. Calling the project Freedom Park, the post-apartheid state attempted to try and find a better way to mark the change in dispensation. Freedom Park was meant to catalogue the primary contours of South Africa’s history dating back 3.6 billion years and represent the cultural history, heritage and diversity of the nation in its entirety. Similar to the Namibian National Heroes Acre (Becker 2011), and national commemorations in Zimbabwe (Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Willems 2009) Freedom Park was meant to be a massive heritage complex designed as

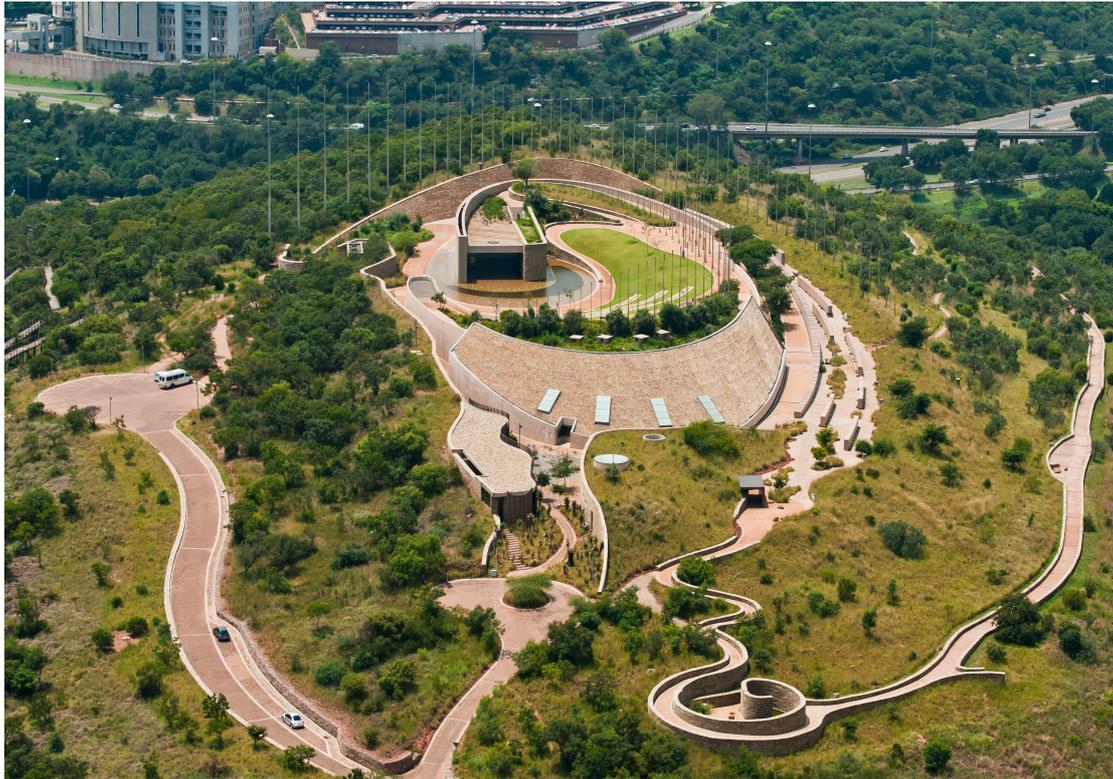


Figure 4. *S'khumbuto*, aerial shot. OCA architects. Photograph courtesy of Graham Young.

a national site of commemoration that would facilitate reconciliation and nation-building. Indeed, capturing all these grand historical, cultural and symbolic overtones, Freedom Park is undoubtedly the state's premier cultural heritage form, occupying a grand, visible place in the capital city's skyline and a central position in the post-apartheid 'landscape of memory'. In essence, Freedom Park was monumental.

In this chapter I will use the idea of the monumental to try and discuss two aspects of the Freedom Park project—namely its ability to stage a national identity through ideas of vision and indigenous knowledge. Most basically associated with the idea of grand scale and authority, the monumental is an aesthetic that, historically, is associated with ancient building complexes like the Egyptian Pyramids (Porter 2011) but also travels through nineteenth and early twentieth century musicology (Rehding 2009) and architecture (Junyk 2013/4). It is a philosophical idea associated with the modern and modernity, with nationalisms, and state power. But it is seen as circumspect. The monumental, Andreas Huyssen (1996) has argued, reflects a suspect modern political and cultural aesthetic. It represents 'bad taste and mass culture', because it represents "nineteenth century nationalisms and twentieth century totalitarianisms", because

ethically, “its preference for bigness ... indulges the larger-than-human in the attempt to overwhelm the individual spectator” and finally, it reflects “narcissistic delusions of grandeur and to imaginary wholeness” (Huyssen 1996, 188-9). In heritage studies literature the monument is often associated with triumphalism and celebration. As Adrian Parr (2008, 16) explains “Monuments ... refer to the materials used to memorialise an event or person; these tend to be celebratory and triumphal”. The monumental is framed as a negative aesthetic because it represents the grandiose, nationalistic celebration of the past.

These ideas permeate the small body of literature addressing Freedom Park through the lens of the monumental in South Africa. The monumental has been deployed as a language for discussing Freedom Park as linked to a South African post-apartheid modernism, associated with creative arts and industrial projects (Kros 2012), but also to the awakening a post-colonial aesthetic linked to ideas of black consciousness, (Oliphant 2013). Monumentality has also framed critical discussion about the appropriateness of the size, siting and effectiveness of the heritage complex (Labuschagne 2010; Mare 2007). Following on from this literature, in this chapter I want to show how the post-apartheid state used the aesthetic of the monumental to legitimate Freedom Park as a heritage form, to shape a national consciousness and assert state authority by linking it to ideas of visibility and visual culture.

Firstly I will use it to outline Freedom Park’s significance as a real material structure and a cultural representation, as a heritage form, that was grounded in particular state rhetoric about visibility and the past. Using Nicholas Mirzoeff’s work on visibility (2006; 2011a; 2011b), I will specifically show how the material formation of the project as monumental facilitated the articulation of a complex of visibility, comprised of the revelation, refraction, and reflection of the past. This section tries to link a series of institutions and abstract ideas about heritage practise, visibility and modes of representing the past to try show how they accrued around Freedom Park’s emergence as a monumental heritage form. Secondly, I will show how from the early 2000’s, Freedom Park’s formation also concerned the search for an ‘African commemorative aesthetic’, a set of design principles infused with, and reflective of, “rediscovered” southern African indigenous cultural and religious knowledge. Specifically, I will show

how the *Isivivane* was constructed as a sacred centre, around which a post-apartheid national subjectivity would be hailed, how the Wall of Names served as kind of register of the transcendent ancestry, and finally how the museum //hapo element recounted a new national cosmogony. To proceed, therefore, I will first lay out the theory framing my discussion of visibility, then proceed to look at the TRC process, showing how its grand, public platform set up a visual frame of reference for understanding the past. In the two sections that follow, looking at the National Legacy projects and the Location of Freedom Park in Pretoria, I develop the analysis of visibility and heritage formation, before closing out the chapter out with a discussion of the use of indigenous religious and cultural knowledge to sacralise elements of Freedom Park.

On Visibility

My invocation of visibility is influenced by the work of the art historian Nicholas Mirzoeff (2006; 2011a; 2011b) on vision, visibility and what he calls the right to look. Mirzoeff argues that the term visibility is not a “theory word” linked to cultural studies of images, but rather, a “nineteenth-century word meaning the visualisation of history” (2011, 474). Qualifying this conceptual relation to the exercise of particular forms of power, dominance and subjugation, he cites that the term visibility was first coined by the Scottish historian Thomas Carlyle in 1840 to refer to “what he called the tradition of heroic leadership, which visualizes history to sustain autocratic authority” (2011, 475). For Carlyle, visibility concerned “the making of the processes of history perceptible to authority”, which was the privilege of the hero, particularly an imperial hero, and which had the attributes of masculinity (2011, 475). In this genealogy, visibility is bound to ideological connotations associated with masculinities and colonial aspirations of conquest and control. From this point of departure, Mirzoeff argues that modalities of visibility are “composed of a series of operations” or processes of rendering sensibility to the real. This means to say that visibility is not referred to as either simply a sensory attribution or as having the attributes of agency, but rather, is meant to foreground its productive qualities as a “discursive practice for rendering and regulating the real that has material effects” (2011a, 476). He describes this series of operations as the classification, naming and categorizing of subjects. Firstly, then, a mode of visibility is characterised by the classification of subjects and groups. Secondly, members of the categories so classified are separated “as a means of social

organization”. Finally, a mode of visibility makes these designations appear to be natural and legitimate, in the sense of “the aesthetics of the proper, of duty, of what is felt to be right and hence pleasing, ultimately even beautiful”. The combined effect of these operations can be described as a complex of visibility, or “the production of a set of social organizations and processes that form a given complex” and its imbrication with an “individual’s psychic economy” (Mirzoeff 2011a, 480). More than a descriptive device articulating the techniques and nuances of how and in what ways vision operates, this characterisation of visibility describes an articulation of power intimately connected to the practise of visually apprehending the past.

Mirzoeff’s work is based on a reading of art historical archives in America, which is certainly far removed from South Africa. His argument also negates the agency of subjects who may or may not engage with the complexes of visibility presented to them. Yet I think the basic thrust of his claims about what constitutes a complex of visibility, of classifying, of separating and of aestheticizing, allows me to trace a genealogy of visibility that relates to Freedom Park. In following through on these concepts, in the following section I will use a set of archival and textual sources to describe how Freedom Park is inscribed in and inscribes a particular genealogy of visibility and material heritage practise in South Africa. This genealogy is not meant to be exhaustive or unproblematic. By taking this position I do not wish to negate broader sensory experience, or suggest a problematic sense hierarchy, but rather wish to emphasise how intimately tied together state craft and heritage formation are around the sense of vision and visibility. By privileging visibility in relation to the exercise of state power, I acknowledge adopting a Foucauldian line of analysis that is open to the critique of occularcentrism. I do so to clearly show the authority and dominance of the state to be able to mobilise post-apartheid heritage projects like Freedom Park and assert the new democratic state’s ability to make claims about its legitimacy. To begin, therefore, I will return to one of the first major national attempts to settle with the past, through the TRC process, and analyse the dominant modes of visibility, of visually apprehending the past, it enabled early in the post-apartheid dispensation.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Criticism of the de Jager proposal coincided with the staging of the first series of public

hearings of South Africa's TRC in East London on the 15th of April of the same year. The TRC process, however, would have a more enduring impact on collective sensory apprehension of the past and visualization of a post-apartheid nationalism in the future. Officially enacted by the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act 34 of 1995 and established with the intention of transcending moralistic finger pointing, the TRC was mandated to grant amnesty to perpetrators of gross human rights violations on condition of their full disclosure, identify victims of atrocities occurring between the period of 1 March 1960 and 10 May 1994, and make recommendations regarding reparations and restitution. Placing a premium on disclosure and testimony, the work of the TRC was grounded in a sonic sensibility that drew impetus from a discursive chain of relations between notions of orality, utterance and the purgative power of confession (see Posel 2006; Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983, 214-216) since it orchestrated declarative scenarios of healing and forgiveness that linked victims and perpetrators in their expressive revelation of the traumas of the apartheid past (Holiday 1998). Refracted through this aural atmosphere, however, was a particular operation of visibility. As Catherine Cole has observed, "the power of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission [lay in its] ability to make visible that which had been unseen" (2010, 6). As part of a broad quest to develop 'as complete a picture as possible of the nature, causes and extent of gross human rights violations of human rights', the televisual choreographed testimonial encounters of the Human Rights Violations hearings served to affirm the TRC's visually resonant ideological foundations: a human rights culture based on "truth, transparency and freedom of information" (Cole 2010, xviii).

Held between 15 April 1996 and 31 July 1998 at venues across the country, the Human Rights Violations hearings, the public aspect of the hearings, were conducted in the full glare of the local and international media and rendered a visual language of revelation in complicity as a means of engaging the past and redeeming the future. As such, "anchored into homes and public and private interior spaces in different corners of South Africa", the TRC, through the 'live and visual real history' of televised inserts, came to function as a kind of "grand spectacle", "an electronic monument to apartheid's past" (Rassool et. al., 2000, 115) that served to render visibility to a particular image of the post-apartheid future (see McEachern 2002, 19-38). The discursive force of the primary metaphors underwriting the work of the commission,

that of truth, secrecy and revelation, further suggested that the TRC “staged and remade the past through a complex dynamic of watching, seeing, testifying and bearing witness” (Cole 2010, 6). The TRC therefore did not merely evoke a sonic sensibility based on confession and the truth of live oral testimony. It was also about the construction of a visual language of reconciliation: a visuality based on the idea of the revelation of previously concealed, often traumatic aspects of South Africa’s history.

Significantly, these histories were being refracted through the ideals of the present, and served to reflect this visual sensibility’s power to form an image of the united nation in the future. This was affirmed at the handing over of the first 5 volumes of the TRC final report in October 1998, when the Chair Person of the TRC, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, announced “We will have looked the beast in the eye. We will have come to terms with our horrendous past and it will no longer keep us hostage. We will cast off its shackles and, holding hands together, black and white, will stride together into the future” (cited in Gish 2004, 158). Criticisms of the TRC process aside (see Meredith and Rosenberg 1999; Christie 2000; James and Vijver 2000; Wilson 2001; Posel and Simpson 2002; Fullard and Rousseau 2008; Verdoolaege 2008), as a platform for the airing of previously hidden pain for the redemption of the nation, it was staged as a nation-building program that facilitated the circulation of a visual rhetoric and sensibility through which the past could be meaningfully apprehended and the future more clearly imagined.⁸ This type of logic would filter into the TRC’s substantive recommendations about material and symbolic reparations, which, broadly speaking, by that time, the state had already tried to attend to through the National Legacy Projects.

National Legacy Projects

Amidst the emergence of this reconciliatory vision in the public domain, the state embarked on its own plans for materially reframing the South African past. As such, on the eve of Youth Day, on the 15th of June 1998, the Department of Arts, Culture Science and Technology (presently known as the Department of Arts and Culture) publicly announced its intention to erect a Freedom Park as part of a bouquet of heritage projects called the Presidential Legacy Projects - a prioritised set of heritage markers aimed at making an intervention in the commemorative landscape. Designed to play a role in facilitating reconciliation and nation building after a traumatic past, in

some ways these heritage projects were meant to play a role in facilitating a kind of transitional justice (Buckley-Zistel and Schafer 2014). The official announcement followed more than a year's concerted conceptual rumination.⁹ Allegedly inspired by 'a flood of letters by the public about matters of heritage and official forms of tribute for those who made sacrifices for the fight against apartheid', the Legacy Projects, consisting of a suite of memoria that spanned a Qunu Museum in Nelson Mandela's town of birth, a Samora Michel Monument, Freedom Square, Freedom Park, to the South African War Centenary.¹⁰ The projects were engaged with the intention of, firstly, attending to a major lacuna in South Africa's heritage landscape, referring to the lack of monuments and memorials commemorating black South African history, and secondly, to facilitate a reconciliatory post-apartheid nationalism (Marschall 2010a, 175).

The Legacy Projects were 'intended to be a pro-active, symbolic acknowledgement of South Africa's neglected, marginalised or distorted heritage' where white South African heroes and histories were predominantly acknowledged, and engaged in the awareness that "history through monuments, museums and other forms to commemorate what is meaningful to South Africans ha[d] the potential to contribute to reconciliation and nation building".¹¹ They anticipated recommendations made by the TRC's Restitution and Rehabilitation Committee regarding symbolic reparations. As documented in the TRC's final report, these were "measures that facilitate the communal process of remembering the pain and victories of the past ... [and which would work to] restore the dignity of victims and survivors". They would potentially take the form of "exhumations, tombstones, memorials or monuments, and the renaming of streets and public facilities" (TRC final report, vol 6, 96). They also marked one of the state's first major attempts at asserting its influence over the heritage sector, which culminated in the National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999. It is important to note, however, that, despite claims made to the contrary, the Legacy Projects in general and Freedom Park in particular, did not flow directly from the TRC process. As Brian Hamber points out, this representation was meant to "contextualise the emergence of Freedom Park in line with the recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission" (2009, 31-32). Grounded in a reconciliatory vision of the South African future that was inspired by, and elaborated upon, the values of the TRC, this series of new, prioritised commemorative markers plotted in an otherwise decrepit heritage landscape, marked

the state's attempt to materially reconcile the apartheid past in the post-apartheid present.

In material terms, the National Legacy Projects served as an expression of heritage practice best described as commemorative complementarity. This is where new heritage media is added to that which already exists in the heritage landscape, often in response to this extant assemblage and hardly ever as a form of iconoclastic substitution. This principle of complementarity, of adding, would inform state policy on heritage, particularly material public projects, throughout the democratic dispensation. Notably, this complementarity could also lead to problems of moral equivalence that were implicitly addressed through a collective narrative of suffering and the triumph of the human spirit. It reflected the dominant model of reconciliation and the image of the nation that prevailed in the early 1990s, when reconciliation was construed as the celebration of difference as the basis of commonality as opposed to hierarchical racial difference that had once been asserted by the apartheid state. It reflected the rainbow nation model of nationalism that prevailed at the time. As you will see later in the chapter, this model of reconciliation and nation-building filters directly into Freedom Park's formation as an institution aimed at making sense of the past and cohering the nation. The state's pursuit of the National Legacy Projects served to elaborate this model of reconciliation and nation building, by trying to showcase the variety and distinctiveness of South Africa's history by adding a series of new, complementary material heritage forms into the heritage landscape.

Freedom Park was the most ambitious of these Legacy Projects. Even at this early stage, at the announcement of the Legacy Projects, a clear idea had been formed about the venture's commemorative focus, its temporal scope, core themes and material elements. As Lionel Mtshali emphasised, Freedom Park would be dedicated to "all those who fell in the struggle for liberation", but would also mark "the celebration of the attainment of freedom and democracy" and would be aimed at "telling the history of South Africa from pre-colonial times up to the present".¹² It would be a "symbolic expression of the themes of Struggle, Democracy and Nation-Building", which in turn, represented South Africa's past, present and future. These themes would be materially realised through three commemorative elements, namely "a monument to victims of

struggle, a museum dedicated to the victims of the freedom struggle and an indigenous garden of reflection and meditation”.¹³ This proposed materialisation of lofty themes highlighted the post-apartheid state’s expansive vision of Freedom Park as being its premiere cultural heritage formation, and strangely, echoed the themes and monumental vision of Danie de Jager’s proposal. Nevertheless, projected into the future, this imaginative scheme positioned Freedom Park as being the primary instrument through which the South African historical grand narrative would be reconfigured so as to represent the reconciled nation. Freedom Park was therefore “envisaged”, to “make South Africa’s heritage a new living symbol of South Africa’s non-racial, non-sexist democratic South Africa”, and that would “enable South Africans of all walks of life, to develop a sense of common identity”.¹⁴ Asserting the state’s monumental aspirations, Lionel Mtshali made it clear that Freedom Park would be the government’s most ambitious material heritage venture, highlighting the site’s role in redressing the biases of South Africa’s past but also its proposed role in shaping the egalitarian conscience of the nation in the future.

The Freedom Park project was given added impetus some two years later in June 2000 when Deputy President Jacob Zuma formally launched the Freedom Park Trust on behalf of the Presidency and the Department of Arts and Culture at the Presidential Guest House in Pretoria. Mandated with procuring funds for the project and engaging relevant stakeholders, the Trust was presided over by 21 Trustees hailing from such diverse fields as academia, architecture, arts and culture, the judiciary and government. Joe Modise, then Minister of Defence was appointed Chairperson of the Trust and Nelson Mandela was declared patron.¹⁵ At the launch, Mr Zuma affirmed the state’s expansive vision for the Freedom Park, elaborated on the interactive themes of Struggle, Democracy and Nation-Building and highlighted the Park’s role in creating a new, inclusive, post-apartheid national consciousness as the centre-piece in the Legacy Projects portfolio.

As Mr Zuma explained, the Freedom Park would “articulate an overall, multi-faceted heritage, which [would] be brought together to represent, in a visible, experiential, and interactive manner, our developing national consciousness and identity”.¹⁶ This would be achieved through the “interactive themes” of Struggle, Democracy and Nation-

Building that would “embrace the vision of Freedom Park”. The theme of Struggle, referred to “an often painful but also inspiring aspect of our past that should not be swept under the carpet but rather celebrated and understood in its historical context”. Freedom Park would serve as “a creative response to [this difficult history], and [therefore] promote the process of healing”. Democracy was related to the process of reconciliation and the South African national narrative of having overcome the challenges of “racism, bigotry and economic inequality”. Accordingly, Freedom Park was perceived as having the potential to stage and promote South Africa globally since “in today's overwhelming, economic and cultural globalisation and Afro-pessimism, the portraits, representations, commemorations, performances and festivals at Freedom Park, should impart a unique, holistic and forward looking South African flavour”. Finally, Nation-Building referred to the process of shaping a national identity. As Jacob Zuma expounded, “a national consciousness is not a 'given', as we are painfully aware through our own historical experiences”. As such Freedom Park was purposefully envisioned to incorporate “the debates and contradictions that occur in the process of exploring concepts related to nation-building in our multi-cultural society”. In this formulation, Freedom Park was being conceived as a means of capturing South Africa's rich cultural diversity. The “aim of the Freedom Park is to reflect the cultural lifestyle of all South Africans, to reach out to all people, young and old and be a moving, informative as well as entertaining experience”.¹⁷

Jacob Zuma's sentiments were echoed by the then Minister of Arts and Culture, Dr Ben Ngubane, who asserted that “The vision and goals of Freedom Park are echoed in the development of the broader national Legacy Project, which is based on the objectives of nation-building, redress, reinterpretation of events, job-creation, sustainable development and the promotion of investment”.¹⁸ In this visually resonant formulation, Freedom Park was a lens through which the state's planned memorial complex would be magnified. By framing the Freedom Park as more than a form of symbolic restitution, the Minister also indicated that in some way, South Africa's future economic liberation lay in the past. Nevertheless, beyond Freedom Park's material and symbolic role in the planned memorial complex, the inauguration of the Freedom Park Trust registered with Ben Ngubane as a sign lending credence to his optimism for the future: “I envision a day, in the not too distant future, when we as a nation will stand proud with the knowledge that we have achieved the vision that is Freedom Park”.¹⁹

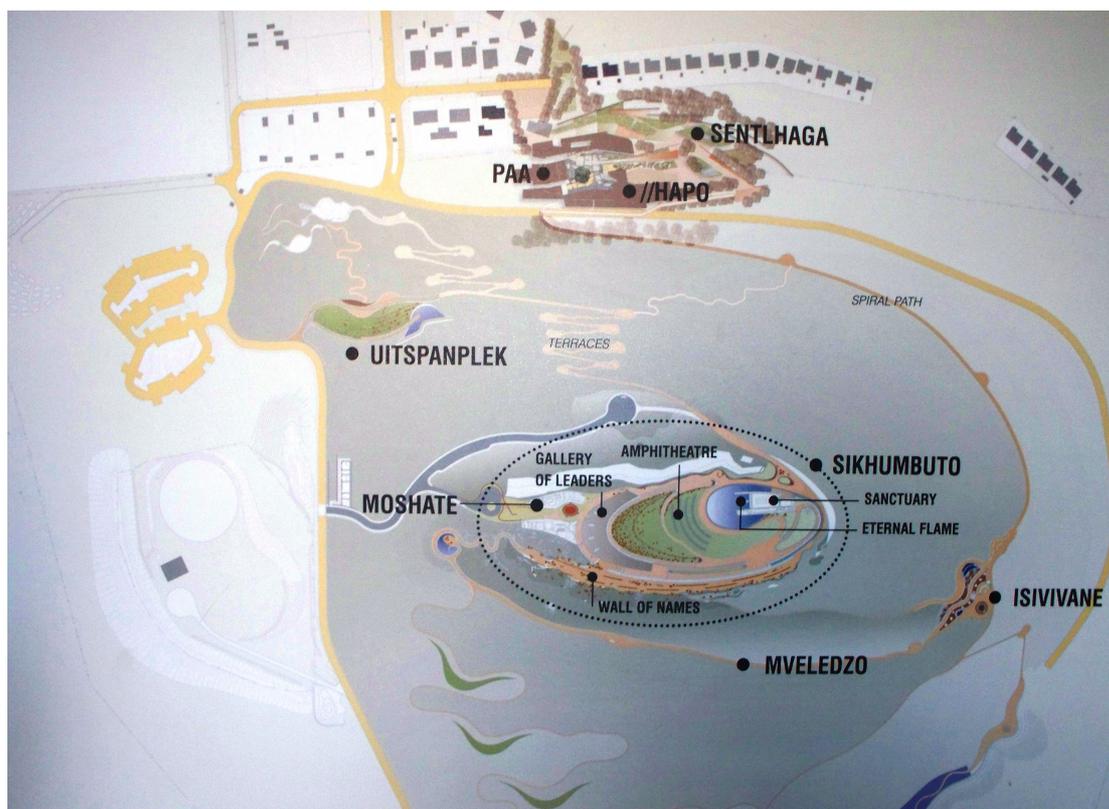


Figure 5. Freedom Park Map.

Overall, however, as far Ben Ngubane's prophecy referred to Freedom Park being 'envisaged' as a material intervention reframing South Africa's past that would be accomplished in the future, further highlighted its position in the state's rhetorical conception of heritage formation as being composed of the related notions of material aesthetics, vision and time. Situated in the state's official rhetorical and conceptual formulations, it appears that philosophically, Freedom Park's positioning as a heritage form was also intended to evoke a complex of visibility that entailed the revelation, refraction and reflection of a series of painful yet empowering pasts. In other words, the state's discursive construction of Freedom Park facilitated the production and legitimisation of a visual sensory modality as an appropriate means of perceiving the past. This will be made more apparent in the following section when I discuss the selection criteria used to choose the site of the new project.

Location

The state was not merely concerned about the symbolic and ideological locus of the Freedom Park, since, having decided to embark on the momentous project, its most urgent locative concern was the material location of the new monument. In light of the

auspiciousness of the venture, the capital city, Pretoria, was singled out as best suited to host the Freedom Park.²⁰ Three locations were identified as being potentially viable: Salvokop Hill, which was located opposite the University of South Africa (UNISA), occupying a prominent position at the city's entrance; the Old Teachers Training College located southeast of the Union Buildings; and Meintjieskop, directly behind the Union Buildings. Cabinet subsequently selected Salvokop as the most appropriate site.²¹ Intriguingly, this also appeared to be the site suggested by Danie de Jager and his partners. The site's primary advantage, and arguably the main reason for its selection, was its visual prominence.²² Specifically, Salvokop offered 3 distinct visual. Firstly, the hill offered a panoramic view of the city of Pretoria and all the surrounding heritage markers. Secondly, its position at the entrance to the city meant that Freedom Park would be visible to traffic entering the city. Thirdly, the hill was located directly opposite the Voortrekker Monument and in clear line of sight of the Union Buildings, presenting the state with a prime opportunity to strike a clear visual break with the past. The dramatic possibilities for viewing, visibility and comparative visual symbolism offered by the Salvokop site boded well for the showcasing of this new monumental venture. As I will show in this section, it also added impetus to Freedom Park's future role in shaping a public visual sensibility of the South African past by helping to reinforce a visual complex around ideas of revelation, refraction and reflection.

The post-apartheid state quickly recognised the potential the site offered for viewing and moved swiftly to take advantage of it, noting, for example, this 'steep hill, which was the threshold between the city and natural environment to the south', offered "outstanding views to the north of the Union Buildings, UNISA and the city bowl".²³ Architectural firms bidding for the Freedom Park design were explicitly exhorted to capitalise on these visual possibilities. Taking heed of this founding request, the architectural brief would note that "the view from the hill ... be preserved and that no tall buildings are built which may obstruct the line of sight".²⁴ By placing such emphasis on the hill's possibilities for viewing, the state sought to domesticate the views of the surrounding landscape. The sanctity and power of the vista was reinforced by the Freedom Park website that declared, once within the confines of the heritage precinct that "visitors are guaranteed to stand in awe at the sharply contrasting view, offering the opposites of our world; the hustle and industry of the city centre to the north and the

tranquillity and lush vegetation to the South ... A visit to the Park allows tourists to literally experience the heart and soul of South Africa captured in a physical space”.²⁵ These references to the landscape and the sense of awe it was supposed to evoke suggest that the state’s rhetoric was permeated with the visual concepts of the picturesque and the sublime. David Brett argues that “it is under the headings of the picturesque and the sublime that the aestheticization of history proceeds” (1996, 38). “The picturesque”, explains Brett, “has as its aim the validation of experience by art” (40), or, the valuation of images based on their prior appearance in art. The “mature concept” of the picturesque is characterised by two features: firstly, the privileged position of the viewer, and secondly “the pursuit of particular scenes and subjects” (40). The sublime, alternately refers to presentations of the past, particularly, but not exclusively, landscapes as being mysterious and awesome, and is further characterised by the evocation of such moving experiences as astonishment, terror and wonder. The picturesque and the sublime were visual aesthetic devices employed in art and literature but could also be transposed discursively to facilitate the hailing of particular collectivities around landscape scenes that depicted what appeared to be a shared territory.

The domestication of Pretorian scenery has played a role in preceding aspirant nationalisms. This is vividly apparent in the work of renowned South African painter Jacobus Hendrik Pierneef, where the assertion of an Afrikaner nationalist ideology through the manipulation of landscape imagery is plainly laid bare.²⁶ Landscapes and landscape imagery, linking nature and the national consciousness, have historically played a key role in evoking nationalisms based on the shaping of particular visual sensibilities (Cosgrove 1984; Crandell 1993, Mitchell 2002). Pierneef, a member of the Afrikaner secret society Die Broeder Bond from 1918, and a staunch Afrikaner nationalist, explicitly wove his political views into his depictions of South African landscape scenery (Beningfield 2006, 42). Looking at his Pretorian landscape scenes, what is striking, John Pepper (2009) notes, was that his paintings “virtually erased from the picturesque landscape of rolling hills and bubbling streams was any hint of the city of Pretoria itself, especially the Union Buildings ... [as well as] any evidence of the Ndebele and other African people who were defeated by Boer commandoes and scattered as [an exploitable labour force]” (225/6). As such, the picturesque landscape

depicted by Pierneef was “frozen in a state of empty apartness, perpetually ready for white settlement, and timelessly open for the prospect of white prosperity” (Ibid, 225/6). His paintings therefore “offered a visual means through which the veld, and in particular the landscape scenery of the Transvaal province, could be imagined as the fatherland of the Afrikaner” (Beningfield 2006, 43; see also Coetzee 1992). As far as Pierneef’s paintings “cast the landscape as the exclusive province of God’s Chosen People, the Afrikaner volk”, they functioned like a “a utopian fantasy of what the South African landscape never actually was, and they performed a symbolic rubbing out of the history of the land” (Peffer 2009, 225/226). In this way, as has been the case “all over Europe, using both picturesque and sublime exemplars”, Pierneef sought to ‘designate’ the Pretoria landscape as “national”, and, through the supposed authenticity of the landscape, “symbolize ... the authenticity of the people and nation as national categories” (Brett 1996, 58). This operation of visibility, of erasure, was in service of installing white Afrikaner subjectivity as rightful occupants of the vacant land. Following the logic of this operation of visibility, Freedom Park can be seen as not merely intended to capture, domesticate and control the surrounding Pretorian panorama. It was also intended to transform it by suggesting a different claim about the collective ownership over the land.

Secondly, the state recognised that the site of the Freedom Park’s erection had to not only offer the best opportunity for viewing but that it also availed the best opportunities for visibility. Flanked by UNISA, perched over Fountains Circle and Nelson Mandela drive, in the shadow of Pretoria Central Prison, at the edge of the city centre and just opposite Pretoria Central station, Salvokop was an elevated site brimming with visual possibilities. For the state however, securing the view of Freedom Park meant amplifying the site’s visual distinctiveness against the backdrop of the surrounding urban landscape. Towards this end, the Freedom Park Architectural Brief made the recommendation that “the visual prominence of the northern slope [of Salvokop] when viewed from Paul Kruger Street requires careful consideration as to the visual impact of any proposal within this zone”.²⁷ Paul Kruger Street, a key vehicular arterial, offered city dwellers a clear line of sight to Salvokop beyond Pretoria Central station, and therefore warranted special consideration, or, as it was noted in the Brief, “the corridor space from the Park to the Union Buildings is significant and worthy of

preservation/protection”. Placing emphasis on Freedom Park’s future outstanding visual distinctiveness therefore served to assert its centrality as a point of temporal and spatial orientation. The restrictions placed on urban features and the landscape surrounding Freedom Park served to transform the nation’s perceptions of time and space, since in the future, Freedom Park would serve to orient viewers in and through the capital city, it would also serve as a monumental prism for the refraction of the South African past through the values and ideals of the present.

This was not the first time that Pretorian scenery, refracted through a real and imagined monumental structure, was captured and re-presented for the purposes of shaping a South African nationalism. At the turn of the 20th century, Sir Herbert Baker’s choice of location, and design of the Union Buildings were strongly informed by archetypically antiquarian landscape and architectural concepts (Grieg 1970; Keath 1992). Renowned British imperial architect, and friend of Cecil John Rhodes, Sir Herbert Baker’s choice of Meintjes Kop for the location of the new seat of white power—the Union of South Africa—was, for example, inspired by its apparent similarity to “Segesta with its temple and theatre, and of Agrigentum with its rows of temples on the hillside overlooking the Sicilian seas”.²⁸ A number of design features percolating in Baker’s mind were also inspired by classical European architectural tropes. As such, the ascending terraces leading up to the building from the main road were like the “great flight of steps like those of the famed Villa d’Este garden at Tivoli”.²⁹ Despite being inspired by antiquarian European landscape imagery, this location was also apparently imbued with real visual power, as Baker imagined, standing at this auspicious location, future politicians would “lift their eyes up to the surrounding hills and the . . . splendour of the Highveld from which [they would] gather inspiration and visions of greatness” (1934, 60). He was not alone in ruminating about the future through the evocative power of archaic architectural images. As he noted “[General Smuts] with his quick insight and imagination, at once visualised the idea with its power to give dignity and beauty to the instrument and the symbol of Union”. By this, Baker sought to imply, “in Christopher Wren’s famous words: Architecture has its political Use; public Buildings being the Ornament of a Country; it establishes a Nation, draws People and Commerce; makes the people love their native Country, which Passion is the original of all great actions in the Commonwealth”. As the ultimate symbol of sovereign amalgamation, the Union

Buildings would materialise the power of a new unified white South African nationalism (Foster 2008; Merrington 1997; 1998/1999). As a building, however, it represented the power of modern architecture grounded in imagined historical traditions, situated at a particular site to mark a turn in history and hail a new white South African national subjectivity at the turn of the 20th century.

Thirdly, the state recognised that Salvokop would enable Freedom Park to strike a clear, visible symbolic break with the colonial and apartheid past as the hill was situated at a point directly between the Union Buildings and the Voortrekker Monument. Salvokop Hill offered the best material situation between the past and the future. “Being at the summit of [Salvokop Hill]”, one design proposal suggested, “... is also a vantage point from where one is immersed into history and into the future”.³⁰ As former president Thabo Mbeki explained in his preface to the International Architectural Competition, “located on the hills of our national capital, the site itself speaks of both our past as well as our future”.³¹ Situated at this outstanding position in Pretoria’s skyline, “with its vistas to the Voortrekker Monument and the Union Buildings the seat of our democratic government”, Thabo Mbeki declared, “Freedom Park ha[d] the responsibility to reconcile the past and the future”.³² This was affirmed in one early design proposal that asserted the situation of the Park at this point would, “provide a subtle and nuanced interpretation of the ... past present and the future....[Freedom Park] will symbolically give its back to the Voortrekker Monument and face the city of Pretoria and the Union Buildings, making a statement of giving its back to the past and facing the future”.³³ These claims about Freedom Park’s future role in striking a visual break with the past suggested again that state and state officials understood that it was through the focalisation of the gaze, the control of what was made visually apprehensible, that Freedom Park would be able to reframe the narrative of the nation. What did that exactly mean? According to the references cited above, Freedom Park was conceived as a material focal point connecting the past and the future through the contemplation of national unity in the present.

As a visual marker deployed for the re-imagining of the South African past, Freedom Park was also implicitly meant to frame comparisons between the buildings’ signifying the nationalisms that had preceded it. In this spread of national monuments, the

Voortrekker Monument was Freedom Park's most obvious and striking foil. Looming portentously in Pretoria's skyline, the Voortrekker Monument recalls the founding of a particular 20th century Afrikaner nationalism. Designed by Gerard Moerdijk and unveiled in 1949, the Voortrekker Monument served to materially commemorate the Afrikaner narrative of divine predestination as a people and their rule over the South African territory (Moodie 1975; Leach 1989; Giliomee 2003). Dramatically depicted in Anton van Wouw's magisterial marble frieze circling the inner sanctum of the monument, this narrative of covenantal predestination revolved around the trials endured by pioneering white peasant groups in the course of their pursuit of an independent homeland in the early nineteenth century. This bond between the people, the land and God, established at the victory of the Battle of Blood River, was recalled annually on the 16th of December with a church service that culminated in the witnessing of a single beam of light emanating from the oculus beaming down to kiss the cenotaph at the base of the Voortrekker Monument to vividly illuminate the inscription 'Ons Vir Jou Suid Afrika' (We For You South Africa). This monumental crystallisation of a singular, simply understood narrative of nation was further reinforced through the choice of location. Having been founded by Andries Pretorius, a hero of the battle of Blood River, and formerly presided over by Paul Kruger as president of the Zuid Afrikaanse Republiek, Pretoria, the site of the monument's location, did not merely resonate with the fundamental myth of heroism that informed the Voortrekker narrative. It also represented the temporary achievement of the goal of the trek itself: the establishment of an independent homeland (Lombard 1955, 26-30). Furthermore, the site's position in direct line of sight with the Union Buildings, at the time signifying 'South Africa's dominion status in the British Empire' (Delmont 1993, 82), helped signal the pre-eminence of Afrikaner nationalism. Formed out of a home-spun narrative of divine pre-destination, this series of design features pointed to the Voortrekker Monument's mobilisation as part of 'a deliberate campaign to construct, foster and mobilise Afrikaner identity in the 1930s' around the notion of a glorified past that dwelled on the valorising of heroes, love for the country and faith in God' (Delmont, 1993, 80), serving as "an important site where Afrikaner nationalists produced a vision of society that legitimised the social ordering of South Africa under apartheid" (Crampton 2001, 224).

Viewed from the Salvokop site in post-apartheid South Africa, however, the Voortrekker Monument was portrayed as representing a negative, exclusivist Afrikaner nationalism that had been transcended through the institution of a democratic political apparatus—symbolised by the Union Buildings—and the inauguration of a united nation, represented by Freedom Park.³⁴ As will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter, this comparative visual frame of reference was also incorporated into the official Freedom Park tour narrative as a tool for explaining the narrative of the nation. Before I continue, I wish to point out that by drawing such comparisons, I do not suggest that one can draw any moral equivalence between these different formations of state or their political ends. These white nationalisms justified dubious claims to ownership and dominance over the land and the nation. Of course these symbols were not univocal, and that they were coded with multiple layers of historical meaning. But such a framing of visibility was useful, even necessary for the framing of the new post-apartheid narrative of nation. In this instance, I wished to have shown, at least in principle, that the state sought to institute a form of governance that was premised on a similar series of visual representations that were meant to assert its dominance and install a different claim to national subjectivity.

Salvokop Hill offered strategic visual advantages, availing a series of powerful viewing possibilities. Yet by privileging this set of visual possibilities, the state also occluded the history of the site. I want to show how Salvokop Hill had a rich history related to the socio-political transformations of Pretoria, and, indeed, South Africa, that was not discussed in the official material associated with the Freedom Park development. Geographically, Salvokop was one of a series of hills, or *Koppies*, that surrounded the city and which, at one or another time, had been used as a strategic fortification point during the Anglo Boer Wars. Fort Tullichewan was erected on Salvokop Hill by the British in the early 1880s during the first Anglo Boer War. The remains of the fort were still to be found at the site by the turn of the millennium.³⁵ Three other forts, namely Fort Klapper Kop, Fort Schanskop and Fort Wonderboompoort, were built on the surrounding hills by the ZAR Republiek government prior to the outbreak of the Second Anglo Boer War. The name Salvokop officially derives from the period of British occupation of Pretoria whence it was used as a station for “25-pounder guns [that] fired salutes to visiting or departing dignitaries or on special occasions” (Andrews

and Ploeger 1989, 58), but the hill had also sometimes been referred to as Signal Hill, Time Ball Hill or Railway Hill (see Tomlinson 1985; Marschall 2010a, 215).

Salvokop's contemporary urban profile as a housing estate is indelibly marked by the history of railway industry in Pretoria. It is located only a few hundred metres from Pretoria Central station, which had been designed by Sir Herbert Baker and unveiled in 1908. The station remains the city's public transportation hub. Rail industry was first introduced in 1884 when President Paul Kruger commissioned the *Nederlandsche-Zuid-Afrikaansche Spoorwegmaatschappij* (NZASM) to build a rail link between Pretoria and Maputo, Mozambique, in an effort to avoid using coast-bound trade routes that ran through British territory (Davis and Willburn 1991). By the following year, the railway company had connected Pretoria to Potchefstroom, Kwazulu-Natal and the Orange Free-State. Following the institution of the Union of South Africa, the rail operations were taken over by the South African Railways (Lubbe 2003; De Jong et al., 1988). The NZASM Court, from where this rail activity was managed remains in pristine condition and, up until early 2011, accommodated the Freedom Park administrative office block. The Department of Public Works currently owns Salvokop which meant that the Freedom Park Trust had to secure a 99 year lease before any development at the site could commence.

Well into the first decade of the 21st century Salvokop was visibly dominated by the run-down by-gone railway housing estate that stood as a relic of this age of booming rail industry. I want to briefly bring attention to this prominent, unmissable urban settlement precisely because it is not discussed in official media addressing Freedom Park, which made as if it did not exist. Having been initially reserved for white railway workers who serviced the rolling stock, the houses erected on the estate were gradually abandoned and left in disrepair following the construction of the Koedoespoort and Capital Park Railway precincts which directed industrial rail traffic away from Salvokop (van den Heever 2006, 34). The present residents say that they moved into the housing estate after 1994 in the belief that they would one day be able to purchase their homes from Transnet, the state entity that managed the properties.³⁶ Salvokop appealed to these new residents not only because of its proximity to the city centre and access to public transport, but also because of the low rent.³⁷ Since the properties were quite

sizable, residents were also able to generate extra income by renting out portions of their homes or backyard spaces. Transnet subsequently sold the estate to the Department of Public Works, who moved aggressively to renegotiate these rental contracts and evict those in default. This was part of a larger plan to relocate the population and redevelop the area entirely, a move which was strongly opposed by the local community who wished to also capitalise on the tourism opportunities Freedom Park would bring. This latest effort to relocate Salvokop residents and sanitize the area marked one of “numerous unsuccessful attempts to regenerate and integrate the suburb” since the 1970’s (van den Heever 2006, 32). I will say more about Freedom Park’s difficult relationship with the residents of Salvokop in the following chapter. What is clear, however, is that this history of Salvokop as a site of colonial, industrial and urban change has largely been omitted in the official histories of Freedom Park. As I will show in the following section, instead of recovering and relating to local histories such as that of Salvokop, Freedom Park management instead chose to rediscover South Africa’s indigenous past, employing this knowledge in the formation of the venture.

Indigenous Knowledge and Expert Authority

In the following section I will look at the use of indigenous knowledge in the conceptualisation and design of Freedom Park. This is a turn from the early discursive construction of Freedom Park as a kind of imagined heritage complex, to a real material form in the making. I will show that during this period of deliberation and design, emphasis on visibility receded as a search for a new kind of architectural design practise was pursued to sacralise and legitimate the site.

Having settled on the location, the state moved to materialise these grand ambitions. Mashabane Rose Associates, Mpheti Morejele and GAPP Architects and Urban Designers were selected as the architectural consortium responsible for designing the main elements. In an effort to reinforce Freedom Park’s magisterial place in post-apartheid heritage tributes, the state insisted upon an innovative approach to its architectural design. Jonathan Noble (2011, 213) notes that frequently post-apartheid “public design projects evolved primarily in relation to programmatic needs” with the “symbolisation of ‘Africa’ [being] grafted onto the logistics of the scheme”. In the case of Freedom Park, however, the process “worked the other way around, with ideological

concerns taking a much more determinate role and where the search for deeply authentic modes of symbolisation has wished to determine the very essence of this scheme” (Ibid). Conceptual development therefore involved a constant process of critical debate between Trustees, state officials and architects about the relationship between content and representation, substance and style, essence and appearance in the pursuit of forming what could best be described as an authentic ‘African’ commemorative aesthetic. An African commemorative aesthetic can be described as referring to the approximate perceived correspondence between essence and appearance of accepted concepts derived from ‘indigenous African knowledge’, in this case, particularly Southern African indigenous knowledge. I need to stress that this is my designation, and I use it to describe a set of ideas, further unpacked in this section, that were employed in forming Freedom Park. ‘Africa’ and ‘Africanness’ circulates through many registers and can designate many different things. This is evident in the search for ‘African’ commemorative forms, material or abstract, that sprung up elsewhere on the African continent in response to the expansion of the global heritage and tourism industry over the last two decades (see de Jong and Rowlands 2007 and Holsey 2008).

In South Africa, refining the details of the features of Africanness at Freedom Park, state officials enlisted the knowledge of experts in both Western commemorative practise and local Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS), combining these sources of knowledge in different moderations in the material realisation of the memorial, the monument and museum elements. Freedom Park’s conceptual history, driven as it was by the organic, developmental process of forging what was believed to be an ‘African’ commemorative aesthetic, can therefore be read as the state’s attempt to forming a visible, material expression of an ‘African’ post-apartheid identity. As I will illustrate in the following paragraphs, it was a project linked to a shift away from the ‘rainbowism’ that framed national identity politics up until the late 1990’s, and was linked to Thabo Mbeki’s tenure as president between 2000-2008.



Figure 6. *Mveledzo Path*. Photograph courtesy of Graham Young.

During his tenure as president, Mbeki personally involved himself in the recoding of South Africa's cultural heritage, as part of a project of recasting national identity and the post-apartheid narrative of the nation in what he construed as an African mold. As I indicated in the Introduction, on the occasion of the adoption of the new Constitution in 1996, Mbeki delivered a speech entitled 'I am an African' wherein he rhetorically grounded post-apartheid South African identity in a broadly inclusive, yet contested notion of Africanness.³⁸ This project was extended to include imputing an indigenous African character into South Africa's new symbols of state. When a new national Coat of Arms was designed, for example, Mbeki personally crafted the motto, contacting a Khoisan linguist, David Lewis-Williams, with the instruction that he translate the words "diverse cultures unite" into an extinct dialect of the Khoisan language. The motto would accompany modified Khoisan imagery, copied from the Linton Stone, "a world famous example of South African Rock Art," as Mbeki put it, that would appear in the new national insignia (Barnard, 2004). At the unveiling of the new Coat of Arms, on Freedom Day, 27 April, 2000, Mbeki stressed the rich and elaborate African significance of the new national emblem, stating that "[Our new Coat of Arms] is both South African and African. It is both African and universal". As such, the insignia had been designed with the intention of evoking "our distant past, our living present and our

future as it unfolds before us. It represents the permanent yet evolving identity of the South African people as it shapes itself through time and space". By drawing upon the language and symbolism of the Khoisan, whom he identified as "the very first inhabitants of our land", Mbeki illustrated that the state sought to "embrace the indigenous belief systems of our people . . . which for millions of years had been fundamental to our self-understanding of our African condition".³⁹ This mobilization of a modern, reconstructed vision of an indigenous African past for the reconstitution of a post-apartheid national identity would constitute a fundamental part of the process of heritage formation employed in the material conceptualization of Freedom Park.

A primary source of information informing Freedom Park's 'African aesthetic' was IKS. According to Thabo Mbeki this was South Africa's silent heritage, "the heritage that is whispered by our grandmothers and grandfathers in whose memory it resides until it is lost with their passing".⁴⁰ The official definition of IKS issued by the Park stated that it referred "to local knowledge - knowledge that is unique to a given culture or society ... [or] knowledge that an indigenous (local) community accumulate[d] over generations of living in a particular environment", and encompassed "all forms of knowledge - technologies, know-how skills, practices and beliefs - that enable the community to achieve stable livelihoods in their environment".⁴¹ IKS has been shown to be a constructed, contested and negotiated modern re-interpreted valorisation of locative forms of knowledge, that has been translated into a Western scientific idiom as a result of burgeoning academic debates about indigeneity, the rights and recognition of first people's and the institutions that have an interest in their cultural, natural and material resources (see Green 2008; Horsthemke and Green 2008; see also Kuper 2003; Guenther 2006). Nevertheless, in developing a database of information of indigenous knowledge, Freedom Park relied on experts with official academic knowledge, recruiting them to write a series of research papers on a range of aspects of Southern African vernacular beliefs, symbols and practises, some of which will be mentioned in this section. Another group of experts with no formal academic qualifications, but rather years of experience in the field of South African indigenous cultural beliefs and practises were also recruited under the aegis of Organic and Conventional Intellectuals for developing the Park's database of indigenous knowledge.



Figure 7. *Lesaka, Isivivane.*

Three individuals are particularly influential, Dr. Harriet Ngubane, Sanusi Credo Mutwa and Grace Masuku. In the following paragraph I will briefly discuss their areas of expertise and the kinds of indigenous knowledge they contributed to the development.

Between 2002 and 2007 Dr Ngubane, the sister of former Arts and Culture Minister Ben Ngubane, served as a senior researcher and executive member of Freedom Park. She studied anthropology at the University of Natal, Durban Campus (presently known as the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal) and during her post-graduate studies became the research assistant to Professor Eileen Krige, a specialist on Zulu history and culture. Harriet Ngubane went on to achieve a doctorate at Cambridge University. In 1977 she would publish the dissertation as *Body and Mind in Zulu Medicine*. Prefaced by Professor Meyer Fortes, the text discussed the subject of health and disease in Zulu thought and practice, a recurring subject in Dr Ngubane's subsequent research. During the early 1990s she would serve as a Member of Parliament for the Inkhata Freedom Party. At Freedom Park she developed research papers entitled *African Story of*

Creation, An African Perspective on Life and Death and the *African Understanding of the Concept of the Memorial*. Upon her passing in 2007, Mongane Wally Serote, the then CEO said, “Her involvement and contribution to this project has been invaluable ... culture was her passion and the legend she leaves behind is one to be emulated”.⁴² Sanusi Credo Mutwa was described as a “visionary, historian, seer, prophet, sculptor, painter and unique individual with an uncanny ability to clearly understand the universe, the world and humanity”.⁴³ He had a long and chequered history as a specialist in indigenous knowledge of the Zulu people (see Chidester 2005b, 172-189). He was consulted on issues relating to knowledge of rocks and boulders and was in audience at the consecration of some of the key commemorative features at the Park. Born in 1932, Grace Meiki Masuku received the South African Order of Baobab in Bronze in 2006 for her work as a traditional conservationist in rural sustainable development. Born in the North West Province, she dedicated her life to the restoration of the cultural beliefs of the *Bakgatla ba Kgafela* people. She was consulted extensively on horticulture and plant life at the Salvokop site. Through the enlisting of the knowledge generated by these and other influential individuals, Freedom Park sought to honour its commitment to the preservation and development of South Africa’s living heritage.

This phase of consultation and interest in indigenous knowledge coincides with the gradual physical materialisation of the venture. Steered by Dr Mongane Wally Serote, it also coincided with his own personal journey into the mysteries of South African indigenous knowledge as an indigenous sacred specialist. As further evidence of the elevated role of indigenous knowledge and beliefs at Freedom Park, Serote would establish a Department of Innovation and Incubation dedicated to the collection and collation of indigenous knowledge from the southern African region. In the following section I will discuss how exactly this knowledge was employed in the design and construction of the core elements of Freedom Park, emphasising in particular, how certain elements were sacralised. Having outlined the pedigree and expertise of Freedom Parks indigenous knowledge consultants, I will now show how, as the project progressed, it became hard to distinguish between the construction of ‘Africanness’ as a defining architectural aesthetic criterion and Freedom Park’s construction as an ‘African’ heritage form.

Materialising 'Africanness'

This project of forming Freedom Park's 'African' commemorative aesthetic was, however, not static or rigid. Its conceptual features expanded and changed over the course of the development in relation to the influence wielded by various officials weighing in on Freedom Park's conception. For example, looking at the mass of archival data documenting the project, Jonathan Noble (2011) points out that the project moved through three conceptual phases. Firstly, the period, between 1998 and 2002, marks the "early conceptual stage", a period during which the venture was steered by the Department of Arts and Culture. This was followed by a period, between 2002 and 2004, marking the 'lead up to the International Union of Architects Competition at which time former president Thabo Mbeki became personally involved in the project'. Finally a period roughly correlated with Dr. Mongane Wally Serote's tenure as CEO from 2004 until 31 March 2010. Substantiating his argument, Noble points to the changing character of archival records documenting the conceptualisation process, citing three key sources. Firstly, he points to the Freedom Park "Position Paper", authored by Luli Callinicos in 2000 as indicative of the nationalist thinking that went into the project while steered by the Department of Arts and Culture. Secondly, he points to the "Freedom Park Conceptual Framework" as being indicative of expansive Pan-Africanist thinking that went into the project during the time former president Mbeki took a personal interest in the venture. Finally, Noble points to the "Vision for the Architectural Design Brief" to illustrate the indigenous, locative and simultaneously global African ideas that were formulated while the project was under the helm of Mongane Wally Serote. Illustrative and chronologically arranged, Noble's historical classification of the phases of the Park's conceptualisation serves as a useful framework for understanding the broader historical and material transformations that took place over the course of the search for an 'African' commemorative aesthetic to frame the new Freedom Park. In the following section I will review these periods of development and show how the construction of different elements reflect the prevailing social and political management climate, and the innovative use of indigenous knowledge as part of the assertion of an African commemorative aesthetic to sacralise and legitimate Freedom Park.

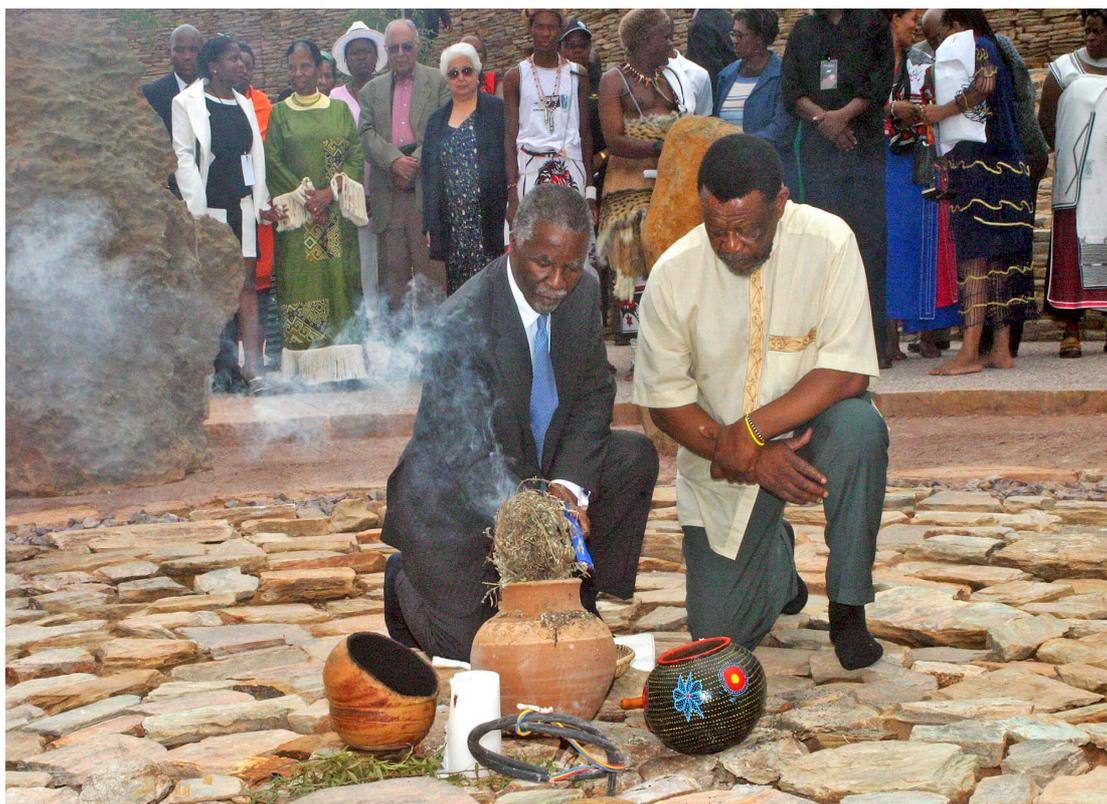


Figure 8. Thabo Mbeki and Wally Serote, *Isivivane* handover. Gallo Images/Felix Dlangamandla.

Between 1998 and 2002, as we recall, some of the key conceptual elements of the Freedom Park had already been formulated, and the ‘African’ overtones first hailed. Drawn up by social historian and Freedom Park Trustee Luli Callinicos in late 2000, the Position Paper on Freedom Park, Sabine Marschall (2010a) points out, served to crystallise the basic set of ideas originally publicised by the Department of Arts and Culture. It included a reiteration of the notion of three interactive themes related to three temporal periods, but also included a section on Living Heritage, opening room for the affirmation of indigenous aspects of South African culture in the form of “oral culture ... praise poetry, music, dance, ritual customs and languages” (Noble 2011, 217). As a sweeping corroboration of the central ideas developing within the Department of Arts and Culture, this early conceptual framework suggested that the Freedom Park was being envisioned as a means of asserting control over the South African heritage sector, advancing the ideological programme of reconciliation and nation building.

This project led to the construction of the first major element to be unveiled to the public, *Isivivane*. Unveiled on the 27 of April 2004 as part of the celebration of 10 years

of democracy, this memorial, derived from the Zulu word meaning cairn, served as a form of symbolic resting place for those who died in the struggles for freedom and humanity. It was inspired by the belief that for the nation to move on from the pain of the past an official form of cleansing and healing needed to be conducted, and that the spirits of those who had died in the struggles for South Africa's liberation needed to be laid to rest.⁴⁴ *Isivivane*'s assumed authenticity as a genuinely sacred site derived not so much from its materiality as much as from the fact that its materiality was made to appear to persuasively represent indigenous religious customs, traditions and practises. *Isivivane* was the material expression of a series of cleansing and healing rituals, in the form of ritual sacrifices and the observance of other indigenous religious customs conducted at a series of locations around South Africa, on the African continent and other parts of the world where liberation fighters were known to have taken refuge during apartheid. Nine *uMhlankosi* trees, or buffalo thorn trees, were planted around the perimeter of the *Lesaka*. Symbolically representing South Africa's nine provinces, the branches of these thorny trees were also used in Zulu indigenous rituals of bringing home the spirits of the dead. Samples of soil were gathered at these various venues, and along with a set of eleven boulders, nine of which were gathered at historically significant locations from each of South Africa's provinces, were used to construct the *Lesaka* - "the [symbolic] burial ground where the spirits of those who died in the struggles for humanity and freedom have been laid to rest" at the centre of *Isivivane*. Speaking at the handing over ceremony, Thabo Mbeki declared that "here we see the great beginning of what will be a place of peace and quiet contemplation of the heroes and heroines who have departed the land of the living, but whom owe the gift of liberty".⁴⁵

On the day of the unveiling, Freedom Park officials claimed that this circle of stones was consecrated by "religious leaders from various faiths [who] imbued *Isivivane* with a deep sense of spirituality by performing a number of sacred ceremonies and rituals that lay to rest the spirits of our fallen heroes and heroines".⁴⁶ This ascribed sacredness was reaffirmed through the annual performance of religious rituals at *Isivivane*, conducted on ceremonial occasions, such as the 16th of December, and the 27th of April, according to the sacred calendar of the post-apartheid nation. As I will show in the following chapter, private visitors also felt comfortable enough to perform religious rituals at the

site. To further emphasise the sacredness of this commemorative space, the *Lesaka* was perpetually shrouded in a haze of mist, representing the incense burnt during important religious rituals, and water points were “stationed at both entrances to *Isivivane* for the of washing hands” since in “many belief systems, water plays a significant role in cleansing and healing”. Standing for the transformation of “the individual, group, and community pain stemming from past conflicts . . . into shared national strength”, *Isivivane* was meant to mark the formation of an ‘African’ commemorative aesthetic, as a material beacon, a sacred centre, hailing a post-apartheid national subjectivity through the use of indigenous African religious and cultural material forms.

This invocation of the sacred did not go uncontested. As a national sacred centre *Isivivane* was designed to radiate centripetal forces of attraction (see Chidester 2012, 91-111) that symbolically drew the nation together around the focussed contemplation of the sacrifices of the dead. It also became a point of attraction for contestation, debate and exchange about the meaning and place of the sacred in practises of heritage formation. For example, the legitimacy of rituals performed by *sangomas*, sacred specialists, as part of the return of the spirits ceremonies were questioned by Dr Nokuzola Mndende. Director of the Icamagu Institute, a *sangoma* with a PhD in Religious Studies, Dr Mndende argued that because the rituals were presided over by sacred specialists from clans different to those of the deceased, these performances were null and void. “Believe you me, nothing happened to these spirits,” she said, “they have not moved an inch” (cited in Postel 2010, 112). The character of the spiritual power imbued in *Isivivane* was brought into question by other commentators. Reverend Abraham T. Sibiyi also raised concerns about the religious message the Park was disseminating. Praising Freedom Park as “one of the most beautiful monuments that can be used as a place to preserve [South Africa’s] rich history”, he cautioned that its primary flaw was that it developed “a certain religious ideology” based on the “notion that South Africa is the cradle of humankind”, but also that it is an “altar to ancestral worship”. According to him, for adherents of other faiths, particularly Christians who believed that “creation is a deliberate and genius work of the Creator”, Freedom Park was essentially “a park of blasphemy”. Freedom Park’s promotion of indigenous religious beliefs and values meant that, furthermore, as far as cultural tourism was concerned, it was the “worst most dangerous place to take your children to for a tour”.



Figure 9. *S'khumbuto, Reeds*. Photograph courtesy of Graham Young.

In his estimation, it was the rituals that had been performed around the *Lesaka* that had imbued the Park with dangerous spiritual power: “When *sangoma*’s were sent to go and bring back the “spirits of the dead” from Lesotho, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and everywhere else, what they brought back were not the departed, but the demons of those lands”. Rather than being the home of the new national story, a place of religious tolerance and understanding, where those who have fallen in the struggles for humanity and freedom were commemorated, Freedom Park, in Reverend Sibiya’s estimation, was a “government-sponsored demonic alter ... a national demonic altar!”⁴⁷ As de Witte and Meyer (2012) show, these critiques registered with debate about religious meaning making involving Christians and indigenous knowledge experts in Ghana. In this particular context, however, Reverend Sibiya’s criticisms assailed upon the sacred at the heart of heritage practice, pointing to the contestation, debate and exchange about religious meaning that was evoked around its expanded focus as part of the process of heritage formation in South Africa.

Following the unveiling of *Isivivane*, it was reported that former president Thabo Mbeki enquired of the CEO, Dr Mongane Wally Serote, ‘what shall I tell people when they ask me who are the people commemorated here?’⁴⁸ This inquiry was to be the inspiration for the Wall of Names, a sub-element of *S’Khumbuto*, derived from the siSwati word for monument, “or a place of remembrance for those who have died and also a place for invoking their assistance in current and future affairs”.⁴⁹ Unveiled on the 16th of December 2006, the Day of Reconciliation, *S’khumbuto* was the major memorial element dominating the peak of Salvokop Hill. It served to “commemorate ... the major conflicts that shaped South Africa[n] history”. As the key feature of this colossal venture, *S’khumbuto* consisted of a number of sub-elements styled upon concepts drawn from African IKS blended with classical commemorative media. It included Reeds, a crescent-shaped sculpture of steel pylons recalling the “African Story of Creation”, a Sanctuary that functioned as “a serene environment conducive to the outpouring of emotion”, an Eternal Flame and a Gallery of Leaders commemorating individuals “an indoor space reserved to showcase those leaders whose contributions stand out ... nationally, continentally and internationally ... [and] inspire visitors to emulate the sacrificial and heroic lives of these commemorated leaders”.⁵⁰

Of these commemorative features the Wall of Names was the most striking. This ‘awe-inspiring structure, inscribed with the names of ordinary individuals who died during the eight conflicts that shaped South Africa’s history’, snaked around the contours of the *S’khumbuto* and had the capacity to accommodate 120 000 names. This particular commemorative feature, which could be traced to the remembrance of soldiers felled on the battle-fields of the First World War (Laqueur 1994), appeared at a number of similar heritage sites including the Vietnam War Veterans Memorial and the September 11th Memorial in New York City. In this context, however, the Wall of Names was a place where South Africans and other ‘peace-loving people’ could view the names of those who had offered up the greatest sacrifice for South Africa’s freedom. Situated within a culturally charged space reserved for the recognition and recollection of the heroes and heroines of the post-apartheid nation, the Wall of Names served as kind of register of the transcendent ancestry of the nation symbolically laid to rest at the *Isivivane*.

While the Wall of Names and the Gallery of leaders may have generated a league of deceased forbearers overseeing the wellbeing of the new nation, the ascendancy of these figures into the register of national ancestors was a decidedly terrestrial affair, complicated by an earthly politics of selection and contestation. For example, Steve Hofmeyr, a popular Afrikaans singer and activist, visited the Freedom Park in early 2007 to view the names of his former Afrikaner South African Defence Force (SADF) compatriots who had died during the Border Wars of the late 1970s and 80s.⁵¹ Standing at the Wall, Hofmeyr dismally noted going through “a thousand names of Cuban soldiers”, their former enemies, and not one of the former SADF.⁵² For veterans like Hofmeyr, the substitution was difficult to accept, and so, a campaign was mobilised by Hofmeyr, and Afriforum, an Afrikaner civil rights group, to stage a protest near the entrance of the Park soon after. The event revolved around the unveiling of a two-meter tall, three-sided ‘counter-monument’ embellished with a quote culled from Dr Wally Serote’s oeuvre, “For at the depth of the heart of every man beats the love for freedom” (see Young, 1992, 1993 on the counter monument).⁵³ In the face of sustained media attention, Dr Serote declared that Freedom Park would welcome debate about the inclusion of the SADF names, in pursuit of furthering the commitment to “presenting an inclusive version of South Africa’s history”.⁵⁴ A special workshop was convened, entitled *Bridging the Divide: the role of the SADF within the context of Reconciliation and Nation-Building*, in February 2007, leading to the resolution that the list of former SADF names would be captured by Freedom Park, not on the Wall of Names, but in their digital data-base for possible future commemoration.⁵⁵ The SADF deceased clearly tested the limits of inclusion and historical representation in South Africa (see Baines 2009). As far as this case of the SADF deceased drew attention to a heritage form intended to generate a transcendent ancestry, it also highlighted the power relations the institution of the ancestors, presided over by the state, helped sustain post-apartheid.

I have shown how indigenous knowledge was used to assert the legitimacy and sacredness of particular elements of the park. In the following two paragraphs I want to briefly emphasise how these practises of forming reflected the direct influence of former president Thabo Mbeki, and contributed to fulfilling his political aspirations to recast South African national identity and mobilise a Pan-African renaissance. This is

evident in the earliest, most comprehensive statement of the project, the Freedom Park Conceptual Framework (2002) (henceforth referred to as the Concept Paper), and Mr Mbeki's speech delivered at the official launch of the project. As the Concept Paper explained, the Freedom Park was aimed at "address[ing] the gaps, distortions and biases, and provide new perspectives of South Africa's history and heritage", and would therefore "be a broad presentation of the entire South African story, challenging traditional narratives through the re-interpretation of previous heritage sites" (4). Offering an alternate South African narrative of nation, the Concept Paper was supplemented with an expansive account of the emergence of the land and its people dating back 3,6 billion years. Drawing on a chronological sequence of past-present-future the document's description of South African history spanned from period's such as 'Colonialism and Resistance' through 'Apartheid and the Struggle' and concludes with 'Freedom at Last' which would "portray a vision of the future embedded in the African Renaissance" (5-12). At the Freedom Park sod turning ceremony, on the 16th of June 2002, Mr Mbeki went on to expand the spatial scope outlined in the Concept Paper advancing the idea that Freedom Park would reach beyond the commemoration of the South African liberation struggle and encompass all Africans, and, indeed, all human beings. As he explained, Freedom Park would ultimately embrace "freedom from the adverse impact of the forces of nature, freedom that comes with technological revolutions, freedom occasioned by socio-economic advancement and of course freedom from political oppression".⁵⁶ "In short," Mr Mbeki explained, "we are launching the Freedom Park to celebrate human achievements in their totality".⁵⁷ Freedom Park could make this claim because it was widely recognised that at "numerous sites scattered throughout [South Africa], we have rich evidence that these are the places where the first humans emerged, evolved, learnt to walk, found gainful use for their hands and began to construct early factories and engaged in rudimentary elements of technology".⁵⁸ One claim the Freedom Park would therefore be able to "boldly assert" was "the fact that our land is a cradle of humanity".⁵⁹

The Concept Paper and Mr Mbeki's public utterances suggested that Freedom Park was also being envisioned to evoke a nationalism that was African in character and Pan-African in scope. This vision can be related to the ideological projects pursued by Thabo Mbeki during his term as president, notably through his championing of the

notion of a South African nationalism grounded in the idea of Africanness and his advocacy for the radical economic and political advancement of the African continent branded as the African Renaissance (see Mazrui 1999; Ajulu 2001; van Kessel 2001; Ahluwalia, 2003). Within these searching deliberations about the defining features of a new African nationalism, Mbeki developed “a pervasive imagination for the role of heritage, and the Freedom Park in particular” (Noble 2011, 215). Read in light of Thabo Mbeki’s expansive ideological vision, Freedom Park was meant to also refract and reflect the achievements and rich cultural heritage of Africa as much as it did South Africa’s. Or, in other words, it was being envisaged as an “Oasis of the African Renaissance”.⁶⁰

The museum, //hapo, derived its name from the Khoi proverb “//hapo ge //hapo tama /haohasib dis tamas ka i bo”, meaning a dream is not a dream until it is shared by the entire community. The proposed museum “generated a fair degree of critical thought and self-criticism” amongst officials because of the strong associations between the museum form and colonialism (Noble 2011, 245). Attempting to break with this tradition, officials tried to scramble the conventional notion of the museum by asking not “what is an African architecture, but rather, what is the idea behind the image, what is the link to indigenous knowledge, history and practice” (Noble 2011, 245). The successful design for //hapo, composed by Jeremy Rose, was based on a design of “rock-like forms placed around a central outdoor space” that was inspired by a research excursion to Sanusi Credo Mutwa’s “healing garden at Kuruman in the Northern Cape” (Noble 2011, 247). It was immediately well received since boulders had been used in the creation of *Isivivane*, and the indigenous significance of the form had been affirmed by research conducted into IKS. This design innovation was illustrative of the distinctly “African” approach that would be taken in the representation of South African history, customs and culture at Freedom Park.

To quote from the official //hapo concept paper, this philosophical disposition of the element would therefore be the “utilization of ontologies and epistemologies that have their roots in Africa” and “privileging, positioning, decolonising and protecting Indigenous Knowledge Systems, with the aim of showcasing African history and heritage, traditions, values and cultures on the same level as other civilizations worthy of

scholarly study and practise”.⁶¹ In practise this resulted in the unveiling of ‘an exhibition space where the narrative of South Africa going back 3,6 billion years. This was depicted in visual and narrative’ form, through a series of seven epochs that juxtaposed cultural, social, natural history, and performative aspects of display that promoted oral story telling traditions. As such the museum was meant to illustrate a deep, complex, multivalent narrative of the nation.⁶² This account of the seven epochs and the emergence of the world and South Africa would not be grounded in the scientific theory of the Big Bang, but rather the “African Story of Creation”, an origins narrative constructed from basic elements identified in stories of creation from peoples and cultures from across Africa. Dr Harriet Ngubane conducted the research that informed this narrative component, compiling a document that traced different creation narratives that appeared across the African continent. The creation narrative cited in the official final //hlapo concept document was thoroughly informed by this research, and extended to include a section on the formation of the universe, which was posited to have been formed out of “a big explosion” following the comingling of the elements of rock, fire and water.⁶³ Retelling the narrative of the nation in these dramatic terms according to the “African Story of Creation”, //hlapo was meant to relate a new, “African” inspired, national cosmogony. In the following chapter I will discuss how these claims were reinforced on guided tours, and whether or not they were perceived as genuine, and what those perceptions meant for Freedom Park’s constructed image as a heritage site with amplified cultural significance.

Conclusion

A national sacred centre, a home for a national ancestry and the site of a national cosmogonic narrative of nation, Freedom Park was a monumental project of heritage formation. Indeed it is the monumental that I tried to emphasise in this chapter, relating how the concept of the monumental, of the triumphal, carried the grand project of shaping a new national identity and idiomatically expressed the state’s authority in being able to frame narratives of nation. To review, I argued that Freedom Park was a vehicle for asserting state power, regarding claims about the nation. In the first half of the chapter, I demonstrated that Freedom Park’s formation as a post-apartheid heritage complex sat at the centre of a state-driven visual complex comprised of the operations of revelation, reflection and refraction. Applying a Foucauldian reading of vision and

state power, I tried to read through the state's attempts to construct this new heritage project, and, how, in the process, it went about legitimating itself and its claim to and about the nation. In the second half of the chapter I showed how, from the early 2000's, Freedom Park's formation also concerned the search for an 'African commemorative aesthetic'. This, I explained, was associated with the Pan-Africanism of the Thabo Mbeki era, and the recovery of IKS as a source of knowledge informing the construction of particular elements. I showed how Isivivane was constructed as a national sacred centre, how the Wall of Names generated a league of transcendent ancestry, and the //hapo generated a new national cosmogony. In doing so, I hoped to illustrate the dynamic aspects of heritage formation, as a practise rooted in religious studies theory, concerning the sacred, mobilised in and through material cultural forms. Overall, two important points emerge from this chapter. Firstly, it shows the productive power of heritage formation. I showed how these practises of forming could facilitate the shaping of sense perception and sensibilities, architectural design and the production of new religious knowledge. Secondly, this set of constructions principally legitimated the state's main narrative claims about the nation, as a diverse collective, and as an African nation.

Freedom Park was, however, also more than a complex of visuality, or a site enabling abstract ideas about what it meant to be a South African and African. And, indeed, it was not designed for exclusively for the nation. Following its completion, it was a fully functioning heritage site, a place of recreation and entertainment, aimed at attracting tourists who would tour the site and make up their own minds about the persuasiveness of the reconciliatory, African story of the nation it claimed to tell.

Notes

¹ This is not merely a humorous anecdote. As will be shown later in this text, it is expedient for showing the durability of particular visual tropes in the post-apartheid dispensation.

² South African Press Association, 31 March, 1996.

³ South African Press Association, 4 April, 1996.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Danie de Jager did not limit himself to state sponsored commemorative projects, designing animal sculptures for large commercial projects such as hotel and casino developments within and beyond South Africa. See www.sculpturesa.com.

⁶ South African Press Association, 4 April, 1996.

⁷ 'Arms and the Man', *Mail and Guardian*, 12-18 April, 1996. See also Annie Coombes 2003, 22-23; Rassool, 2004, 223-225.

⁸ Criticisms of the TRC process included, that it emphasized reconciliation over the notion of justice; that it focused on individuals and individual instances of violence rather than the socio-political forces that informed them; the emphasis on gross human rights violations failed to do justice to or help attend to the epistemic, ordinary, everyday experience of violence of racial discrimination; and that the hearings failed to adequately investigate the institutions that benefitted from apartheid.

⁹ The Memorandum for the establishment of the Legacy Projects had been formally adopted by Parliament on 10 April 1997 and the first meeting of the Legacy Committee was held on the 11th of July of the same year, see Marschall, 2010a, 182-183.

¹⁰ As to my knowledge, these letters have not yet been researched.

¹¹ Statement by the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology by Mr Lionel Mtshali on Legacy Projects, 15 June, 1998; see Portfolio of Legacy Projects DACST 1998.

¹² Mtshali, 15 June, 1998.

¹³ Ibid

¹⁴ 'Launch of the Freedom Park Legacy Project by the Deputy President on 01 June 2000', Cabinet Statement issued 29 May, 2000.

¹⁵ See Statement on Cabinet Meeting, 15 March, 2000 and 31 May 2000, Government Communications and Information Systems.

¹⁶ Address by the Deputy President Jacob Zuma at the Launch of the Freedom Park Trust, 1 June 2000.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Statement by Dr Ngubane, 1 June 2000.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ It is important to note that, in making this decision, and considering the complexities of the venture, the state made strident attempts to consult with the public and incorporate their views and feelings about the project. See for example, Report on the Assessment of Stakeholder Perceptions and Preferences for Freedom Park, Prepared by Africa Now in 2002, and Marschall, 2010a, 217-220.

²¹ Statement on Cabinet Meeting 31 May, 2000.

²² 'Draft. Meeting of the Trustees of Freedom Park. 1 June 2000; 09:30-13:30. The Presidential Guest House', as cited in Marschall, 2010a, pg 214.

²³ Freedom Park Media Release, Architects Invited to Register for Design Competition. 20 January, 2003.

²⁴ Architectural Design Brief for the Intermediary Phase, Discussion Draft 2. 26 July 2004.

²⁵ Accessed at

http://www.freedompark.co.za/cms/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=19&Itemid=21 accessed 1 June, 2009.

²⁶ This use of Pierneef is not meant to signal an unawareness of the ambiguity and complexity of the picturesque visual tradition in South Africa, but merely to emphasise the example outlined here.

²⁷ OCA 'Ke E: /Xarra //Ke: Freedom Park Architectural Brief'. Pretoria: Office of Collaborative Architects, 2004.

²⁸ Pretoria News, 7 November, 1941

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ "Isikhumbutho". Draft Proposal by Dudu Bogatsu, to the TPC, Technical team and heritage Department, 17 November, 2004. pg, 1.

³¹ Preface to the Architectural Competition, 2002.

³² Ibid.

³³ "Isikhumbutho". Draft Proposal by Dudu Bogatsu, to the TPC, Technical team and heritage Department, 17 November, 2004. pg, 1.

³⁴ I wish to clarify that I do not take these claims about the meaning of the representation of these buildings for granted.

³⁵ See 'Salvokop Development Framework - Heritage Impact Assessment' February, 2003, pg 10: "The low, dry packed stone fort Tullichewan on Salvokop crest is still extant, its shape clearly showing the main elements, as well as a small sentry post just south of the crest."

³⁶ This is the name of the state aligned entity that manages rail transportation.

³⁷ Personal Interview with Joyce Mabena, 27 September 2010. See also, "No Freedom for the Poor in this Park", *City Press*, 6 July, 2009.

³⁸ I do not wish to suggest that this model of the nation was unproblematic. It was criticized for being racial and black African in character and therefore in principle excluded white Afrikaners from participating in this model of national identity.

³⁹ Address of President Thabo Mbeki at the Unveiling of the Coat of Arms. Accessed at <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/speeches/2000/mbek0427.htm>, 12 August 2010.

⁴⁰ Mr Thabo Mbeki, preface to International Architectural Competition 2002.

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- ⁴¹Indigenous Knowledge Systems, accessed at http://www.freedompark.co.za/cms/index.php?option=com_kunena&Itemid=75&func=view&catid=21&id=8, 12 August, 2010
- ⁴²“The Freedom Park Trust Mourns the Passing of Professor Harriet Ngubane”, Freedom Park Press Release, 27 October, 2007.
- ⁴³Freedom Park Press Release, 31 July, 2009.
- ⁴⁴Personal Interview with Dr Mongane Wally Serote, Freedom Park Pretoria, 2 November 2010.
- ⁴⁵“Park honours those who outsoared the shadow”, IOL news, 9 March 2004.
- ⁴⁶“Isivivane” accessed at <http://www.freedompark.co.za> 1 October, 2012.
- ⁴⁷‘Speak to Ourselves’, *Sunday Sun*, 17 June 2007. Reverend Sibiyi consistently tried to promote Pentecostal religious ideas against those of the indigenous African religious ideology he perceived Freedom Park as perpetuating see, *Sunday Sun* 14 March, 2004, *Sunday Sun* 25 September, 2005 and *Sunday Sun* 15 July, 2007.
- ⁴⁸Jonathan Noble notes, Ramzie Abrahams and Wally Serote both ‘independently noted that Mbeki’s speech had emphasised the need to record names. My paraphrasing derives from an account provided to me by Mr Abrahams in a personal interview conducted on 12 October, 2010.
- ⁴⁹‘S’khumbuto’ accessed at <http://www.freedompark.co.za> 1 October, 2012. S’khumbuto was part of the Garden of Remembrance. The spelling of this element was rendered as S’Khumbuto, or Sikhumbuto, but I have used the spelling S’khumbuto following the designation made on the official website.
- ⁵⁰‘Gallery of Leaders’, accessed at <http://www.freedompark.co.za> 1 October, 2012.
- ⁵¹The Border Wars refers to a period of armed conflict that took place in Angola and Northern Namibia between 1966 and 1989. The theatre of operations took place in the context of the Cold War, with the South African Defence Force (SADF) and the rebel group UNITA being supported by the United States of America, and the opposing Angolan government forces, allied with the South West African People’s Organisation (SWAPO) and Cuba, being supported by the Soviet Union. The memory and historical representation of this conflict is contested in post-apartheid South Africa.
- ⁵²‘SADF dead do not belong in Freedom Park’ retrieved at <http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/sadf-dead-do-not-belong-in-freedom-park-1.314526?ot=inmsa.ArticlePrintPageLayout.ot> 10 September 2010.
- ⁵³‘Unbiased’ monument unveiled at Freedom Park’, Independent Online, 16 January 2007 retrieved at http://www.iol.co.za/general/news/newsprint.php?art_id=qw1168953301416B212&sf 10 September 2010. The monument was dedicated to “All Those Who Fell heeding the Call of Their Country including those whose names are not on the Freedom Park wall. So We May never Forget the Dearly Fought Freedom of all Ideologies, Credo, and Cultures and their Respective Contributions to our rich South African Heritage”.
- ⁵⁴‘SADF names at Freedom Park’, retrieved at <http://www.news24.com/printArticle.aspx?iframe...=41d42968-4e76-4ca8-9bf2-8df7c77c7282&cid=1057> 10 September 2010.
- ⁵⁵The Freedom Park News, March 2007.
- ⁵⁶Address by the President on the Occasion of the Launch of the Freedom Park.
- ⁵⁷Ibid.
- ⁵⁸Ibid.
- ⁵⁹Ibid.
- ⁶⁰Personal Interview with Dr Mongane Wally Serote, Freedom Park Pretoria, 2 November 2010.
- ⁶¹//*hlapo* Final Concept, 13.
- ⁶²Ibid.
- ⁶³Ibid.

3. 'Freedom Park, A Heritage Destination': Cultural Heritage Tourism and Aesthetics of Persuasion.

“To provide an empowering heritage destination in order to mobilise for reconciliation and nation building in our country; to reflect upon our past, improving our present and building our future as a united nation; and to contribute continentally and internationally to the formation of better human understanding among nations and peoples.”

Freedom Park Mission Statement

“It is hoped that a visit to Freedom Park is a liberating, spiritually cleansing and inspirational experience ...”

Freedom Park Public Tours Script for Tour Guides

“To compete for tourists, a location must become a destination.”

Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture*

Introduction

As he entered Freedom Park, journalist Jabu Ngwenya suddenly recalled former president Nelson Mandela’s famous declaration at the Rivonia Trial, “I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if need be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die”.¹ The memory was poignant and telling. Mulling it over, he realised that these were the very “words out of which Freedom Park was born”. Crossing the threshold for a guided tour, Jabu Ngwenya’s embarked on an excursion that canvassed the monument’s major elements, “each representative of the different voices, languages and eras of South Africa.” He visited the *S’khumbuto* and ascended to the highest point in the Amphitheatre taking in a 360° view of the capital city. He scanned the Wall of Names and paused to observe the African Olive Tree planted on Youth Day, 16 June, 2002. Descending along the spiralling *Mveledzo* Path that rendered views of “blue skies meeting jutting hills and other outcrops creating a mirage of otherworldliness”, he reached the pinnacle of his tour at *Isivivane*, which featured the *Lesaka*, “a powerful and almost holy place”

commemorating those who had made the ultimate sacrifice for the nation. Clearly, learning about these hidden meanings was profound. The tour was therefore an experiential journey in learning about the overall significance of Freedom Park. Reflecting on the encounter, he declared that Freedom Park was “a place where spirit rushes to meet the living, atop a sacred hill, numerous icons sanctified on South African soil honour our nation’s past and embrace the future in a quest for unity” [sic].²

According to Jabu Ngwenya, therefore, a visit to this charged site of cultural significance could inspire a deeply moving, meaningful experience. This descriptive narrative is fascinating. Framed as a visitor’s account, it raises questions about the relationship between Freedom Park’s appeal as a national heritage site, tourist attraction and visitor experience. Indeed, Freedom Park was not only formed as the material focus of visual sensibilities about the past as I argued in the previous chapter. It was also conceived as becoming a central site of national and international tourism activity in the post-apartheid future. The state envisioned Freedom Park as being one of “[South Africa’s] foremost tourist destinations”.³ The Freedom Park concept was therefore not only “driven by the necessity for the diverse people of South Africa . . . [to] appreciate the country’s struggle for liberation”, promotional literature declared, but also out of the knowledge that it would figure as “an international icon of humanity and freedom”.⁴ It would be a place “where South African citizens and international tourists alike” could find “a haven to reflect on the past, but more importantly”, also find “a beacon for the future”.⁵ It would be a place where a visit could entail “experience[ing] the heart and soul of South Africa captured in physical space”.⁶ Freedom Park was promoted as a national, material heritage site where commemoration could translate into international cultural heritage tourism. As the institution’s mission statement made clear, officials worked “to provide an empowering heritage destination in order to mobilise for reconciliation and nation building in our country;”.⁷ In other words, to paraphrase the official slogan, ‘Freedom Park was a heritage destination’.⁸

Comprised of a mix of marketing spin and political spiel, these romantic claims raise a series of interrelated questions. How and in what ways did such discursive positioning of a national site of memory link practises of heritage formation and exercises in heritage tourism marketing? Indeed, who was this project for? And how did these

exchanges relate to the overarching proposition that Freedom Park offered a particular, stimulating and educative leisure experience? Finally, how and in what ways did these claims actually resonate with visitors? Building on these questions, this chapter looks at the conditions of Freedom Park's formation as a heritage destination, and how visitors perceived it as an informative site of leisure and recreation. In light of the premium placed on the personal encounter of tourists, I wish to use Birgit Meyer's (2009) concept of aesthetics of persuasion, outlined in the introduction of this thesis, to try and make sense of how and what ways personal engagement through touristic visiting related to Freedom Park's official claims of cultural significance. Indexing a non-dualistic concept of material culture and the multi-sensory ways in which material culture is apprehended, aesthetics of persuasion refers to phenomenological practices of sense making that take place in relation to material cultural forms. The notion of aesthetics of persuasion, as you will recall, is useful in so far as it allows us to understand the significance of the dynamic relationship between experiencing subjects and the significance of material evocations of meaning. I want to use this concept to try and understand how and in what ways the ideas Freedom Park advocated registered with its tourist visitors. Developed in the context of the anthropology of religion, this concept speaks to a burgeoning line of analysis in tourism studies regarding authenticity (Wang 1999), the senses, tourism geographies and notions of place-making (Cartier and Lew 2005; Crouch 2005; 1999; Crouch and Desforges 2003). More specifically, this concept cuts close to the on-going relations of exchange between evocative experience of visitors and the intentions of invested stakeholders, such as from Freedom Park officials, tour guides and administrators. Put another way, I want to look at experience as a site of contestation about Freedom Park's legitimacy as post-apartheid heritage form and as an indicator of the seemingly sacred significance of the site.

Experience was tightly framed around a series of ideas related to Freedom Park as a heritage destination. This I will discuss in the following section. In the section that follows I will use the example of a typical Freedom Park tour to guide the reader through the site, showing how a particular narrative journey was used to frame and articulate particular ideas of the site, and show how tourists reacted to these ideas. I will discuss visitor composition, visitor numbers and look at whether or not the Park was a commercial success. In the final section I will look at a series of indicators of the Park's

reception on the part of visitors and public gauging what they had to say about the site's legitimacy and sense of sacredness. To begin, therefore, we need to try and understand what it meant to frame Freedom Park as a heritage destination.

A Heritage Destination

By the time of Jabu Ngwenya's visit, tours of Freedom Park were already common practise. They had first been introduced in 2004 after the unveiling of *Isivivane*, and continued to be professionalised and expanded in line with the completion of the project. I will say more about this in the following section. Tours were important for asserting Freedom Park's public status as a heritage destination. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett contends that, "to compete for tourists, a location must become a destination" (1998, 152). An important category in tourism studies, the destination has, however, also presented analytical challenges. Conceptually, it poses a problem regarding relations between geographical place, modes of manifestation, substance, apprehension and consumption (Franke 2002). In grappling with the destination's conceptual vagaries, scholars have resorted to a wide set of theories that construe it as, amongst other things, "destination areas" (Murphy 1985), "a set of attributes" (Buhalis 2000), a conglomerate of attraction, accessibility and amenities (Burkhardt and Medlik 1974), or even as a geographical category (Saarinen 1998; 2004). Some consensus has, however, emerged around the notion that destinations are the product of commercial interpretations of the meaningfulness of space. "Tourism destinations", Ashworth and Goodall (1990, 6) explain, "can undoubtedly be treated as products ... what is sold by place promotion agencies on the tourism market". Destinations manifest as tradable commodities in part due to the branding activities dominant stakeholders employ in advancing particular portrayals about specific sites. In the case of Freedom Park, this would refer to the promotional material used to advertise its distinctiveness as a site of cultural memory worthy of visitation. In other words, this body of literature emphasises that sites like Freedom Park emerge as real or imagined destinations as a result of the narratives crafted about their distinctive appeal.

These declarative theories of heritage destinations have been explored by a number of scholars who have attempted to analyse the dynamics of such assertions of significance, specifically as they relate to notions of place, culture and subjectivity (see Buck 1993;

McKay 1994; Rothman 1998). This has led some to suggest that “destinations only exist through the act of marketing ... the narratives and images communicated by tourism promotional material” (Morgan et al., 2012, 4-5). Considering this strong emphasis placed on heritage and consumption, what this frame of reference suggests is that heritage destinations are significant not merely as products of enticing marketing narratives. They are instructive in so far as they structure practises of consumption central to the functioning of the tourism industry (Urry 1995).

Freedom Park was intended to be more than just a national cultural site of memory. As shown in the previous chapter, it was intended to be an institution that would further economic growth by stimulating the tourism industry as a heritage destination. The predominant framing of the heritage destination outlined above emphasises, furthermore, that they not only structure but also act as the “point of consumption of the complex of activities that comprise the tourism experience” (Ashworth and Goodall 1990, 6). As the gateway for tourism encounters, destinations like Freedom Park mediate the set of cultural and commercial pressures that weigh upon rewarding visitor experience. Significantly, visitor experience is privileged in contemporary tourism literature as the primary focus of activity in the tourism industry, suggesting that, “generally, the product of tourism is a satisfying experience at a desired destination” (Ivanovic 2008, 209). As such, destinations do not merely serve as points of access, or sites of cultural and commercial mediation. They also capture and locate meaningful experience as the focus of activity in the tourism industry. As a kind of mark of authenticity (Wang 2000), Freedom Park’s slogan could therefore be read as a formula that helped account for the commercial value and cultural significance of a material representation of the South African past in the global tourism industry.

Freedom Park’s slogan could also be understood as a value-proposition, an invitation to visitors to appreciate the site’s apparent cultural heritage significance. The persuasiveness of the proposition was poised on the way the slogan keyed into the organising narrative, the smarmy promotional language, that was used to frame Freedom Park. This framing narrative struck the fine distinction that, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) has claimed, marked the criteria separating heritage sites and heritage destinations. In her estimation, heritage destinations are specifically aimed

at the tourism industry. “Heritage in this context” refers to “the transvaluation of the obsolete, the mistaken, the outmoded, the dead, and the defunct” into a product of distinctive value (149). The language used to conceive and promote Freedom Park shows that its ‘transvaluation’ as a heritage site derived from its positioning within the narrative structure of “the journey”. As Luigi Tomasi (2002) points out, the concept of the journey has medieval religious roots that refer specifically to the pleasurable experience of travelling itself, beyond the destination. At Freedom Park, the trope of the journey indexed 3 interrelated ideas. Firstly it referred to South Africa’s historical transition from apartheid oppression to freedom and democracy. Secondly, it referred to Freedom Park’s formation as a material synecdoche that vividly represented that transition. Thirdly, the journey functioned as a narrative framework for structuring appreciation of the site during guided tours. The journey linked Freedom Park’s commemorative significance and commercial appeal by suggesting a visit held out the promise of a kind of emotive, moving experience. Indeed as Eric J Leed has observed in his historical analysis of travel and transformation, philosophically, the journey is a “force which transforms individual personalities, mentalities, and social relationships” (1991, 13). Framing Freedom Park’s significance in the narrative structure of the journey, the slogan proposed that it was culturally significant and commercially distinctive because it was a tourism leisure site that was evocative and moving.

This particular narrative framing suggests that Freedom Park officials also wished to evoke the notion of the destination as a site of pilgrimage, as a place of significance that would appeal to masses who, upon visiting, would have a deep, meaningful experience. Pilgrimage and religious tourism are well-established analytical categories in the study of religion (Stausberg 2011; Timothy and Olsen 2006; Coleman and Elsner 1995), with literature often raising the difficulties of distinguishing between the piety of pilgrimage and the leisure of travel. Freedom Park was often framed as a site of pilgrimage in the rhetoric about its forming. For example, in 2000 Jacob Zuma asserted that “It is envisaged that Freedom Park will become a place of pilgrimage and inspiration, a message of hope from Africa and South Africa to the world, of suffering and of the triumph of the human spirit” (sic).⁹ This was repeated in 2002 by Minister Ben Ngubane who said that, “Freedom Park is envisaged to become a place of pilgrimage and inspiration ... It will be a place of historical meaning and celebration attracting every

South African citizen”.¹⁰ The testimonial on an early incarnation of the official website stated that “Freedom Park is a place of pilgrimage and healing and human communion, which sets it apart from, while it seeks to end, the divides that scar and fracture the national and global human society beyond its boundaries”.¹¹ Pilgrimage was also employed as a trope to inform how visitation and touring was understood. For example, before embarking on a tour, the Script for Tour Guides prompted visiting guests that their visit was considered “a pilgrimage to dispel the myriad myths and prejudices that have concealed and distorted the image and achievements of South Africans through the ages”.¹² Structuring links between notions of religion, tourism and practises of consumption, pilgrimage served to frame Freedom Park as a destination set apart.

It needs to be noted that Freedom Park’s slogan also served as an interpretive formula accounting for post-apartheid state policy on arts, culture, heritage and tourism. The cluster of policy documents informing the formation and work of cultural ventures in the post-apartheid dispensation explicitly equated the effective management of South Africa’s cultural resources with economic development, social cohesion and nation-building. These instruments calculated the reinterpretation of the arts, culture, heritage and tourism as operationalising South Africa’s cultural resources to facilitate a nation-building project that emphasised material upliftment as key to the transformation of society. The Draft White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage of 1996, the White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa of 1996 and the National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999 bear this out. Reformulating the role of culture in processes of social transformation, these policy instruments helped to account for the designation of Freedom Park’s slogan. Capturing the state’s earliest attempts to redefine arts and culture as engines of economic growth, reconstruction and development, the slogan referenced Freedom Park’s significance as a new kind of post-apartheid cultural heritage institution that advanced the project of nation-building as part of a broader claim by the executive over the character of South African cultural identity. As a heritage destination, therefore, Freedom Park also linked practises of tourism and politics (Hall 1994), as one important locus of the state’s claims over post-apartheid cultural identity, and a central institutional site of its public dissemination.

A Freedom Park Tour

Rhetorically positioned as a key material locus of the state's claims about South African cultural identity, Freedom Park, mediated the set of cultural activities central to the commercial enterprise of locating evocative tourist experiences. Tours were the frontier of this complex project of mediation. Implemented after the unveiling of Phase 1 and the Intermediary Phase, Freedom Park tours spanned *S'khumbuto*, the *Mveledzo Path*, *Isivivane* and *Moshate*, the primary outdoor elements located at the peak of Salvokop Hill, expanding over time with the gradual completion of different elements. Scheduled to run 3 times a day and at no charge between 2004 and 2009, tours were initially supervised by volunteers, typically young people, recruited for this specific purpose. Tours were implemented as an informal, yet mandatory, informative accompaniment to visits because of safety and logistical concerns about the unfinished state of the project. Ensuring safety and filling in the narrative gaps, tours were a practical means of affirming claims about Freedom Park's distinctive cultural significance as a heritage site that marked the peaceful transition to democracy.

In late 2004 management raised some concerns about the conduct of the volunteer guides, and also about their lack of formal training. "Great concern has been raised regarding the manner the tour guides conduct tours and the message that is being conveyed through current tours. It is eminent that there is a serious lack of training and that this should be addressed immediately", cites one redactor.¹³ To professionalise the team, it was suggested that their work be incorporated into the administration of the Heritage and Knowledge Department, perhaps in recognition of tours' growing importance as a site of public interface. By 2007, the Park could boast a small professional touring unit of 3 tour guides.¹⁴ Practically, tours conformed to the classic model of the guide as chaperone. Tour guides led visitors through Freedom Park following a particular route, pointed out the primary material elements and sub-elements, and interpreted their significance according to a sanctioned tour narrative. Classic tourism studies literature has tended to describe tour guides' work as concerning the provision of information and entertainment, and that guides function as either culture brokers or mediators who, through their interpretive work, facilitate social and cultural exchange between different stakeholders at heritage destinations (Holloway 1981; Smith 2001; Cohen 1985). Contemporary literature has advanced more

sophisticated interpretations of mediation, stressing for example, that tour guides are seen as ‘encoding information’ as part of a process of mediation where tourists are viewed as active participants (Macdonald 2006). Nor should we take the process of mediation for granted, since, as Heidi Dahles (2002) cautions, guiding is not an altruistic vocation since guides have a vested interest in working their networks and narratives for profit.

These descriptions resonate with my experience at Freedom Park. They also permeate my rudimentary understanding of interpretation as a practise of mediation that entails outlining the significance of elements or design features using officially sanctioned information, conveyed according to the guide’s personal understanding, which sometimes included embellishment for informative, entertainment purposes. Guides brought out the meanings of the sometimes abstract, material representative forms. During my fieldwork, the touring unit consisted of eight people, all black African, six males and two women. All of the guides had some tertiary education, collectively spoke South Africa’s eleven official languages, and had some experience in heritage and tourism before coming to work at Freedom Park. None of the guides were sourced, or had lived in, Salvokop. In 2009, following Freedom Park’s designation as a Cultural Institution tours were monetised, having been identified as an important future revenue stream.¹⁵ In the same year, the presidency issued an instruction that tours be made mandatory for all high-ranking foreign dignitaries visiting South Africa as a further affirmation of the significance of the site.

Freedom Park tours were a contact zone (Pratt 2008) where cultural meaning and commercial interest were actively negotiated during touristic encounters between tour guides, visitors and the site (see Babb 2011). The narrative order of the journey, dictating interpretation of the site, and structuring an orderly, meaningful route through it, facilitated the interface of intended meaning about Freedom Park and visitor experience (see Young 1999). At the frontier of visitor encounters with Freedom Park, the tour represents a fruitful point of entry into how visitors apprehended the physical site according to the narrative of the journey and how they made sense of the place. Considering the important role of the tour, during my fieldwork tenure I concentrated on spending as much time with the tour guides as possible. I shadowed roughly 30 tours consisting of groups of various sizes, local and foreign, ordinary and official. Shadowing

tours meant walking along with the guides as they did their interpretive work and participating as a tourist or even trainee, than as a guide. This methodology was both beneficial and complicated. On the one hand, I tried as far as possible not to intervene in the recreational experience of the tourists, merely observing how they perceived the site. On the other, at least initially, it created suspicion amongst the tour guides, as I was perceived as evaluating their work. As I will try to show, tours varied in many ways, the tour guides each plotted their own physical and narrative routes through Freedom Park, for a variety of different reasons, which of course helped to shape different perceptions of the site. In the following section, then, I will provide a brief descriptive account of a standard guided tour, comparing it to occurrences on actual tours, and explore what the disjuncture reveals about the complexities of engagement, interaction and apprehension.

The Public Tours Script, the document outlining the prescriptive sequence of an official, standard tour for ordinary guests, serves as a useful conceptual map to illustrate how the narrative structure of the journey was meant to shape interpretation of the site.¹⁶ According to this text, the tour ensues at an unnamed point of departure, beginning with the tour guide welcoming visitors on behalf of the Freedom Park Trust and the Chief Executive Officer. A detailed, yet brief, introduction, charting the historical, cultural and political significance of the project then followed. It includes a request for respect and recognition of the significance of Freedom Park, since guides were meant to announce, “In presenting the heritage of the nation, this project aims to be inclusive of all South Africa’s people, placing the country’s history, culture and spirituality in a context that will be respected nationally and internationally”. Moreover, I would argue, visitors are primed for a moving, even a religious-like experience during the encounter since guides were supposed to conclude the introduction with the announcement that “It is hoped that a visit to the Freedom Park is a liberating, spiritually cleansing and inspirational experience: a pilgrimage to dispel the myriad myths and prejudices that have concealed and distorted the image and achievements of South Africans throughout the ages”.¹⁷ Guides were then meant to describe the various elements of Freedom Park, complete and incomplete, and then assert of the holistic significance of the venture, saying “Together these elements commemorate and celebrate the past struggles for humanity and freedom, with a view that the past informs the present and

signpost the way forward for the future”.¹⁸ The tour then ensued, with the tour guide announcing “We will now proceed to Isivivane via the spiral path”, which was designed with the intention of providing visitors with an “opportunity to reflect and contemplate whilst going to Isivivane”¹⁹ In my understanding, the introduction was intended to frame Freedom Park’s cultural and political significance, playing into tourists’ preconceived expectations and foreground what tourists could anticipate on tour. This kind of introduction was standard on many of the tours that I shadowed, with guides shortening or elaborating on the official narrative according to factors like the time of day, size of the group and volume of traffic at the site.

Ensuing from an unnamed point of departure, the Public Tour’s Script anticipated a tour with multiple possible points of entry. One’s touristic journey could potentially start anywhere. And indeed, as I will explain in more detail later, the tour guides did initiate tours at different points in the park. What I mean to highlight here, however, is that the interpretive flexibility offered by the Public Tour’s Script has implications for understanding the relationship between the narrative frame of the journey and the site’s material situation in space. My first visit to Freedom Park on a sunny winter day in 2010 helps illustrate this point. On that occasion, driving in from the outskirts of Pretoria, it quickly became apparent after a few stops to ask for directions, that local residents were unfamiliar with where the site was. Having eventually found my way after noticing the site’s bold, green prominence in the city skyline, I discovered that Freedom Park promotional narratives which emphasised openness, egalitarianism and freedom were, in reality, prefaced by other codes of silence, security and suspense. Pulling up to the entrance gates, the dreamy images I had harboured of unbounded flourishing gardens, of crowds of comfortably dressed visitors wandering aimlessly in sunglasses and sunhats snapping pictures, of sculptures and African art, of peace and welcome, were quickly dispatched. Entry to the park, and the eventual point of the start of the tour was hampered by a lengthy series of access control procedures, and there was the intimidating presence of security personnel and surveillance. In my experience, only the 9/11 Museum in New York was more strict about security. Moreover, upon arrival, there was a virtual dearth of other visitors. This made for an awkward welcome.²⁰ Starkly strange, it also added to my sense of curiosity. In this scenario, the boundaries between Freedom Park and the world, between the ordinary and the extraordinary,

between the tour and everyday life became hard to distinguish. Certainly, this would not be the case for every visitor, but I raise it to point to an important philosophical question about the boundaries between touristic experience and ordinary life (see Franklin 2003, 5; Bruner 2005, 1-29).

Continuing with this particular tour, having passed through the various stages of access control in place at the time, Daniel, my tour guide, suggested we start our tour at *Moshate*, and circle the site and finish at *S'khumbuto*.²¹ There were practical reasons for this choice of starting point I later learned. *Moshate* was close to one of the nearest entrance walkways, making for quick, easy visitor access and, having been scaled back from being a high level hospitality venue into a boardroom and a small gallery space featuring an exhibit of maps, photographs and images recounting the history and meaning of Freedom Park. The visual clarity and textual variety of the exhibition panels served as a useful supplement to the introduction. But at other times, guides also chose the Sanctuary space as a point of departure. The clean, dramatic views of the Amphitheatre area also served as useful and exciting backdrop for introductions, and was especially well suited for larger tour groups. On occasions when multiple tours were being conducted simultaneously, alternate points of departure were selected by tour guides to avoid congestion along certain routes. But these choices were also informed by sheer boredom. The lack of visitors meant days could be long and dreary. Selecting a new departure point and walking a new route through the site was also a relief for the tour guides who had to endure the sometimes monotonous business of entertaining tourists. The guides were therefore pragmatic in their interpretation of the Public Tour Script when it came to the point of departure and route through the site, reconfiguring the narrative sequence relative to the demand of the day and particular tours.

According to the route mapped by the Public Tour's Script, however, guests were then led along the narrow spiralling *Mveledzo* Path, which wound down through the scrub and greenery of indigenous plant life carpeting Salvokop Hill to *Isivivane*. Along the way, sometimes guides would point out the Voortrekker Monument, and the road that connects the two sites. Reconciliation Road, as it was subsequently named, was officially unveiled on the 16th of December, 2011 by President Jacob Zuma. Including a ceremonial meeting of costumed delegates representing African and Afrikaner cultural

heritage at the midpoint of the road, the unveiling publically displayed much of the common sense reconciliatory sentiments the guides stressed in their interpretation. This narrative emphasised the road as representing the material resolution of two historically divided communities that had decided to resolve their differences and settle with the past. That was, however, a romantic framing of a tension of historical representation that continued to exist and which the road also served to reference.

Under certain circumstances, these tensions could also leak into the interpretive experience provided by the guides. For example, while on the *Mveledzo* path during a tour early in my fieldwork, I asked my guide about how he felt about the Voortrekker Monument. He immediately paused and pointed out the road down below, at the foot of the hill, and explained its significance, adding that it flowed from a memorandum of understanding that was agreed to by the officials of both institutions to make it easier for tourists to gain access to both sites. He tried to stress that the road was not meant to represent a real or symbolic merger of apparently opposed heritage institutions, since as he put it the “Park was a parastatal and the Voortrekker Monument was privately owned”. It only facilitated easier access for tourists. As we were alone on tour, I pushed him a bit further asking how he personally felt about the Voortrekker Monument. In a roundabout explanation, he replied that it was too exclusivist, in light of the fact that it was dedicated only to the commemoration of Afrikaner history and heritage. When I raised examples of other South African heritage sites that also commemorated specific aspects of cultural heritage related to one group or people, like the Zulu for example, he said that was fine, but was loathe to concede the point that the Voortrekker Monument was exclusivist. I understood him to be drawing a moral distinction between those institutions that emphasised exclusivist representations of history and those which celebrated cultural diversity. In saying so, he also revealed the subtle ways in which guides had to calibrate their interpretation for the benefit of visitors and keep their personal feelings in check.

During this interlude along the walkway, guides would sometimes also interpret the plant life that thrived on the hill. This was no minor tangent. The plants and trees helped authenticate Freedom Park’s neo-indigenous aesthetic in at least two ways. Firstly it provided a landscaped natural background suggestive of the site’s close

connection to nature. Indeed parts of the *Mveledzo* path were tranquil, leading one through walking paths lined with grass and shrubbery that did create the impression of being semi-rural. Secondly, it was claimed that the plants themselves had indigenous medicinal properties, therefore helping to authenticate Freedom Park's indigenous religious aura, and the emphasis on IKS discussed in the previous chapter. As Ramzie Abrahams (2011) pointed out, traditional healers had surveyed the site and found that the majority of the plants located on the site were indigenous to South Africa and had some medicinal properties. This was a fact the tour guides highlighted in their interpretation as they continued to usher guests along the *Mveledzo* path to *Isivivane*.

Arriving at the entrance to *Isivivane*, tour groups were asked to pause briefly before entering so that guides could introduce the element, saying "Isivivane is a universal spiritual space of the Freedom Park. Its sanctity stems from the various rituals and ceremonies through which the spirits of those who died in the struggle for humanity and freedom have been brought along and laid to rest".²² During this introduction guides were also required to, in a uniform manner, explain that because of the heightened sense of significance attached to the element, access to *Isivivane* was restricted. Visitors who wished to enter the space had to observe a set of protocols such as removing their shoes and that men remove their headwear. Those who wished to merely view and not enter were not required to observe these conventions. The procession was then led into the space with groups splitting according to their preference. This was indeed the highlight of the tour.

With a curtain of rushing water splashing into a rock pool behind, and in the glare of the gargantuan modernist Muckleneuk Campus of UNISA ahead, with the hustle and bustle of the city traffic flowing beyond the edge of the Hill, visitors were then given a detailed interpretation of the element. Guides started off by explaining that the concept for the memorial was taken from African cultural practise "where a person passes a beacon in the landscape, the person will add a stone to it", which signified a connection to the land and the people that reside there. The word *Isivivane*, guides explained, is derived from the verb *viva* meaning to come together in a group, which, interpreted philosophically, signifies "a commitment to solidarity and



Figure 10. Official tour with former Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Steven Vanackere.

unity of purpose”. Emphasising the holism of the element, guides then pointed out *Isivivane*’s four sub-elements, the *Lesaka* or circle of commemorative stones, the *Lekgotla* space signifying the African concept of communal justice, water for cleansing and purity and the nine *Umlahlankosi* trees signifying African ancestral rites of passage. The highlight of the interpretive description was the guide’s narration of the boulders that form the *Lesaka*, explaining the site of origin and cultural significance of each of the nine boulders collected from South Africa’s nine Provinces. With the element having been fully interpreted, the Public Tours Script then instructed guides to invite visitors to participate in a special ritual to pay homage to those commemorated at *Isivivane*. “As a mark of respect we would like to form a circle/hold hands for a minute of silence - to pay tribute within your own faith or belief system, to those who laid down their lives in the struggle for humanity and freedom”. Concluding this part of the tour, visitors were led out of *Isivivane*, past the cleansing pool where those who had entered the *Lesaka* space were obliged to wash their hands in accordance with southern African customs surrounding respect for the dead. They were then led along the brown stone *Mvedzo* path to *S’khumbuto*, “the major memorial element on the crest of the hill”.²³

The Public Tour's Script and other promotional media suggested there was an aura of reverence, or sacredness, imbued in *Isivivane*, and the *Lesaka* in particular. As I showed in the previous chapter, this site was positioned as sacred because it represented the symbolic burial ground of those who had died for freedom and humanity, and so functioned as a national symbolic centre. Standing at the element, having to observe the protocols, and listening to the guide's narrative about the heavy symbolism encoded into the trees, rocks and water this heritage element certainly added weight to these claims. Yet this characterisation of the element, and the implied degree of reverence with which it was meant to be approached, resonated in different ways with different visitors. The location and material aesthetics of the element contributed to these discrepancies. Situated at a location exposed to the elements and the major traffic routes into Pretoria, *Isivivane* could be noisy and hot during midday and afternoon tours, especially during the dry winter. Walking barefoot on the coarse, hot concrete surface of the demarcated inner space of the *Lesaka* could be an uncomfortable, unwelcome experience. That said, I hardly heard visitors complain. The excitement of the occasion, of having an opportunity to enter a sacred national space, would often override whatever feelings of discomfort visitors may have felt. While the Public Tours Script also mandated that the guides request visitors to observe a moment of silence at the *Lesaka*, a mandatory interlude on official tours, this did not always happen, but visitors always endeared the space with the kind of respect elicited by the signs posted at the site.

It was not only the material aesthetics of the site that could pose a challenge. *Isivivane*'s ascribed sanctity could also unsettle visitor sensibilities. Guides reported that the public nature of the indigenous concepts represented by *Isivivane* sometimes disturbed the sensibilities of black South African visitors.²⁴ In contrast, the guides told me that black African visitors also sometimes visited Freedom Park to conduct private religious observances that were understood to include appeals to ancestors or prayer to a deceased loved one at *Isivivane*. These observances were typically African indigenous in character, and it was not made clear whether other communities of faith engaged in such practises. It was certainly true that they were welcome to do so.



Figure 11. Freedom Park, *Isivivane* Cultural Event. Photograph courtesy of Graham Young.

Notably, the symbolism encoded into the aesthetics at this particular element could, however, also challenge visitors from religious backgrounds. For example, a guide related a story to me about an incident that apparently took place on a tour conducted on heritage day, 24 September, 2010. On that occasion, a white South African girl managed to disrupt the tour because of her disturbed religious sensibilities. The guide explained that the young girl was part of a fairly large, mixed group of tourists. He had interpreted the element and invited guests to enter the space. Visitors started removing their shoes, entered the sanctified space and made their way to the *Lesaka* to pay homage within their own faiths. Seeing visitors engage in commemorative homage, the girl loudly exclaimed, “God, forgive me and forgive these people who are bowing down to rocks!”²⁵ This was the only occasion I know of such an incident occurring on site. Of course the Reverend Sibiya’s remarks suggest that some Christians could find it difficult to accept the ascribed sacredness of the *Isivivane*.

The tour described in the Public Tour’s Script continued from *S’khumbuto*. Guides

approached the interpretation of this element in different ways. At times they would usher guests into the dark, cavernous Sanctuary space, lead them up to the glass walls and interpret the element against the background of the rising grassy banks of the Amphitheatre, the water pool and the solemn Eternal Flame. At other times, the interpretive pause could take place outside at the Wall of Names, near the entrance to the Sanctuary. Wherever the guides chose to interpret the element, they were required to explain that the word *S'khumbuto* derived from “a siSwati word which means - to commemorate and memorialise events that include those who passed on and allowing interaction with those who have passed on”, adding further, that the element was comprised of four primary sub-elements, namely the Wall of Names, the Sanctuary, the Amphitheatre and the Gallery of Leaders.²⁶ It was explained that *S'khumbuto's* significance was comparatively derived from its relationship to *Isivivane*. Since, if *Isivivane* was meant to signify unity of purpose, then *S'khumbuto* signified unity in diversity. In the Scripts redaction, “In as much as *Isivivane* acts as a metaphor for unity of purpose, *Sikhumbuto* allows visitors to explore the interconnectedness that binds the South African nation through the major conflicts that are represented at the Wall of Names”.²⁷ The names of those who had died in the eight different conflicts that shaped South Africa's history, the dead symbolically laid to rest at *Isivivane*, were inscribed on the Wall.²⁸ The Wall of Names was striking because of its monumentality, and also attracted the curiosity from the guests, who would sometimes ask pointed questions about the selection criteria, the biographies of the fallen, and how different historical periods were selected for tribute. Of course, as was highlighted in the previous chapter, the Wall was also a source of controversy exactly because of the administrative staff's sometimes confusing selection policies. Moreover, sometimes errors were made, such as misspelling or of omissions, or of juxtapositions of different sets of historical agents, or of a lack of clarity about whether the fallen were agents or passive bystanders. And of course guests pointed them out or asked. On these occasions the guides had to face the brunt of at times embarrassing questions about why some names were repeated, misspelled or omitted. This was a constant refrain from the tour guides at the time: they had to defend the Park under circumstances that made it virtually impossible to do so.

Sometimes the guides simply got it wrong. For example, on my first tour, my guide pointed and said that the Voortrekker Monument was over 100 years old, when in fact

it was officially opened in 1949. I did not intervene. From then on I felt that he regularly slipped these errors into his narrative.²⁹ Why would a tour guide fudge a fact like this? Was this a test? Lindsay Jones (2010, 348) hints at one possible answer to this question in his observation of tour guides working in Mexico: “these archaeological cicerones are part public educators but even larger part entrepreneurs and raconteurs whose success in making a living depends far more upon their performative prowess and their skill in building a congenial rapport with their client-tourists than on fidelity to historical accuracy”. He could certainly have been testing me. It was a strange tour. I had come alone. But we cannot discount that under certain circumstances it is useful for guides to tailor the facts according to their perception of the tourists’ preconceived expectations, to make for an interesting tour narrative.

There are other sources we could turn to for an explanation. At a later stage I told this story to Patrick, a guide working at another major heritage site in the Gauteng area. He responded by saying the guide was badly trained, and that it was a clear indication he had not done his research. Research meant trawling websites like Google and Wikipedia to learn as much about the site as possible. Patrick stressed that dates were the most important facts in any tour narrative. At Freedom Park, facilities such as desks and computers were made available for guides to conduct research between tours. Whether that is what they did while surfing the web, I am not entirely sure. In any event, when I teased Patrick about his sources, asking whether he ever consulted books, he chided that only academics read books. That suggested a kind a disparity between academic knowledge and information acquired while surfing the net that was resolved, or at least accommodated, through the performance of the tour narrative. What were the dynamics of this process? Again, Lindsay Jones observations’ are useful:

There is a kind play at scholarship and learning going on here, a performance on both sides of the exchange: the guides, who work for tips, are only too happy to play along in the pseudo-academic charade ... And the tourists play at being historians and archaeologists. Their ostensible thirst for accurate information about ... culture and history, is secondary to the experiential sensation of ‘being here’ in the remote site of an even more remote ancient way of life. (2010, 348)



Figure 12. Freedom Park *Senthlaga* rendering NBGM Landscape Architects. Photograph courtesy of Graham Young.

But Patrick also told me that sometimes tour operators, teachers and other guides would call in advance before their visit and dictate what aspects of the narrative they would like to have emphasised or omitted. This was because, he said, some chaperones like teachers did not want their guests or learners to hear about how white police officers, prison wardens and officials had oppressed the black politicians that were now in office. These chaperones claimed it would cast an unnecessary shadow over contemporary race relations. Through this story, of authorities requesting a modified tour narrative, Patrick seemed to suggest that in contemporary South Africa, some facts of history posed a racialised moral frame of reference, of victim and perpetrator, that was still difficult for many to accept. This observation, which was equally applicable to Freedom Park, especially because of its strong ‘liberationist’ public profile, makes for interesting point about the utility of historical facts for the civic education of the public, and South Africans in particular, in relation to the on-site entertainment of visitors and guests.

If we continue with the tour outlined by the Public Tour’s Script, we will note that

guides were also required to point out and interpret the other sub-elements that made up *S'khumbuto*, such as the Eternal Flame, the Presidential Tree and the Reeds. This would also include some description of the elements that were still under construction. For example, guides informed visitors about the Gallery of Leaders, an indoor space “reserved to pay tribute to the achievement and to represent the leadership qualities of those who brought about the qualitative leaps in the struggles for humanity and freedom”.³⁰ This marked the end of the Public Tour’s Script narrative. Visitors were greeted and thanked for their visit, and asked to sign the guest book. Visitors sometimes also used this as an opportunity to take photos with the guide. The subject of tips, donations for good service, often surreptitiously passed to the guide at this point at heritage and tourism sites across the world, was a contentious subject at Freedom Park. I never actually saw guides receive tips from guests, but I am sure it did occur. They were all entertaining, well informed and, I am certain, guests, especially those from foreign countries, would want to tip them. Yet the guides I spoke to all stated that tips were a source of trouble, either attracting some form of tax implication—if they declared this income—or animosity between guides.

Developing a rich and elaborate rhetorical image of Freedom Park’s material elements, the Public Tour’s Script structured a tour that rhetorically extended through the oppression of the colonial and apartheid past into humanity and freedom celebrated in the post-apartheid present. Punctuated by pauses, cues for reflection and prayer, the script also invited visitors to internalise and almost literally experience the powerful meanings encoded into the sleek, indigenously inspired aesthetic of Freedom Park’s various material elements.

In South Africa, such tourism activity was often also meant to help financially uplift impoverished and marginalised communities. The high rate of unemployment and poverty in South Africa, and the shift towards ‘ethical travel’ regarding respect for local cultures and the environment, has led to empowerment and community upliftment, in the form of entrepreneurial opportunities, becoming a marketing premise. African nations, like other third world countries, are particularly compelling because they offer not only seemingly unmediated access to wildlife and nature, but also the opportunity to consume ‘authentic culture’ (see van Beek and Schmidt 2012). In my research at

heritage sites across the country, I found that institutions accommodated such stakeholder communities by allowing them to stage craft markets' stocked with 'authentic African' souvenirs or food and beverage outlets outside so as to capture some of the main visitor traffic. This was not the case at Freedom Park. This discrepancy between the lofty ideals advocated on site and the tough reality of life in Salvokop affirmed the finding that in the southern African region, tourism and the tourism industry did not economically benefit the poor in the way that proposals and policy documents always suggested (Muchapondwa and Stage 2013). This is a stark characterisation of a complex situation, but it helps to bring home a point that will be further elaborated upon in the next section.

Visitors

Who, indeed was Freedom Park for? For tourists? And if so, to paraphrase Sabine Marschall, 'Who Visits Freedom Park?' (2010a, 237-239). Certainly, as I will highlight later in this section, residents of Salvokop were not the most frequent visitors. Indeed, the research and planning for Freedom Park had not accommodated for this community. This is borne out by the various surveys that were conducted around the project and how this information was used to plan for the site. In that sense, one answer to this question of who the park was for comes from market research initiated by Freedom Park. In June 2002, Plus 94 Research published a market segment study of potential local tourists. Described as being based on "demographic, classification, attitudinal and behavioural data gathered from survey questionnaire[s]", the document identified and ranked five types of potential visitors using the Living Standards Measure categories (LSM).³¹ According to this survey, Freedom Park was predicted to appeal most strongly to a group identified as Peace and Scenic Lovers, white collar workers, ranked in the 8-10 LSM categories, aged between twenty five and fifty five from all race groups. "[C]lose family ties and bonds" were important for this group.³² They were also interested in outdoor activities, and thus seen as a core target market that could possibly occupy thirty-eight percent of the future market share. SA Heritage Stewards were black South Africans between the ages of eighteen and fifty five classified between LSM categories of 4-8 and worked in middle management. They would claim thirty four per cent of possible future market share. Significantly, they were interested in "the political division in the country" and belief that "correcting the facts (or presenting correct facts)

would to some degree be a symbol of appeasement of the ills of the past”. Entertainment Seekers, occupying a potential eleven per cent of the future market share were classified as females in the 9-10 LSM categories, aged between thirty five and fifty five, and employed in technical fields. Tourists/Curiosity Train segment represented a potential eight per cent of future visitors, and were considered to be black males, aged between twenty five and forty five, falling in the LSM categories of 4-7. Avid Scholars and Historians were typically male, black, coloured or Indian, worked in technical or academic fields, and fell in the LSM categories 4-9, and aged between eighteen and thirty five and would claim nine per cent of future market share. This segment was “less emotionally attached, particularly in respect of correction of the imbalances of the past, other than the veracity of the facts”. They were, however, “still very deep and religious people who prefer to stay in touch with their culture”.³³ Without providing a clear definition of what “religious” actually meant, the document claimed that this group visited high traffic recreational sites, essentially popular destinations, out of a concern about ‘tourist worthiness of a place’. Considering the community of Salvokop was predominantly working class, poor or unemployed, none of these categories captured this group, neither were groups like them planned for in the survey.

What is telling about the survey is not just, as Sabine Marschall has rightly suggested, the questionable accuracy of such marketing research or sampling vagaries (2010a, 238). But it is also interesting for how, despite these vagaries and inaccuracies, such classifications highlight the tension between commercial pressure and cultural ideals that Freedom Park had to negotiate in marketing itself as an attractive destination and reflect a broader socio-cultural bias troubling the South African tourism industry. To elaborate, Freedom Park faced the challenge of attracting a target audience like the Peace and Scenic Lovers, who had the disposable income to be able to sustain the venture commercially. Yet this target market felt culturally alienated from the site because of its ideologically loaded message.³⁴ Alternately, Freedom Park also faced the challenge of finding a way to attract a class of tourists like Heritage Stewards, a segment of educated, financially stable, black South Africans, but who would have ordinarily refrained from visiting heritage institutions because of a widespread belief that heritage tourism was a form of recreation enjoyed by white South Africans. Members of the Tourists/Curiosity Train predicted to claim the lowest market share, may have shown



Figure 13. Man in traditional attire at Freedom Park. Photograph courtesy of Graham Young.

significant interest in visiting Freedom Park. Ideologically, it was for this group that Freedom Park was designed. But with predicted earnings of between three and eight thousand Rand per month, this category commanded the least purchasing power. And it was for this audience that Freedom Park tailored its marketing activities during my research tenure at the site.³⁵ These challenges tested Freedom Park's ability to balance urgent commercial interests with higher ideological ideals. As I have tried to stress, at the time, Freedom Park negated the complexities of tourism activity, and the variety of South Africa's different touring cultures (Rojeck and Urry 1997), and chose to place ethos and ideals over commercial pressures. Such reasoning was certainly informed by the idea that Freedom Park was a quasi-state institution and hence also the beneficiary of state funds.

Whatever the complications surrounding the exact class of potential visitors Freedom Park would hopefully attract, marketing surveys predicted that it would not struggle in terms of visitor numbers. The Plus 94 Research survey predicted that Freedom Park would attract a great number of visitors. "Bearing in mind the overwhelming positive

response to the concept”, the redactor prefaced on the final page of the report, “[we estimate] a very conservative figure of 430 000 people per year [to attend Freedom Park]”. This translated into an average of 1200 visitors per day. No distinction was made between attendance on average days and commemorative days when Freedom Park was most likely to attract more visitors. Projected figures for visitor numbers appeared to only increase subsequent marketing surveys. In March 2007 a more detailed thorough Visitation Analysis and Operations Planning Report was provided by the leading market research firm Orca Consulting LLC.³⁶ This report factored in a number of possible variables into the possible daily visitor numbers, calculating for scenarios such as Peak Days and Design Days, as well as calculations for numbers during different stages of the park’s construction. For the Intermediate Phase, therefore, the mid-range estimate for daily attendance on Design Days, was 2500 visitors, whereas for Peak Days it was considered to be 3300 visitors per day. After completion of Phase 2, projections increased to 7700 and 11000 respectively. At the lowest estimate, of low numbers on Design Days during the Intermediate Phase, Freedom Park was projected to attract 2000 visitors a day, or 730000 visitors a year. These were incredibly high predictions for a heritage tourism destination in South Africa. Despite these flamboyant research claims, it was readily apparent while doing embedded research in 2010 and on subsequent visits in 2012 and 2013, that these were not the kind of visitor numbers moving through the entrance turnstiles. The Freedom Park Annual Report for the 2011/12 year declared that it drew between 1500 – 2000 visitors per month, and up to 1000 visitors on popular days of national commemoration which could translate into figures of about 40 000 visitors per year.³⁷ In 2013, after being fully operational, the CEO declared that the park attracted 23 000 visitors.³⁸ This was a dramatic contrast in projected versus actual visitor numbers, which is made all the more stark when compared to the Voortrekker Monument, the closest, most comparable heritage site. The Voortrekker Monument attracted roughly 350 000 guests per year, 150 000 of which were school going learners, 200 000 of which were ordinary visitors, of which 75% were international guests.³⁹ Clearly, while resources were poured into forming Freedom Park into a materially outstanding heritage destination, this did not translate into a compelling and popular tourism brand.

Freedom Park’s failure to appeal to the tourist market was a concern appreciated at the

highest level of management. The former CEO, Mongane Wally Serote, declared in an interview that he lamented the fact that one of the failures of his tenure was to inspire interest in Freedom Park, especially amongst South Africans.⁴⁰ In his understanding, explanations for why that was the case extended beyond reasons related to a clash of ideals and visitor culture. Indeed, it could be related to the practicalities of the site itself and Freedom Park's place in the domestic tourism market. This was made apparent to me on one tour with a group of 40 lively Dutch visitors who, significantly had been visiting South Africa to do outreach work—assisting with the improvement of the township—at Freedom Park, an informal settlement in Rustenburg.⁴¹ During the tour, I approached their private tour guide to enquire about his thoughts about the site. The guide mentioned that Freedom Park was a wonderful heritage site, but that as yet it did not feature on the itinerary of many of the tour operators in the Pretoria. This was significant because Freedom Park had won tourism awards and featured on many of the mainstream tourism websites related to South Africa and the Gauteng area.⁴² He pointed out a number of reasons for this. There were misperceptions about Freedom Park being a heritage site representing black South African history, which negatively impacted on the way it was marketed domestically. This was exacerbated by the fact that Freedom Park had also not established firm relations with tour operators, effectively isolating them from the local market. The main reason for the lack of local market interest, the tour guide opined, was very simply that the tours were too long. Operators scheduling day tours and half-day tours found it difficult to allocate 1.5 hours to a Freedom Park tour and accommodate many other attractions in a day's package. This certainly was an isolated anecdotal account but at the time I could not find evidence that the Freedom Park officials were trying to address these issues and change its marketing profile.

Reception

Visitor accounts varied widely. I have already alluded to some examples. There were reports where, like in the case of the Reverend Abraham T. Sibiyi, cited in the previous chapter, where Freedom Park could be seen as an uninviting, alien site of demonic religious practise.⁴³ For others, the site could be threatening and perhaps physically challenging, as was the case with the Turner family who visited in 2009.⁴⁴ For many tourists, however, a visit to Freedom Park could be an interesting touristic

experience. For some, it could even be moving and deeply informative. This was the case with independent tour guide Robin Binckes' American visitors, who "who wiped a tear away as they heard Nelson Mandela's inauguration speech", and exclaimed "Wow. What a museum, that has to be one of the best in the world" on the occasion of their visit.⁴⁵ In this section, to add to the broad overview of the way in which perception played out, I will provide a further set of examples of ethnographic data of visitor experience gathered on site and remarks made in the Visitor's Guest book. Working with a small data sample, I wish to provide a broad picture from a spectrum of views, rather than an exhaustive, narrow focus, of the ways in which the notion of a destination was received.

A Freedom Park visit could register a number of positive experiences, and comments delivered during or after the tour suggested that visitors construed the aesthetic experience to be culturally and historically informative at least, and inspiring and moving at best. Often this was construed as being informative of an African or South African indigenous knowledge, or the realisation of how, in South Africa, the power of the struggle for truth and justice overcame forces of political oppression. For example, an ambassador to South Africa declared on an unofficial, private tour: "I bring all my guests here. There is a lot of symbolism ... [the Freedom Park] explains a lot about South Africa".⁴⁶ Indeed, this particular frame of interpretation came into relief on one particularly lively afternoon tour with a group of young, enthusiastic South African visitors. Having been guided through the various elements and treated to a rich explanation of the symbolism under the gloomy spring skies, one guest thankfully remarked that essentially, through delivering his tour narrative the tour guide was "preaching Freedom". This was affirmed by a remark made by another guest in the same party who declared that they were glad for not having decided to embark on a self-guided tour. They had realised that the tour would not have made sense since "in Africa everything is explained through symbolism".⁴⁷ While bringing the problem of the privileged status of local, African knowledge into focus, the guest's comment also pointed to the significance of the tour narrative as an informative supplement, a site of meaningful myth-making (see Selwyn, 1996), that complemented the appreciation of the aesthetic experience of Freedom Park. Indeed, we could venture as far as saying, through the performance of the tour narrative helped to set the site apart, to sacralise it,



Figure 14. Salvokop Housing Estate.

as a valorised material heritage form (see Fine and Speer 1985). Similar accounts of Freedom Park’s praise-worthy status as a heritage destination appeared in comments visitors left in the Guest Book. These concise, hasty inscriptions, however circumscribed by the guestbook format itself, revealed telling expressions of appreciation of Freedom Park’s symbolic and aesthetic resonances. This was evident in remarks such as “very informative rich history of Africa and interaction with the world”; “amazing and captive history”; “Freedom Park is an outstanding work of the Historical Imagination”; “An excellent site. It’s all about your mind. Peace!”; “So beautiful. Symbolic. I want to come back in the future”; “So beautiful and Powerful. Full of Meaning”; “It is wonderful and spiritual (Ubuntu is Here!)”.⁴⁸

What did the residents of Salvokop think about Freedom Park? In my very limited research, I found that ordinary residents were ambivalent about Freedom Park, with some of the young men in the area expressing satisfaction at having gained short-term employment during the construction. Community leaders said that the Park had marginalised them by demolishing houses to expand development, or by not including



Figure 15. Salvokop Housing Estate.

them in helping to provide services on site. Officials at Freedom Park were not unaware of this breakdown in relations with the community. The tour guides, for example, would often remark that in order to flourish, Freedom Park had to include the residents of Salvokop more. Yet officials in the marketing department at the time would point out that this was a “community in transition”, referring to the plans to relocate the residence and upgrade the housing estate. Freedom Park and Salvokop residents clearly had a difficult relationship.

But that did not mean that residents could not take the initiative and try to capture some of the market and set up their own businesses on their own properties. The most baffling experience in my research tenure was driving to Freedom Park and not understanding how or why the local community had not made an attempt to participate in tourism activity. Certainly, they had mitigated for this. Joyce Mabena, the local ANC Ward councillor and community leader, speaking to the *City Press* newspaper in 2009, stated emphatically, “this land is black gold”. “Look at this street”, she implored the journalist reporting the case “we can make a beautiful row of shops here”.⁴⁹ Joyce

Mabena, it needs to be noted, had a dubious career as a community leader, who both championed the case of the Salvokop community and personally involved herself in crime-fighting in the area. But she had also fallen foul of the law and the very community she was meant to have been representing, having been accused of being an accessory to the murder of her brother in 2011, and in 2014, of having diverted jobs she'd promised to the community.⁵⁰ While casting doubts on her reliability as an informant, and her vested interest in gaining the status as a broker and community spokesperson, Mabena's case does highlight the prized value of the land in relation to the park, and the local residents' legitimate claim to some of the benefits that accrue from tourism at Freedom Park. By early 2013, the last time I visited the site, there was no row of shops, craft market, curio stores or eateries lining the entrance way to Freedom Park. For a time, though, there were prospects for positive change. In late 2013, Fana Jiyana Freedom Park's then CEO stated that the company had planned to "turn the entire Salvokop township into a cultural precinct", as part of the institution's attempt to grow its brand value and capitalise on its R1 billion (€71 million) rand asset base. We may only hope that these plans are ultimately executed, and that some of the benefits trickle down into the pockets of residents who, for more than ten years, have watched the monolith which is Freedom Park, come to rise on the hill. This may be far off yet. Unfortunately, in April 2014, security personnel unceremoniously escorted Fana Jiyane off the Freedom Park premises. He had been suspended following a string of widely reported allegations of sexual misconduct, financial mismanagement and nepotism.⁵¹ The human relations turmoil that rocked the halls of executive power at Freedom Park did not bode well for these plans. Reports of Freedom Park have not improved. In 2015, the journalist Luke Alfred poignantly wrote of his visit,

"The restaurant couldn't be visited because it housed only one thing - the brightly-coloured Tupperware boxes that contained workers' lunches - and there were telltale signs of subtle ageing and wear and tear. The casing of ground-level light fittings on the pathways to the Wall of Remembrance often spilled out onto the path itself and although the facility is pristine, melancholy hung in the air. This is the peculiarly accented melancholy of underuse, of so much time and effort spent in the creation of a special place which no one seems to see or care for."⁵²

Conclusion

Constructed explicitly as a national heritage site, Freedom Park also functioned as a

heritage destination that was meant to address South Africans as a nation and tourists. Such a commercial framing emphasised the sites' inherent persuasiveness and ability to convincingly put across a dense, challenging cultural and historical heritage narrative. And indeed it could be said that Freedom Park framed a convincing aesthetics of persuasion, showing the compelling, even entertaining, power of the sacred, as part of practises of heritage formation. Visitors registered the religious resonances of certain elements in the Park, interpreting their significance in different ways, by for example pausing to pay homage to their ancestors or gods, while others fled in fear of such seemingly blasphemous practises. Central to this process of engaged interpretation was the skilful interpretive work of the tour guides who 'revealed' the abstract meanings and hidden religious and cultural codes 'imbued' in the material elements of the site. This positioning was, however, not uncontested, and disagreements, divergences and dissonances sprang up in ordinary and sometimes extraordinary encounters on tour. Concerning historical and cultural content central to ideas of belonging in contemporary South Africa, these debates alluded the practical ways in which citizenship was and is negotiated at sites like this, reflecting wider debates taking place in the post-apartheid heritage and tourism arena. Here we see meaningful, pleasurable, entertaining visitor experience was not merely a crucial stake for Freedom Park being able to assert the project's value as a heritage destination and its legitimacy as a national site of memory. Rather it was the very site where the ideas of authenticity and legitimacy were actively negotiated and renegotiated. These were the kinds of dynamics at play at all heritage projects. For indeed, similar contestations over authenticity, value, and legitimacy would manifest, albeit in different ways, in the case of the STHP, a commercially sponsored heritage project, that I will address in the next chapter.

Notes

¹ Held between 1962 and 1964, the Rivonia Trial and led the conviction of ANC members for treason and sabotage.

² Jabu Ngwenya, "A Journey Into Our Past Through Freedom Park." *Sawubona* in flight magazine, October 2011.

³ "The Park", accessed at

http://www.freedompark.co.za/cms/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=19&Itemid=21, 1 January, 2014.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Landing page, www.freedompark.co.za, accessed 1 January, 2014.

⁹ Address by the Deputy President Jacob Zuma at the Launch of the Freedom Park Trust, 1 June 2000.

¹⁰ 'Remarks by the Minister of Arts, Science, Culture and Technology, Dr B S Ngubane at the Officiating Ceremony of Freedom Park Heritage Site, Salvokop, 16 June, 2002.

¹¹ 'Testimonial' accessed at

http://www.freedompark.co.za/cms/index.php?view=you...out=default&page=&option=com_content&Itemid=7 on 13 September 2010.

¹² Freedom Park Public Tour's Script, undated. pg 1-13.

¹³ Comments on the Design Brief, 9 September, 2004.

¹⁴ Freedom Park News, April 2007, pg 19.

¹⁵ Freedom Park declared a Cultural Institution, 31 March, 2009, retrieved at

http://www.freedompark.co.za/cms/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_details&gid=154&Itemid=47, (1 June 2012) and Government Gazette, 31443, article 1019, 28 September, 2008.

¹⁶ Freedom Park Public Tour's Script, undated. pg 1-13.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ The reasons behind this graded entrance and welcome sequence was subsequently explained to me as revolving around time management and security of guests. Tours began at the top of Salvokop Hill, but had to be carefully guided to the meeting point where the guide officially took over, so that they did not suddenly start wandering about on their own.

²¹ 'S'khumbuto',

http://www.freedompark.co.za/cms/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=25&Itemid=31 ,

accessed 1 January, 2014. Out of consideration for the guides' role as ambassadors of Freedom Park, and to prevent any recourse against them for the knowledge and opinions they may have shared, however that may be construed, I have anonymised the names of all the tour guides that I came in contact with and who helped me.

²² 'Isivivane',

http://www.freedompark.co.za/cms/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=25&Itemid=31,

accessed, 1 January, 2014; Public Tours Script.

²³ 'Mveledzo', accessed at

http://www.freedompark.co.za/cms/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=27&Itemid=33, !

January, 2014; Public Tours Script.

²⁴ It is also important to point out that, *Isivivane* also attracted black South African visitors who wished to observe private religious rituals of recollection, healing and prayers and were free to do so.

²⁵ Undated interview, Freedom Park, Pretoria, South Africa.

²⁶ Freedom Park Public Tour's Script, undated. pg 1-13.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ The eight different conflicts were described as, Pre-Colonial Wars, Genocide, Slavery, Wars of Resistance, Anglo-Boer Wars (South African Wars), the 1st and 2nd World Wars, and the Struggle for Liberation.

²⁹ I did not think it prudent to raise this with the guide after having built a rapport with him and the team. It was not a frequent occurrence, and indeed, my general perception was that the guides were knowledgeable about historical facts, dates and figures.

³⁰ Freedom Park Public Tour's Script, undated. pg 1-13.

³¹ Plus 94 Research, June 2002, pg 34.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Interview, Gosebo Mathope, head of the Department of Public Participation, 23 September, 2010.

³⁵ Interview Ilse Posselt, 15 October, 2010.

³⁶ This was a leading international heritage and entertainment market research firm that branded themselves as “Ensuring the ultimate visitor experience”. See <http://www.orcaconsultingllc.com/projects-freedom-park.shtml> for an abridged report of the work conducted for Freedom Park. accessed 1 July 2013.

³⁷ Freedom Park Annual Report 2011/12, pg 9.

³⁸ “Facelift to boost Freedom Park, Salvokop”, Pretoria News 1 November, 2013.

³⁹ Email correspondence, Geraldine Paulsen, Media and Communications Officer, Voortrekker Monument, 21 October, 2013.

⁴⁰ Interview with Mongane Wolly Serote, 2 November, 2010.

⁴¹ Freedom Park tour, 29 October, 2010.

⁴² Undated interview, October, 2010, Freedom Park, Pretoria.

⁴³ “Speak to Ourselves”, *Sunday Sun*, June 17, 2007.

⁴⁴ See *Business Day*, 18 February 2009.

⁴⁵ ‘Land of the Free’, Robin Binkes. Travel Weekly, *Sunday Times* supplement, pg, 7.

⁴⁶ Freedom Park tour 17 October, 2010.

⁴⁷ Freedom Park tour, 24 October 2010.

⁴⁸ Freedom Park Guestbook Comments, July, August, September 2010. This is a selective set of remarks chosen not on the grounds of their positive content, but because of the evocative terms in which appreciation was expressed. Visitor comments are often circumscribed according to the space made available in the Guest Book and the time afforded to such activity and the general post-tour circumstances that create the perception that visitors are obliged to sign the register and that the comment has to have a positive, well-meaning connotation. This results in what I feel is a corpus of inscriptions that are brief, positive, yet largely uninformative of visitors’ actual accounts of their experience at the site.

⁴⁹ “No Freedom for poor in this park”, *City Press*, 26 July 2009.

⁵⁰ On the murder accusation see, “Murder over Magic Tree: councillor in court after brother’s death”, *Daily Sun*, 31 August, 2011, and on the diversion of job opportunities see “Anger flares as outsiders get jobs” *Pretoria News* 1 October, 2014.

⁵¹ See ‘Freedom Park CEO suspended’, accessed at <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Freedom-Park-CEO-suspended-20140430>, 1 October, 2014.

⁵² ‘No Easy Road between Freedom Park and Voortrekker Monument’, Luke Alfred. 24 April, 2015. Accessed at <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-04-23-no-easy-road-between-voortrekker-monument-and-freedom-park>, 27 April, 2015.

4. Mediated Taste: News, History and the Sunday Times Heritage Project

“What we are doing with this project is to look back at 100 years of South African news history from the [*Sunday Times*] 21st Century perspective. And that, as for all South Africans since 1994, is a liberating experience.”

Charlotte Bauer, *No More Big Men on Bronze Horses*

“[A] well constructed narrative moves the listener or the reader to say: “Can I tell you a terrific story?” Indeed, there is life in the words of a good story; there is life in the prose of a tasteful ethnography.”

Paul Stoller and Cheryl Olkes, *The Taste of Ethnographic Things*

“In the act of tasting, when the bite or sip moves through the mouth and into the body, culture and nature become one.”

Amy B. Trubeck, *The Taste of Place*

Introduction

“Why are you bragging with your monument?/He’s big but so ugly, /and he’s so bald. Who paid for him - /all that granite, marble and cement?” the narrator of Peter Blum’s sonnet, *Oor Monumente Gepraat*—Talking about Monuments, wryly enquires. Continuing their witty descriptive interpretation of Cape Town’s inner city heritage landscape, the narrator observes further “Oh yes, he’s bigger than a circus tent - but where’s the horse, the pretty mare in the stable?” Accommodating monumental and even equestrian grandeur, this world of statues does not tolerate ordinary, living people. “No there’s no place for you Cape child!/Here we have statues, everyone like a person:/”. In their state of frozen animation, these monumental effigies of colonial and apartheid leaders and figures appear to live lives of their own. There’s “old Murray with is broken thumb; Hofmeyr with his swollen belly;/ here’s Jan van Riebeeck, dressed to the nines in his plus-fours [shoes]; Cecil Rhodes showing you the way to the horse race track, and in front of the houses of Parliament old Miss Victoria with her small mellon”.¹ Mocking the personalities that constitute Cape Town’s white-hero statuary



Figure 16. Cecil Rhodes Statue Company Gardens. Photograph by KNewman1, used under Wikipedia creative commons license.

cult, the narrator also intended to make fun of the seriousness implied by such classical manifestations of heritage formation. This shrewd descriptive commentary posed a wry series of questions about monumentality and the meaning and place of such material heritage forms in Cape Town's urban landscape.

In 2006, the *Sunday Times*, a popular weekly broadsheet publication, embarked on a heritage project that attempted to break with the commemorative aesthetic that captured the attention of Peter Blum's narrator. In contrast to the state's attempt to

concentrate South Africa's heritage resources in one central location through the Freedom Park, in 2006 the *Sunday Times* chose to embark upon an independent, alternative, diffuse heritage initiative that would be dispersed across the country. Comprised of a series of 35 site-specific memorials "commemorat[ing] and mark[ing] news figures, events and moments that had shaped the Sunday Times Century", the STHP extended across South Africa's four major metropolitan centres in the provinces of Gauteng, the Eastern and Western Cape and Kwa-Zulu-Natal.² Marking the celebration of the publication's centenary, the STHP was framed as being a gesture of thanks, a tribute, to the South African public for "having nurtured the Sunday Times" since its launch in 1906.³ This was a "self-funded give back project" (Bauer 2007, 39), a means of reciprocating, whereby the publication intended to make a '100 year commitment to play a role in the heritage space' in thanks to its readership. Through this heritage venture the newspaper sought to contribute to reconciliation and nation building. The project aimed to "shine a light on [] singular moment[s] in 100 years of news time which, subtly or significantly, helped to shape the diverse 'us'" (ibid). It was a means of taking "ownership of our collective experience so as to use it to forge a common South Africanness [and] ensure that our bitterness at our past is translated into positive energy".⁴ This project was not simply a form of corporate self-glorification. Instead, through the erection of a series of material markers commemorating events and figures that had shaped South African history over the course of the 20th century, the STHP was to be the fulfilment of the publication's slogan, that it was "the paper for the people". Weaving commercial interests into news history and repackaging it as a philanthropic public heritage project, the STHP presents itself as a fascinating post-apartheid heritage endeavour.

As highlighted in the Introduction of this thesis, the inauguration of the post-apartheid political dispensation also saw the flourishing of a range of commercially sponsored projects engaging with the South African past as corporate entities such as the *Sunday Times* tried to respond to volatile public sentiments about the transformation of society. In developing these projects, corporate entities posed complicated questions about the relationships between heritage and consumption, sincerity and self-interest. As a market driven venture, the STHP was distinctive because it was promoted as a purely philanthropic initiative, which served as an authenticating trope legitimising the project.

In commemorating the South African past, the STHP paid tribute to the ideals that distinguished the *Sunday Times* as the ‘paper for the people’, and therefore served as a representation of the *Sunday Times*’ legacy of news practice and history repacked for consumption as South African heritage. Mimicking the kind of branding exercise we saw enacted at Freedom Park, the STHP was therefore compelling as a commercial heritage project precisely because of how deftly it blurred the lines between the ideals of public heritage practise and the demands for income generation. Sabine Marschall (2010b; 2010d; 2011; 2013) has written extensively on this case study, addressing questions of commerce and commemoration, gender and digital heritage largely through art historical and memory studies theory. Cynthia Kros (2008) has also written informatively as a collaborator historian, writing about the production of public history. My chapter is framed against their research, and extends it by placing emphasis on participant observation made on site at a selection of narrative memorials, particularly, as will be shown in the following chapter, as it relates to a focus on the material and sensorial capacities of the memorials.

How can we reconcile the apparently conflicting motives of commercial and public interests that such a project appears to frame? Looking exclusively at the formation of the project, I will show how the *Sunday Times* mobilised the heritage aesthetic of memorialisation to reposition itself in the post-apartheid social, cultural and political milieu by intervening in public notions of taste for commemorative and print media. Addressing the STHP as a branding endeavour, I will critically analyse the *Sunday Times*’ claim that the project was a benevolent, altruistic gesture taken up with the intention of making an altruistic contribution to post-apartheid commemoration. In doing so, I do not wish to merely dismiss the project because it was inspired by a thinly veiled commercial interest. Rather, I will show how and in what ways the heritage aesthetic of memorialisation helped the *Sunday Times* create value beyond and despite the self-interest underwriting the project’s initiation. Value and value creation is intrinsic to the politics of authenticity that concern processes of heritage formation. It also raises important questions about a kind of surplus meaning generated through strategic positioning of material cultural forms as heritage. In this chapter I will therefore outline the history of the STHP’s formation working carefully with the publication’s primary philanthropic claims to show how it was used as a platform for the creation of forms of

economic, cultural and civic value and a new kind of post-apartheid taste.

News-Values

In honouring its pledge as the ‘paper for the people’, the *Sunday Times* grounded the project’s conceptual framework in the kind of journalistic practises that had contributed to the paper’s commercial success. In the following section I will discuss the *Sunday Times*’ perspective on news-values and how that was taken up as a principle guiding the production of historical knowledge used to select the narratives it decided were worthy of commemoration. Adopting a journalistic perspective on South African heritage formation would serve to affirm the distinctive, independent, media-driven character of the project. The newspaper therefore marshalled for an alternate view of what constituted legitimate historical knowledge worthy of commemoration, since, by embarking on the project they wanted to show that “today’s news is tomorrow’s history” (Bauer 2007, 39). Since the project would serve as the celebration of the publication’s centenary, the unflinching coverage of the news history about the *Sunday Times* was especially important. “Our newspaper is not in the business of revising history,” declared, citing, moreover, that they were “especially not [out] to make any earlier incarnations of this newspaper look better” (2008, np). If news history construed a valid corpus of historical data, then journalists were best suited to report on its significance for future commemoration. The project was therefore managed and coordinated by a team of journalists or individuals with experience in the print media. At the executive level, the project was directed by Charlotte Bauer and managed by Jacqui Gunn, while the then editor of the *Sunday Times* Mondli Makhanya was also personally involved in decision-making processes. They worked in collaboration with four female journalists who sourced, researched and proposed possible local narratives in each of the four provinces identified. Gillian Anstey worked in Gauteng, Shelly Said covered Kwa-Zulu Natal Province, Sue Valentine dealt with Cape Town, and Janette Bennett worked on the Eastern Cape leg of the project (see Marschall 2010b; 2010d; 2011).⁵ This group of highly experienced female journalists, all of whom had no prior experience in the heritage sector, drew on their journalistic insight and expertise, partly developed through experience of having worked at the *Sunday Times*, when developing the list of narratives for commemoration.

In developing a list of narratives for commemoration, the team employed selection criteria strongly informed by the news-values, the set of socially constructed, fluid and evolving abstract ideas about how particular events are construed as being news-worthy (O’Sullivan et. al, 1983; Harcup and O’Neill 2001; O’Neill and Harcup 2009; see also Fairclough 1995), that had contributed to the *Sunday Times*’ commercial success. Firstly, the set of narratives had to display some active, newsworthy element that made them enticing. As Charlotte Bauer explained, “Typically newspaper stories are personality driven and action-orientated. The Sunday Times is a popular paper, so our angle on these narrative memorials is to hook the viewer by making the historic news events we are asking people to remember, worth remembering; not because we should but because we can’t resist a good story (2007, 39)”. Secondly, the fascinating features of these narratives had to be linked to particular spaces in the landscape: they had to “mark the spot where some of the significant news events ... happened” (2007, 36). Thirdly, categories of South African social and cultural life from which the narratives were culled were required to, in some way, go beyond the well-established pantheon of political heroes and the ‘grand narrative’ of liberation. Researchers therefore “set out to identify and develop a number of stories, characters and sites across the news board – eureka moments in science, the arts, sport, politics and society” (2007, 39). These were not meant to be smooth, romantic accounts of South African history: “the Sunday Times Heritage Project is not about role models” (Bauer 2007, 39). Instead, the paper wished to expose the power of human agency at the centre of the events they sought to document, “whether they are fearless, flawed, heroic or badly behaved – or a mixture of the above” (Bauer 2007, 39). By underpinning the STHP with news-values that had sustained the *Sunday Times* over the course of a century, officials therefore tried to suggest that they did not merely seek to extend the publication’s brand into South Africa’s landscape of memory. They also wished to pay homage to the ideals of the Fourth Estate by offering an implicit critique of mainstream, state-driven modes of public commemoration post-apartheid. As Charlotte Bauer put it: “as journalists it is our democratic right to publish what we like under law in our newspaper each Sunday. But it is our privilege to build memorials on the streets of South Africa” (2007, 40).

Whatever the claims of the journalists pioneering the project, as an exercise in media production aimed at creating a material impact in society, the STHP could also be

construed as a kind of newspaper campaign. These were projects where news publications embarked on a sustained focus of particular social issues of apparent concern to readers with the intention of actively instituting positive change. As John Richardson (2007) has shown, these mediated projects have complex, interrelated social, political and commercial aims. The fundamental assumption created by such campaigns was that the news publication directly addressed the social issue affecting a reading audience. By framing its address in ways that suggested influential authority, newspapers positioned themselves as effective ‘change’ agents, which helped facilitate “readership loyalty and identification” (Ibid, 115). News publications mobilised such projects during testing commercial conditions using sensational yet soft subjects to galvanise reader interest. As such, newspapers often “use[d] populist and sensationalist but politically timid subjects to market themselves and hence increase profit” (Ibid, 115). Tellingly, campaigns were almost always engaged by publications that were losing readership, which, in the case of the STHP was significant, since research shows the *Sunday Times* steadily lost readers between 2006 and 2011.⁶ This partly had to do with a changing domestic print media environment following the introduction of the tabloid press (see Wasserman, 2010; Jethro 2008, 86-108) and the global pressure of online media eroding local appetite for traditional sources of news. Significantly, however, while media campaigns were temporary, bound by specific time constraints, the STHP was meant to be enduring, lasting in the landscape for the next 100 years. Nevertheless, the newspaper campaign was revealing for reasons other than economic motivation, as it helped shed light on the role of particular mediated practices in maintaining social and civil relations. Specifically, it revealed “the political position of newspapers in a social formation – the relationship between a newspaper and its readership, and the relationships between a newspaper and the rest of society” (Richardson 2007, 116). Through these campaigns newspapers tried to position themselves to make claims about being able to best represent the interests of ‘the people’. Such a framing of course obscured the vested commercial interests news publications had in making such claims, and the problematic conflation of the terms ‘the people’ and readers. Interpreted in this way, the STHP served as a means of reconfiguring the *Sunday Times*’ link with its readership under the auspices of offering a meaningful interpretation of the political change that had taken place in South African society as if they were ‘the people’ or ‘the nation’.

News History and Taste

The *Sunday Times* premised its claim of being ‘the paper for the people’ on a sustained legacy of dominant sales figures and a consistently biting populist reportorial tone instituted upon its launch on the 4th of February 1906, by the cavalier adventurer editor, George Herbert Kingswell.⁷ As I will show in this section, this history, and the news history generated in the pages of the *Sunday Times*, is central to the memorialisation that was eventually exercised through the STHP. The then editor of the *Rand Daily Mail*, Kingswell cottoned onto the idea of introducing a new weekly as a riposte to the drubbing the paper was receiving at the hands of its competitors. Persuading the *Mail’s* owner, Sir Abe Bailey, of the viability of the venture, Kingswell solicited the necessary start-up capital and commandeered the *Mail’s* resources to churn out the publication. The inaugural edition marked the paper’s bold and biting stance towards Rand Lords and politicians, likening the latter to be “reptiles that crawl out from under stones”. “Imperialist to the backbone”, the publication maintained that it would however be “tied to the heels of no political party” and steer an “independent political course” (Dreyer 2006, 2-4; Hachten and Giffard 1984, 39). This was a time when “English newspapers were heavily influenced by British journalistic tradition”, and where the predominant concern amongst British editors was “the perpetuation of British influence in a most conservative form” at the expense of acknowledging ‘that there were grievous social injustices to be righted’ (Hachten and Giffard 1984, 39-40). At a time when the purchase and reading of newspapers on Sundays was frowned upon, the paper quickly established itself as a firm feature of white leisure culture, as part of a tradition of Sunday media consumption. The dynamics of this practise were alluded to in an editorial of 1907 describing the feelings this reading culture was meant to evoke: “As he took his *Sunday Times* with his early coffee in bed (as every decent man should), the reader rubbed his eyes and became wide awake on the instant ... of reading about some sensational piece of news (as cited in Dreyer 2006, 4). The paper sustained its circulatory dominance through the twentieth century, and, by the time it planned to commemorate its centenary, it could boast a readership profile that better reflected the national demographic: it was the leading Sunday publication, with a readership that was predominantly black and between the LSM categories of six and ten.⁸

The *Sunday Times* framed the STHP’s primary audience as being the South African

public, a vague and problematic social category that was abstracted from its popularity as a news publication. Encompassing a number of interrelated, sometimes overlapping ideas about distinctions between private and public (Weintraub 1997), the notion of the public is commonly associated with the work of Jurgen Habermas. For Habermas the public was a dispersed unit, or entity, that was different from the crowd, but also separate from the market, the state and the family. Yet it was linked, perhaps even constituted through, discursive participation with texts, particularly print media such as newspapers (see also Michael Warner 2002; 2005). Habermas' theories have been widely used for interpreting the relationship between the public, public spheres, citizenship and democracy (Butsch 2007). Here I wish to signal that there is an important, implicit, although not uncontested, root to the claims made by the *Sunday Times* about there being a relationship between a readership and 'the public'. In contrast to the state's claiming authority to address South Africans as a nation through projects like Freedom Park, the *Sunday Times* appealed to the constituency of its readership, the people, the reading public, to validate its claim as an arbiter of post-apartheid heritage. Because the newspaper was popular and represented the 'people', it could negotiate claims to and about the nation at large through this constituency unit. As I will show in Chapter 6, the popular would also be the implicit premise framing the *vuvuzela's* heritage appeal. As will be addressed more thoroughly in Chapter 6, what such a framing elided was the complexity of how the notion of popularity was construed and the politics surrounding who made such claims. In this case, however, claims to popularity on the basis of readership numbers discounts the literate public and those who could afford or chose to consume particular brands of news media. Such complexities and politics become evident when looking at the ways in which the *Sunday Times* framed its relationship to different sets of readerships over the 20th century.

Despite journalists avoiding 'the *Sunday Times* archive, never mind as a primary source, when researching narratives for commemoration an implicit criterion for each of these stories was that they had to have been covered by the *Sunday Times* at some point.⁹ In light of the narratives' connection to this body of news history, the socio-political circumstances under which this information was generated warrants some critical attention. Despite its populist, critical editorial line, at the time of its inception the *Sunday Times* reinforced the views of a white, English speaking minority. It was

also unashamedly racist. Early issues of the paper therefore offered a “fascinating, if sometimes alarming glimpse into prevailing popular opinion, at least amongst its overwhelmingly white readership” (Dreyer 2006, 5). The *Sunday Times*, like its English peers, would continue to cater almost exclusively to the desires and sentiments of this readership throughout the apartheid era, although the flagrant racism that had soiled its copy during its early days would, over time, be redacted. This shift was related to a growing perception, emerging from the 1950’s onwards, that newspapers like the *Sunday Times* “lead the assault on racism and injustices of the political and economic establishment” under circumstances of increasing state repression (Hachten and Giffard 1984, 140; see Hepple 1960; 1974). Situated between the Afrikaans press and the state, the English speaking press could, however, forge a lucrative commercial niche on the back of an ideological premise of being the liberal voice of the English speaking white minority expressing well-intended critique of the state on behalf of a silent and oppressed black majority (Chimutengwende 1978). In some senses, then, the slogan that the *Sunday Times* was the ‘paper for the people’, as Charlotte Bauer put it, could also be construed as a catchphrase that “depended on who the people were at the time”.¹⁰

At the height of apartheid, in terms of news practise and content, there was a persistent feeling amongst black audiences and journalists of racial prejudice when it came to the English speaking press. For example, the English press attended to the news needs of black South Africans through the publication of token supplementary editions, or Extra’s, separate from the regular paper. This tradition was established at the *Rand Daily Mail* in the early 1960’s under the stewardship of legendary struggle journalist Benjamin Pogrund (Tomaselli and Tomaselli 1987, 73). This practise created a space for the coverage of stories relevant to a largely ignored black audience, but it also stirred the ire of black journalists who felt the news they carried, detailing the indignities “of influx controls and pass-raids”, were “not reported in the white editions” where this information was most needed (Hachten and Giffard 1984, 143). It also exposed a fundamental contradiction underwriting the moral high-ground from which the English press issued reportage: it promoted racial integration through segregationist news practise. As Pogrund was himself to confess, “Total integration is obviously desirable, but are our readerships ready for it?” (cited in Tomaselli and Tomaselli 1987, 74).

Criticism went beyond the level of content, however, with black journalists pointing to the management of their stories during periods of particularly harsh oppression being heavily edited or even scrapped, as well as the overall maintenance of their diminutive status within English newsrooms (Tomaselli and Tomaselli 1987, 55-75; Jackson 1993). Questions about the political economy of news production and journalism as ideological practise would resurface in the late 1990's in debates amongst scholars, media practitioners and the state especially as they regarded the relationship between the media, civil society and its role in transformation in democratic South Africa (see Duncan and Seleane 1998, 22- 53; Berger 1999; Wasserman and Beer 2005; Hadland 2007). The *Sunday Times'* place in post-apartheid South African society and the complex and challenging aspects of its history of news production were largely omitted in the piles of executive copy celebrating the *Sunday Times* centenary. In doing so, a perception was created that the production of news and what constitutes newsworthiness, and the place of popular print media institutions operated within a vacuum outside of a field of social, cultural and political forces that influenced its production. The *Sunday Times* slogan that it was the "paper for the people" was therefore ironic since it also spoke to a history where, through its media practises, the publication participated in, and profited from, a political system that privileged a few at the expense of the majority.

The *Sunday Times'* news history was in some senses distasteful. In being unpalatable, passages of the *Sunday Times* news history also reflected different reading publics' changing taste for print media. The transformations in the relationship between the *Sunday Times* and the audiences to which it appealed show that taste is not a fixed, given mode of apprehension that automatically distinguishes between classes on the basis of accumulated cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984). Instead, these changes in taste for this brand of South African print media were contingent on socio-cultural dynamics, politics and transformations in media technology. Incorporating notions of distinction and preference for forms of media, taste can provide an informative set of interpretive lenses through which to interpret the dynamic relationship between the production of print media, the constitution of audiences and consumption. An example of such analysis appears in Jean Seaton's (2005) quirky parallel between the consumption of meat and changes in taste for news media in England during the twentieth century.

“Meat provides a good metaphor” for entering into conceptions of taste and the print media, she argues, by, for example, providing the descriptive language accounting for the intricacies of media practise (2005, 1-28). A meaty story is “one that is strong, interesting, sensational - to be approached with a metaphorical licking of the lips”, in the way one would approach “a full blooded story” that is “powerful, convincing, what out to be” (2005, 1-28). The symbolic properties that attached to meat also provide an explanatory model for public preference for particular forms of print media. Finally, technological changes in the way meat was handled, displayed and sold influenced changing public perceptions of tastefulness that could also be applied to the ways in which public perceptions of sensational print news changed. As a metaphor providing a descriptive interpretation of the transformation in perception of the print media in England, taste is also useful for understanding the *Sunday Times*’ changing relationship with its readership in South Africa. Its news history and the changing set of news values that were applied in generating the copy filling its 100 years of newsprint interfaced and influenced public taste for news and print media. Indeed, as Jean Seaton puts it, “tastes are disconcertingly malleable ... news values, but it also makes them, and while it reflects the tastes of communities, it also constructs them” (2005, 1-28). As such, this kind of interface and engagement also staged a politics of aesthetics, variegating classes of publics on the basis of their appreciation of the news published in the *Sunday Times*. Having outlined the historical knowledge and news history that was developed and used in the project, in the following section I will discuss the artistic inspiration behind the memorials, the design criteria and their practical construction as memorial markers in the South African public sphere.

Memorable Markers

In thinking through representative material aesthetic forms through which to impress the STHP into South Africa’s existing heritage landscape, the executive team managing the project drew inspiration from commemorative projects in Europe. One source of inspiration came from the “blue plaques that peppered the streets of London” (Bauer 2007, 36). Started in 1866, and ‘run by the Royal Society of Arts, the London City Council and the London City Council, the Blue Plaque Scheme ‘is believed to be the oldest of its kind in the world, commemorating notable figures of the past and the buildings in which they lived’ through the erection of plaques at these sometimes



Figure 17. Berlin Memory Sign by Frieder Schnock and Renata Stih.



Figure 18. Berlin Memory Sign.

forgotten residences. ¹¹ The other source of inspiration came from ‘the engrossing memory signs found on the streets of Schöneberg, Berlin’, in the Bayerisches Viertel (Bauer 2007, 36). Commissioned by the Berlin Senate, the memory signs were a public memory project honouring the legacy of the suburb’s pre-war Jewish heritage. Post-war reconstruction and restoration had virtually erased the traces of its former Jewish

residents, who included Albert Einstein and Hanna Arendt. Senate initiated a memorial competition to attend to this lacuna. The conceptual artists Renata Stih and Freider Schnock responded by developing a novel, innovative proposal, entitled *Places of Remembrance*. This was a subversive approach to the traditional concept of a Denkmal, or monument. Stih and Schnock were of course also known for their proposal, *Bus Stop*, a concept submitted for the first competition for the “Memorial to the Murdered Jews in Europe”. This proposal took the form of a program of bus routes leaving from the proposed location of the memorial to sites related to the mass murder of Jews and the rise of the Nazi party, in and around Berlin. By transforming the site into a place of departure rather than gathering, and by turning the busses—bearing signs to sites of trauma—into ‘mobile memorials’, the artists interfered with the notions of centrality, the concept of sitedness, and material aesthetics that frame traditional ideas of monument making as heritage formation.

For *Places of Remembrance*, instead of a grand, centrally located and spatially disconnected memorial, the artists proposed an expanded, diffuse and locative concept consisting of a series of innocuous signs featuring playful popular images such as bathing suits, hopscotch, dogs and dummies throughout the area, coupling the images with repressive Nazi era legislation on the reverse (Dubow 2004, 365-374). Seemingly innocent yet strikingly sinister, the markers made an almost immediate impact, firstly on the part of anxious local residents unaware of their purpose, and then on the part of school-goers, for whom an educational programme documenting the erosion of civil rights that led to the horrors of the Holocaust was developed using the memorials (see Wiedmer 1995; Wiedmer 1999, 103-115; Koss 2004; Till 2005, 155-160; Stih and Schnock 2005, 4-9; Rosenberg 2012). Subverting the ‘conspicuously inconspicuous’ (see Musil 1987, 61-64) aesthetic presence of conventional public memorials, as a low-key, expansive, penetrating memorial, the Schöneberg memory signs were seen as an evocative template for public commemoration in South Africa.

Nevertheless, inspired by these heritage interventions, the *Sunday Times* decided, instead, to memorialise their newsmakers with pieces of public art. In light of the fact that the management team were ‘heritage virgins’ in Charlotte Bauer’s parlance, or, novices in the field of heritage practice, they enlisted the services of the arts

management company Art at Work, run by Lesley Perkes and Monna Mokoena, to facilitate the materialising process from conceptual development to installation. Art at Work was a small but well-established arts-management company that specialised in ‘integrating arts into neighbourhood and district development, urban regeneration and architecture’.¹² As “an experienced large-scale arts management company”, Art at Work’s core business revolved around “offering knowledge and specialist services across arts disciplines” to clients involved in projects that entailed “long-term regeneration, neighbourhood/precinct/property development, district management and sustained or large-scale arts projects”.¹³ Managing this interface between the arts and developmental needs, Art at Work offered a range of services that enabled it to ensure the realisation of such ventures, boasting a track record spanning performance and public art for the Newtown Improvement District in Johannesburg, the Johannesburg Property Company and the Johannesburg Development Agency.

Their brief for the STHP reflected many of the key concepts running through the London Blue Plaques and the Schöneberg Memory project. The memorials had to be site-specific, erected on the spot or in the immediate vicinity of where the narrative being commemorated had transpired. The *Sunday Times* explicitly used the word memorial to describe the markers they were going to erect. Here it is important to note heritage studies literature makes a distinction between memorials and monuments, ascribing a celebratory connotation to monuments, and a sombre connotation to memorials. To illustrate, Michael Imort (2010) points out, that the Latin root for the word memorial is *memorare*, to remember, and this conveys some commemorative function, while the root for a monument is *monere*, to warn. This characterisation of the meanings these two words bring across is further expanded when we recognise that the concept of placing a material marker to represent or recognise a certain past is framed differently and has different connotations across cultures. For example, in southern Africa, as I mentioned in Chapter 2, the cairn was considered to be an indigenous heritage form, a memorial to those who had passed, for example. In German this distinction between monuments and memorials is made more clear with the word *denkmal*, denoting a material form that invites reflection, while *mahnmal* refers to admonishment and warning. One could argue that memorials could be both sombre and celebratory, calling for the recollection of sometimes difficult forgotten

histories, or celebrating some dramatic historical triumphs. That would suggest that the boundaries between the concept of the memorial and the monument, is, at least in English, difficult to strictly maintain. Applied to the *STHP*, we can see that because they were purposefully designed to be small scale, understated and engage with particular, local histories, they did not carry the connotation of being monuments.

Each of the *Sunday Times* memorials would be distinctive, designed by different artists, who, as I will show in the following chapter, were selected according to particular criteria. They had to avoid “anything remotely monumental or intimidating”, and develop concepts that were subtle and subdued, and which would blend easily into the surrounding urban environment as functional, even interactive, pieces of public art.¹⁴ Yet they had to be durable and enduring, “as time-proof, people-proof, and weather-proof as possible” (Bauer 2007, 40). And they would all eventually be embossed with a plaque explaining the significance of the narrative in roughly 100 words, complete with an informative flourish in the form of a link guiding viewers to the *STHP* website. The calculated set of choices percolating in this concept suggests that these memorial art works were also designed to intervene in the aesthetic taste of the South African public. Specifically, the *Sunday Times*’ memorials were meant to change a predominant taste for a conventional heritage aesthetic that was dominated by the motif of statues of ‘big men on bronze horses’. In other words, the *Sunday Times* consciously chose to avoid the heritage aesthetic of monumentality. The material component was seen as bold and innovative, perhaps even naïve, by the arts and heritage community who were cautious about putting up artworks for publics ‘that may not have been ready for it’. In the following chapter when I evaluate the success of the material aspect of the project, I will return to the questions of responsibility, ownership and loaded judgements of aesthetic taste. Site-specific heritage projects had been initiated elsewhere in South Africa. For example, memorials were erected in commemoration of events and figures linked to the liberation struggle by communities of interest before and after the change in dispensation in 1994. These included a memorial dedicated to the soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe in Mamelodi, Pretoria, and peace memorials erected by residents of Thokoza, Kagiso and Katlehong (see Marschall 2010a, 40-57; Kgalema 1999). Arguably, the still visible, yet fading apartheid era protest graffiti that made appeals for the release of incarcerated community members or statements of resistance, also stand



Figure 19. Brenda Fassie, by Angus Taylor. Bassline Studios, Newtown, Johannesburg.

as a material legacy of local, communal memory. The post-apartheid state also contributed with a few site-specific, small-scale heritage projects (see Marschall 2010c; 2010d; 2011), which was also a trend in other parts of Africa (Arnoldi 2003), but invariably these projects linked up to a larger state driven narrative about national and cultural identity. The museums, memorials and monuments erected by the state formed a monumental complex bound together by a common, overarching narrative that emphasised the struggle for resistance, the triumph of the human spirit and reconciliation. As material claims to and about history, independently established material heritage forms were also contestations over spirit of place. Spirit of place derives from the Latin idea of *genius loci*. Christopher Norberg-Schulz, explains that according to Roman beliefs each particular place had a guardian spirit, which gave “life to people and places” and defined “their character or essence” (1979, 18). Framed in such a way, site-specific heritage markers freight a deeply rooted set of ideas about spiritual or religious meaning imbued in particular geographical places. Memorials could therefore be seen as designating sacred space, which, according to Eliade (1959), are places of revealed meaning. Revealing the meaning of the sites of historical

significance, site-specific memorials capture and consecrate the spirit of place. Diffuse, fixed in place, and often community driven, these tributes were a disconnected assemblage that provided a domestic precedent for small-scale interventions dedicated to local histories. These heritage forms therefore brought attention to the local, particular histories that were subsumed by the monumentality expressed by nationalist heritage projects like Freedom Park and therefore served to contest the monolithic grand narratives they claimed to represent.

Careful planning and preparation came to fruition on the 9th of March 2006, when the project was officially launched in Newtown, Johannesburg. The *Sunday Times* arranged a glamorous affair to celebrate its centenary through the unveiling of the flagship piece in the cluster of memorials to be unveiled to the public. Gathered outside Baseline Studios, a nightclub and recording studio, in Newtown on this warm autumn evening were the heritage project team, some of the artists, public officials and guests representing the various communities of interest to witness the unveiling of the Brenda Fassie memorial (see Figure 14).¹⁵ Fassie was a controversial yet captivating pop songstress, who had passed away tragically two years prior on the 9th of May, 2004. Amos Masondo, the mayoral incumbent at the time, described her as “the woman who managed to combine ground breaking musical success with accessibility and humanness that [continued] to draw a fierce loyalty and protectiveness from her fans”.¹⁶ ‘A stellar newsmaker and the embodiment of the nation’s musical and social history’ (Bauer 2007, 39), Fassie was honoured with a life-sized bronze statue erected at the entrance to the Baseline Studio’s where she had been a successful draw card for many years. Designed by Angus Taylor, a well-established local sculptor with a preference for realism, the bronze rendition of Fassie was realistic yet multi-layered; finely etched with quotations of some of her most famous public utterances, it depicted the vivacious artist seated invitingly on a high stool before a microphone, with another vacant stool beside her calling pedestrians to have a seat, share the mike and take a photo with MaBrrr as she was commonly known.¹⁷

Brenda Fassie was an unconventional emblem for the project. Firmly in the limelight for much of her career as much for her musical talents as her turbulent personal life, as a symbol of the feisty, unbridled creative energy of the late 20th century, Fassie was a

counter-intuitive choice for public commemoration: a flawed female public figure renown for her impact on the popular consciousness. The media through which she was remembered, a bronze life-like sculpture, added to the subversive, counter-cultural character of the commemoration since it was often associated with the foisting of great masculinities into the public sphere. The memorial had been inspired by “José Villa Soberon's bronzes of John Lennon on a park bench and Ernest Hemingway propping up a bar - both in Havana”.¹⁸ Posing proudly with the effigy at the launch, the editor, Mondli Makhanya took the opportunity to promote the project and praise the partners who had played a role in its success, paying a particular vote of thanks to “councillor Amos Masondo and his team [from the Johannesburg City Council] for their support, Business and Arts South Africa (BASA), as well as the heritage community. And the artists - they have done an amazing job”.¹⁹ Celebrating the centenary of a popular publication, the launch of the Brenda Fassie memorial at Base Line Studios, and the Johannesburg leg of the STHP, this event marked the culmination of planning and preparation that was seemingly not the sole provenance of the *Sunday Times*.

Corporate Connections

In the years leading up to the unveiling of this memorial the city of Johannesburg, through the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA), implemented a series of vast urban renewal projects that incorporated Newtown under the aegis of the Newton Improvement District. A major aspect of this sweeping renewal plan concerned the beautification of the urban environment through the use of public art. By briefly digging into this history, in this section I wish to show the wide network of corporate entities and organisations the *Sunday Times* managed to bring together to assist it with the memorials and the series of sub-projects that flowed from the STHP. The betterment of Johannesburg's urban environment was seen as not only having a social impact, but also stimulate the local arts industry and improve the city's chances of attracting private investment. Towards this end, JDA dedicated a percentage of all major urban renewal projects to some form of public arts venture.²⁰ Propelling this initiative, the city embarked on its own project to re-imagine the greater urban environment by embarking on the Johannesburg City Art Project in 2002. Resourced in part by a South African cellular network, the project aimed to transform the inner city into “the largest outdoor art gallery” and consisted of the ‘installation of enormous billboards featuring

South African artworks on the sides of buildings and structures'.²¹ Significantly, from the late 1970's, Johannesburg has seen a series of public art interventions of varying scale, aimed at conceptualising the elusive, mercurial polymorphic urban plane (Bunn 2008, 139-167).

The Johannesburg City Art Project, however, was a concerted attempt by Municipal officials to capture and cohere urban identities within the concrete sprawl of the inner city. As the deputy director of Immoveable Heritage, Eric Itzken explained, "public art ha[d] a major role to play as part of [the] process of reclaiming public space. Seen in the context of post-apartheid urban reconstruction, public art offers opportunities for promoting the use and enjoyment of public space".²² This aesthetic intervention was therefore about 'changing the way in which the city spaces are experienced and forging a new inclusive cultural and creative identity' within the inner city. The Johannesburg City Art Project, and the numerous smaller projects that fell under its conceptual canopy, was premised on strategic partnerships between public and private entities, synergies of corporate and Municipal energy aimed at refashioning the face of the city to the benefit of all. In some ways, these partnerships appeared to be concerned with the improvement of the inner city. In other ways they were about the promotion and proliferation of South African public art since these large-scale public-private agreements served as a financial life-line for the stimulation of creative expression in the South African public sphere. Johannesburg's transformation under the rubric of neoliberalism has been the subject of vibrant, important scholarship (Mbembe and Nuttall 2008; Bremner 2000; Todes 2012; Winkler 2012). But in this section I do not wish to discuss the city's regeneration as much as try and briefly show the broad context—the corporate bureaucratic nexus and public-private partnerships that were established to improve inner-city conditions through public art—in which the *Sunday Times* first series of 10 memorials emerged.

In the months leading up to the unveiling of the Brenda Fassie memorial the *Sunday Times* engaged in the forging of other strategic partnerships beyond the state, amongst influential civic organisations, in the interest of advancing the project. One of these partners was (BASA), an organisation that worked to "ensure the relevance and the sustainability of the arts in South Africa by providing expertise in developing

partnerships between business and the arts”.²³ BASA would supply funding for the polished, black plaques of the Johannesburg leg of the project, and have its logo emblazoned on all the other plaques on memorials erected across South Africa.²⁴ The *Sunday Times* also sought out the benevolent financial influence of the Atlantic Philanthropies. Founded by Charles Feeney, the multi-millionaire Irish-American businessman, the Atlantic Philanthropies distributed grants through their Ageing, Children and Youth, Population Health and Reconciliation and Human Right’s programmes in regions spanning the United States of America, Vietnam, Australia, Bermuda, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland and South Africa, issuing grants to the value of \$5.5 billion dollars by the end of 2011.²⁵ Seeking to tap into some of these funds, the executive team held an informal meeting with the Programme Executive of the Reconciliation and Human Rights programme of the South African branch of Atlantic Philanthropies, Gerald Kraak, broaching him about the organisation’s possible interest in funding the STHP.²⁶ The *Sunday Times* had already invested the sum of R5 million in the Heritage Project but, seeing its potential, was looking to expand its reach and scope.²⁷ By the 28th of February, 2006, a proposal entitled “Recommendation’s for Atlantic Philanthropies on their Potential Collaboration with the Sunday Times Heritage Project” had been drawn up to facilitate this collaboration.

On the surface, as a text, the proposal alluded to the kinds of corporate associations the *Sunday Times* Heritage Project could empower. The authors of the proposal, Lauren Segal and Steve Kwena Mokoena, were not journalists working for the *Sunday Times* but independent professionals carving a niche in South Africa’s public communications, media and heritage sector. Steve Kwena Mokoena was a social historian, communication’ strategist and film producer who had experience as a curator at the site of the Old Prison and Constitution Hill, but had also worked as a researcher on the Department of Art’s and Culture’s Cultural heritage and Legacy Project.²⁸ Holding a Masters in Media Studies from the University of London, Lauren Segal specialised in the “research and development of communication strategies for large multi-media projects and campaigns” on projects that often had some form of cultural historical bent. She was integrally involved in the curating of Constitutional Hill, developing the visitor experience of the Old Prison, from the “exhibitions, marketing material, a

website, tour guides and an opening programme for the Hill”.²⁹ She had also curated a series of images of former president Nelson Mandela for the Nelson Mandela Foundation, and would author or co-author a number of accessible, colourful, non-fiction history texts as promotional material for some of these projects, including *Number Four: the Making of Constitution Hill* (2005), *Mapping Memory: Former Prisoners Tell Their Stories* (2006) and *One Law, One Nation: the making of the South African Constitution* (2011). As the authors of this funding proposal for the STHP, Segal and Mokeona were acting in the employ of the Trace Group, a small, independent multi-media consultancy firm run by “a team of professionals in the field of heritage, research, exhibition and design”, demonstrating expertise in architecture - Nabeel Essa, public arts - Clive van den Burg, and journalism - Mark Gevisser. Trace Group had “become specialists in extracting the stories hidden beneath the surface of South Africa and bringing them to life”, and boasted a portfolio of work spanning Constitution Hill, the Kliptown Heritage Framework and the Workers Museum for the Johannesburg Development Agency.³⁰ Formulated to establish a relationship between the *Sunday Times* and Atlantic Philanthropies, the ‘Recommendations for Collaboration’ proposal appeared to avail an opportunity for further corporate involvement which, in the coming years, the Trace Group would easily harness by providing a range of specialised services for the expansion of the STHP.

In substance, the proposal established the terms of the relations between the various parties that would be involved in the expansion of the STHP. It was therefore grounded in the question of “How can Atlantic Philanthropies make a meaningful contribution in the heritage sector by leveraging off the Sunday Times heritage project?” (2), and was linked to the core proposition that, “the collaboration [with the *Sunday Times*] will ensure that public memory and memorialisation can contribute towards reconciliation and nation-building” (2). Neatly aligned with the proposal’s premises was the core vision of “us[ing] the rich material from our past to shape the foundations of our common future and to advance Atlantic Philanthropies core mandate around reconciliation and human rights”. These aims would be advanced through the expansive processes of knowledge production and dissemination plotted in the proposal. The potential R5 million in funds for which the *Sunday Times* was appealing would therefore be spread across three research areas, “reaching a mass

audience”, “building a knowledge resource for the heritage sector”, and “creating opportunities for advocacy and community involvement” (3). The responsibility for these archival and distributive processes would not lie with the *Sunday Times*, however, but rather, as the proposal recommended, be housed in the South African History Archive (SAHA) with oversight and expertise provided by “Historical Papers [at the University of the Witwatersrand], the [Wits University] History Workshop and the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation” (4). These partner organisations were based at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, and worked to advance the liberation of factual historical knowledge for wider consumption, a research agenda that matched the ideals aspired to by the *Sunday Times*. For example, the Wits History Workshop was started in the late 1970’s by a group of scholars like Phillip Bonner, Noor Nieftagodien and Lulli Callinicos that worked in a Marxist tradition of South African history that focussed on class struggle, and the plight of disenfranchised workers, developing a body of writing that would come to be known as ‘people’s histories’ or ‘histories from below’ (see Saunders 1991; Bonner 1994; Copley 2001). Cynthia Kros, a member of the Wits History Workshop collective would be an active participant in the conceptualisation of the STHP, and would publish an academic text interrogating her personal experience of working on the project through the question of the place of public history, and the idea of the public historian, in post-apartheid South Africa (Kros 2008). Despite the research unit’s close association with the development of the project, only Cynthia Kros, as far as I know, generated a critical and engaged scholarship around the project.

Enlisting the services of these academic and non-governmental institutions, with years of experience in the field of history, heritage and South African civil society was meant to facilitate the generation of “excitement and public interest in the past”, “ensure public participation” and help build “a knowledge resource [that would] deepen the knowledge base around heritage practise in South Africa” (3). The proposal suggested that these impact areas would most effectively be penetrated through a number of urgent priority projects that included the development of a series of radio inserts, archiving of content, extending the Heritage Project website, the publication of a book



Figure 20. Collage of book and DVD covers as part of Sunday Times Heritage Project. Courtesy of the South African History Archive.

and the running of a schools oral history campaign. The *Sunday Times* itself would not be directly involved in many of these sub-projects. This suggested that the formulation of the proposal was not merely about the furtherance of the newspaper's own interests of association, but rather, about the development of associations that would generate and disseminate deeper historical knowledge around the narratives it would commemorate. The chain of authenticating institutions that was marshalled to form the background to the project therefore served to raise the status of the claims the newspaper sought to make. The 'Recommendations for Collaboration', suggested that the STHP could empower mutually beneficial relationships between a range of corporate and private institutions by helping to generate funding for research into South African cultural history and heritage. And, as I will show in the following section, the media and media products produced out of the project show, this collaboration was indeed fruitful.

Media

Atlantic Philanthropies annual report issued in April of 2006, declared that a grant for the sum of R5, 016, 300 had been issued to SAHA, with the purpose of “supporting collaboration with the Sunday Times Heritage Project to communicate and disseminate information about past human rights abuses and anti-apartheid struggles, as a contribution to the discourse about reconciliation.”³¹ As Lauren Segal explained, this collaboration would see the liberation of the archive, bringing information previously cordoned off “in dusty archives in the basement of libraries and museums” out into the open for easy public access. It was “about helping all South Africans connect with their history by liberating historical treasures and making them accessible via the most effective technology available today”. This would be achieved through transforming historical knowledge into flashy, easily consumed multi-media products such as a website, 3-D imaging, radio inserts and CD Roms. “By engaging with stories of the past in these new ways” audiences would “have an opportunity to explore aspects of our history in ways that have not been possible before”.³² Through this collaboration, which would spawn a host of entertaining, historical media, the *Sunday Times* sought to create and sustain a democracy of knowledge of South African cultural history and heritage, as framed by the *Sunday Times* news century. Indeed as I will show in this section, through the media and media products developed through the various collaborations the project officials engaged in, they expanded civic engagement with South African history by vastly increasing access to the knowledge produced through the project.

SAHA took on the responsibility of managing the *Sunday Times* archive in full knowledge of the gravity of its custodial duties, and its power to shape perceptions of the past through the provision of access to historical data. “Established in the 1980’s”, SAHA’s “founding principle was to promote the recapturing of our lost and neglected history and record history in the making”.³³ This entailed ‘documenting the struggles against apartheid and the making of democracy’.³⁴ The archive, it however noted, ‘never provided a full account of the past’, and was best interpreted as a fragmentary account of what had transpired. These interpretations of the past, furthermore, were ‘greatly influenced by what records are preserved and presented, processes influenced by power relations in society’. “South Africa’s transition ha[d] provided an unprecedented opportunity to reassess what records we have and how they were used - an opportunity

to reconceptualise and to refigure the archive”. A fundamental part of this process of changing the way the archive was engaged related to accessibility. SAHA’s management, curating and dissemination of the STHP archive was “an important part of making the archive accessible beyond a traditional user base of researchers and academics, to an increasing number of South Africans who” were entering the digital age.³⁵

Digital access formed a major part of the long-term plans of the project, with the *Sunday Times* executive team having already launched a website prior to the collaboration. This means of ‘exhibiting’ information was significant as it highlighted a growing international trend regarding the display of cultural heritage material on the world-wide-web (see Parry, 2007; Kalay, Kvan and Affleck, 2009). Through the collaboration with SAHA the *Sunday Times* had hoped to launch a new website, updated with a host of deep, rich background information and captivating images to supplement the narratives in an effort to “create a lasting online legacy”. As Chris Deeks, manager of Johncom Digital Media (presently known as AVUSA Media) explained, the website would become “a rich and memorable historical resource” for local and foreign online visitors. This “museum of news” would “remain visible to the public through the Sunday Times website long after the print coverage subside[d]”, enduring as an “online multimedia heritage resource that [would] reflect our nation’s colourful history and promote our national identity”.³⁶ In digitizing and displaying information online, SAHA often worked in collaboration with other non-governmental institutions like Digital Innovation South Africa (DISA) based at the University of Kwazulu Natal and Aluka.org, an “online digital library of scholarly resources from and about Africa”, all of whom aimed to broaden South Africa’s historical resources and increase accessibility by digitizing archives and making them available online.³⁷

Nevertheless, as far as their work on the *Sunday Times* new website was concerned, in the slick and dazzling environment of the web, where corporate, scholarly and non-governmental interests about markets, history and national identity coalesced, the ascribed authenticity - that is, the legitimacy of such heritage projects - seemed to appear to be self-evident.

Sunday Times
HERITAGE PROJECT

HOME MEMORIALS MAP MULTIMEDIA

Google™ Custom Search > SEARCH

Basil D'Oliveira
Cricket's lost son
4 October 1931- 19 November 2011

< PREVIOUS MEMORIAL
NEXT MEMORIAL >

NO MORE
BIG MEN ON BRONZE HORSES

In September 1997, the notorious John Vorster Square was renamed and transformed into Johannesburg Central Police Station. The bronze bust of Vorster was removed to the police museum.
© Bailey's Historical Archive

BRINGING ARCHIVES TO THE PEOPLE

Visit this memorial

Designed by Cape Town artist Donovan Ward, the memorial commemorating Basil D'Oliveira's legacy is bolted to a wall outside Newlands, where the gifted cricketer never got to play.
Picture: Craig Mathews, Doxa © South African History Archive

Figure 21. Screenshot of *Sunday Times* Heritage Project Website.

Designed with the *Sunday Times* centenary in focus and featuring a headline image of the former editor seated on *Sunday Times* commemorative bench outside AVUSA House (formerly Johncom House), the new website (to be found at <http://heritage.thetimes.co.za/>) was, however, a master-piece of audio-visual workmanship, packing a treasure-trove of information about the history of the project, the memorials and their wider social, cultural and historical significance into a slick

interactive interface. Launched on the 24th of September, 2007, Heritage Day, the new website's accessible, flashy layout appeared to be custom-made to suit the taste of South African high-school learners, serving therefore not so much as the 'newseum' envisaged at the inception of the project, but rather, as a lively interactive pedagogical tool for the online instruction of learners. The layout of the site was intended to make learning about the past stimulating and enjoyable. The home page provided information on the history of the project and the intentions of its creators, while also providing a series of links to each of the memorials, as well as introducing a series of audio and visual archives. A click on a link to one of the memorials led one to a dazzling, colourful and

rich exposition of the narrative, visually commemorated with a 3-D panoramic photo of the actual memorial. Further embellishing these dedicated pages was information about the artists, some background on the creative process that informed the final concept and a link to relevant archival material that had been gathered, all arranged and uploaded by SAHA.

Significantly, each of the narratives was also appended with a 'Lesson Plan for Educators'. Tailored specifically for South Africa's Outcomes-Based Education system, the educational material disseminated on the website therefore used the memorials as a cue for enlightening school goers on a range of subjects related to cultural history, the media, arts and culture, and the South African past as filtered through the *Sunday Times* news century. The site's effectiveness as a pedagogical aid was demonstrated through research conducted by the historian Dr Jabulani Sithole with a small pool of grade 9 learners who would find that the new website was "user-friendly", with the classroom aids, "interactive aids such as the maps, photo galleries, slide shows and panoramic tools and timelines" being especially helpful (2007, 16). Furthermore, in his estimation, the website was "useful as an educational tool even at a tertiary level", in that it not only helped 'generate an interest into the issues of heritage memorials, but also helped deepen students appreciation and understanding of the issues of nation-building and reconciliation' (2007, 17). As such, it appeared, through the new website, and in partnership with SAHA, that the *Sunday Times* was able to play an active role in fostering an alternate national identity using a cultural heritage resource culled and cultivated from its news-history to educate the nation. Serving as an enduring, intangible link between the *Sunday Times* and the nation's changing value system, the website also functioned as a tool for subtly broadcasting the publication's corporate ideals through a wider process of civil re-education.

At the time of the launch of the website it was arguable whether this was a truly accessible media for South African learners, with bandwidth penetration and capacity being one of the lowest and most expensive in the world.³⁸ Negotiating the data intensive website would therefore be out of reach for many South African learners whose primary means of accessing the Internet was via their cellular phones, although this was changing. The collaboration between SAHA and the *Sunday Times* would produce two

pieces of portable informative audio-visual media that would attend to this lacuna. *Between Life and Death: Stories from John Vorster Square* is a riveting DVD produced by DOXA Productions and shot by the award winning documentary filmmaker Craig Mathews. It chronicled the stories of former inmates detained at the notorious Johannesburg Central Police Station (as it is presently known) and is guided in large parts by a former Security Branch official providing details of the macabre day to day operations of the Security Police during the hey-days of apartheid.³⁹ *Voices From Our Past* was a radio documentary series produced by Sue Valentine, the lead researcher for the Cape Town leg of the heritage project, for SAHA and provided rich background information on the various narratives, supplementing them with interviews and accounts from witnesses and relevant stakeholders. As with the website, the series was linked to an educational programme, with a supplementary ‘Guide For Educators’ being attached to the audio archive. Instead of inviting learners and educators to visit the website and learn about the South African past, these informative chunks of audio-visual media would be taken out to their intended audience, distributed freely “to schools, educational and heritage organisations at various events and workshops”.⁴⁰

Notably, two mainstream, market publications would also flow from the project. This again shows the expansive scope of the project, in engaging with different publics about South African cultural history. Authored by Lauren Segal and Paul Holden, *Great Lives Pivotal Moments*, published by Jacana Media in 2008, was a glossy mainstream publication dedicated to the *Sunday Times* Heritage Project, providing in depth visual and textual detail of the history of the project and the memorials. This book had been planned for since 2006 already as “an extension of the *Sunday Times* memorial project” (2). As described there, the narratives and dramas covered in the text would be “woven together so as to draw out key themes for the reader around important turning points in South Africa’s history”, and, in so doing, reveal hidden and unknown nuggets of knowledge that, overall, would “create new channels of reconciliation through a better understanding of our past” (2). In substance, it would be “a visual feast combining photographs and archival documents with interesting and accessible text”, and formatted in such a way that it would “appeal to a ‘thinking, lay audience’ but would also have great value to specialist historians as well as heritage practitioners” (2). This was an apt description of the large, heavy text splashed cover to cover with glossy

images and rich text detailing the narratives commemorated by the *Sunday Times* as plotted along a timeline variegated into five sections extending from “Portraits of Colonialism” to “Freedom in Our Time”. It would match a commemorative publication celebrating the *Sunday Times* centenary of news history that had been published in 2006. Edited by journalist and documentary filmmaker Nadine Dreyer and published by Zebra Press, *A Century of Sundays* was a compendium of history making news stories covered by the *Sunday Times* over the course of the twentieth century. Documenting the history of the newspaper’s coverage of noteworthy, sometimes scandalous, sometimes history-making, national and international news items, the book also relocated the *Sunday Times* in South African cultural history by trying to demonstrate that its coverage aligned with a broader grand-narrative of liberative transformation that has been commonly understood as the framework of the narrative of the post-apartheid nation. Nevertheless, as one of two mainstream texts celebrating the *Sunday Times*’ centenary, it marked another material iteration of value generation that flowed out of the *Sunday Times* Heritage Project.

Conclusion

Looking back at the history of the STHP, it is difficult to accept the proposition that the project was a genuinely philanthropic expression of the *Sunday Times*’s slogan, that it was “the paper for the people”. Certainly, the project helped expand the *Sunday Times*’ brand presence and reposition its public profile to align with the values of the post-apartheid dispensation. Moreover, it is also very likely that the funds invested by the *Sunday Times* could be recovered from the South African Revenue Service on the grounds that this was a Corporate Social Investment project, a philanthropic enterprise contributing to social good, which was tax deductible. The *Sunday Times* undoubtedly benefitted from this philanthropic venture. But what I have tried to show is that so did many others who collaborated in the project’s many arms. As such, despite the measure of duplicity woven into the claims made by the *Sunday Times*, the project was meaningful in so far as it created value. In this case, I have tried to show that the STHP created cultural value, economic value, and civic value. In that sense, ultimately, what I tried to demonstrate is the memorialisation, as a practise of heritage formation, that comprised a particular set of aesthetic choices, about memorials but also other historical media, was central to this production of value.

To illustrate specifically, firstly, it is clear that the *Sunday Times* created cultural value in so far as it developed a set of historical narratives that sat on the margins or were elided by the grand monumental mainstream, state driven narrative of nation. These narratives were commemorated through a series of novel, innovative pieces of site-specific public art that affirmed the validity of the spirit of particular local histories. The STHP also spawned a range of media products such as an informative website, a radio series, an instructive DVD and supplementary publications that documented facets of South African history in new and engaging ways. Through this drive for creating cultural value, the *Sunday Times* was able to also generate economic value. By that I mean the STHP helped generate a capital income for a range of stakeholders participating in the project, from direct employees, such the journalists who sourced and researched the stories, the arts management company that implemented the installation of the artworks and the artists commissioned to conceptualise the narratives. Many role-players were able to generate a capital income from the cultural work of elaborating the STHP. Finally, the STHP was also a platform for generating civic value. By collaborating with civic organisations that conducted meaningful work on history and South African cultural heritage, the *Sunday Times* not only strengthened its links with these institutions. It also empowered them to further their work of deepening democracy by generating new historical knowledge free of state influence and making it accessible to the public. The *Sunday Times* facilitated conditions where a range of non-governmental institutions could engage in the independent production and dissemination of knowledge about the South African past. By providing historical resources to the public, by contesting the narrative of nation expounded by the state, these organisations helped to promote and strengthened active citizenship, or a free questioning, critical and engaged political consciousness. It therefore also strengthened South African civic nationalism.

Elided in these propositions, of course, is the question of how the memorials were received by the South African public. These were meant to provide a strong interface with the South African public. Is it possible to gauge public reception, and if so, what kinds of conclusions can we draw about notions of the public, civic engagement and practises of heritage formation? These are the very questions that drive the analysis in the following chapter which deals with the public life of a series of STHP memorials.

Notes

- ¹ Peter Blum, 1956. *Oor Monumente Gepraat. In Steenbok tot Poolsee: verse*. Cape Town: Tafelberg. My translation.
- ² Mondli Makhanya ‘Heritage Virgins Come of Age’ sourced at <http://heritage.thetimes.co.za/article.aspx?id=570377> accessed 1 May, 2012.
- ³ Ibid.
- ⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵ Michael Barry, an artist and academic, also provided much practical assistance with the implementation of the Eastern Cape leg of the project for *Art at Work*.
- ⁶ See <http://www.saarf.co.za/amps/readership.asp> accessed 1 May, 2012.
- ⁷ See http://www.austenfamily.org/G_H_Kingswell.html accessed 1 May, 2012.
- ⁸ See <http://www.saarf.co.za/amps-technicalreport/technicalreport-2011B/>, and <http://www.tvs.co.za/default.asp?blogname=news&articleID=4931> for a clear explanation of the Living Standards Measure.
- ⁹ Charlotte Bauer, ‘How it All Began’, retrieved at <http://heritage.thetimes.co.za/article.aspx?id=570519> accessed 1 May 2012. This outline of project appears in different guises in different places. The version cited here is from the new website, with the same version appearing on the old site. It appears to form the basis of the article Charlotte Bauer published in the Rhodes Journalism Review, which is cited and referenced in this chapter, and a tailored version appears as the “Introduction” to *Great Lives Pivotal Moments* by Lauren Segal and Paul Holden, also cited and referenced.
- ¹⁰ Ibid.
- ¹¹ <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/discover/blue-plaques/> accessed 1 May, 2012.
- ¹² <http://www.artatwork.co.za> accessed 1 May, 2012.
- ¹³ <http://www.artatwork.co.za/> accessed 1 May, 2012.
- ¹⁴ Leslie Perkes and Monna Mokoena, ‘Public Art Meets History’s Heart’ sourced at <http://heritage.thetimes.co.za/article.aspx?id=570656> accessed 1 May, 2012.
- ¹⁵ Lucille Davie, ‘Brenda Fassie Lives on in Bronze’, <http://www.joburgnews.co.za/2006/mar/mar10-stimesproject.stm> accessed 1 May, 2012.
- ¹⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁷ See <http://www.angustaylor.co.za/>, also, Gillian Anstey, ‘Who is Angus Taylor’, <http://heritage.thetimes.co.za/memorials/GP/BrendaFassie/article.aspx?id=562002> accessed 1 May, 2012.
- ¹⁸ Charlotte Bauer, ‘How It All Began’, http://sthp.saha.org.za/home/how_it_all_began.htm accessed 1 May, 2012.
- ¹⁹ Lucille Davie, ‘Brenda Fassie Lives on in Bronze’, <http://www.joburgnews.co.za/2006/mar/mar10-stimesproject.stm> accessed 1 May, 2012.
- ²⁰ See <http://www.jda.org.za/news-and-media-releases-2011/november/767-place-making-and-public-art> accessed 1 May, 2012.
- ²¹ Artthrob, 60 (August) 2002 retrieved at http://www.artthrob.co.za/02aug/listings_gauteng.html accessed 1 May, 2012.
- ²² ‘City’s Public Art in the Spotlight’ accessed at http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1735 on 1 May 2012.
- ²³ See <http://www.basa.co.za/> accessed 1 May, 2012.
- ²⁴ Personal interview with Charlotte Bauer, 16 January, 2010.
- ²⁵ See <http://www.atlanticphilanthropies.org/about-atlantic> accessed 1 May, 2012.
- ²⁶ Personal interview with Charlotte Bauer, 16 January, 2010.
- ²⁷ “Recommendations for Atlantic Philanthropies on their Potential Collaboration with the Sunday Times Heritage Project”, 28 February, 2006, pg, 13.
- ²⁸ See <http://www.tracegroup.co.za/teamins.html> accessed 1 May, 2012.
- ²⁹ ‘The team’, accessed at <http://www.tracegroup.co.za/?id=team> on 1 May 2012.
- ³⁰ See <http://www.tracegroup.co.za/past.html> accessed 1 May, 2012.
- ³¹ Atlantic Philanthropies Annual Report, 2006, pg 93. Accessed at <http://www.atlanticphilanthropies.org/learning/2006-annual-report>, 1 May 2012.
- ³² Lauren Segal, ‘Flying Off the Shelves’, retrieved at <http://heritage.thetimes.co.za/article.aspx?id=570556> accessed 1 May, 2012.

³³ Piers, Pigou 'An Archive for the People', <http://heritage.thetimes.co.za/article.aspx?id=570553> accessed 1 May, 2012.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ 'SAHA and the Sunday Times Heritage Project', retrieved at http://sthp.saha.org.za/home/south_african_history_archive.htm 1 May, 2012.

³⁶ 'Recommendations for Atlantic Philanthropies on their Potential Collaboration with the Sunday Times Heritage Project', pg 11.

³⁷ See <http://www.aluka.org/page/about/historyMission.jsp> accessed 1 May, 2012.

³⁸ See <http://mybroadband.co.za/news/telecoms/632-gprs-edge-access-growing-fast.html> accessed 1 May, 2012.

³⁹ See http://www.saha.org.za/publications/between_life_and_death.htm. No mention is made of the DVD on the official DOXA website, although the Production House's sterling documentary credentials are published here, see - <http://www.doxa.co.za/> accessed 1 May, 2012.

⁴⁰ Retrieved at http://www.saha.org.za/publications/between_life_and_death.htm 1 May, 2012.

5. Touching Memorials: Ruination and the Public Reception of the *Sunday Times* Heritage Project

“Yet as the column [of Vendome] fell, not one but many pasts were fractured by the impact, and the act of destruction divided and inflamed its observers, setting left against right, soldier against civilian, aesthetics against honor, liberty against patrimony, history against memory.”

Matt K Matsuda, *The Memory of the Modern*

“A world compartmentalized, Manichaeic and petrified, a world of statues: the statue of the general who led the conquest, the statue of the engineer who built the bridge. A world cocksure of itself, crushing with its stoniness the backbones of those scarred by the whip.”

Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*

“The remarkable thing about monuments is that one does not notice them. There is nothing in the world so invisible as a monument.”

Robert Musil, *Denkmale*

Introduction

On the 3rd of August, 2010, the *Monument for the Distribution of Wealth* was unveiled on the June 16th Memorial Acre in Central Western Jabavu, Soweto, just outside of Johannesburg. Designed by the Dutch artist Jonas Staal, *The Monument for the Distribution of Wealth* was a creative, material intervention designed to explore “the way in which capital, apartheid, and monumentality [were] interwoven in South African society” (Oei and Staal 2011, 242). The June 16th Memorial Acre appeared to be an ideal site for exploring these interrelationships. An official commemoration situated on an open patch of ground opposite Morris Isaacson High School, the Acre was dedicated to the learners who initiated the 1976 youth protests against the apartheid government’s attempt to implement Afrikaans as a primary medium of instruction.¹ The violence and bloodshed that followed their confrontation with the police sparked a youth uprising that later spread across the country. The protests that flared up were a



Figure 22. Collage of the Monument for the Distribution of Wealth. Photographs courtesy of Jonas Staal.

major turning point in the South African liberation struggle. As the site of origin of these first momentous protests, the grounds of the June 16th Memorial Acre brimmed with cultural and historical significance, inscribed as a signal moment in contemporary South Africa's narrative of nation.

Presenting as a highly charged, national site of political memory, the Acre became the focal point of a range of material commemorative projects pursued by the state and private entities. This included the erection of a monument to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the uprisings on the 16th of June, 2006, the construction of a STHP memorial in 2008 and the installation of a sculpture of Tsietsi Mashinini in 2010. The excess of mnemonic labour invested in the Acre ultimately failed to translate into any lasting, dignified commemoration. By mid-2010, it lay in ruins, the various projects initiated on the site having either been abandoned before completion because of corruption, or damaged by vandals who had defaced them in the interim. The Monument for the Distribution of Wealth was constructed out of the ruins of the June

16th Memorial Acre as an attempt to creatively interpret the site and the various failed efforts to materially inscribe its cultural and historical significance. Commencing the construction of the memorial “without obtaining official permission”, Jonas Staal ‘hired several local inhabitants to break down’ the various incomplete or damaged state-sponsored monuments, “sort the materials” and stack them in piles. This veritable pile of sacred waste, to reference Irene Stengs (2014), was then sprayed with “the words ‘monument’ and ‘for free’” in English and Zulu, the predominant languages in the township, and left to be collected by community members (Oei and Staal 2011, 245). Created from the ruins of the June 16th Memorial Acre, The Memorial for the Distribution of Wealth materially expressed the “redistribution of wealth after the fall of apartheid regime, albeit from the capital that was once invested in the community” (Oei and Staal 2011, 245). As a “public dismemberment of memory”, it also represented the “uncertain and perhaps even irrelevant “facts” about the genius loci, the way in which the memorial space has actually entered into the memory of the inhabitants surrounding it” (2011, 242). As an amplification of the disruptive conditions resonating at this charged historical site, the Monument for the Distribution of Wealth inverted the very principles of economy that had rent the June 16th memorial acre asunder, purifying its material ruins by transforming them into a potlatch that was at once a memorial and a counter-monument.

Laying bare the connections material heritage forms could strike between capitalism, site-specificity and notions of public reception in post-apartheid South Africa, this example raises some of the central problems the *Sunday Times* had to contend with regarding its series of memorials. While the newspaper wished to address a series of histories and publics with its heritage project, eventually many of them would be left in a state of ruin. In this chapter, I would like to address the question of the ruination of a series of STHP memorials. To ruin, Laura Anne Stoler cites, is an “active process”, a “vibrantly violent verb”, that contrasts with the vitality of the subalterns making do with the debris of imperial power, the “reappropriations, neglect, and strategic and active positioning of [ruins] within the politics of the present (2013, 9/11). Taking up the constructive vibrancy and violence of this term, I use the word ruination to refer to a state of decay induced either through purposeful destruction or neglect. I want to use it to try and think about what the ruination says about the memorials, the STHP

generally, and the implications it may have for material religion and the senses. I will argue that ruination allows us to understand the relationship between the *Sunday Times* and the publics it attempted to address because it frames a conceptual and sensory interface, through the notion of touch, between human beings and valued material cultural forms that may give insight into public feeling about the narratives being commemorated.

Feeling is important. Erika Doss argues that memorials are “archives of public affect ... repositories of feelings and emotions” that are “embodied in their material form and narrative content” (2010, 13). For her memorials are “bodies of feeling, cultural entities whose social, cultural, and political meanings are determined by the emotional states and needs of their audiences” (Doss 2010, 36). Markus Balkenhol’s (2013) notion of affective formation, which signals the particular attunement of feelings and racialised bodies around the commemoration of slavery in the Netherlands is indicative of the link between memorials and feeling. Similarly, Derek Hook (2005, 701) has proposed that “Monuments are the ‘machines of ideology’ which require a human component to power their affects”. Focussing on public feeling and the destruction of material culture, I hope to add to debate about material religion by showing how the creative power of practises of ruination may serve as articulations of public feeling, as a part of the process of staging claims to and about post-apartheid public spheres. Put in another way, this chapter explores the public reception of the STHP memorials through the relationships struck between ruination, the sense of touch and public feeling.

Publics and Publicity

In advancing the STHP, the *Sunday Times* tried to stress the public, grassroots acceptance of the memorials. Indeed, the editor of the *Sunday Times* characterised the consultation process with stakeholders, the publics that would ultimately take ownership of the memorials, as defining the project’s character: “This is what our Heritage Project is about: the lived experience of South Africans”.² The *Sunday Times*’ memorials were about a kind of publicity, and were meant to enjoy a kind of publicness. In this section I will briefly outline what this publicness may have meant for the project coordinators. To reinforce the open, publicness of the project, the *Sunday Times* stipulated design criteria that specified the STHP memorials not only be situated in public locations with

high pedestrian traffic, but also that they incorporate some interactive, engaging component. In an attempt to break with the aura of omnipotent, monumental authority conveyed by colonial and apartheid statues such as those cited by Peter Blum's narrator in the previous chapter, many of the STHP memorials were designed to be small scale, be accessible and often invited some physical, tactile public engagement albeit in very specific, prescriptive ways. Entertaining physical, public engagement, some of the memorials fostered tactile, yet multi-sensory, interaction. For example, the Mannenberg Memorial allowed passers-by to play a few notes from a jazz track by running sticks along a few carefully cut metal pipes, while the Gandhi Cooking Pot memorial, referring to a 1908 pass burning protest led by Mohandas Gandhi, featured a zoetrope device that illustrated the history of the event when users actively spun it. Inviting a range of physical interactions such as touching and feeling, pulling and pushing, tapping and sounding, sitting, rotating and seeing, the interactive materiality of the memorials closely approximated the kinds of sensory experiences implied by the notion of aesthetics framing this thesis. As public art works situated at or near locations of direct significance to the narratives they commemorated, and the communities and publics that it was assumed remembered them, the STHP memorials also engaged with particular, complex notions of site-specificity.

The notion of the public is again central to understanding who the *Sunday Times* tried to address. Habermas (1963/1991,1) expressed the messiness of publicness in the introduction to his seminal text, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, saying that “the words ‘public’ and ‘public sphere’ betrays a multiplicity of concurrent meanings” that linger in both common and academic language despite their complexity. Michael Warner points out that the notion public is commonly used without making distinctions between ideas of *a* public or *the* public (2002; 2005). In these articulations, two specific notions are often interchangeably implied, namely a public as “a social totality”, or “as a concrete audience” (2002, 413). These overlapping meanings often work to mask the conditions under which such publics are framed. For him publics can be located in “texts and their circulation” as discourses: “a public is a space of discourse organised by nothing else than discourse itself” (2002, 414). Situating publics in the reflexive operations of the production, circulation and consumption of texts, for him and other theorists (Hauser 1999; Fraser 1990), publics are entities bound and forged

through the production and exercise of discourse. These notions are useful, and I will return to them in this chapter, but I employ them cautiously, noting their lack of emphasis on the materiality of the means and modes of inscribing texts, and the substantive significance of those practises of inscription in relation to material cultural forms. Indeed, as I have tried to emphasise in the Introduction of this thesis and elsewhere, discourses do not so much ‘create the objects of which they speak’, to paraphrase Foucault, but, rather, are a fundamental reality of the objects, the material stuff, that renders them sensible. The specific cases of ruined *Sunday Times* memorials I will discuss engage directly with the relationships between the production of forms of language, materiality and the constitution of post-apartheid publics.

Despite the *Sunday Times*’ considered planning regarding public participation, some of the proposed memorials were, unfortunately, rejected by officials or stakeholder communities because of irreconcilable differences or simply because of logistical problems (see Marschall 2011, 48). To my knowledge, the abandoned projects included the former site of Lovedale Press where the first edition of Enoch Sontonga’s song *Nkosi Sikilela* was first published, a memorial for Formula 1 World Champion Jody Scheckter in the Eastern Cape and a commemoration dedicated to Indian golf legend Papwa Sewgolum in Durban. And in the cases where official sanction and communal approval was secured, this did not necessarily equate to actual protection. By 2008, at least five of the *Sunday Times* memorials had been ruined, with the majority eventually being defaced, damaged or simply left in a state of disrepair due to a lack of maintenance.³ I will try to work through these important distinctions between these states of ruin over the course of the chapter. By outlining the state of memorials in light of the *Sunday Times* design criteria, I wish to show that the public ‘lived experience of South Africans’ did not merely make the memorials compelling. It also posed a serious challenge. For that reason “[o]ne of the major obstacles” project designers faced was “the need to look after sensitive artworks in places where ... neglect seemed to reign”.⁴ A major design condition was that the memorials had to be resistant to the forces of both the natural and social environment. They had to be durable and enduring, “time-proof, people-proof, and weather-proof”.⁵ Erected for the public, the STHP memorials also had to be protected from the public. A brief history of the public’s ruination of material heritage forms like statues will be outlined in the following



Figure 23. Mambush Stencil. Photo courtesy of Tokolos Stencils.

section, as a foundation framing the relationship between ruination, the sense of touch and public feeling.

Ruination and Touch

Concerns about the security of the *Sunday Times* memorials were well founded since the vandalism and destruction of material heritage forms was prevalent in the post-apartheid era. Suspending David Freedberg's (1985) proposition about the mystery of 'iconoclasts motives', I would like to suggest that, perhaps, intuitively, in the South African case, we can infer two sets of motivation for these acts of ruination. On one hand, material heritage forms were vandalised or defaced for the purpose of making clear political statements. For example, in 1998, in East London in the Eastern Cape Province, a statue erected in honour of the Black Consciousness icon Steve Biko was vandalised not long after it had been dedicated by Nelson Mandela. Unknown members of the public sprayed the acronym of the AWB, a right-wing, Afrikaner

paramilitary organisation, at its feet.⁶ A similar act of vandalism took place in 2005, in Makhado, Limpopo Province, when a statue erected at the entrance of the town in honour of the Venda Chief Makhado was vandalised just days after its unveiling. In what appeared to be a well-planned, coordinated operation, the criminals by-passed an array of security measures, including a dedicated guard, a metal security fence and security lighting, and painted the statue in the orange, white and blue colours of the old South African flag.⁷ In Pretoria, Gauteng Province, a similar incident took place in 2006 following the installation of a larger-than-life sized statue of Chief Tshwane in the city centre. Serving as a material emblem for the proposed new name of the city of Pretoria, the statue was painted in the colours of the old South African flag by unknown members of the public who also appeared to have urinated on the plinth.⁸

In contrast to the mobilisation of symbolism of the failed apartheid state, acts of political vandalism, for lack of a better expression, and without drawing any moral inferences, were also taken up using the iconography of the black working class to highlight the relationship between racial oppression and economic inequality. For example, in Cape Town a group called the Tokoloshe Stencil Collective drew on popular iconography associated with the miners massacred by the South African Police Service in Marikana, in 2012. They spray-painted statements such as “Remember Marikana” and stencil art depictions of prominent mine protest leader Mgcineni “Mambush” Noki at strategic public sites across the city. Mobilising the memory of these massacred labourers, the Tokoloshe Stencil Collective attempted to counter what they perceived to be a dominant culture of collective amnesia about the plight of the black working class, and the City of Cape Town’s anti-black, anti-poor municipal policies.

Not all politically inspired vandalism was malicious, seriously damaging however. In the following chapter, I will highlight the example of the Kultural Upstarts Kollektive’s dressing up of a Cecil John Rhodes statue as a sophisticated form of cultural and historical critique. So, what are we to make of these actions? Erika Doss contends that “vandalism might be seen as purposeful anger, a sign of revisionist intentions”, where “memorials are defaced and despoiled when the histories and ideologies they embody ... are deemed illegitimate” (2010, 362). By assailing these material heritage forms, or by

inscribing public property with iconography from popular memory, particular, unknown divergent publics staged displays of sometimes angry dissatisfaction with the reigning political order, or the political order represented by these material heritage forms, through interventions that clearly contested their legitimacy.

On the other hand, material heritage forms were also spoiled and damaged for purely material reasons. In Cape Town, in 2008, for example, the life-sized bronze sculptures of Coline Williams and Robbie Waterwitch, installed to commemorate their tragic death while planting an explosive device at a municipal voting station during apartheid, was toppled and spirited away in the early hours of the morning by a group of unknown men. In a tragic irony, the assailants were exposed when they tried to sell broken chunks of the effigies for its value in metal.⁹ In 2006, in Bethal, Mpumalanga Province, Corne van Tonder was caught trying to steal the life-sized statue of ANC struggle icon Nokothula Simelane. Van Tonder was spotted by members of the public who saw him topple the statue using a rope attached to his pick-up truck. He was ordered to pay a fine of R15 thousand, and pay the cost of reinstalling the memorial, which had cost R1,2 million.¹⁰ In another case in Rhodes Park, Kensington Johannesburg, a pair of century old cast-iron gates at the entrance to the historic green space, were systematically dismantled and sold for between R2 and R10 per kilogram in value. Exasperated, the founder of the Kensington Heritage Foundation, Elaine Thorne declared “Its valuable ... almost irreplaceable. I don’t know anyone who can make something like that ... They are very ornate”.¹¹ Whether ornate or life-like, heritage forms also drew the attention of vandals who were attracted not so much by their symbolic power, but rather, the monetary value signified by their material substance.

What conceptual language can we use to interpret this destruction of public property? The art historian Dario Gamboni (1997) provides a useful outline of the complexity that surrounds the use of terms and concepts to describe such phenomena. For example, he shows that the term vandalism emerges out of the volatility of the French Revolution. Coined by Abbé Gregoire, who designated it to mean “barbarous, ignorant, or inartistic treatment devoid of meaning”, he intended it to carry to the connotation of “exclud[ing] the vandal from the community of civilised mankind ... neighbourhood, city, nation, etc” (Gamboni 1997, 18). In its classical sense, vandalism was imbued with

condescending connotations regarding the character of destroyers of material property (Merrills 2009). Iconoclasm, traditionally referring to the destruction of religious images, alternately implies “intention, sometimes doctrine”, but more precisely, that “the actions or attitudes thus designated have meaning” (Gamboni 1997, 19). The assumed ascription of motive therefore distinguishes vandalism from iconoclasm as engagements inspired either by meaningful intention or mindless malice. Yet iconoclasm introduces its own set of problems. It is burdened with the connotation of signifying the destruction of religious images specifically, and, relatedly, that the spoiling of these material representations was secondary to the spoiling of what they signified (Gamboni 1997, 17-22). Despite this reductive interpretation of religious meaning and material forms, overall, we can see the conceptual language framing the destruction of material cultural forms as loaded with historical meaning that have clear religious resonances. This is further evident when we make another conceptual distinction through the notion of defacement. Describing the actual act of spoiling, this term conveys the notion of wilful intent to damage. In Michael Taussig’s (1999) consideration, however, defacement is construed as a particular form of desecration where the power of the material representation is not undermined but, rather, amplified: “a strange surplus of negative energy is likely to be aroused from within the defaced thing itself” (1999, 1). In this “state of desecration”, artefacts and images of the cultural value “can come across as being more sacred than sacred” (ibid.). For Taussig, defacement is a powerful form of truth telling that is “not a matter of exposure which destroys the secret,” but rather “a revelation which does justice to it” (1999, 2). Whether in reference to secrets, religious images or material cultural forms, this conceptual lexicon outlines the complexity of different modes of classifying the destruction of culturally significant material.

We should not be so easily persuaded by the neat set of relations between violence, publics and meaning proposed by this vocabulary. W.J.T Mitchell (1990, 886-887) asks us to think these relations through when he prompts, “Is public art inherently violent, or is it a provocation to violence? Is violence built into the monument in its very conception? Or is violence simply an accident that befalls some monuments?” For him monuments as public art are violent because the concept is encoded with political forces that exclude certain publics from the public spheres they are meant to help

facilitate and the erasure of histories or cultural or political narratives since they inherently assert the authority of the narratives permeating their design. And how do we address instances of material violence where the motive is not entirely clear? In South Africa, and elsewhere, vandalism was, however, also sometimes inspired by obscure, indeterminate motivations, situations which Bruno Latour would call iconoclasm, where “one does not know, one hesitates, one is troubled by an action for which there is no way to know ... whether it is destructive or constructive”; instances where “there is uncertainty about the exact role of the hand at work in the production of a mediator” (2002, 17; 21). Such questions about motive and meaning can be read in an incident that took place in August 2008 in Pietermaritzburg, Kwa-Zulu-Natal Province, when a member of the public attacked a statue of Mohandas Gandhi in the city centre. Using a bottle and loudly addressing the effigy during the prolonged, violent public incident, the gentleman did not appear to be interested in the cultural, political or economic significance of his actions. Rather, it appeared his actions were meant to relieve some unknown mental torment.¹²

Working out motivation, agency and intention is a central problem troubling analyses of the destruction of valued material property. Indeed, in some cases, it is impossible to work out if vandalism and defacement were indeed directed at the material heritage forms or whether these forms just presented merely as an opportune canvas for such activity. These assumptions are also made all the more complicated by social and cultural specificity. This is important for any reading of damaged material property in South Africa, since the cultural and historical specificity of the post-apartheid South African context adds a degree of complexity that can trouble any simple universalist vocabulary of destruction. This is raised, for example, by John Peffer (2009) who has shown, how, from the late 1980's, South African artists employed iconoclastic art practise to challenge the political culture of censorship. In doing so, these artists subverted the conventional meanings of these seemingly opposed terms since, “their actions inverted the expected hierarchy of iconoclasm as censorship, revealing instead that censorship itself is a form of iconoclasm” (Peffer 2009, 222). If we return to the examples of vandalism cited earlier, it becomes apparent that the political underpinnings of South Africa's history of socio-economic oppression make it difficult to draw clear, intuitive conclusions about political or economic motivations. Put

differently, heritage forms like monuments and memorials erected during apartheid, and which serve as enduring public emblems of that political legacy, could be interpreted as providing an ironic explanation of prevailing contemporary material deprivation, the very deprivation that may have driven the poor to dismantle monuments for their monetary value. Alternately, acts of vandalism apparently inspired by political motivation against new material heritage forms could also signal disaffection with a post-apartheid political dispensation that appeared to marginalise white minorities through affirmative action policies or the black majority through neo-liberal political policies. Obfuscating clear material or political motivations, vandalism raised problems of accurately interpreting public sentiment through a generalised lexicon of the ruination of material culture.

Taking heed of the complexities that ripple through this multi-layered vocabulary addressing the destruction of material cultural forms, in the proceeding four sections discussing the various cases of damaged **STHP** memorials, I will use the word ruination to avoid the loaded connotations associated with vandalism and defacement. I will still sometimes use these terms to denote the spoiling of material culture, but I do so purely as examples of ruination. As the above examples have already shown acts of ruination are creative, political acts that operate as modalities of evoking the latent, meaning and power of material cultural forms.

In the classical sense, as a form of ruination, vandalism concerned the physical destruction of material culture, and, as corporeal engagements with material culture, these incidents could be interpreted through and in relation to, the sense of touch. Pointing to the sense of affective interpellation and physical contact, the sense of touch may help to freight what the ruination of the **STHP** memorials might mean, particularly in regards to public feeling. Of the five senses that made up the conventional classification of the Western sensorium, touch is both intriguing and complex. Classified as one of the proximate senses, historically, touch traditionally ranked low on the sensory scale of Western philosophers for its potential to deceive (Synnott 1993, 156-181). Despite historians' claims about vision being the defining modern sense, and vision's close relationship to notions of heritage, touch has also been shown to be important for understanding heritage in relation to the elaboration of Western

modernity. For example, Constance Classen (2005) has shown that the management and control of the ability to touch and handle objects assembled in some of the first European museums was central to the development of the expertise of the curator as the custodial guardian of material collections and the civic education of the working classes. The sense of touch was therefore deeply implicated in defining modern notions of curatorial expertise and the shaping of collective subjectivities around assemblages of material culture.

Implicated in the disciplining of bodies, the hailing of collectives and institutional expertise regarding interpretations of the past, touch has also been theorised as a full, rich sensory modality that came close to contemporary theoretical appreciation of the synesthetic character of the human sensorium (Claasen 2012). A key sensory modality in religious studies, haptics and the sense of touch has been developed as an entry into the production and mediation of religious power (de Witte 2011; Chidester 2000; 2005a). The sense of touch also has a theoretical handle in art history, particularly in regard to J.G Herder's theory of sculpture, beauty and touch, where he argued for the artistic supremacy of the sculptural form precisely because it so easily availed itself to the sense of touch (Zuckert 2009; Norton 1991). Even ugly, offensive non-sculptural art could provide a surface for exploring aesthetics and the sense of touch (Verrips 2008). Seen as reflecting the spectrum of sense perception, as Anthony Synott has shown (1993), touch also presents its own defining characteristics, arguing that touch relates to the skin and contact, but also metaphorically, resonating in the English vocabulary through a host of terms that refer to states of feeling. Feeling and affect have been increasingly been taken up in scholarly work on memorials, particularly material that address small-scale, spontaneous public commemorations (Clark and Franzman 2006; Allen and Brown 2011; Franck and Stevens 2015). Building on this growing academic literature, and because of the way touch carries the connotation of both feelings and contact, I will repeatedly ask how and in what ways memorials were touching, or touched their intended audiences. By that I mean to say, what can the ruination of the memorials, acts which required some physical contact, tell us about feelings about those particular memorials. Indexing notions of connection and feeling, orientation and understanding, touch provides a useful metaphorical language and interpretative framework for grasping at the complex the acts of vandalism perpetrated against the



Figure 24. Race Classification Benches, 2011, by Roderick Sauls, Queen Victoria Street, Cape Town.

STHP memorials. In the following four sections, therefore, I will engage in a case-by case interpretation of such incidents highlighting the kinds of modalities of touch and public sentiment they appeared to index. My interpretation of these acts is inductive and discursive, acknowledging the tricky challenge of ascribing specificity of the acts to the STHP memorials.

Bankie Gedagtes

Between 1950 and 1990 the apartheid state forced South Africans to be classified into ever-finer series of racial categories. These classifications, supplemented with the segregation of everyday life that extended from public amenities to public space, would govern experience of everyday life in South Africa. The Race Classification Board, which during the 1960's, sat at the High Court Annex, was an important supporting institution, charged with policing these categories by adjudicating over appeals for reclassification. It was this legacy of racist discrimination and its effects on the psyche of South Africans that the *Sunday Times* wanted to reflect on. The narrative was selected

and researched by Sue Valentine and Roderick (Rod) Sauls was commissioned to design and install an appropriate artwork that commented on the narrative description of the pivotal moment, which was described as:

In the 1960s, a room in what is now the High Court Annex was the scene of formal hearings of the most bizarre and humiliating kind as ordinary people came before an appeal panel to argue about what "race" they should be labelled. Between 1950 and 1991, apartheid's Population Registration Act classified every South African as belonging to one of at least seven "races" and accordingly granted or denied them citizenship rights on a sliding scale from "White" (full rights) to "Bantu" (with the fewest). The classification was subjective, and families were split apart when paler or darker skinned children or parents - or those with curlier hair, or different features - were placed in separate categories.¹³

Rod Sauls' professional credentials distinguished him as well suited for such a project. It appeared that his life and career as an artist and educator seemed to be tied up in urban commemorative projects, which broadly reflected the selection criteria used for the selection of artists commissioned for the project. Born and raised in District Six, Sauls was engaged in pursuing a PhD in art and education at the University of the Western Cape at the time of the commission. He also worked at the District Six Museum, an important institution documenting and commemorating the histories of forced removals in Cape Town (Rassool and Prosalendis 2001).

He clearly had a close connection to this particular narrative, but not all of the commissions were so closely aligned. The selection criteria were described in a document discussing the Commissioned Artists (nd). Selection was done on "a closed-commission basis", rather than open competition. Commissions were awarded on the basis of "recognition for [artists] work and appropriateness to the project". Furthermore, "Only South African contemporary artists" living and working in South Africa were chosen. In many cases this meant artists were selected from the province in which a series of memorials were being erected. Artists had to show a portfolio that demonstrated "successful experience in producing corporate and/or public commissions or similar projects", as well as "a special focus on public space and an interest in South African heritage, history and local narratives". Sometimes, artists were

commissioned because of their “existing knowledge, involvement or proven interest in one of the specific stories or sites” such as Rod Sauls. He also worked at the District Six Museum, an important institution documenting and commemorating the histories of forced removals in Cape Town (Rassool and Prosalendis 2001). Moreover, “a diversity of artists, in terms of style, interest, concept and media across the spectrum of race, gender and age were contacted and employed. Artists were given a small budget for the project and paid an artist’s fee.

Memory and print culture were two strong themes in Rod Sauls’ work. This was evident in one of his most compelling art works installed at the District Six Museum. Entitled *Rod’s Room*, this Master’s thesis sculpture project took the form of a room cast from paper mache with ordinary household items such as crockery and cutlery, clothes and family pictures, from Sauls’ youth moulded into the walls, and the floor plastered with lino cut blocks. The sculpture vividly elicited the dynamics of recollection and forgetting through the awkwardly staged, fluid stasis of moulded objects set in the walls of a recreated, enchanting yet melancholic domestic space. Touching on the vulnerability of one’s most intimate mnemonic imprints, the sculpture brought home the artistic commemorative work Rod Sauls had been exploring in his creative practise in the lead up to the *Sunday Times* commission.

Taking the narrative and *Sunday Times* design specifications to heart, Roderick Sauls developed an artistic concept for the Race Classification Board that incorporated many of these themes of memory, print culture and space. For one, his concept engaged with the elaborate textual culture of the apartheid legislative apparatus and its real material affects and effects. The Population Registration Act of 1950 mandated that all South Africans be racially classified hierarchically as either white, black or coloured at birth but these classifications could be contested later in life. The Race Classification Board sat in a room in the High Court Annex, on Queen Victoria Street in central Cape Town. Fielding such appeals, board members would use a range of arbitrary, humiliating criteria such as anatomical measurements and affidavits lodged by authorities to adjudicate their merit. Highlighting the life-altering significance of these capricious classifications, Rod Sauls developed a concept comprised of a pair of wooden and concrete public benches. The benches were respectively designated

‘Whites Only’ and ‘Non-Whites Only’ in reference to the Separate Amenities Act of 1953, which demarcated public amenities on the basis of race. Significantly, two other STHP memorials also took the form of benches.¹⁴ STHP artists considered the bench to be an inexpensive, effective medium for inviting public engagement. Rod Sauls’ artwork was distinctive, however, in its engagement with the legal power of apartheid authority, since their wooden slats were inscribed with clauses from the Population Registration Act and quotes from the Government Gazette about incidents of reclassification.¹⁵

Officially entitled the Race Classification Benches, Rod Sauls’ first working title was *Bankie Gedagte* which translated literally to mean “bench thoughts” in Afrikaans, but idiomatically made reference to closed-mindedness in Cape coloured patois.¹⁶ The pejorative ascription was not meant to cast aspersions on the publics who internalised the apartheid era racial demarcation of urban space. Instead, it was intended to call attention to the feelings of fear that such designations were meant to engender. As he explained, “In the old days, because of how people were divided between non-whites and whites, people would walk past a bench [designated white] and never sit there. There was nobody around but still they would not sit there; people were just scared”.¹⁷ In this sense, the title of the benches captured its symbolic meanings since Rod Sauls’ original proposal claimed that the benches were meant to signify the notions of ‘body and soul’, with “the three dimensional construction of the bench” representing the physical body, and the text inscribed thereon, standing as “a symbol of the soul”.¹⁸ By developing a concept that drew attention to the subtle, yet painful petty denigrations the apartheid legal apparatus evoked around racial inscription on the bodies and in the souls of South Africans, *Bankie Gedagte* highlighted the affective power of institutionalised racism as inscribed in material space. The memorial therefore reflected on the legacy of a denigrating legal apparatus and its effect on the heart and soul of black South Africans’ experience of urban space.

The memorial’s urban setting amplified its social critique since, while it engaged with apartheid legal policies of racial segregation, it also provided a commentary on the histories of division encoded into Cape Town’s urban landscape. In that regard, it is important to point out that the High Court Annex where the memorial was sited, was

situated opposite the Company Gardens, an inner city green space with a rich colonial and apartheid era history. The Gardens were first cultivated by the first Dutch settlers and subsequently transformed into a horticultural sanctuary by the British in the nineteenth Century. As Noëleen Murray (2001) has shown, the Company Gardens therefore became an elaborate European colonial project of containment and control at the tip of Africa. The centrality of the Company Gardens in Cape Town's cityscape made it a popular site for the material commemoration of colonial as well as apartheid histories and historical figures. During the 20th century it was transformed into an arcade of cultural memory, with its pathways and avenues becoming lined with statues dedicated to the soldiers who died in World War 1, Cecil John Rhodes, Bartolomeu Diaz and Jan Christian Smuts. A provincial heritage site, the Company's Gardens also formed part of a precinct of national cultural memory, surrounded by important national cultural heritage institutions such as the South African Museum, the Planetarium and the South African National Gallery. Situated on the very edge of the Company's Gardens, the Race Classification Benches could therefore be interpreted as a small, but telling site-specific intervention critiquing the broader colonial and apartheid material memory concentrated in the inner-city.

The memorial was a provocative, popular attraction amongst passers-by. Over some 20 hours of fieldwork observation, it became clear that of the pedestrians who noticed the benches, they were typically perceived as absurd, as if it was ludicrous that such distasteful public markers of apartheid segregation could still remain in place. Whatever their perceived visibility or authenticity, in representing a palpable, yet almost forgotten painful history, the benches could also evoke heavy emotions and memories. This was made evident in an encounter I had with a middle-aged, coloured gentleman while sitting on the benches. When I asked him about what he thought about retaining some of these signs and markers as a reminder to young people, the interlocutor I will name Mathew said the memorials evoked strong feelings about apartheid that were best forgotten.¹⁹ "No, its derogatory to us [people of colour]". Reason being, "if you see some of the signs it brings back that bad memories of the time we had ... you see we all trying to forget it ... because of the bad experiences that most of us had". Sometimes, commemoration of the bad past for better futures could simply arouse bad feelings that some would prefer to never to revisit. Furthermore, he went on to say, "the thing is this,

it's a thing that we are trying to forget and don't want to remind our children what we went through and we want our children to grow up to be equal". The past, and the burden of bad feelings about being made to feel inferior, the shame of petty humiliation, was not something that needed to be remembered, but rather forgotten. He also provided some insight into how the race classification system worked, saying,

"Time of apartheid ... if a woman gives birth and she wants to go and register that child ... you had to physically take your child to that counter, there's a small window ... a old white woman, a white lady that hasn't got any education works behind that counter ... she looks at the child, she looks at the type of weave of the child's hair, then she will decide coloured, black, other coloured. That's how they classified us."

Stirring up a palpable set of bad memories, at the time of the encounter, notably, the memorial was not so much vandalised as ruined through exposure, what is sometimes referred to as wear-and-tear. Over time, the inscriptions on the wooden slats faded into obscurity as the glossy, varnished finish became weathered and worn. One of the slats was broken, and by the time Mathew shared his story with me, the memorial was in a state of serious disrepair. This was the case with a number of other memorials erected in Cape Town. For example, Barbara Wildenboer's memorial dedicated to Olive Schreiner was badly weathered, with paint flaking and the metal crosses pinned into its central pond either having been bent or simply removed.²⁰ The series of bollards that made up the memorial to the activist politician Cissie Gool was also in a serious state of disrepair with chunks of concrete plaster flaking off and the plaque having been removed. The lack of maintenance of the memorials was a serious gripe amongst artists, who cited the lack of long-term financial commitment on the part of the *Sunday Times* as one of their main complaints. More will be said about this later in the chapter. Rod Sauls, was, however not concerned with the state of his piece. He viewed its deterioration as part of the natural life of an artwork situated in public space. This natural deterioration could be interpreted as a metaphor for the ephemerality of the feelings and memories the benches evoked by this interlocutor. It served as a material reminder of how, over time, the bad memories related to the difficult feelings of discriminatory racial classification were indeed slowly being forgotten.²¹ The material



Figure 25. Bruce Fordyce Memorial, by Doung Jahangeer, City Hall, Durban.

frailty of the Race Classification Benches therefore indexed how touch and physical interaction interfaced with notions of memory and the painful feelings about race and apartheid in post-apartheid South Africa. Tapping into the feelings of ordinary folk who suffered everyday injustice and humiliation, the benches also touched on the emotions skirted over by the TRC process and pointed to a national body politic that was still quietly grappling with the bad memories and hurt and pain of the apartheid past.

Pipes of Protest

Early on the morning of 31 May, 1981, the slight of stature, blonde student named Bruce Fordyce joined thousands of runners in Durban to compete in that year's edition of the Comrades Marathon. Established by Vic Chapman in 1921 as a tribute for World War 1 soldiers, this ultra-marathon was meant to celebrated camaraderie and mankind's ability to triumph over adversity. Set to run on Commonwealth Day, 24th May, of that year, the inaugural marathon covered 89 kilometres of hilly terrain between the cities of Durban and Pietermaritzburg. The 1981 edition of the race did

not, however, mark the celebration of these English, commonwealth traditions. Instead, that year's edition fell on the 20th anniversary of Republic Day, which commemorated the apartheid state's break from the commonwealth family of nations. Bowing to political pressure, organisers of the marathon incorporated the race into the state-sanctioned festivals planned across the country (Cameron-Dow 2011). Fordyce and a number of other runners had planned to protest by wearing black armbands. On that morning, walking up the starting line-up, he was booed, sprayed with water and pelted with tomatoes. Despite the public's animosity, he went on to win the race in record time, and in the following years, win the race a further eight times in a row, showing his mettle and unrivalled athletic prowess. This was the pivotal moment captured in the narrative description provided for the plaque for commemorating this protest.

This was a virtually forgotten moment of courageous sports political protest uncovered by and researched by Shelly Said, the *Sunday Times* journalist dealing with the Kwazulu-Natal area. Art at Work commissioned the architect and artist Doung Jahangeer to design and install a public artwork honouring the action. It was to be sited opposite the Royal Hotel in Durban City Centre, very near where Fordyce was first publicly ridiculed. Using 40mm polished steel rods, Jahangeer developed a concept that reflected the narrative's predominant themes of running and resistance. Two metre tall lengths of steel were shaped and fused into an abstract, shimmering fascicle representing a runner. When some of the pipes were physically pulled, the sculpture would vibrate as if mimicking the rhythmical cadence of a runner in motion. Dubbed Pipes of Protest by one local newspaper, the memorial vividly reflected the themes of movement and opposition that flowed through the occasion of the black armband protest.²²

Whatever grand artistic designs imputed in the memorial within a month after its installation one of the steel rods was crudely broken off. Over time the plaque was stolen and gradually, more of the rods were broken off.²³ Despite its interactive element making it vulnerable to the stress of excessive force, its polished steel was of little monetary value, and, as an abstract representation with no clear political import, it was reasonable to assume that the vandalism of the Bruce Fordyce memorial was motivated by undefined malice. Initially, Jahangeer was upset and hurt by the news. Gradually,

however, he interpolated the destruction as representing an elaboration of a set of concepts he had been thinking through in the years leading up to the commission. Specifically, he was interested in notions of in-betweenness, the constitution of apartheid of urban space and the place of public art in the 3rd world. Working the incident through, he was later able to come to a deeper understanding of the significance of the memorial's destruction.

Jahangeer construed in-betweenness as both personal and political, as an outsider in South Africa, as “a Mauritian-born, Creole, Muslim-raised male of Indian descent” that was neither one or the other. He recognised this in-betweenness in Durban's urban landscape. As he explained, “When I started walking I noticed this constant stream of people walking along the freeway, hanging around desolate parking lots and underneath freeways. These places are generally known as lost, neutral or non-spaces”.²⁴ Neither-here-nor-there, these lost spaces inspired and intrigued him enough to launch a project called CityWalks, or guided walking tours, that focussed on “investigating spaces of in-between, in a city urban area”.²⁵ Walking the side streets of Durban, observing the flow of people between places, Jahangeer imagined himself actively engaging with de Certeauian (1984) notions of tactics and strategies while navigating the modern apartheid-designed cityscape. Relatedly, he was also concerned with the racial constitution of urban space and how and in what ways it related to notions of freedom and citizenship in the post-apartheid context. In his observation, after apartheid “non-white South Africans continued to use public spaces merely as a means to an end”, for moving from one part of the city to the other or for setting up shops to sell goods, for example. This instrumentalist utilisation of public space perpetuated the imposed notion that “public spaces were places where they were not allowed to be free” (Jahangeer 2012, 9). He considered public art the best instrument for interpreting the complexities of post-apartheid public space, a critical tool that could potentially interrupt their legacies of containment, control and constraint.

According to Malcolm Miles, public art is “the making, management and mediation of art outside of its conventional location in museums and galleries—and the convivial city” (1997, 1). Such a definition indicates that public art implicitly links creative practises to the constitution of a political constituency in space. In that sense it is intrinsically

politically. Public art and site-specific art in particular, Mi Won Kwon shows, has a particular art historical genealogy, linked to the critique of art institutions and but also the ideas of publics and site specificity (1997; 2004). Through the production of new public art, Jahangeer believed he could constitute new public spaces that would facilitate richer participation of counter-publics. The production of public art was seen as creating new public spaces, ones that would incorporate previously marginalised publics and constitute a new, inclusive public spheres. Public art would play a role in facilitating the conditions for expansion of a political public sphere in post-apartheid urban space. For Habermas, the political public sphere was an egalitarian place of congregation, essentially a commons both literally and discursively, where citizens were free to gather and express and publish their opinions (Habermas et, al. 1974).

One of Jahangeer's first experiments in this regard was his contribution to the collaborative art project entitled *Memories of Modernity* in 2006, for which he came up with a concept entitled *Urbanamnesia*. Comprised of a knot of coiled steel wires, the art intervention was mounted underneath a Durban highway underpass. Over time, it was gradually broken and destroyed by unknown members of the public in fulfilment of his primary intentions. "The express purpose of the piece was to document its demise as it slowly became re-appropriated by steel recyclers until it disappeared entirely. The whole process took no more than a couple of weeks" (Jahangeer 2012, 10). In its decay, deterioration and eventual destruction, *Urbanamnesia* did not register notions of erasure and forgetting as much as it displayed the recovery of the meaning of public art in 'lost' urban space. This was a purposeful attempt at ruination in service of revitalising democratic participation under conditions of racially coded urban marginalisation.

The artist later realised that the destruction of the Bruce Fordyce memorial presented a similar opportunity for learning about public engagement and the recuperative power of art practise. As he explained "In 2008 I was invited to do a permanent work in public space ... Attention was taken to use materials 'impervious' to vandalism ... [yet] The first rod was taken a month or so after it was installed. Two years later, much of it has disappeared" (Jahangeer 2012, 10). In retrospect, Jahangeer realised that the creeping destruction of the memorial was not a further instance of wanton vandalism on the part of a silent, invisible mob. Rather it was a creative act of deconstruction that suggested

there were sophisticated relationships between notions of public art and urban space in the post-apartheid cityscape. “[P]ublic art in the context of the third world, needs to be reassessed in terms of what function it is actually serving. If it is about the ‘upliftment’ of the city dwellers, then it cannot really exist in the form that public art traditionally has” (Jahangeer 2012, 12). While, as Pauline Guinard (2012) has shown, public art could be used to break down symbolic racial and historical barriers in common South African public space, I think that Jahangeer tried to grasp at a deeper, abstract idea behind the very idea of public art. It appeared that he was making reference to a nuanced version of W.J.T Mitchell’s notion of public art as engendering violence, since he suggested that the destructive power of third world public art hailed from value systems misaligned with its audience. Art as social upliftment or improvement was, in this sense, violently being imposed on its audience. Post-apartheid urban space called for a new way of understanding the constitution of public art and how and in what ways it was meant to represent notions of place and publics. By abandoning the idea of public art as an inherent public good, Jahangeer was able to appreciate the subversive, critical power of the destruction wrought on his work as a creative act that progressively revealed the true nature of everyday life in the post-apartheid city. Erecting public art then became an “effective and qualitative detournement of a practice of ‘civilised’ art into the participatory public where art became as much a process of investigation as it is a final intervention” (Jahangeer 2012, 10). Rerouting the flows of meaning forms of public art were meant to initiate, Jahangeer attempted to open up debate about public art practise itself.

After completing the commission for the *Sunday Times*, Jahangeer designed and installed arguably one of his biggest public art projects in South Africa. Commissioned by the Johannesburg Improvement District as part of an urban regeneration project, *Invented Mythologies* was 20 tonnes of dramatic, ribbons and knots of steel that coiled and flowed poetically in a fluid mass of playful abstract beauty. The sculpture was “rooted in the notion of Genius-Loci or Spirit of Place as a philosophical driving force”.²⁶ Genius-Loci, in his understanding, was the “belief that every independent being has its genius, its guardian spirit”.²⁷ *Invented Mythologies* represented not merely the recovery, but the redemption of lost space. “It invites the viewer to look up, to look beyond to a new beginning ... of now. My inspiration is therefore derived from the



Figure 26. Nontheta Nkwenkwe Memorial, by Lynnley Watson, King Williams Town.

natural phenomenon of everyday life, which invites the untold tales to surface”.²⁸

Against the background of Doung Jahangeer’s ongoing exploration of the nature and locus of public art, the everyday and the legacies of racial urban planning, the vandalism perpetrated against the Bruce Fordyce memorial could be re-interpreted as an elaborate critique of the post-apartheid urban spatial order perpetrated by a virtually invisible, yet highly conspicuous public who harboured feelings of being marginalised, of being left out. This was a non-white, poor and urban dwelling counter-public, “a subset of the public ... constituted through a conflictual relation with to the dominant public” (Warner 2002, 423). Physically handling, forcing and eventually breaking the steel frame of the Bruce Fordyce memorial, this counter-public public could be seen to be dramatically exerting force over material in an urban landscape in which they felt removed. Figuring motion and resistance, powerlessness and invisibility, the Bruce Fordyce memorial, in its ruined state, could be construed as showing this public’s threshold of tolerance for forces constraining post-apartheid urban space and their sense of not being seen and heard, of belonging.

A Prophetess

On the morning of the 6th of December, 1922, the Nontheta Nkwenkwe appeared before the magistrate in King Williams Town, in present day Eastern Cape Province, on charges of inciting political unrest. Leader of a rural *isiXhosa* revivalist movement, Nontheta was considered a prophet with a gift for divining the word of God. She preached a millennial gospel of the imminent arrival of Jesus and commanded her followers to turn to a pure life in Christ. Over time, Nontheta's growing following in rural areas around King William's Town came under scrutiny, especially after the 1912 BulHoek Massacre where over 180 members of the Israelites movement were gunned down by police officers seeking to push them off occupied land.²⁹ Anticipating a similar encounter with Nontheta, authorities pre-emptively arrested her. On the morning of her court appearance, however, hundreds of her followers amassed outside the courthouse to protest her innocence. Fearing an uprising, officials chose to institutionalise Nontheta in a psychiatric hospital rather than prosecute her. She would later be transferred to Pretoria, in a further attempt to break her influence, where she eventually died of cancer. Buried in a pauper's grave, Nontheta Nkwenkwe virtually disappeared into historical obscurity (Edgar and Sapire 1999).

The *Sunday Times* chose to erect a memorial to honour her, and selected the entrance of the King Williams Town magistrate's court as the site. Researched by Jannette Bennett, the narrative was conceptualised by the artist Lynnley Watson. Known for her ceramic work, Watson chose realist sculpture as her medium, and decided on a bronze statuette placed on a raised plinth as her concept. Working with the few visual references that remained of Nontheta, Watson attempted to sculpt an effigy that would capture the power and grace of religious experience as a force of political resistance. The statuette therefore depicted Nontheta with her head held aloft, holding a staff in one hand, as if "walking in a trance, eyes closed; her head facing upwards, waiting on the word of God".³⁰ In this state of religious ecstasy, Nontheta was depicted with "one of her hands outstretched in supplication, and the other holding a staff" and a scarf at her feet "on which her followers could kneel".³¹ Her face held an expression of 'anticipation and anxiety', and her strident, bold posture was meant to convey the sense of 'peace that came with religious communication with God, and the comfort and strength she found in this'.³² Charged with these deep religious meanings, it needs to be



Figure 27. Boy on the Bench by Zach Taljard. Picture courtesy of Janette Bennett.

noted that the arts management team held the statue in especially high regard, making it the subject of a prayer for protection after having seen the destruction of other memorials around the country.³³ In its reduced stature and fine detail, the sculpture was a touching reflection of Nontheta's humanity as a charismatic religious leader who sensitively channelled the grace of a mysterious, yet awesome Christian God on behalf of a host of believers.

The memorials in this region may have been emotionally touching, yet many of them suffered at the hands of vandals soon after their unveiling. There was therefore reason for concern when it came to the protection of the Nontheta memorial, which was one of the last to be installed. To illustrate, the memorial dedicated to the Prophet Enoch Mgijima and the Bulhoek Massacre, just outside Queens Town, was toppled by members of a rival faction of the Israelite church who were angry about its specific location. *The Freedom to Dream*, Zach Taljard's memorial commemorating the Eastern Beach protest of 1989 in East London, where black protestors occupied a

section of beach designated for whites only, was damaged not more than a week after being unveiled. Featuring a fibreglass cast of a boy seated on a bench and holding a model sailing boat, the memorial was permanently removed after members of the public smashed the sculpture's head in. It was never reinstalled.³⁴ The most serious and public case of vandalism was perpetrated against one of the well-known memorials erected in the province. The Arch Bishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu memorial statue, designed by Anton Momberg, and located outside the East London City Hall, was seriously damaged when "its head was chopped off" and abandoned at the site by vandals.³⁵ The Buffalo City Mayor Zintle Peter was outraged, saying "I am both horrified and extremely disappointed that a symbol of an internationally respected icon of our struggle and human rights can be desecrated in this way".³⁶ The statue remained headless for a year, covered in a black shroud while the Buffalo City Municipality negotiated with the *Sunday Times* and Art at Work about the cost of the repairs.³⁷ Neglect and disrepair appeared to be a common theme in the life of the *Sunday Times* memorials. I will discuss this issue in more detail towards the end of the chapter. The STHP memorials erected in the Eastern Cape appeared to be particularly vulnerable, susceptible to the heavy hand of opportunistic or dissatisfied counter-publics.

Nontheta Nkwenkwe's narrative and the memorial itself appeared to be steeped in many protective layers of religious meaning. When Professor Robert Edgar revived her story by researching the details of her final years in Pretoria, and eventually discovered and returned her remains for reburial in her hometown of Mngqaba in 1998, her followers claimed that he had fulfilled her prophecy.³⁸ Prophecy and prayer could, however, not protect the statuette of Nontheta erected outside the King Williams Town magistrate's court. When I visited the site in early 2010, all that remained was the plinth and the plaque. The statuette had been stolen. Venturing for an answer as to what had happened, I approached an official at a heritage institution in the very nearby vicinity. An unnamed official explained that the statue had been loosened over time by passers-by who had handled it uncaringly. Eventually it was left in a very precarious state. It was then that a group of men approached his heritage institution and explained that they were officials from a regional heritage body dispatched with the instruction that they remove and store the statue for safe keeping. The official explained the removal was a



Figure 28. Tsietsi Mashinini Memorial by Johannes Phokela.

kind of official ceremony itself, with a police officer and a lawyer present to witness the statue's de-installation. But the statue was never archived for safekeeping. It was later discovered that the men were criminals, *tsotsi's* in South African vernacular, who had stolen it purely for material gain. However implausible and despite the kernel of romanticism imbued in this tale, the official's story suggested that this complex, compelling ruse figured transgressive touch, of handling material property without authority, as imbricating the memorial into the webs of political and bureaucratic power of official, state institutions. Discursively despatching the statue into the oblivion of archival space, the thieves seemed to be delivering a commentary on the unquestioning authority of state officials and the institutions they represented, and, ironically, affirmed the very regimes of legal authority that had ultimately sealed Nonheta's fate.

A Book

As has been discussed in the Introduction to this chapter, the June 16th youth uprisings command a central place in the post-apartheid nation's cultural history. It spawned a

number of heritage projects across Soweto, a high concentration of which were placed on the site opposite Morris Isaacson High School. Many were dedicated to those who were injured or died in the events that unfolded on that day as was the case with Hector Pieteron. The *Sunday Times* also chose to participate in this commemorative culture, choosing, as per its general narrative mandate of newsworthiness, to place emphasis not on the tragic consequences but on the origins and agents that initiated the event. This made clear in the narrative description provided on the STHP website, which stated:

At 8am on June 16, 1976, Tsitsi Mashinini interrupted the school assembly to lead the first group of students out of the gates and on the march that started the Soweto uprising. They were protesting the use of Afrikaans in schools. A reward was posted for his capture and one afternoon security police checked every student leaving the grounds. Mashinini, who was a prefect at Morris Isaacson, escaped detection by dressing up as a girl. After the march he never slept at home again and fled the country two months later.

Gillian Anstey, the journalist responsible for developing the narratives for the Johannesburg area, researched this narrative. As is evident in the narrative text, the memorial did not focus so much on the student mass action as much as it focussed on Tsitsi Mashinini's role in leading the student masses in the march against the oppressive policies of the apartheid education policies. Tsitsi Mashinini was a charismatic, intelligent and handsome youth who became politically conscientised as a learner at Morris Isaacson High School. He also became an activist and leader in the uprisings on June 16th. 3 days before, on June 13th, students gathered to organise a march to protest against the Bantu Education Department's institution of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. Tsitsi Mashinini was elected the chairperson of the Action Committee established to coordinate the activities. In the days leading into the 16th of June he set out a plan for a peaceful march, where, in a coordinated fashion students from schools throughout Soweto would join the march that would culminate in a mass rally at the Orlando stadium. Anticipating an encounter with the police, Mashinini insisted that the march be peaceful. On the morning of the 16th, he rallied students at Morris Isaacson High School to march, initiating the protest that would rock the country.

Having experienced the June 1976 riots first hand as a boy, Johannes Pokela was

inspired to design a commemorative art piece in the form of a mural, but one that was sculptural in form. In doing so, he wanted to emphasise “hope more than anything else”.³⁹ Situated on the June 16^a Memorial Acre, his memorial sculpture took the form of an open textbook placed on a raised plinth, facing the entrance of Morris Isaacson High. As he explained, “After much experimentation, I decided to do a wall that looked like a textbook. It's covered in tiles and on a podium which could be used for other projects, such as poetry sessions”.⁴⁰ The tableau facing the school featured a collage of images and text in the shape of a map showing the route the march took through Soweto. It featured a prominent image of Tsitsi Mashinini in the centre, and was peppered with iconic images of other often unnamed students and the slogans and exclamations of defiance they passionately exclaimed on the day. The plaque was prominently placed on the rear, and the book was entitled, “June 16, 1976, Wait This Is Our Day!” Through emphasis on Tsitsi Mashinini, the memorial therefore served as a powerful commemoration of the values and ideology of the unknown 1976 youth he inspired, doing so through a keen reflection on the social significance of the school as an institution of both domination and political action.

How have the memorial's main intended audience—present day learners—received the commemorative piece?⁴¹ Figuratively speaking, how has this memorial touched them? When I visited the site in August 2010, the memorial had been seriously defaced. The tiles of the collage were broken or cracked and the images had faded due to exposure. Walking around the back, I discovered that the ceramic plaque had been removed, only a grey, oval shaped scar remained in the jet black surface of the ‘book’s’ outside cover. More strikingly, the dark rear surface was covered in graffiti. It is important to note that other *Sunday Times* memorials erected in the Johannesburg area suffered a similar fate.⁴² Pauline Guinard (2015) has shown that major public art projects in the Soweto area suffered similar misuse and damage, reflecting many of the problems that beset the commemorations established on the June 16 Memorial Acre. While the other cases of vandalism of the *Sunday Times* memorials in the Johannesburg area left few clear indicators of reception and motivation of the perpetrators, the defacement of the Tsitsi Mashinini memorial was a more accessible archive of public sentiment. The luminous yellow text adorning the rear surface of the memorial presented as a complex text expressing a range of perceptions about school-going and township youth-life. It

marked the constitution of a public, in so far as “a public space is the social space created by the reflexive circulation of discourse” (Warner 2002, 420). Discounting the other, smaller inscriptions that appear on the memorial, this main body of text can be read as a reflection of the perceptions of one of the memorial’s intended publics. Using a series of phrases and terms that appear on the sculpture, peeling through the layers of discourse it structures and links up with, it is possible to interpret how and in what ways the memorial may have affected this public and the kinds of public feelings it evoked.

Firstly, the wild, profanity-strewn graffiti sprayed across the back of the memorial directly addressed the issue of the school as an institution of discipline and control. This was reflected in the plain but powerful phrase “school is bullshit!” Ironically signalling solidarity with the values of their 1976 predecessors, despite the vast difference in socio-political context, the redactor also confirmed the memorial’s success in tapping into public feeling about a relevant and enduring social issue.⁴³ Secondly, the graffiti brought attention to the feelings and experience of being a township youth living in the post-apartheid dispensation. This was evidenced by the phrase, “Life has no Guarantees, call 1011”, in reference to the official emergency number. The phrase appeared to index the anxieties of living in an unpredictable world where only distant agents of the state provided a sense of security. Thirdly, the graffiti focussed on the social significance of touch by reflecting on the power dynamics that underwrote forms of intimate bodily contact. For example, the phrase “Kiss my black ass!” spoke to a fascination with tactility and the skin through its implicit contemplation of intimate oral contact with a racialised body. And the phrase, “Pussy cum to those who wait”, prominently sprayed down the spine of the book, highlighted the urgent yet frustrated corporeal desires of contemporary male youths. Indeed, “public speech can have great urgency and intimate import” (Warner 2002, 417). This chunk of public speech touched upon notions of masculinity and unequal, misogynistic, even violent, gender relations amongst township youths. Anthony Synnott (1993, 164-170) has shown, the sense of touch was often gendered, used to maintain particular gender distinctions, and implicated in the maintenance of hierarchies of association and power. The public who engaged with the materiality of the memorial seemed to be taking its form literally, as a material, textual surface open to practises of inscription and re-inscription, reflecting the very essence of what practises of heritage formation in post-apartheid entailed.

Taking the Tsitsi Mashinini memorial's form literally, it is apparent that it showed the political significance of the school as an institution of civil education and disobedience and the political significance of the textbook as an educational tool. The memorial could therefore be seen as representing the past as a contested discursive space, where students protested against the use of a particular language as a medium of instruction. The vivid, expressive graffiti defacing the memorial therefore manifests as an evocative public commentary that ironically affirmed the memorial's discursive framing of the past. Touching the memorial, breaking its tiles, handling the spray can to make bold messages across its vast black canvas, the perpetrators also sought to outline their feelings of defiant rebellion against institutional authority, assert particular versions of masculinity and femininity, and cast their opinions about the angst ridden world of township life in post-apartheid Johannesburg.

Blame

Commemorating 100 years of *Sunday Times* history, the STHP was meant to mark the publication's 100-year commitment to the South African public. Yet, this bold rhetoric cast a thin veil over the reality that many memorials were vandalised and sometimes even destroyed within days of being unveiled. For the journalists, arts administrators and artists involved in bringing the project to fruition, the dilapidated condition of many of the memorials was painful. One artist even confessed to me that they wanted to vandalise their own work, if only to remove the plaque bearing their name, because of its state of decay. For many participants, the material component of the project felt like a failure. Working through the difficult news of numerous cases of vandalism, participants tried to make sense of the phenomenon by attributing blame either on the *Sunday Times* or the South African public. For some, the failure of the sensitive creativity expressed by the material heritage forms to capture the hearts of the South African publics they addressed only made sense through ascribing blame on the *Sunday Times* for a lack of real long term financial commitment or the South African public's lacking culture of civic value. While there was some truth to this claim, this position masks a series of more complicated assumptions about authority, ownership and responsibility, which I will unpack in this section.

The *Sunday Times* was blamed for failing to make adequate financial provision for the

long-term maintenance of the memorials. As Charlotte Bauer declared, it was “a damn shame”.⁴⁴ Some participants considered the ruination as a sign of the project being a big failure. As Sabine Marschall notes, the *Sunday Times* “assured municipalities from the outset that maintenance costs would be borne by the newspaper”, yet “no funds were actually set aside for this purpose” (2010d, 51). Since no financial provision was made for the maintenance of the memorials their ‘donation’ could be construed as a form of abandonment, a form of neglect that could be seen as staging the condition for the memorials’ ruination. Following Sabine Marschall’s (2010d) reasoning, we can see that what is elided in these ascriptions is whether the *Sunday Times*’ aesthetic choices and initial financial investment doomed the project from the beginning. Indeed, as she (Marschall 2012) showed in the case of the Duncan Village memorial, high minded form and design without input from the local community or long-term vision can result in public outrage and rejection. In this case, it would however mean asking were the artists provided with sufficient material resources to materialise concepts that would stand a better test of time? By stipulating that the memorials incorporate an element of public interaction, did the *Sunday Times* not leave the memorials vulnerable to being ruined? What kinds of resources and alternate aesthetic choices could have been employed in designing interactive memorials of such variety that would be more impervious to acts of defacement?

Participants also remarked that the defacement, vandalism and decay were signs of an overly ambitious miscalculation of the South African public’s appreciation of public art: the public just could not handle it. According to Bourdieu’s (1984) reasoning, this is a bourgeoisie interpretation of art that employs a model of aesthetic taste only available to a discerning elite. The *Sunday Times* had hoped to overcome these assumptions about the privileged meaning of public art. As Mondli Makhanya explained, the *Sunday Times* anticipated this, forging ahead despite feelings of trepidation about the consequences of putting works of fine art out in the public domain. “It was a risk that we knew from the onset ... people in the industry, artists municipalities and so on were telling us that there were certain areas where they had to fence off public art works because they were just vandalised”. Despite looming fear about the possible public life of the memorials, and scepticism about the South African public’s perceived tolerance for such a project, Mondli Makhanya insisted that the *Sunday Times* had to grasp the

nettle and go ahead. As he explained, “But the question is do you sit back and wait, do you sit back and wait another 50 years for the public to be ready? Look it was a call we had to make. Some people said ‘are you crazy wanting to put something like that here’? For instance with the Duma Nokwe [memorial] initially we wanted to put it behind [a] fence [but] there were so many complications. And obviously you know it’s that part of town [downtown Johannesburg]. But you know what you actually have to hope that people will get to appreciate their heritage and get to appreciate art”.⁴⁵ In the epilogue of this chapter, I will return to a brief vignette of this particular memorial. The process of erecting artistic memorials in places where neglect seemed to reign required a suspension of judgement, fortitude and blind faith. As Michael Barry, one of the arts administrators for the Eastern Cape explained, in all sympathy, “What is it with these people hey? You have to have nerves of steel when you put these things out there”.⁴⁶

Further expanding the circle of blame, other stakeholders could also be drawn into sharing the burden of responsibility for the state of the memorials. Sabine Marschall (2011) argues that municipalities and communities of immediate interest, the very groups the memorials were dedicated to, could be blamed for failing to take ownership of the memorials, and, for example, failing to utilise the opportunity to incorporate them into touristic and public history projects. This lack of serious concern could have contributed to the conditions that led to their ruination. While parties contest the ruins of the material component of the STHP, some of the memorials endure in public spaces all across South Africa, whether in a defaced, dilapidated state. Others, especially those appropriated by or perceived to be under the care of an immediate community of interest remain standing in a near pristine condition.

Conclusion

Pitched between arguments about immature civic culture and a lack of financial commitment, the question of whether the ruination of the memorials indeed marked the failure of the STHP enabled such exercises in blame. These attempts to work out who was responsible for the destruction of the *Sunday Times* memorials concerned deliberations about who bore the burden of responsibility for arbitrating over notions of public history and high-culture as a force of influence over civic values that pervaded post-apartheid society. Framed in this way, these contests alluded to another central

stake in this debate, which Sabine Marschall (2010d) defines as the question of how and in what ways can we gauge the efficacy of the memorials: “do they foster a democratic exchange about the meaning of the past, which is connected to public debate and participation in civil society?” I have tried to engage with this question by arguing for ruination, and its usefulness for understanding the relationship between the *Sunday Times* and the publics it attempted to address. I have tried to show the constructive meaningfulness of ruination as a practise that concerned the working out of publicness, public art and belonging in post-apartheid South Africa. Exploring relationships between notions of ruination, touch and public feeling in post-apartheid South Africa, this chapter engaged with how and in what ways these incidents marked instances of exchange about the meaning of the past as occasions of debate about public space, belonging and citizenship in post-apartheid South Africa. By engaging with materiality, publicness and public feeling, by showing how practises engaging with material cultural forms staged representative sets of public feeling. Clearly strong feelings were on display in some of the cases discussed. So too in the case of the *vuvuzela*. But in that instance, we will see the conventional relationship between the senses, publics, ownership and authenticity be scrambled.

Epilogue

It was very interesting that Mondli Makhanya raised the example of the Duma Nokwe memorial since my brief fieldwork visit to this particular site threw into relief all the research I had conducted on the STHP project and textually informed ideas of vandalism and ruination. To illustrate, arriving in down town Johannesburg, an area renown for crime and violence, I made my way through the hot and crowded inner-city streets to find the memorial, which according to the *Sunday Times* guide was located outside the High Court. Walking with my friend and guide through the crowds of what we assumed were foreigners waiting for access at the court or a building nearby, we eventually found the memorial. It was still in pristine condition, and the plaque was still in place. I circled the memorial, taking pictures, trying to get a feel for the location and the kind of traffic it was exposed to. My friend fearfully stood to one side. This was a rough part of town.



Figure 29. Duma Nokwe Memorial. Central Johannesburg.

“Holla”, hailed a tall uniformed guard in colloquial South African English while walking up to us from a guard station situated just outside the court. His friend came walking along behind him. “Holla my brother”, I replied, before asking about the meaning of the memorial, while continuing to take pictures. “What are you doing? Why are you interested in this thing?” the guard asked in a stern voice. “No, I am just interested in this thing, I am doing research.” I replied asking more about the memorial. He persisted for a bit, but then eased up, surprisingly, explaining that it was dedicated to Duma Nokwe who was a friend of Nelson Mandela’s in the 1950’s and had become the first black advocate before Mandela, a major black icon. Feeling the guard’s strong but helpful presence did make me feel uncomfortable. Perhaps I had taken pictures without getting permission? At this point, the guard changed tack, saying, “Tell me, really, why are you interested in this thing my brother? Do you want this thing? Cause we can make a plan, just talk to me”. Picking up on the suggestion that if I wanted the memorial all I need do is talk to him. I was taken aback by this brazen criminal proposition. But in the interest of finding out what lay behind it, I played along. Quickly, the guard not only rationalised why the removal of the memorial was necessary but also explained the logistics of how quickly and simply the memorial could be removed.

“You see my brother”, he said walking up to the memorial “this thing, its blocking the people from walking here on the pavement”, indicating its resistance by placing his hands on the top and pushing it to show how it resisted human strength. “How must people walk here, we must take this thing away here. Talk to me my brother, we can make a plan.” He stressed again. Pointing to his portaloosized guard house, he said, “I’ve got power, we just get a grinder, cut this thing like this, here”, he indicated, leaning down low, and making a crude, slicing gesture at the base of the memorial. For a minute or two it seemed we’d reached consensus on a few thousand rand as a reasonable price for the violent operation and sale of the memorial. But then I made it apparent that I had just been joking. The guard also quickly played down the fact that he’d propositioned me. I never returned to enquire about the guard or the state of the memorial.

Later, driving home, my friend mentioned that the guard was comfortable propositioning me because he could easily blame the theft of the memorial on the people wandering around the inner city. I have always wondered about this incident. Here was a person charged with the responsibility of protecting vehicular access to the court house, yet was willing to actively engage in the destruction and sale of public property. It was also telling that he was able to recognise the material value of the memorial, as a piece of art that a certain clientele would be interested in not only viewing but perhaps even owning. It spoke to the class disparities between me and him, to his financial situation, but also the different ways in which he thought we valued this “thing” as he called it. In some ways then, the encounter helped me understand the ideas of value that may have operated in the reasoning behind the ruination of some of the memorials. The encounter staged an exchange of understanding of value that in some ways validated, but also dispelled Mondli Mhakanya’s ideas about the place of public art at that spot. For indeed it did affirm the idea that a piece of public art could be vulnerable, but it was vulnerable not because inner-city dwellers did not like it, or appreciated it, but because they could value it in ways that could also help put food on the table.

Notes

¹ Learners is the official term for school goers in contemporary South Africa, while they are referred to as pupils or students in historical sources.

² ‘Heritage Virgins Come of Age’, accessed at <http://heritage.thetimes.co.za/article.aspx?id=570377>, 20 December, 2013.

³ ‘Fifth Sunday Times commissioned sculpture vandalised’, South African Art Times, July 2008, accessed at <http://issuu.com/arttimes/docs/saatjuly08/4>, 20 December, 2013.

⁴ ‘Public Art Meets History’s Heart’, accessed at <http://issuu.com/arttimes/docs/saatjuly08/4>, 20 December, 2013.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ ‘Despatches: blacks chip away at monuments to Afrikaner power’, accessed at <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/despaches-blacks-chip-away-at-monuments-to-afrikaner-power-1240902.html> 20 December, 2013.

⁷ ‘King’s Statue Vandalised’, accessed at <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Kings-statue-vandalised-20050914>, 20 December, 2013.

⁸ ‘Tshwane’s statue target of racist vandalism’, accessed at <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/tshwane-s-statue-target-of-racist-vandalism-1.285525>, 20 December, 2013.

⁹ ‘The abandoned Robert Waterwitch/Colleen Williams Memorial’, accessed at, <http://152.111.1.87/argief/berigte/dieburger/2008/03/04/PQ/3/srstatue-811.html>, 20 December, 2013.

¹⁰ ‘R15000 fine for statue thief’, accessed at <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/mpumalanga/r15-000-fine-for-statue-thief-1.1176877#.U1EOf9xbxg0>, 20 December, 2013.

¹¹ ‘Jozi’s cast-iron treasures stolen to sell for a song’, accessed at http://www.iolproperty.co.za/roller/news/entry/jozi_s_cast_iron_treasures, on 20 December, 2013.

- ¹² ‘Ghandi Committee Shocked at Attack on Statue’, accessed at http://www.witness.co.za/index.php?showcontent&global%5B_id%5D=12156, on 20 December, 2013. See also, ‘Video drama: couple film attack on Ghandi statue’, http://www.witness.co.za/?showcontent&global%5B_id%5D=12122.
- ¹³ ‘Race Classification Board’, accessed at http://sthp.saha.org.za/memorial/race_classification_board.htm, 20 December, 2013. To my knowledge these narratives were taken as informative vignettes, and have not been contested or debated.
- ¹⁴ One was designed by Theresa McIntosh to celebrate the *Sunday Times*’ centenary in Johannesburg and one designed by Zach Taljaard in East-London to commemorate the Eastern Beach March in 1989. See, <http://heritage.thetimes.co.za> and <http://www.zachtaljaard.co.za/projects/freedom-to-dream/freedom-to-dream-reworked-2.jpg/>
- ¹⁵ See <http://heritage.thetimes.co.za/memorials/WC/RaceClassificationBoard/> accessed 20 December, 2013.
- ¹⁶ As I explained in the Introduction to the thesis, coloureds are formally considered to be people of mixed racial descent in South Africa. They are a minority group that in other countries are variably referred to as mixed race or mulattoes, for example.
- ¹⁷ ‘The Lightbulb Moment’, accessed at http://sthp.saha.org.za/memorial/articles/the_light_bulb_moment_the_artists_concept_9.htm on 20 December 2013.
- ¹⁸ Rod Sauls artist proposal, August 2006, pg, 1.
- ¹⁹ I do not have demographic data to show how representative Mathew was as a visitor to the site, but his comments and ideas were some of the most frank and generous.
- ²⁰ As of 2015, the memorials has been removed in its entirety.
- ²¹ As of 2014, the memorial has been restored to its original condition however.
- ²² ‘Pipes of Protest’, *Natal Witness*, 7 March, 2008. pg,3.
- ²³ I am not sure if the series of memorials erected in the Durban area were subject to similar acts of vandalism. There was very little public information about them, and the one’s I did manage to find were generally in a good state of repair in early 2011.
- ²⁴ ‘Take a Walk’, Interview with Doung Jahangeer, part 1’. <http://www.cascoland.com/2007/dag/13feb.html> accessed 20 December, 2013.
- ²⁵ Ibid.
- ²⁶ ‘Sculpture Highlights’, accessed at <http://www.artatwork.co.za/web/experience/sculpture/item/95-highlights-of-sculpture-projects-2009> on 20 December, 2013.
- ²⁷ Ibid.
- ²⁸ ‘Sculpture Highlights’, accessed at <http://www.artatwork.co.za/web/experience/sculpture/item/95-highlights-of-sculpture-projects-2009> on 20 December, 2013.
- ²⁹ The Sunday Times also commemorated Enoch Majima, the prophet who led the Israelites at the Bulhoek Massacre with a memorial cited very near the location of the incident. See, http://www.sthp.saha.org.za/memorial/enoch_mgijima.htm.
- ³⁰ ‘The Lightbulb Moment’, accessed at http://sthp.saha.org.za/memorial/articles/the_light_bulb_moment_the_artists_concept_4.htm, on 20 December, 2013.
- ³¹ Ibid.
- ³² Ibid.
- ³³ Just before its installation, a close relation of one of the management team tragically passed away. In homage to the deceased, the team gathered and said a prayer over the bronze statuette. The ceremony was also considered a blessing of protection. Personal Interview with Michael Barry, 7 February, 2010.
- ³⁴ ‘The Freedom to Dream’, accessed at <http://www.zachtaljaard.co.za/projects/freedom-to-dream/freedom-to-dream-reworked-2.jpg/>, 20 December 2013.
- ³⁵ Dispatch Online, 23 June 2008
- ³⁶ ‘Tutu desecrated’, accessed at <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/tutu-desecrated-1.405433#.U1EXo9xbxg0> on 20 December, 2013.
- ³⁷ *Dispatch Online*, 24 June 2009.
- ³⁸ ‘Mnqaba Journal; South Africa Returns a Prophetess to Her People’, *New York Times*, 18 November, 1998.
- ³⁹ ‘The Lightbulb Moment’, accessed at http://sthp.saha.org.za/memorial/articles/the_light_bulb_moment_the_artists_concept.htm, 20 December, 2013.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Learner is the official term for school goers in South Africa.

⁴² For example, Usha Seejarim's memorial *Burning Truth*, erected in honour of the pass burning riot instigated by Mohandas Ghandi outside the Hamidia Mosque in Central Johannesburg, was vandalised soon after it's unveiling. Taking the form of a cooking pot similar to that used during the protest, the memorial featured a zoetrope device that, when rotated, depicted the burning of a passbook. Rubbish had been placed inside the pot and set alight, damaging the zoetrope images. And in Newtown, not far away, the Brenda Fassie memorial also suffered repeated incidents of vandalism, with the microphone head, the central interactive component of the piece, having broken off on a number of occasions.

⁴³ One cannot equate this disaffection with that of students of 1976, and that the education of black township youths in the democratic dispensation was seen as an important means of transforming their material circumstances.

⁴⁴ Telephonic Interview with Charlotte Bauer, 18 January 2010.

⁴⁵ Personal Interview with Mondli Makhanya, 26 January, 2011.

⁴⁶ Personal Interview with Michael Barry, 7 February, 2010.

6. Vuvuzela Magic: Cultural Fashions and the Consumption of Post-Apartheid Heritage

“Why do people from around the world choose to visit the Liberty Bell? Why does this now silenced bell resonate so directly with visitors from so many varied cultures?”

Inscription, *Liberty Bell Centre*

“And it shall come to pass, that when they make a long blast with the ram's horn, and when ye hear the sound of the trumpet, all the people shall shout with a great shout; and the wall of the city shall fall down flat, and the people shall ascend up every man straight before him.”

Joshua, 6: 3

“Noise has a way of engulfing truth.”

Premesh Lalu, *The Deaths of Hintsa*

Introduction

As their Heritage Day engagement on the 24th of September, 2007, an activist group calling themselves the Kultural Upstarts Kollektive assailed upon a magnanimous statue of Cecil John Rhodes on the Upper Campus of the University of Cape Town, South Africa, to stage a cultural intervention. Members of the group mounted the larger than life effigy of a brooding Rhodes and proceeded to clothe the statue in the colourful repertoire of South African football supporters' effects. They placed a colourful plastic hat on his head, slipped a pair of oversized plastic spectacles over his eyes, wrapped him in the colours of a popular local football team Kaizer Chiefs, and placed a *vuvuzela* in one of his hands. It was a stunning intervention. Intended to remain in place for three weeks, it was swiftly removed the following day. Decorating the statue in the accoutrements of contemporary popular culture, the Kultural Upstarts Kollektive interrupted this heritage form's dominant representation of Rhodes' as an icon of British imperialism by briefly transforming it into an iconic representation of South African footballing fervour. Despite its playful overtones, this critical engagement was not intended to merely stir controversy. It was strategic, explicitly designed to highlight



Figure 30. Members of KUK Collective decorating statue of Cecil Rhodes statue, University of Cape Town.

the potential alternative commemorative engagements posed for redefining the status and significance of classic material heritage forms. As Raffaella Delle Donne explained on behalf of the group, the purpose of the intervention was to highlight that “symbols like statues don’t have to remain static reminders of our oppressive past”. They could be “reinvented in creative ways to make meaningful statements about the present”. Redecorated as an ardent football supporter, the statue of Cecil John Rhodes could therefore represent a “hybridised product of the old and new South Africa” fixed in one location.¹ Redefining the status and significance of this representation of Cecil John Rhodes, the Kultural Upstarts Kollektive’s playful Heritage Day intervention subverted the authoritative, sequential conventions of time that classic, colonial heritage forms structured. By decorating Cecil John Rhodes as an avid football supporter, they therefore foregrounded the redemptive power of novel creative commemorative interventions in post-apartheid South Africa.

Redressing the colonial past to link to a post-colonial footballing present, this intervention was also significant because it established complex relationships between seemingly contradictory socio-cultural genealogies. On one hand it signalled Rhodes' emblematic place in South Africa's colonial past. Born in 1853, Cecil John Rhodes first travelled to South Africa in 1870, and made his fortune in the diamond industry in Kimberley. He was also an imperialist committed to the cause of expanding the British Empire, and was best known for his fascination with establishing a railway line connecting the Cape and Cairo. A grand, colonial fantasy, the Cape to Cairo axis captured Rhodes' attention as a route of potentially indomitable commercial and colonial conquest and control of Africa (Merrington, 2001). He did not live to complete the project, yet his imperial vision lived on through the statue erected at the University of Cape Town. Sculpted by Marion Walgate, the larger-than-life bronze statue depicted Rhodes hunched over, deep in thought, as if puzzling over the challenge of traversing the infinite African vista that lay before him (Schmahmann 2013, 58-63), as was suggested by his friend and architect Herbert Baker who opined, "So Rhodes from Table Mountain dreamed of the extension of the Empire from Cape to Cairo" (1934, 164). On the other hand this intervention signalled a subversion of this colonial legacy, one manifest in a vibrant, post-apartheid football fan culture. As Peter Alegi pointed out, "The first recorded football matches come from South Africa ... in games involving whites in the Cape and Natal colonies" in the 1860's (2010, 2), with the term soccer deriving from the associations formed playing these early, rudimentary games. The sport became very popular amongst the black working class in the early 20th century, appealing particularly to miners working on the Gold Reef in the north of the country. This was reflected in the material effects adorning the Rhodes statue. Miners living in the hostels in the township of Soweto, just outside of Johannesburg, were the primary support base of Kaizer Chiefs, which had been established in 1970. And the hat used to decorate the statue was known as a *makarapa*. Referencing migrant work in South Sotho, it had been invented by Alfred Baloyi in the 1970's as a protective decoration crafted from the hard hats miners wore while working underground. While forces of colonial conquest and control attempted to subdue black Africans by submerging them to the depths of Johannesburg's gold mines to extract mineral wealth, black Africans were able to use these conditions to develop a liberating alternative popular culture on the football pitches above. In this anarchic cultural intervention,

therefore, Cecil John Rhodes manifests as an ironic emblem for a colonial past that informed a rich and vibrant culture of football fandom in the 21st Century.

Raising complicated connections between material heritage forms, commemorative practise, colonialism, notions of Africa, and South African popular culture, this vignette introduces some of the central themes addressed in this chapter. It takes its cue from this example by looking at the *vuvuzela*, the 1m long plastic horn placed in the hands of the Rhodes statue, and the claims made about its cultural heritage significance during the FIFA 2010 World Cup staged in South Africa. The sound and image of the *vuvuzela* came to represent one of a range of material and symbolic tropes defining the African and South African character of the tournament (Dubin 2011). This is particularly in relation to literature addressing the tournament's apparent role in shaping a sporting patriotism that contributed to nation building (HSRC 2011, Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2011; Serra and Shaw 2014). As such, the *vuvuzela* provides a useful material and symbolic entry point into the FIFA 2010 World Cup as an African, South African cultural event, practises of heritage formation and nation building. And in the context of this thesis, it troubles conventional analyses because it helps to raise important questions about ownership and authenticity, which were key to practises of heritage formation in both the case of Freedom Park and the STHP, which were initiated by clear agents with different agendas, initiating different kinds of politics of authenticity. The *vuvuzela* is not so easily pinned down, coming at us not exactly from the state or the market, but instead from the realm of the popular.

This chapter discusses how and in what ways the *vuvuzela* was produced, circulated and consumed in the context of the FIFA 2010 World Cup and how those mobilizations were linked to, and enabled, the mediation of particular ideas about cultural heritage, mega-events, fan culture and African and South African subjectivity on the global stage. Comprised of data drawn from narratives published in the electronic and print media before and during the tournament, and supplemented with scholarly texts, the analysis engaged in this chapter is divided into four sections. The first section looks at the transactions in national and continental imagery developed around South Africa's bid for the World Cup tournament and the ways in which president Thabo Mbeki's Pan-African vision of an African Renaissance was worked through and framed South



Figure 31. Football fans, World Cup draw, Cape Town, 2009.

Africa's official bid for the 2010 tournament. The second section discusses how Masincedane Sport, a small *vuvuzela* manufacturer, positioned itself as the reputable retailer of *vuvuzelas*. The third section outlines the cultural and historical arguments FIFA and South African football officials used to frame the *vuvuzela* as a heritage form. The final section outlines the contestation regarding Masincedane Sport's ownership of the *vuvuzela*, and the problematic ways in which framed South African and African subjectivity. Overall I will show how and in what ways the *vuvuzela* was produced, circulated and consumed as a heritage form in the context of the FIFA 2010 World Cup and how that process of construction concerned the mediation and negotiation of ideas about 'Africanness' and 'South Africanness' in relation to the world.²

South Africa's Tournament, Africa's Stage

The *vuvuzela's* worldwide fame finds its origin in the noise made around South Africa securing the right to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup, and the political, social and

cultural significance of major sports events in the post-apartheid era. South Africa established a record for successfully staging international sports competitions through the 1990s into the new millennium. These included the 1995 Rugby World Cup, the 1996 African Nation's Cup, the 1999 All Africa Games and the 2003 Cricket World Cup. These events were framed by the state as being economically beneficial, and as holding out social, cultural and political import. Since Nelson Mandela's presidency in 1994, sporting mega-events had been actively drawn upon by the state as a medium for fostering nation-building, particularly because, in a country divided by deep racial divisions, sports appeared to appeal to South Africans from all walks of life (see Van der Westhuizen 2008). The 1995 Rugby World Cup and the 1996 African Nation's Cup, both staged in, and won by, South Africa, specifically helped emphasise the social and cultural importance of major sports events. The state recognised that these events presented a major opportunity to try and persuade the South African public to embrace new symbols of state, such as the flag and the new national anthem, and link sporting fervour and patriotic pride in processes of nation-building (see Black and Naughton 1998; Booth 1999; Carlin 2008). In post-apartheid South Africa, sports mega-events were important arenas where branding practices intersected with nation-building.

Spurred on by a track record of successfully staging international sports competitions, by the late 1990s the state set about developing bids for grander global mega-events such as the Olympics. In 2000 South Africa first pitched for the right to host the 2006 FIFA World Cup. Considering that football is by far the most popular sport in South Africa, the FIFA World Cup presented the state with another opportunity to renew patriotic pride. It also enabled the state, during the Thabo Mbeki administration, to mobilise Pan-African patriotism as part of the broad initiative to awaken an African Renaissance.³ South Africa failed narrowly, losing out to Germany. It was a major let down. Addressing the nation immediately after the announcement in a televised address, President Mbeki expressed his "deep disappointment" about the outcome, remarking that it was not only a loss for South Africa, but also a tragic day for Africa, saying "their message and ours did not succeed to convince the majority on the FIFA Executive that Africa's time has come".⁴ Thabo Mbeki posited that, since the bid was issued on behalf of the African continent, South Africa's failure could be understood as another snub in a long history of colonial oppression, since "the issue was not Africa's

readiness”, but rather the readiness of Europeans “to accept that Africa is part of the global human family”.⁵ According to Thabo Mbeki’s reasoning, South Africa’s failure to secure the World Cup bid marked the exclusion of African persons from the global human family. Nevertheless, he expressed his faith in South Africa’s chances of staging the greatest football tournament by concluding his televised address with the emphatic statement “next time we will win” (Alegi 2010, 128). In 2001, FIFA president Joseph (Sepp) Blatter lodged a motion to modify the rules regarding how the hosting rights for the tournament were allocated. This resulted in the implementation of a continental rotation system that would start with Africa. Egypt, Libya, Tunisia and Morocco would all bid for the tournament, but South Africa was by far the favourite.

In the lead up to FIFA’s decision on the 2010 tournament, Thabo Mbeki elaborated on his interpretation of the significance of the World Cup for Africa. Firstly, he pointed out that the World Cup would propel the continent’s extraordinary transformative journey. The tournament would be “coming to Africa for the first time, coming to an Africa going through its moment of rebirth”.⁶ This was an exciting human journey, “an African journey of hope”, proceeding towards a future destiny “free of wars, refugees and displaced people, free of tyranny, of racial, ethnic and religious divisions and conflicts, of hunger, and the accumulated weight of centuries of the denial of our human dignity”.⁷ Secondly, FIFA’s decision to grant the hosting rights to an African nation marked its entry into a contract with Africa to overcome the adversities that stood in the way of reaching this goal. By deciding to allocate the rights to an African nation, FIFA “conveyed the message to all Africans, both on the continent and the African Diaspora, that you are ready and willing to accompany us on our journey of hope, and gives us the strength and stamina we need to traverse the difficult terrain that separates us from Africa’s renaissance”.⁸ Finally, the decision would mark the fulfilment of the restoration of African personhood at the centre of the celebration of a global humanity.⁹ The World Cup, provided “a global stage on which nations and peoples of the world” could gather together and reaffirm their common humanity and “experience the reality that we belong to one human family, regardless of race, colour, gender, age, political and religious belief, and country or continent of origin”.¹⁰ In Thabo Mbeki’s estimation, the World Cup signified FIFA’s entering into a partnership that would catalyse the transformation of African consciousness, restore a fractured African

personhood and mark the incorporation of Africans into a global humanity.

Of the African nations competing for the rights to host the event, South Africa was the frontrunner. The World Cup Bid Book, South Africa's official contractual proposition to FIFA, Peter Alegi (2010) points out, comprised a narrative that not only entailed demonstrating South Africa's logistical capabilities, but also their capability to fashion an appealing 'African' brand image of South Africa ready for global consumption. As the Bid Book declared, "South Africa offers FIFA security through its commercial strength and advanced infrastructure, and the prospect of a joyful, happy and emotional first FIFA World Cup in Africa".¹¹ Moreover, Alegi explains, firstly the World Cup became a branding project engaged with the specific purpose of posturing the image of a leading, modern African nation-state to the world. As Thabo Mbeki explained in the cover letter of the Bid Book, "We want, on behalf of our continent, to stage an event that will send ripples of confidence from the Cape to Cairo - an event that will create social and economic opportunities across Africa".¹² Secondly, as is evident, the state's commitment to the tournament was linked to Thabo Mbeki's political philosophy of the African Renaissance, as a broad attempt to exhibit a 'world-class Pan-Africanism' (Bolsmann 2012). As Thabo Mbeki affirmed in the preface to the Bid Book, "The foundation of this Bid lies in our resolve to ensure that the 21st Century unfolds as a century of growth and development in Africa ... the successful hosting of the FIFA World Cup in Africa will provide a powerful, irresistible momentum to this resolute African renaissance".¹³ South Africa's official proposal to FIFA mediated a complex set of relations between the past and the future, South Africa, Africa, and the world. As I will show in the following sections, the *vuvuzela* manifests as a heritage form against this background of nationalist, Pan-Africanist global posturing and resounds with this complex set of meanings in the context of the World Cup.

Masinedane Sport

The final announcement for the hosting rights to the FIFA 2010 World Cup was made on 15 May, 2004, in Zurich, Switzerland. The South African bid committee dispatched to the event included politicians, sports officials, prominent business people and former president Nelson Mandela. To emphasise their pride in South Africa's football legacy, and in anticipation of a positive outcome, delegates brought along regalia synonymous



Figure 32. Neil van Schalkwyk demonstrating his product to the international media. World Media and Legacy Centre, Waterfront, Cape Town.

with football fan culture, such as *makarapas* (decorative hard hats) and *vuvuzelas*. The room exploded in loud cheers and stunning salvos of braying *vuvuzelas* when Sepp Blatter drew South Africa's winning bid from the award envelope. Nelson Mandela wept tears of joy, and the effervescent sonorous atmosphere of jubilation echoed across South Africa in broadcast scenes showing the public resounding in joyous, celebratory blowing of *vuvuzelas*. Rejoicing in distinctively South African festive style, the delegation claimed success as the first African host nation of the FIFA World Cup. As far as *vuvuzelas* were used to signal South Africa's victory, the occasion also served as the first major international platform where the instrument was presented to the world as an instantly recognisable sonic emblem for football culture in South Africa, Africa's World Cup host nation.

Significantly, the *vuvuzelas* which South African delegates used to fill FIFA's head office with boisterous, reverberating celebration had a fascinating history. The horns were

supplied by Masincedane Sport, a small, Cape Town based manufacturer. The *vuvuzela*'s imbrication in narratives of South African and African cultural and historical significance is closely related to Masincedane Sport's growth and the strategies it employed in negotiating a range of state and market forces to promote the company and its product before and during the World Cup. This relatively unknown company had simple origins in local football fan culture. According to Neil van Schalkwyk, a partner in the venture, it was while playing semi-professional football in the late 1990s that he noticed that the *vuvuzela* helped create a raucous festive atmosphere at local matches.¹⁴ At the time, however, *vuvuzelas* were flimsy, rudimentary, hand-made contraptions cobbled out of metal, and were used only by a few of the most passionate football fans. There was therefore no popular, entrenched tradition of *vuvuzela* horn blowing as is known today at football matches in South Africa prior to the 2000s. After acquiring a home-made prototype, van Schalkwyk applied his nascent skills in injection plastic moulding to copy the shape of the noise-maker. He eventually cast a plastic replica that expelled a powerful, consistent B-flat note. Converting a crude, home-made noise-making instrument into a reliable, efficient, easily replicable plastic horn, van Schalkwyk transformed an idiosyncratic manifestation of local football fan culture into a marketable commodity as a kind of material invented tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). Recognising the commercial potential of his innovation, van Schalkwyk partnered with his friend and former boss Beville Bachman, and registered their company under the name Masincedane Sport in 2001.

Marketing and brand promotion played an important role in Masincedane Sport's commercial success. Initially, the company struggled. In the first year of trading, Neil van Schalkwyk calculated that the company sold around 500 units. In his understanding, weak sales could be attributed to the football public's sheer lack of interest. In the beginning, they had to create a sense of interest in the product, by, for example, handing out *vuvuzelas* for free at matches. Masincedane Sport's sales volume began to grow in 2003 in line with the increasing speculation about South Africa's chances for the 2010 World Cup. By that year they had also secured contracts to supply Kaizer Chiefs and Orlando Pirates, South Africa's two biggest football clubs, and had partnered with Proudly South African, a national branding project aimed at boosting local business, to help promote the company. One major early success was

securing the contract to supply the *vuvuzelas* gifted to the FIFA technical inspectors that visited South Africa as part of the 2010 bid process.¹⁵ Through these marketing endeavours aimed at attracting the public's attention to the *vuvuzela*, it appeared that Masincedane Sport actively engaged in fulfilling the claim made in their company slogan, "Creating Sporting Culture".

The energetic and savvy marketing skills which Masincedane Sport employed in trying to attract public interest and grow their business could be related to the support and education provided by SAB-Miller, a locally based, multi-national corporation. Soon after registering the venture in 2001, the business owners successfully applied to participate in SAB-Miller's Kick Start Small Business Programme. "Aimed at 18 to 35 year-olds from previously disadvantaged backgrounds", the KickStart programme was launched "in 1995 initially as a poverty alleviation project" but "subsequently became a platform to stimulate sustainable enterprise development".¹⁶ Small businesses were provided with long-term financial, legal mentoring and corporate support, which in combination added significant impetus to the sustainability of participating enterprises. Masincedane Sport was one of the programme's shining success stories. SAB-Miller "touted the Cape-based [enterprise] as being the first small black business to benefit from South Africa's World Cup bid victory".¹⁷ Affirming their faith in the enterprise, SAB-Miller stepped up their assistance, providing financial aid, and corporate and legal guidance in anticipation of the business' expansion leading into 2010, by, for example, facilitating Masincedane Sport's trademark of the rights to the word *vuvuzela*, which was employed on packaging and marketing media. As the SAB-Miller spokesperson Michael Farr pointed out, the gesture was not merely about supporting a small South African business, but about protecting the intellectual property of the South African nation. "Given the overwhelming popularity of the *vuvuzela*, SAB-Miller was keen that everybody should know that the product was created by a South African and that his labour should be respected".¹⁸ By helping Masincedane Sport register the trademark rights to the word *vuvuzela*, SAB-Miller intended to strike a legal boundary between legitimate local production and foreign exploitation. As Michael Farr put it, SAB-Miller assisted Masincedane with his application so as to avoid the risk of "anyone capitalising on his business unfairly".¹⁹ With SAB-Miller's assistance Masincedane Sport was able to stake a legal claim over a concept for their product, claim authority as a legitimate local

supplier and position the company to claim a dominant place in the market leading up to the World Cup.

Nevertheless, recognising the increasing pitch of public interest in the state's campaign to host the 2010 tournament, Masincedane Sport's owners employed skilled marketing strategies focused on entering into the fervour around the national bid. As Neil van Schalkwyk explained, "with that momentum building up [around the bid] we tried to strategically place our product, you know. When they had the bid book hand over [in 2003] and so forth, leading up to the announcement in May 2004, we made sure that the product was, you know, at all the right public viewing areas".²⁰ At major events related to the bid, they especially made sure that their product was in the hands of important officials before they took to the stage to promote the state's campaign. The company's greatest marketing coup was, however, the spontaneous eruption of reverberating *vuvuzelas* at the Zurich head office and televised inserts of fans all across South Africa. "I think that's where the first real media interest came about around the *vuvuzela*", Neil van Schalkwyk declared.²¹ The voluminous celebration that erupted in Zurich established the link between *vuvuzelas* and South African sporting culture and, as celebration of the African host nation, marked an instantly recognisable aural signifier for the African brand image of the tournament. Masincedane Sport's product slogan played on such nationalist posturing since their product slogan stated that their *vuvuzelas* made "the Original Sound of South Africa". Lobbing the *vuvuzela* into a central position in the state's campaign to host the World Cup, Masincedane Sport actively blurred the lines between culture, patriotism and marketing, mobilising a branding project that emphasised their product's 'authentic' South African sound. Masincedane Sport was not merely engaged in building its brand, but was also engaged in building a case for the authenticity of its product and its legitimate ownership over it (see Lindholm 2008).

Notably, Masincedane Sport emphasised that it was not so much concerned with the cultural value of the *vuvuzela* as much as it was concerned with its value as a product that could advance economic empowerment in Africa and South Africa. Neil van Schalkwyk stressed the hard work it took to "get the *vuvuzela* to be what it is today, to create the atmosphere that is unique to South African soccer", through partnering with

companies “such as Proudly South African, Orlando Pirates and Kaiser Chiefs”.²² He argued that now it was the turn of the state to protect and promote local businesses. Masincedane Sport exemplified this spirit of commercial support and cooperation, he said, because, for one, the company name was derived from the *isiXhosa* term ‘meaning lets help each other out’. Drawing on the spirit of vernacular knowledge of communal reciprocity coded into the name of his business, Neil van Schalkwyk issued a formal challenge to “government and business with [Masincedane Sport’s] slogan: Let us help each other - Africa 1st”.²³ But he also distinguished his product’s ‘authenticity’ on the basis of defining features, saying “We are the only manufacturer of the Proudly South African Vuvuzela and the world is insisting on the authentic Vuvuzela. They want nothing but the real thing”.²⁴ The use of the trademarked word *vuvuzela* was an added authenticating feature. In this way, it appeared, Masincedane Sport’s claim to legitimacy as a manufacturer of ‘authentic’ *vuvuzelas* was mobilised as part of its contest with the forces of the market and the South African state and centred on a value proposition that framed the company as South African and African.

FIFA and State Sanction

McLuhan and McLuhan point out that, philosophically, “acoustic space, always penetrated by tactility and other senses, is spherical, discontinuous, non-homogenous, resonant, and dynamic”. Sonorous space is open, fluid and binding. It is a “flux in which figure and ground rub against and transform each other” (1988, 33). Literature addressing sound and acoustics in Africa, has so far focused on the practice of religion and space, be it urban space (de Witte 2008) or public space (Hirschkind 2006). As will be shown, the sound of the *vuvuzela* would reverberate in conceptual space, structuring and mediating semiotic relations between Africa, South Africa and the world, as a platform that staged the conditions for negotiating what it meant to be African and South African during the World Cup.

Portents of this would come in 2009 when the *vuvuzela* would both affirm and disrupt the fluid, constitutive power of sound during the Confederations Cup, an official international FIFA tournament that served as a trial run for the World Cup. Featuring a selection of some of the best football nations from across the world, the Confederations Cup also benchmarked global perceptions of South Africa as a host nation. It was also

the first time that *vuvuzelas* became the focus of attention of an international audience unaccustomed to South Africa's loud, boisterous football fan culture. Indeed, the buzzing drone of thousands of *vuvuzelas* trumpeted during live broadcast matches came as a shock to European players and audiences. Spanish football player Xabi Alonso commented, "We're used to people shouting but not to this trumpet noise which doesn't allow you to concentrate and is unbearable ... They are a distraction and do nothing for the atmosphere", while British viewers complained about the noise interfering with their viewing pleasure, saying, "It's just a nasty harsh noise and it does my head in"; "I can hardly hear the commentary ... it really sucks ... can't even hear the fans cheering...only sounds that echoes is the high pitch trumpets blown by 5000 lunatics".²⁵ Yet many online pundits also defended the *vuvuzela*, by, for example, framing the sound as emblematic of African fan culture: "I am shocked that anyone in their right mind would attack our African values. When the World Cup was awarded to South Africa, everyone knew very well that drums, trumpets and whistles would be part of the game".²⁶ Or concerning African heritage, "Vuvuzelas are here to stay because it's part of the African heritage, unique to South African Soccer show".²⁷ But also as concerning South Africa's African cultural distinctiveness, "It is a recognised sound of football in South Africa and is absolutely essential for an authentic South African footballing experience. After all, what would be the point of taking the World Cup to Africa, and then trying to give it a European feel?".²⁸ Clearly, the meaning of the sound of the *vuvuzela*, as circulated through global media circuits, was a crucial stake in the debates about its significance as a signifier of African and South African cultural identity.

Stark oppositions were drawn in the debates about the place of this unusual, ear-piercing, persistent sound in the arena of international football tournaments. As the above quotes show, the sound of the *vuvuzela* was unavoidably rousing. It resonated. The ethnomusicologist Veit Erlmann (2010, 12) contends that resonance implies the conjunction of subject and object, "adjacency, sympathy and the collapse of the boundary between perceiver and perceived". Resonance, Erlmann claims, speaks to hearing as an embodied practice, since it is also the "mechanism that generations of scientists have taken to be at the base of how the human ear works". With potentially damaging volume (see Swanepoel, et al. 2010), the *vuvuzela*'s braying sound

reverberated amongst football audiences around the world, creating a live, yet highly mediated soundscape that shaped perceptions of Africa and South Africa.²⁹ Debates about the meaning of the sound generated by the *vuvuzela* initiated questions of noise and harmony, and the apparent resonance or dissonance of particular arguments about South African and African subjectivities in the context of global football fan culture. “Noise”, Goddard *et al.* (2013, 4) explain, “seems to stand for a lack of aesthetic grace, to be against enjoyment or pleasure, to alienate or distract, rather than enrapture it penetrates the body rather than transports the listener”. Enabling raucous debate about noise and harmony in the context of ‘Africanness’ and ‘South Africanness’, arguably, the *vuvuzela* constituted a global listening public, where listening is seen as a category that encompasses “the realm of the sensory, embodied experience and the political realm of debate and deliberation” (Lacey 2013, 8). While visual culture was used by football officials to articulate narratives about how the World Cup would spur development in Africa (Manzo 2012), the *vuvuzela* created an organically generated soundscape that emanated from Africa and reverberated around the world.

It was in this context of amplifying, fierce debate about the place of *vuvuzelas* in football, particularly the broadcasting of football matches to an international audience, that FIFA and the South African state publicly staked their positions regarding the *vuvuzela*. In these instances, they mounted arguments that clearly situated the *vuvuzela*’s place in South African football culture as a matter of African cultural heritage. This is best illustrated by the complex, historically grounded arguments these bodies advanced in online promotional media published on official World Cup 2010 platforms.

In March 2009, on the official South African 2010 World Cup website, an article entitled “Get Your *Vuvuzelas* Ready for 2010” provided an elaborate account of the cultural history of the *vuvuzela*.³⁰ It cited the celebratory atmosphere around FIFA’s awarding of the 2010 hosting rights as the defining moment of the *vuvuzela*’s public profile, and then corroborated its local significance citing testimony provided by Putco Mafani, described as a progenitor of the “*Vuvuzela* movement”. The *vuvuzela* had deep historical roots Mafani explained. “First, the horn is an African instrument and back in the days it was in wars and used to mark celebrations. Because South Africans

do not have access to the animal horn back then, they use the *Vuvuzela* and when it is blown, you are guaranteed to get a reaction from people”.³¹ In contemporary South Africa, the article claimed, it was used to rally the crowds and communicate with players. “South African players know when they hear the sound of a *Vuvuzela*, it is time for action, the players are used to it and they associate it with playing ... fans would start blowing *Vuvuzelas* and for players to start playing and it used to get the mood right”.³² Accordingly, it was claimed, that the *vuvuzela* defined South African football culture, but also permeated fan culture across Africa. “There is a place for *Vuvuzelas* in 2010; the event will be like no other World Cup ... The use of the instrument has extended to other African countries, supporters from Nigeria, Ivory Coast were blowing *Vuvuzelas* at matches during the African Cup recently, it has become an African symbol of celebrations”.³³ The claim that the *vuvuzela* was capable of forging a Pan-African solidarity in sound was reiterated by Mzion Mofokeng, Orlando Pirates’ number one supporter. As he recounted, “I remember when I was in Ghana for the [African Nations Cup], supporters of other countries kept [asking] about the instrument and they were very excited to see me blowing it and I wanted them [to know] how it is done”.³⁴ Extrapolating from this encounter, in his estimation, the World Cup would be a stage showcasing African solidarity bound together by the reverberating sound of the *vuvuzela*. “Come 2010 ... those who will be visiting South Africa will be treated to [the] African sound of the *Vuvuzela*”.³⁵ The article also quoted Beville Bachman, who also emphasised the *vuvuzela*’s potential to accentuate the World Cup’s African cultural significance, saying “The 2010 World Cup would not be reaching its full status of a truly African World Cup without the atmosphere which the *Vuvuzela* has created at our stadiums and other event venues”.³⁶ In sum, this official narrative claimed that the *vuvuzela* hailed from apparently ancient indigenous traditions in South Africa, emphasised its indelible historical link with South African football spectatorship and asserted its unifying power as a cohesive force of Pan-African cultural solidarity.

A similar account appeared in the article “*Vuvuzela*: a symbol of South Africa” published on the official FIFA website in June, 2009.³⁷ The article claimed that just as the Swiss rang cow bells, Mexicans initiated the Mexican wave, so too, in South Africa there was the tradition of blowing *vuvuzelas*. The *vuvuzela* was described as a “vociferous air horn that reverberates around arenas with rare energy. It is also a proud

and permanent symbol of its patrons”.³⁸ The *vuvuzela* had deep South African cultural and historical roots, having “originally been made from a kudu horn. Folklore has it that, in the ancient days, it was used to summon people to gatherings”.³⁹ The article suggested that the *vuvuzela* was a “traditional” instrument that, according to folkloristic tradition, featured in the bonding of indigenous collectivities. *Vuvuzelas* also resonated with modern South African cultural history as a material form that resonated with the pain of apartheid oppression and the black struggle for dignity and freedom. As Mzion Mofokeng explained, “When we started the *vuvuzela*, there was so much sadness in our country in those years and it brought so much joy ... All of a sudden people would go to the stadiums because of this instrument that was able to get fans on their feet and start cheering. For [a] few hours, they would forget about the reality in our society and enjoy the sound”.⁴⁰ Following this reasoning, it was claimed that during apartheid *vuvuzelas* manifested as a material cultural form that enabled novel sonic expression that provided both psychological relief and revitalising power. This suggested that, in contemporary South Africa, *vuvuzelas* aroused the kinds of strong emotions and sensations that defined the pleasure of football spectatorship. As Freddie Sadaam Maake explained, “It brings a special feeling to the stadiums. It is something that makes the fans want to get behind their team”.⁴¹ It was on the basis of this kind of constructed cultural history, framing the *vuvuzela*’s connection to contemporary South African spectator traditions and “ancient” African histories of “traditional” cultural practice, that FIFA based their tacit endorsement of the *vuvuzela*. As Sepp Blatter announced, “It is African culture, we are in Africa and we have to allow them to practice their culture as much as they want to ... Vuvuzelas, drums and [singing] are part of African football culture. It is part of their celebration, it is part of their culture, so let them blow the *vuvuzelas*”.⁴²

The volume of grievances only grew after the start of the World Cup, with players and audiences issuing a volley of appeals for the *vuvuzela* to be banned. Football star Lionel Messi complained saying, “It is impossible to communicate, it's like being deaf”, a sentiment concurred by Portuguese international Cristiano Ronaldo, “It is difficult for anyone on the pitch to concentrate. A lot of players don't like them, but they are going to have to get used to them”.⁴³ The British Broadcasting Corporation (the BBC) received some 200 complaints during the first few days of the tournament, and



Figure 33. Hyundai, “We Bring the Gees”, Giant *Vuvuzela*, Cape Town.

audiences around the world struggled to contend with the droning buzz that emanated from their television sets every time they tuned in to matches. Acoustic space may have been spherical and fluid, uniting and connecting in McLuhan and McLuhan’s terms (1988), but it was also annoyingly arresting, nerve-wracking and distracting. FIFA and South African football officials moved to dismiss the possibility of banning the instrument, and, instead, emphasised its significance as an African cultural practice derived from ancient indigenous traditions and history of South African football fan culture. “Vuvuzelas are a cultural phenomenon for our country and for football” said Rich Mkhondo, spokesperson for the Local Organising Committee.⁴⁴ As Sepp Blatter stated, “I have always said that Africa has a different rhythm, a different sound ... I don’t see banning the music traditions of fans in their own country. Would you want to see a ban on the fan traditions in your country?”⁴⁵ By making such statements, FIFA and South African football authorities actively engaged in practices of heritage formation, mobilising narratives of origin, contesting and silencing aspersions about the sound’s influence on viewing pleasure, and rhetorically elevating its status from a cheap, disposable plastic horn to a valorised heritage form.⁴⁶

The controversy and popularity of the *vuvuzela* presented a prime opportunity for other corporate entities to market and promote their own products. For example, the Korean car manufacturing company Hyundai kicked off their nation-wide advertising campaign that worked with the sound of the *vuvuzela* and the powerful, even religious sentiments, whipped up by during the tournament. As a riff on the South African Broadcasting Association's slogan, "Feel It. It Is Here", Hyundai developed the catch phrase, "We bring the Gees", or we bring the spirit. To amplify its marketing campaign it constructed a 37 metre long *vuvuzela* on an abandoned flyover bridge in Cape Town city centre. The biggest *vuvuzela* in the world, the instrument was not merely a striking piece of visual advertising but sonically brought the company's slogan to life as a fully operational noise-making instrument.⁴⁷ Hyundai's biggest success of the tournament was in promoting the notion of *gees* as the essence of positive, pervasive collective feeling linked to *vuvuzelas*. *Gees* is an Afrikaans word meaning spirit or ghost, and is specifically related to in Christian religious rhetoric. As a religious term, it captured the achy, charged sensations evoked by the tournament, focussing them in a concise, lofty expression that conveyed binding, uniting religious like atmosphere at the time. *Gees* can be interpreted using Emile Durkheim's notion of collective effervescence. Durkheim argued that the gathering together of groups and their participation in ritual action generated a surplus, a collective effervescence of feeling that that was binding. The World Cup and particularly the noise generated by thousands of *vuvuzelas* were associated with stirring up a moving, powerful sense of feeling. Durkheim argued further that these powerful feelings of another world force that was at once at the centre and set apart from social relations would come to be associated with totem figure, that was considered to be sacred set apart. Sven Ismer (2011, 555) has shown that "states of "collective effervescence" do not only tie individuals to a community, but also provide a strong frame for "the creation of symbols and the embodiment of shared meanings defining a community". Taking this lead, I wish to assert that the pervasive atmosphere, this collective positive feeling, the *gees*, that came to attach to the *vuvuzela* imbued it with sacred significance as a distinctively South African and African heritage form.

At one point Rich Mkhondo described the debate as polarised, saying "Only a minority are against vuvuzelas. You either love them or hate them. We in South Africa love them".⁴⁸ Staking the controversy about the *vuvuzela* as concerning clear oppositions

between South African insiders who loved them and outsiders who hated them, Mkhondo elided the disparity, complexity and even contradictory ways in which the sound structured relations amongst South Africans, Africans and global audiences. For one, the *vuvuzela*'s sound also divided South African audiences who rejected its significance as either an African or South African tradition. A selection of e-mails, letters and SMSs submitted to the *Sunday Times*, a national South African news publication, bears this out.⁴⁹ As Dr PFG Mtimkulu pointed out, "Vuvuzelas cannot be regarded as our tradition because they have been with us for just more than 10 years", a sentiment echoed by Gogo who said, "The ghastly vuvuzela is not a true tradition, but has simply become a detestable bad habit".⁵⁰ This new tradition was seen as a national travesty: "Why a nation of such talented music people could embrace such a boring, tuneless piece of plastic as the symbol of their football defeats me".⁵¹ The sound of the *vuvuzela* could also unite global audiences in complex ways. In a letter written during the World Cup to the *Cape Times*, a regional South African newspaper, entitled 'United We Blow', Nathan Casey argued for its unifying power as an "international unification tool". He described an encounter with "a posse of friends that included Italians, Brazilians, Americans and English", where, "Passing [the vuvuzela] around like a peace pipe, laughing as my British girlfriend taught a true African how to blow it properly ... we befriended and bonded with folks from all over the world". It was a galvanising experience that rang long into the night. "We all sang and vuvu'd down the street, and left feeling the world was a smaller place and we could learn and teach so much during the [tournament]".⁵² Situating the *vuvuzela* in Native American indigenous traditions of community building, Casey suggested that the instrument could cohere an international group of football fans by staging the communal sharing of sound in Africa. Clearly, different agents extracted different sets of meanings, about nation, culture and history, from a set of indistinguishable sounds. In that sense the *vuvuzela* facilitated a politics of aesthetics that because it framed complex relationships of resonance and dissonance, of division and togetherness, in the reverberant droning produced by thousands of disposable plastic horns (Ranci re 2010). Nevertheless, whether interpreted as resonant or dissonant, harmonious or noisy, the volume of this polarised debate added a patina of persuasiveness to official statements that the *vuvuzela* was a heritage form.

Counter Claims and Contestation

As a disruptive aesthetic form, generating a biding controversy, the *vuvuzela* was divisive matter (Latour 2005). Not everybody was in harmony with the arguments being made by dominant stakeholders about its significance and sound. FIFA, the South African state and Masincedane Sport appeared to have independent vested interests in the *vuvuzela* that were interrelated around mediations of South African and African subjectivity. All of them were subject to contestation and debate that firstly concerned the authenticity of the *vuvuzela* as a cultural form, and secondly, the African and South African images and subjectivities it was meant to sustain. In this section I will briefly outline these different critiques before moving on to the conclusion.

Firstly, critiques about the *vuvuzela*'s authenticity as a South African and African cultural form were framed within a challenge on Masincedane Sport's claim to original ownership. Their claim was contested in South Africa by two independent parties, Freddie Maake and a denomination of the Nazareth Baptist Church, or Shembes, who advanced competing claims about the origin, invention and ownership of the *vuvuzela*. For example, Freddie Maake, Kaizer Chiefs' number one supporter and an ambassador for the national football team, argued that he'd invented the first *vuvuzela* in 1965, supplementing his claim with photographic evidence. "I started with an old bicycle horn that used to have a black rubber ... I removed the rubber and blew it with my mouth". He then constructed a gigantic four metre long aluminium horn, or, "the father of all the *vuvuzelas* you see today."⁵³ He also claimed to have invented the word *vuvuzela*, saying, "I started the Vuvuzela back in 1989 and we used to call it all sorts of names, some used to call it phalaphala, trumpet and so on, but I came up with the name Vuvuzela".⁵⁴ Maake supplied a series of photographs and a copy of his 1999 musical album "Vuvuzela Cellular" to corroborate his claim. As sports journalist Phatisani Moyo testified to having seen, "The common denominator in all the pictures [showing Maake's] journey from Kaizer Chiefs matches in the 1970's and 1980's to South Africa's readmission to international football ... is that he is the only supporter holding a *vuvuzela*".⁵⁵ It was plainly evident that Freddie Maake was "a man with a long history with the instrument".⁵⁶ Despite being able to provide hard visual evidence, Maake was deeply aggrieved that others were illegally capitalising on his invention. "This is my invention and it saddens me that other people are benefiting from all the

suffering I have endured in popularising the vuvuzela”.⁵⁷ He directed his ire at Masincedane Sport, who he felt had unfairly exploited his original invention, saying “The most I have received from Neil [van Schalkwyk] is R2 500 back in 2004 ... He is making a killing while I starve”.⁵⁸

Alternatively, the Shembe Church’s claim, dating back to 1910, around the time of the Church’s establishment by Prophet Isaiah Shembe was that the progenitor of the contemporary *vuvuzela* was the *izimbomu*, a ceremonial horn used in rituals of healing, worship and rites of pilgrimage. As Enoch Mthembu, the public relations officer for a denomination of the Church explained, “It was introduced in 1910 by Prophet Isaiah Shembe, who is the founder of our church, to play alongside African drums when we dance and worship God”.⁵⁹ The *izimbomu* was also used in rituals of healing. “We can make miracles happen when we use the *vuvuzelas* to heal sick people”.⁶⁰ Finally, the horn played an important role in an annual rite of pilgrimage. Every year thousands of church members dressed in flowing white gowns for a three-day ritual of pilgrimage, blowing their horns, carrying sacred sacraments, chanting and singing as they ascended the sacred mountain, Mount Nhlankakazi, in KwaZulu-Natal province. For the Shembe, the *imbomu* had sacred significance. Their concerns about its use at football matches was therefore not merely about its commercial exploitation, but the exploitation of its revered religious power. As the Reverend Goga, a branch elder explained, “When people are playing football and hearing the vuvuzela, they are getting the power of our Holy Spirit”.⁶¹ The Shembe Church therefore based its claim to the *vuvuzela* on this history of religious use over almost a century. As Enoch Mthembu frankly declared, “This thing [the vuvuzela] belongs to the church”.⁶²

The Shembe Church took issue with Masincedane Sport’s trademark, and eventually negotiated a financial settlement.⁶³ At the same time, however, Church members also publicly claimed that the *izimbomu*’s theft occurred in the early 1990s following a visit from an outsider with a passion for football. As church members put it to BBC journalist Jonah Fisher, “The Shembe say they lost the vuvuzela back in the 1990’s when a supporter of South Africa’s biggest football team, Kaizer Chiefs, visited the church. Unable to take the long metal trumpet inside football grounds he re-modelled it in plastic”.⁶⁴ The church therefore accused Freddie Maake as appropriating their holy

horn. And indeed, Maake had confessed to having entered into a business arrangement to produce marketable plastic horns, saying “I approached someone who ran a manufacturing company and he made the first plastic version – a yellow one very much like those you see today. We called them Boogieblasts and sold them at games”.⁶⁵ This venture appears to have failed. Overall, what was clear is that while Freddie Maake argued that Masincedane Sport had appropriated his invention, Maake himself appeared to have appropriated the instrument from the Shembe Church. This complex web of claims and counterclaims over ownership and theft suggested that the *vuvuzela* was a generic cultural form that could be associated with indigenous South African religious traditions but also to horn blowing traditions all over the world.⁶⁶ This generic quality availed the instrument to a range of claims and appropriations that became all the more meaningful when the financial and cultural stakes were so greatly amplified.

Secondly, the image of African unity that the *vuvuzela* symbolised and sustained, an image developed and promoted by FIFA and the South African state and football officials, concealed the problematic realities in South Africa and its relationship with Africa before and during the World Cup. *Vuvuzela* horn blowing at football matches was not a universally accepted African tradition. Beyond the Southern African region, football fans across Africa enjoyed different spectator traditions such as drumming and singing, and were largely unfamiliar with the South African custom of blowing *vuvuzelas*. This is illustrated by an example, when, in early 2010 the South African High Commission in Nigeria handed over a parcel of *vuvuzelas* to the Nigerian Football Supporters Club as part of a promotions campaign. The South African ambassador to Nigeria, Kingsley Mamabol handed over the 30 *vuvuzelas* to Dr Ladipo, President General of the Nigerian Football Supporters Club, with the express instruction that they be used during matches involving the Nigerian National Football Squad, explaining that “the noisy trumpet is currently regarded as an African identity”.⁶⁷ While Dr Ladipo received the parcel graciously, he emphatically rejected “the assertion that *Vuvuzela* is an African identity”, stating that “I am totally against this Vuvuzela nonsense. It is not our style of supporting the game. The blaring of Vuvuzela is a big distraction even to the players ... To support a team the players must understand your language and what you are saying to urge them on. Vuvuzela is alien to our football culture and we will fight its introduction”.⁶⁸ To him, the South African government’s

drive to get African nations to adopt the *vuvuzela* was not an invitation to participate in Pan-African solidarity but rather a kind of cultural colonialism. “Every nation in the world has its own values,” he declared, “and it is totally wrong for any nation to bring its own values to suppress others just because that country is hosting the world”.⁶⁹

There were also symbolic and material problems related to the brand image of Africa and South Africa developed by FIFA and the South African state. For example, Achille Mbembe was moved to ask how and in what ways the rhetoric developed in the Bid would further the global image of Africa and South Africa, saying:

Every indication is that “Africa, the cradle of humankind” will be the dominant theme of the 2010 Soccer World Cup. On the world scene, such platitudes will only further relegate the continent to the realm of folklore. Not only does such a theme smack of nativism, it does not say anything meaningful about who we are, who we want to be, and what our proposition for the world is.⁷⁰

More substantively, as Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed (2010) have shown, there was a stark contrast between rhetoric and reality regarding the promises of development and Pan-African unity that the World Cup would spark. They argue firstly, that the outbreak of xenophobic violence “against African immigrants and refugees during 2008” and the government’s denials and “tardy response exposed a rabid inward looking nationalism”, rather than a Pan-African solidarity. As Sabello Ndlovu-Gatsheni put it (2011, 279), the tournament inspired “a strong spirit of national unity on the one hand, while simultaneously bringing into sharp focus glaring class divisions and threats of xenophobia, on the other”. Secondly, Desai and Vahed argue that the material benefits that were meant to accrue to ordinary Africans and South Africans around stadium construction (see Alegi 2008), trade and marketing were diverted to an elite minority and FIFA due to strict policy restrictions regarding development and trade. Indeed, prior to the tournament, “the actual benefits to African countries” was never made clear, and with South Africa’s commercial hegemony on the continent the World Cup simply presented another opportunity for “greater access for South African capital into the continents markets” (Desai and Vahed 2010, 156). In that case, they argued, if the South African state and football officials were really serious about using the



Figure 34. *Vuvuzela Morea*, discovered and named in 2010. Courtesy of Rupert Koopman.

tournament as a platform for “confronting progressive underdevelopment of Africa and its football” then the real starting point would have had to be challenging “the very way FIFA functioned” in structuring the tournament as a short-term, exploitative enterprise. Portrayed as a kind of millennial capitalist moment (Tayob 2012), the World Cup was depicted “by South African political and football leaders as a catalyst for the invigoration of the economy of the African continent ... [while] the experience of African *immigrants*” as well as ordinary Africans and South Africans “betrayed] a different reality” (Desai and Vahed 2010, 162 original emphasis). The World Cup presented a stage for the repetition of cultural and economic exploitation that state and football authorities had argued it would subvert. The *vuvuzela* therefore did not merely enable resonance, unity, solidarity, and togetherness, but also a kind of discord that excluded, marginalised, and oppressed (see Hammond 2011).

Conclusion

Stepping back from the cloud of noise generated about the *vuvuzela*, it is evident that the authentication of this disposable plastic horn involved the production, circulation and negotiation of multiple, interrelated ideas of subjectivity. And as we have heard, various participants had vested interests in the promotion of different, yet intersecting,

notions of ‘Africanness’ and ‘South Africanness’ and worked them out in debates about the significance of the *vuvuzela*. Tuning in to these contests over the articulation of political and brand images, the alchemy of the *vuvuzela*’s transformation becomes all the more clear: starting out as a generic instrument with a particular, virtually unknown local South African history, appropriated and then marketed as a popular fan accessory that helped generate powerful collective feelings during the tournament, and ultimately valued as a material heritage form with South African and African significance. The *vuvuzela* was a heritage form that captured and represented the positive, binding collective effervescence generated during the 2010 World Cup. Ironically, however, this was only possible because of the instrument’s aesthetic ephemerality. Not only was the *vuvuzela* easily breakable and limited practical function, its popularity was largely time bound to the 2010 World Cup. The *vuvuzela* generated sound that would reverberate historically, yet it also dissipated almost instantly in physical space. The *vuvuzela*’s ephemerality is therefore crucial for the popular patriotism that it helped enable, a patriotism based on positive feelings of unity and togetherness that was fleeting, dissipating after the tournament as the economic reality of costs and benefits hit home, and superficial because it concealed pervasive sentiments of xenophobia.

Notes

¹ “Recasting Cecil’s Shadow”, 27 September, 2007. UCT Daily News Archives, see also Schmammann, 2013, 42 – 68.

² It is important to note that this genealogy is neither exhaustive nor definitive. The structure of this historical account serves principally to highlight the core theoretical claims about heritage, materiality and the senses, and the implications of such mobilisation for framing particular, official representations of African and South African subjectivity.

³ Peter Alegi has poignantly described the African Renaissance as the “belief that modernity and globalization, combined with African cultural heritage, [could] be harnessed to reinvigorate the continent economically and politically” (2010, 129). See also Van Kessel 2001.

⁴ Statement by President Mbeki to the nation on the failure to secure the bid to host the 2006 World Cup, 6 July, 2000. Accessed at <http://www.polity.org.za/polity/govdocs/pr/2000/pr0706c.html>, 28 October 2014.

⁵ “Statement by President Mbeki to the nation on the failure to secure the bid to host the 2006 World Cup”, 6 July, 2000. Accessed at <http://www.polity.org.za/polity/govdocs/pr/2000/pr0706c.html>, 28 October 2014.

⁶ Thabo Mbeki: Presentation to FIFA on South Africa’s Bid for the 2010 Soccer World Cup, 14 May 2004. Speech issued by the South African Presidency. Accessed at <http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/pebble.asp?relid=3078>, 20 December 2013.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ African personhood refers to Thabo Mbeki’s framing of a romantic notion of Africanness. Developed immediately after the institution of democracy in South Africa, and articulated in speeches and public utterances such as his often referred to ‘I am an African’ speech, his vision of African personhood

denotes a subjectivity position that is communal, Pan-African, and diametrically opposed to commonsensical notions of autonomous Western subjectivity.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ South Africa World Cup 2010 Bid Book, pg 1/7. <http://mg.co.za/article/2010-06-11-the-bid-book-for-our-bucks> on 8 December, 2013. Scarlett Cornelisen (2006) has shown that a similar branding exercise was mobilised by Morocco.

¹² South Africa World Cup 2010 Bid Book, pg 2/9, accessed at <http://mg.co.za/article/2010-06-11-the-bid-book-for-our-bucks> 8 December, 2013.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Author interview with Neil van Schalkwyk, V&A World Media and Legacy Centre, 1 July, 2010.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ ‘SAB KickStart Enterprise Development Initiative’ accessed at <http://www.sabkickstart.net/index.php/about.html> on 18 November, 2013.

¹⁷ *Mail and Guardian*, 19 May, 2004. Accessed at <http://mg.co.za/article/2004-05-19-vuvuzela-horn-to-be-trademarked>, 20 December, 2014.

¹⁸ ‘Church claims football symbol’. Accessed at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport2/hi/football/africa/3766979.stm>, on 10 December 2013.

¹⁹ *Mail and Guardian*, 19 May, 2004. Accessed at <http://mg.co.za/article/2004-05-19-vuvuzela-horn-to-be-trademarked>, 20 December, 2014.

²⁰ Author interview with Neil van Schalkwyk, V&A World Media and Legacy Centre, 1 July, 2010, used with permission and consent.

²¹ Ibid.

²² “Masincedane’s Vuvuzela is Destined to Be World Cup Icon”, published 17 May, 2004 and “The Proudly South African ‘Vuvuzela’ Answers World Calls”, published 20 May, 2004, accessed at <http://archive.is/mSVdW> on 20 December, 2013.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ ‘World Cup trumpets the arrival of din of iniquity.’ Published 20 June, 2009. Accessed at <http://www.theguardian.com/football/blog/2009/jun/20/confederations-cup-world-cup-vuvuzela> on 10 December, 2013.

²⁶ Comments to ‘In defence of vuvuzelas.’ Published on 19 June, 2009. Accessed at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport2/hi/football/africa/8108691.stm>, 31 July, 2014.

²⁷ Comments to ‘Hughes backs vuvuzelas’, accessed at <http://www.sport24.co.za/Soccer/Hughes-backs-vuvuzelas-20090722> accessed 31 July, 2014.

²⁸ Comments to ‘In defence of vuvuzelas.’ Published on 19 June, 2009. Accessed at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport2/hi/football/africa/8108691.stm>, 31 July, 2014.

²⁹ See Schafer 1994 on soundscapes.

³⁰ “Get Your Vuvuzelas Ready for 2010”, accessed at <http://www.sa2010.gov.za/en/node/1945> on 10 December, 2013.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ “Vuvuzela: a symbol of South Africa”, accessed at <http://www.fifa.com/tournaments/archive/confederationscup/southafrica2009/news/newsid=1073689.html> on 10 December, 2013.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ . ‘Vuvuzela Row: Ronaldo, Messi weigh in’. Published 14 June, 2010 and accessed at <http://www.iol.co.za/sport/vuvuzela-row-ronaldo-messi-weigh-in-1.490624#.UtzkavtQiG8> on 10 December, 2013.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ “World Cup 2010: Vuvuzelas, the horns of Africa’. Published 22 June, 2010. Accessed online at <http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/africa/100622/world-cup-2010-vuvuzelas> 21 September, 2014.

- ⁴⁶ Notably, the World Cup also endeared a series of conventional, independently organised heritage projects. For example, see Alegi 2006.
- ⁴⁷ ‘Giant *vuvuzela* breaks Guinness World Record’, accessed at <http://www.bizcommunity.com/Gallery/196/147/1325.html> 31 January, 2015.
- ⁴⁸ ‘World Cup 2010: organisers will not ban vuvuzelas’. Published 14 June, 2010. Accessed at http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport2/hi/football/world_cup_2010/8737455.stm on 15 December, 2013.
- ⁴⁹ ‘Readers Letters.’ Published, 6 June, 2010. Accessed at <http://www.timeslive.co.za/opinion/letters/2010/06/06/mondli-makhanya-s-nothing-kills-the-joy-of-soccer-like-a-bunch-of-wailing-vuvuzelas-may-30-attracted-a-huge-response-these-are-some-readers-views>, 15 December, 2013.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid.
- ⁵¹ Ibid.
- ⁵² Newspaper clipping, ‘United We Blow’, letter to the editor, *Cape Times*, 14 June, 2010.
- ⁵³ ‘Vuvuzela Creator Blown Off?’ Published 8 January, 2010. accessed at <http://mg.co.za/article/2010-01-08-vuvuzela-creator-blown-off> on 15 December, 2013.
- ⁵⁴ ‘Get Your Vuvuzelas Ready for 2010’, <http://www.sa2010.gov.za/en/node/1945> accessed on 15 December, 2014.
- ⁵⁵ ‘Vuvuzela Creator Blown Off?’ Published 8 January, 2010. accessed at <http://mg.co.za/article/2010-01-08-vuvuzela-creator-blown-off> on 15 December, 2013.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid.
- ⁵⁷ Ibid.
- ⁵⁸ Ibid.
- ⁵⁹ ‘History of the vuvuzela: the fight for the right to the horn.’ Published 17 June, 2010. Accessed at <http://edition.cnn.com/2010/SPORT/football/06/17/world.cup.vuvuzela.africa/> on 15 December, 2013.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid.
- ⁶¹ ‘Unholy row over World Cup trumpet.’ Published 16 January 2010 and accessed at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8458829.stm> on 20 December, 2013.
- ⁶² Ibid.
- ⁶³ ‘Shembe deal over vuvuzela’. Published, 22 June, 2010. Accessed at <http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/sowetan/archive/2010/06/22/shembe-deal-over-vuvuzela> on 20 December, 2013.
- ⁶⁴ Ibid.
- ⁶⁵ ‘Experience: I invented the vuvuzela’. Published 10 July 2010, accessed at <http://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2010/jul/10/i-invented-the-vuvuzela/print> on 15 December, 2013.
- ⁶⁶ The South African law firm Spoor and Fischer, specialists in South African copyright law, argued that because of the complex nature of the contestation in South Africa, it could be argued that “the trade mark *vuvuzela* has become generic and that no single party will be able to claim ownership of the name *vuvuzela* when referring to the “musical instrument” (Van Rooyen 2010, 11).
- ⁶⁷ ‘Greek Gifts: Lapido rejects S’African Vuvuzelas’, accessed at <http://www.thisdayonline.com/nview.php?id=168940> on 25 March 2010.
- ⁶⁸ ‘Africa: this vuvuzela madness must stop.’ Published 14 November, 2009, accessed at <http://allafrica.com/stories/200911140002.html> accessed, 20 December 2013.
- ⁶⁹ ‘Greek Gifts: Lapido rejects S’African Vuvuzelas’, accessed at <http://www.thisdayonline.com/nview.php?id=168940> on 25 March 2010.
- ⁷⁰ ‘2010 Soccer World Cup: Where is the moral argument’, published on <http://www.africultures.com/php/index.php?nav=article&no=5757> accessed on 20 December, 2013.

7. Conclusion

“What does it mean for a black South African to remember life under apartheid with fondness?”

Jacob Dlamini, *Native Nostalgia*

“It’s impossible not to remember Sun City: a glittering artificial casino world in an alleged no-man’s land. It is an installation of the present under the spell of history.”

Marietta Kesting and Aljoscha Wescott, *Sun Tropes*

“When you’re covered with love, grace and forgiveness you transform a broken past into something beautiful. Legacy Collection symbolises that while scars still remain, they also remind us of how peace and reconciliation was achieved in South Africa and can occur across our world.”

Charmaine Taylor, *Legacy Collection: Robben Island Prison Fence Jewellery*

As we have seen, heritage formation concerns complex, sometimes contradictory, even paradoxical, articulations of aesthetics of power. 20 years into the new political dispensation, the past continues to be materially manifest through projects that could at once be strange and familiar, challenging and informative. And as we have seen, the past can be mediated through various material forms. The National Heritage Monument (NHM), initiated by the talk show host and businessman Dali Tambo, was one such example. Sited on a plot of public land in Pretoria’s Fountains Valley, not far from Freedom Park, the NHM would celebrate generations of South African leaders who took part in the struggle for democracy and freedom from the 1600’s up to 1994. Despite its monumentality, the NHM was, however, inspired by Dali Tambo’s personal, private ambition to fulfil his father Oliver Tambo’s ancestral wishes. As he explained to the media, the NHM had been inspired by a personal, spiritual encounter he’d had while visiting his grave. The purpose of his spiritual reverie with the former ANC president and liberation struggle icon, Dali Tambo said, was to inform his father that he wanted to erect a statue in his honour. In response, he said, his father answered

saying “Don’t do it for me, do it for all of them. Do it for all those who struggled for our democracy and our freedom”. Inspired by his father’s ancestral instruction, Tambo set about the audacious idea to initiate the NHM, which would essentially comprise of a garden filled with between 400 and 500 life-sized bronze statues of deceased South African heroes arranged in a procession called ‘The Long March to Freedom’.¹

The NHM would be a “powerful celebration of the South African Struggle for Democracy”. Celebrating South Africa’s history, Dali Tambo wished to bring the past to life in new and exciting ways, employing a series of innovative concepts in his interpretation of South African public history and heritage. He considered heritage to be “the show business of history”, and as a television celebrity, he was “into show-business”.² Indeed, Dali Tambo equated the business of heritage management as concerning the drama and excitement of the entertainment industry, saying “while we give the people that history, let’s entertain them while we’re at it”. Casting post-apartheid heritage formation in the glitz and glamour of popular culture, Dali Tambo also framed himself as entertainer extraordinaire, with the expert skills to manage the business of public history, saying “I’m a businessman like anybody else and I’ve positioned myself to turn history into show business and heritage, and my company is very good at it”.³ During the 2010’s Dali Tambo made heritage formation his business, establishing corporate entities for the express purpose of completing a range of prominent heritage projects for the state. For example, through his corporate entity Koketso Growth, he completed the erection of the magnanimous 19m tall commemorative Mandela Statue at the Union Buildings in Pretoria as well as the installation of a Mandela bust outside of the Houses of Parliament in Cape Town at a cost of R2, 5 million.

Through another corporate entity, The National Heritage Project’s Company, CEO Dali Tambo would realise his showstopper, the NHM. This would be an extravaganza of post-apartheid heritage display, contemplation, consumption, celebration, education and entertainment. Besides the parade of bronze statues, the NHM would also incorporate a Memorial Garden of Remembrance, a Visitor and Interpretive Heritage Centre, an African-themed Water Park Attraction, an African Craft Market, a Bronze Casting Foundry as well as hotels and conferencing facilities.⁴ As a heritage project, the

NHM was a big-budget blockbuster, commanding a budget of between R600 - R800 million. But it would also be a tourism booster. Predicted to attract 400 000 visitors in its first year of operations, and, steadily increasing to “achieve far greater visitation levels than all the struggle and apartheid related attractions ... [and] ultimately rival the top attractions in the country”. The NHM was also predicted to create employment opportunities that would “run into many 1000’s”. Consisting of hundreds of life-sized realist bronze statues of deceased heroes, and a galaxy of commemorative elements packed into a green space in the capital city, the NHM registered not merely as the flourishing business of heritage formation, but also as a divinely inspired memorial mania (Doss, 2010). As a grand post-apartheid heritage formation, Dali Tambo’s NHM marked the serious business of staging entertaining public history.

As a monumental heritage project sited in Pretoria, and constituted from apartheid and colonial aesthetics, the NHM is a reminder of some of the other grand projects addressed in this thesis. The NHM takes one back to Danie de Jager’s absurd ‘Hand of Freedom’ project—a farcical, pioneering proposal for a national monument to freedom and democracy—because it signals a remarkable recurrence in the aesthetic genealogy of post-apartheid heritage formation. In comparison to the ridicule Danie de Jager’s ‘Hand of Freedom’ proposal attracted in 1996, Dali Tambo’s NHM—which celebrated the monumental, the kitsch monumental aesthetics of ‘big men on bronze horses’ that had once been dismissed—secured generous funding from the state. The wave of protests against statues that flared up in early 2015 also signalled a fundamental miscalculation of the South African public’s tolerance for this particular medium of heritage representation. This then begs the question, how far has South Africa come in attending to the pasts that resonate so vibrantly in the post-apartheid dispensation? By taking this text back to the very beginning, Dali Tambo’s NHM project prompts me to review how far I have come in explaining articulations of heritage formation, the senses and nation building.

I have tried to analyse how and in what ways different stakeholders mobilised the notion of heritage, and what the consequences of those claim-making projects were for understanding post-apartheid sensibilities and nationhood. I looked at three new, yet distinct material heritage forms as case studies. Extending from the state-driven

monumental, through diffuse memorialisation and popular collective celebration, I have tried to test the limits of the circumstances of heritage claim-making and the possibilities for understanding the senses and sensibilities in post-apartheid South Africa. Another way of putting it would be to say that I looked at how a series of heritage projects concerned a politics of authentication on the one hand, and, on the other, an aesthetics of persuasion, and how these processes played a role in nation-building. In this way I have tried to grapple with the social operations of heritage formation in action, which Nick Shepherd has described as figuring “simultaneity of past and present, of deeply felt emotion and strategic calculation, of high and low, of lightness and moral seriousness” (2008, 117). This invites us to think about the kinds of comparisons we can draw between the projects discussed in this thesis. Before I do so, however, I will firstly briefly review the argument made in each of the chapters.

Review

Chapters 2 and 3 dealt with Freedom Park, the state’s premier heritage formation. In Chapter 2 I outlined the history of the project’s formation, showing how it was linked to the state’s attempt to assert control over the South African heritage sector and frame a unified national identity. I showed how the state mobilised the aesthetic of monumentality—referring to an orientation to the nation and nationalism and triumphant, massive scale commemorative development—to firstly, discursively frame Freedom Park as a heritage form that would enable a complex of visibility, constituted of the operations of revelation, refraction and reflection. There I also showed how Freedom Park officials developed and infused southern African indigenous into architectural design, effectively mobilising religious and cultural knowledge to sacralise the project. In Chapter 3 I discussed Freedom Park’s framing as a heritage destination, showing how officials portrayed the Park as a site of national and international pilgrimages, that held out the promise of a transformative experience. This idea of the power and distinctiveness, indeed the sacredness of the site, was reinforced on guided tours that aimed to lead visitors on an experiential journey of cultural learning.

Leaving Freedom Park, in Chapter 4, I looked at the formation of the STHP, paying attention to the *Sunday Times*’ claim that the project was a philanthropic enterprise. I showed that, while this was not entirely true, the project did generate forms of value that

went beyond the newspaper's material interests. Specifically, I showed how the aesthetic of memorialisation—referring to a conscious set of aesthetic choices about small scale, local memorial design and historical media—enabled the STHP to create cultural value, economic value, and civic value. In Chapter 5, I looked at the physical life of a selection of *Sunday Times* memorials. There I argued that ruination provided a point of entry into the relationship between the *Sunday Times* and the publics it attempted to address because it framed a conceptual and physical—through the sense of touch—interface between publics and the STHP memorials that shed light on public feeling. Rounding out the thesis, in Chapter 6 I discussed the formation of the *vuvuzela* as an African, South African heritage form. I showed how the *vuvuzela* emerged as a heritage form because of its positioning as an emblematic representation of the positive, binding collective effervescence generated during the 2010 World Cup. I showed that meaning and value of this collective effervescence was framed within a contestation about the meaning of sound and between the competing yet overlapping forces of the state and the market. As I showed there, the state staked its claims to and about the *vuvuzela* as part of its attempts to link African Renaissance political project and an African, South African model of national identity to the tournament; FIFA's claims about the *vuvuzela* were developed as part of the attempt to activate a compelling brand image for tournament; and Mascincedane Sports staked its claims about the *vuvuzela* in an attempt to make a profit from the tournament.

Comparison

How can we evaluate these projects? The state invested a vast amount of financial, cultural and discursive resources to materialise Freedom Park. Out of this investment came a monumental heritage complex in the capital city Pretoria, a new national site of post-apartheid commemoration that asserted the legitimacy of the ANC government. This was achieved through the framing of a complex of visuality. Freedom Park was a cultural heritage site that was meant to assert the cultural vision and ideals of the state and articulate its vision of the nation. In terms of material design, it did this quite effectively. Many of the elements were sacralised using indigenous knowledge resources, to discover and apply an African commemorative aesthetic, in a way that persuasively portrayed the site's authenticity and cultural significance as a reflection of a largely African image of the post-apartheid nation. Freedom Park was also meant to

function as a national and international heritage destination, as a pilgrimage site, imbued with a kind of commercial centrifugal power. Its brand narrative suggested that it would attract citizens and tourists towards it with the promise of an experience of a transformative story of South Africa's transition to democracy. As I hope to have shown, Freedom Park was an architectural marvel that was able to articulate a strong, monumental narrative of nation. Yet despite its material and discursive success, in material terms Freedom Park was unsuccessful. It failed to attract the visitors project planners had anticipated so many years before: the Park's ideas were either not appealing enough, or weren't circulating widely enough, for visitors and tourists to be interested in paying a visit. Low visitor numbers would certainly affect the financial sustainability of the project. While making concerted, public effort to portray an image of inclusiveness at the time, Freedom Park also struggled to make a connection with important cultural constituencies, especially Afrikaners, in the city of Pretoria. This would affect public perception by creating the impression that the site was exclusive. Finally, more close to home, Freedom Park failed to make a lasting constructive connection with the people of Salvokop Hill. In sum, it appeared monumentality overwhelmed the particular at Freedom Park.

Comparatively the *Sunday Times* invested a small proportion of financial and cultural resources in forming the STHP memorialising a variety of particular local histories. Despite logistical challenges, the STHP managed to produce at least 36 memorials situated at significant sites across the country. The memorials honoured *genius loci* of these various sites, reaffirming the spirit of place, sacralising the ground where particular events had occurred. The project also produced an extra suite of historical media products such as books documenting the project, audio visual media such as an engaging, interactive website, a radio series and an informative DVD. The *Sunday Times* was able to play this role in deepening democracy and expanding civic engagement because it successfully facilitated connections between different organisations involved in the arts, history and heritage. Indeed, as I tried to show, one of the primary insights offered by the chapter was that a commercially inspired venture was able to authenticate itself on the basis of generating sources of value that went beyond its own commercial motives. Commercially driven heritage ventures were persuasive and could meaningfully contribute to nation building if they were able to

stage critical heritage narratives that negated the sources of income that had inspired them. Yet memorialisation had its own drawbacks and challenges. Memorialisation was inherently hamstrung by the challenge of having to connect a number of different narratives into a coherent whole. The *Sunday Times* had clearly struggled to do this. Despite its appeal to the particular, and the slick design of its media products, it remains open to question whether the *Sunday Times* had successfully engaged its different publics. The series of ruined memorials suggest that perhaps it had not been successful in this regard. It could however also suggest that the exercise of memorialisation through the construction of artistic narrative memorials in South African public space was problematic. In that sense, memorialisation raised challenges of aesthetic forms in place, and placed undue emphasis on the particular without articulating a narrative of the whole.

Arguably, the *vuvuzela* captured the whole world's attention, at least the football-loving world, but certainly it also captured the attention of most of the country. The *vuvuzela* contributed to the generation of collective positive feelings, through assisting with the communal generation of sound, all of which attached to the instrument itself. This was amplified through the collective labour invested in contesting its ownership and cultural significance. The *vuvuzela* was therefore successful in helping to promote a popular patriotism that was linked to the South African flag and the national anthem and romantic images of Africa. The aesthetic of ephemerality was significant for the framing of the *vuvuzela's* significance in so far as it fostered a sense of popular support. I would hazard a guess that the *vuvuzela* was certainly more widely known locally and globally than the heritage sites discussed in this text. During the World Cup and after it certainly was very popular. Considering the *vuvuzela's* popularity in a country where galvanising symbols of national unity are extremely difficult to come by, how can we assess the success and impact of other heritage forms?

Indeed, the *vuvuzela's* popularity is the characteristic that makes it such a fascinating case study, and a compelling foil in this text, specifically, since it does not merely signal how and in what ways branding practises could weigh on notions of cultural identity. It also posed challenges for working out the legitimacy of newly fashioned heritage forms like Freedom Park, with its flagging tourist numbers, and the *STHP* with its ruined

memorials. Put more simply, if the *vuvuzela* was a popularly accepted cultural heritage form, as carrying the divisive yet moving sentiments of a time of national gathering, and the latter two projects were less popular, how can we understand the cultural and political legitimacy of these two projects? This particular case was significant for two other reasons, namely for highlighting the ways in which commercial branding and political posturing could align in framing appealing notions of cultural identity. And finally, the *vuvuzela* shows that post-apartheid heritage formation requires that one pay attention to an expanded frame of political reference, in essence, to focus on global heritage (Meskell 2015), that takes into account how South African national subjectivity was constructed in relation to both Africa and the world.

In the last instance, I would like to canvass, how each of these projects framed different, comparable modalities of the sacred. As I showed in Chapter 2 and 3, Freedom Park's sacredness flowed from the idea that certain features and elements were sacralised, set apart, through the use of IKS. There I showed specifically how the *Isivivane* was positioned as demonstrating significance as a national sacred centre, the Wall of Names as framing a national transcendent ancestry and the //Hapo museum as framing a new national cosmogony of nation. Furthermore, in Chapter 3 I showed how Freedom Park was structured as a national and even international site of pilgrimage that offered visitors a moving even religious experience. This was reinforced on site, during visits, as tourists were guided along and informed about the sacred significance of the site. The sacred was made manifest at Freedom Park through the state's positioning the site in indigenous knowledge forms. In the case of the *vuvuzela*, I have argued that it was set apart by the enveloping rapturous atmosphere, the collective positive feeling, *gees*, that came to attach to it and imbued it with sacred significance as a distinctively South African and African heritage form. This sense of sacredness was only amplified through the contestations over its significance and meaning by commercial and political forces like the South African state that that wished to stake different claims to ownership.

Showing the different ways in which these heritage formations were sacralised is one way in which this thesis has contributed to the study of religion. Throughout this thesis, in explicit and implicit ways, I have tried to demonstrate how practices of heritage formation are an exciting arena for analyzing the ways in which religion and religious

creativity has played out in the post-apartheid context. By way of review, specifically, I have tried to show in the case of Freedom Park, how indigenous knowledge resources were used recovered and deployed to fashion contemporary ideas of Africanness, and the sacralisation of key elements of the project. African indigenous religious knowledge therefore manifest as a vital stake in the contestation and negotiation of ideas of nation, cultural identity and state power. But religion could also be useful for framing a brand narrative, since Freedom Park was also positioned as a site of pilgrimage that offered a rewarding even transformative experience. The category of the pilgrimage site was incorporated in the framing of Freedom Park as a heritage destination, therefore creatively blurring of the lines between cultural heritage tourism and religious practice and experience. The *STHP* revealed different modalities of religious creativity, indexing, for example, the revelation of religious prophecy in the case of Nontheta Nkwenkwe and Enoch Mgijima, as well as the power of place, and material religion. In their state of ruin, the *STHP* memorials highlighted the counter-intuitive power of material forms in place, referencing the power of place as *Genius Loci*, the relevance of ruined memorials as sacred waste, and the public life-cycle of matter that was purposefully singled out and set apart. Finally, the *vuvuzela* highlighted the power of sound to frame the prophetic promise of an African future free of religious conflict enabled but also disrupted by the circulations of the free market economy. The *vuvuzela* referenced the collective effervescence of a united South Africa, Africa and the world and the divisive force of the very agents and institutions that had helped bring it into resonance. Heritage formation in post-apartheid South Africa has in very telling ways provided many examples of the significant vibrancy of religion to help interpret and reframe orientations to the past and means and modes of being and belonging in the democratic era. In sum, in this thesis I have tried to show that heritage formation indexes the location and practice of making and remaking post-apartheid society in relation to material heritage forms, and the resonant, deeply felt modes of being and belonging that those practices of bringing the past into resonance enabled.

Notes

¹ 'Dali park hails great people of the south', accessed at http://www.publicworks.gov.za/PDFs/NewsPapers/2013-10-20/Sunday_Independent_pg20_20October2013.pdf, 20 December, 2013.

² 'Dali Tambo's R600 million Theme Park,' accessed at <http://www.financialmail.co.za/features/2014/05/02/dali-tambo-s-r600m-struggle-theme-park?service=print>, 2 May, 2014.

³ Ibid.

⁴ "National Heritage Monument: A Leading South African Heritage ..." Project Overview and Vision Presented to the Portfolio Committee for Arts and Culture, 5 October, 2013.

Epilogue



Figure 35. Chumani Maxwele staging poo protest, 9 March, 2015. David Ritchie via Twitter.

On 9 March Chumani Maxwele, a student at UCT, staged a dramatic public intervention on the university's upper campus. As part of an impromptu, strategic protest about institutional racism, the bare-chested Maxwele assailed upon the statue of Cecil John Rhodes at the foot of university's famous Jameson steps. Blowing a whistle, and dressed in running tights and a pink hard hat, Maxwele wielded a porta-potty, or effluent container, in wild but calculated bouts, dousing the plinth of the brooding, magisterial statue in human excrement. The intervention was explosive. A disparate spattering of UCT students and academics galvanised to mount a sustained protest about the statue's place on the university campus, arguing that it not only caused deep offense to black students who viewed Rhodes as a historical tyrant, but also that its continued presence on campus symbolised UCT's lack of real will to transform as an institution of higher learning. Protesters quickly rallied as the #RhodesMustFall movement, adopting the title from an online campaign that had flared up on social media after the initial intervention. Mobilising heated public sentiment in the days and



Figure 36. Marion Walgate Rhodes prepared for removal. Courtesy of Herman Wasserman.

weeks that followed, the #RhodesMustFall movement staged a series of dramatic and rebellious protests around and against the Rhodes statue. They ceremonially covered the statue in blankets and garbage bags, they taped their mouths with sticky-tape covered with the #RhodesMustFall slogan, and pasted protest slogans on the plinth to broadcast their frustrations about not being heard. With sustained media attention that

captured headlines day after day in Cape Town's most widely read newspapers and national online and television news, the sense of frustration spread to campuses across the country. Other statues were vandalised as students raised concerns about the slow process of transformation in higher education and colonial and apartheid symbols that still remained in society

At 5pm on the 9th of April, 2015, roughly one month after the incident that initiated the spattering protest action across the country, hundreds of students and academics gathered at the statue of Cecil John Rhodes to watch its removal. The event was widely publicised in print and online news media. After a month of sustained vociferous student protests, the university decided to have the statue removed from its place on upper campus, and later hand it over to provincial heritage authorities for safe-keeping. The decision was remarkably out of step with official heritage policy. As I have explained, throughout the democratic era, the state's policy has always been one of respect and tolerance of all public histories as a reflection of the nation's founding values of reconciliation and nation building. Colonial and apartheid era monuments were therefore not removed but rather complemented, incorporated or re-contextualised. UCT's decision to have the statue removed broke with that long-standing, widely accepted tradition of anti-iconoclasm.

Choosing this alternate route, the university followed the students' arguments about why this policy was no longer applicable. The #RhodesMustFall social movement argued that since Rhodes was an avowed colonialist who hated black Africans, he was an ignoble figure unworthy of commemoration in South Africa. As such, they argued, his statue was not a reflection of a difficult history, but rather, a celebration of his person. This is what symbolically attached to the image of the university, which made the statue all the more offensive. The argument for retaining the statue for educational purposes, even if re-contextualised, therefore did not hold, they argued, because one did not need to celebrate Cecil Rhodes in order to remember his place in history. A museum was also a fitting place for the statue, they offered, where South Africans could still learn about his role in shaping the past. The Rhodes statue could also not be complemented with another statue of a contemporary black leader, as was the case in other parts of the country, because, they argued, that would create the impression of some kind of moral



Figure 37. CJ Waz Here!

equivalence when that was patently untrue. Lynn Meskell (2002, 558) has called places and sites of such fierce conflict negative heritage, “a conflictual site that becomes the repository of negative memory in the collective imaginary”, which can either be used for “positive didactic purposes”, or “alternatively be erased” if these sites cannot be redeemed. Indeed, according to the reasoning of the protesting students the Rhodes statue had little didactic use in the public sphere and therefore had to be removed. By arguing for its removal essentially the #RhodesMustFall movement raised questions not about the place of a colonial statue or symbolism on UCT upper campus. Instead, they challenged the very terms that enabled material markers, signs and symbols like this to remain in place all over South Africa. In other words, the #RhodesMustFall movement questioned the terms of the sacred bond of South Africa’s civic nationalism, the ideas of tolerance of all histories on equal terms and the unquestioned inclusion of all material pasts.

Forcing the removal of the statue initiated a brief national introspection about the terms under which heritage forms could remain in place in South Africa’s public sphere 21

years after apartheid. It hinted at a powerful public questioning of the difficult, even contradictory agreements struck to forge a common South African nationalism. The waves of protest action that radiated across the country in tune with the students' actions suggests that some of their ideas resonate widely amongst a predominantly young, black population frustrated and confused about post-apartheid social and economic reality. The dynamics of what this means for practises of heritage formation, heritage forms and how they bind the nation will only be laid bare in the months and years to come. A Rhodes Must Fall protestor was confidently optimistic, however, saying 'if you don't understand what's happening, then the future is moving faster than your consciousness.' Many students, staff and members of the public cheered, celebrated and sang jubilantly when an orange crane serenely raised the statue of Cecil Rhodes off its plinth just before 6pm on the 9th of April, and loaded it on the back of a truck. Finally it would be carted away for storage in a dark room on campus. The removal of Rhodes appeared to signal that something had indeed shifted in South Africa's landscape of heritage, that public consciousness about the past had changed. The possibilities and consequences of this moment are, however, unknown. All that remains of Rhodes statue is a boxed up plinth inscribed with luminous pink letters stating "C,J waz here" and depiction of the statue's dark shadow creeping down the last steps of Jameson plaza - subversive signs of a divisive heritage form's restless absent resonance.

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Curriculum Vitae

Duane Jethro was born in Cape Town, South Africa in 1983. He attended Buck Road Primary, and then later, after the fall of apartheid, John Graham Primary School in Plumstead, Cape Town. He graduated from high school in 2001, and enrolled for a bachelor of social science degree at the University of Cape Town in 2002, majoring in psychology and religious studies. During his undergraduate career, Duane also authored two novellas as part of the *Siyagruva Series* for young people, which were published by New Africa Books. He went on to register for postgraduate studies in 2005, and also began tutoring in the Department of Religious Studies. He completed his honours degree with distinction (*cum laude*) in 2005, and enrolled for a research master's degree in 2006, looking at the topic of coloured identity and ideas of religious diversity in Cape Town. At this time, Duane continued to tutor and began doing research on a part time basis for the Institute for Comparative Religion in southern Africa (ICRSA).

As a result of his academic research, he published his first journal article, *The Politics of Naming: the Institution of the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Cape Town*, in 2007. Duane completed his master's dissertation in 2008, and was awarded a distinction (*cum laude*). His second journal article, addressing the relationship between religion, memory, identity and space in Cape Town, published in 2009, was derived from this Masters research.

In January 2009, Duane arrived in Amsterdam, the Netherlands to start a doctoral degree as part the Nederlandse Wetenschappelijke Organisatie (NWO) research Project *Heritage Dynamics: Politics of Authentication and Poetics of Persuasion in Ghana, Brazil, Netherlands and South Africa* led by Prof. Birgit Meyer and Prof. Mattijs van der Port. His research looked at heritage formation, aesthetics, authenticity and the senses in post-apartheid South Africa. He has published work on the construction of the *vuvuzela* as a heritage form in the journal *African Diaspora*, and work on Freedom Park, a monumental state-sponsored heritage project, in the journal *Material Religion*. He currently lives and works in Cape Town, South Africa.

Nederlandse Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift richt zich op de vorming van erfgoed, op materiële cultuur en op de zintuigen in processen van natievorming in het tijdperk na de apartheid. Theoretisch ligt de focus op de esthetiek van overtuiging en de politiek van authentisering. De esthetiek van overtuiging verwijst naar de wijze waarop betrokken partijen materieel-culturele vormen tot overtuigende indices van erfgoed maken en naar hoe deze vormen als overtuigend worden waargenomen door het beoogde publiek. De politiek van authentisering verwijst naar de wijze waarop betrokken partijen materieel-culturele vormen als legitieme uitdrukkingen van erfgoed benaderen in de context van debatten en strijd. Het proefschrift levert een bijdrage aan de Zuid-Afrikaanse en internationale literatuur over geschiedenis, erfgoed, religie en herinnering, vanuit de specifieke theoretische focus op esthetiek en de zintuigen. Daarnaast is het innovatief omdat het gebaseerd is op zowel tekstuele als kwalitatieve data, waaronder interviews en veldwerknooties die in periodes van participerende observatie zijn verzameld. De dissertatie richt zich op drie erfgoedprojecten in het post-apartheid tijdperk. Ten eerste wordt het Freedom Park besproken, een monumentaal, door de staat geïnitieerd project in de hoofdstad Pretoria. In Freedom Park worden degenen herdacht die het leven hebben gelaten in de strijd voor de mensheid. Het project beoogt een definitieve representatie te geven van de culturele geschiedenis, erfgoed en diversiteit van Zuid-Afrika. Als een plaats gericht op de post-apartheid natie, is Freedom Park tevens een bestemming voor erfgoedtoerisme: toeristen worden uitgenodigd om het nationalistische, 'Afrikaanse' narratief van cultureel erfgoed te ervaren. Ten tweede richt de dissertatie zich op het commerciële *Sunday Times Heritage* project. Het STHP bracht een eerbetoon aan nieuwswaardige historische gebeurtenissen en figuren die een belangrijke rol hebben gespeeld gedurende het honderdjarig bestaan van de gelijknamige krant, door het plaatsen van herdenkingskunst op betekenisvolle plaatsen in de publieke ruimte. Deze gedenktekens hadden als doel specifieke geschiedenissen opnieuw te vertellen en hiermee bepaalde doelgroepen te bereiken. Op hun beurt gingen deze groepen vaak op een subversieve, destructieve manier met deze gedenktekens om. Ten derde focust dit proefschrift zich op de *vuvuzela*, een plastic, lawaaierig instrument dat wereldwijde populariteit genoot tijdens de FIFA 2010 Football World Cup. Ontworpen en op de markt gebracht voor Zuid-Afrikaanse voetbalfans, leidde de populariteit van de *vuvuzela* tot strijd tussen verschillende

partijen over het commerciële en symbolische eigendom van het instrument. Hierbij werden argumenten ingezet die verwezen naar de emblematische status van de *vuvuzela* als Zuid-Afrikaans en Afrikaans cultureel erfgoed. Door zich te richten op deze casussen laat de dissertatie zien hoe deze materiële projecten vorm hebben kregen als schijnbaar authentieke, legitieme uitdrukkingen van post-apartheid erfgoed, hoe binnen deze praktijken het mobiliseren en heroriënteren van de zintuigen en gevoeligheden middelen kunnen zijn om mensen op het verleden te betrekken, en, tot slot, hoe hierdoor verschillende manieren van zich thuisvoelen en burgerschap mogelijk worden gemaakt.

Quaestiones Infnitae

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