

SOUTH AFRICAN COMMEMORATIVE ARCHITECTURE

A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF SELECTED CONTEMPORARY STRUGGLE SITES,
WITHIN A TRANSFORMING POST-APARTHEID SOCIO-SPATIAL LANDSCAPE

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Architecture by Research, in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Science, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

Mizan Rambhoros

13 March 2009

To Mama

ABSTRACT

The founding statement of this dissertation is that appropriate architectural commemoration in South Africa is an engagement of living memory, which is an amalgamation of memorial and community initiatives that enhances the everyday life of South African society.

Since democracy, South African communities have been in constant and simultaneous dialogue with the past and present. A new approach to commemorative architecture has emerged from this, in which the notions of memory and community are hybrid responses to socio-political spatial transformation, and where architects play a significant role in the vision of public spaces, memory-making, and the assertion of a new South African identity.

Evident by the recent proliferation of contemporary memorial projects in post-apartheid South Africa, architectural commemoration interweaves residues of the past as well as the constructs of daily life in spaces. Although the projects may vary in scale; the events and people they commemorate; their siting and commission, successful projects stimulate catharsis and nation-building by acknowledging and utilising the past for positive change and growth in the present, whilst creating hope and promise for the future.

In order to prove the hypothesis, this dissertation compares South African and international commemorative interventions; questions what the appropriate approach to post-apartheid architectural commemoration in South Africa is; what the role of architects in South African commemoration is; and what the appropriate model for public South African commemorative projects may be.

Thus, the major areas of research include philosophical and psychological memory; theoretical and architectural memory; the South African socio-political spatial context; and the study of contemporary post-apartheid commemorative architectural projects in South Africa. The research findings result in the establishment of recommendations for successful South African commemorative representations that encompass practical and symbolic forms of memory.

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*Profound commitment to a dream does not
confine or constrain: it liberates.
Even a difficult, winding path can lead
to your goal if you follow it to the end.*

Paulo Coelho

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INTRODUCTION

Memory is a platform that addresses past experiences, thereby negotiating readings of the present and influencing the nature of future interventions. These associations impact on the development of society and the built environment – the latter being an archive comprising physical manifestations of individual and collective history and memory.

Thus, through this collection of material traces, architecture is a model for the representation of memory, which depicts historical readings by stimulating memories of the past for present experience, and translating them for future interpretation. Evoked through new creations or by the adaptation of the existing, different perspectives of associations with memory and architecture contribute to the definition and development of a socio-spatial landscape.

Due to the transformative nature of the South African context, the approach to architecture has been remoulded. This is attributed to associations between political and social relations in South African architecture and urban planning, as a response to the constructs of apartheid. Thus, the implementation of most commemorative projects seem to consider two aspects as points of departure in the re-conceptualisation of post-apartheid space: the need to come to terms with the country's traumatic past, as well as the positive contribution to the daily lives of communities.

Hence, memory is the basis of this process. It is an interactive tool for social development that encourages analysis and debate, making methods and levels of communication significant to commemorative developments. This is by virtue of the intellectual underpinning of conceptual and spatial markers of memory, which is based on translations of memory into symbols, metaphors and texts. However, in the South African context of social development, the success of commemorative architecture is also grounded on whom these constructions are aimed at, appeal to, and make sense – questioning whether practical meaning takes priority over symbolic representation.

There is, therefore, a substantial amount of responsibility carried by architects in their practical and symbolic expressions of memory in the South African context of socio-political change. Thus, the translation of these collective values over time makes the role of architects as agents of this production process extremely challenging and significant.

The hypothesis of this dissertation is that appropriate architectural commemoration in South Africa is an engagement of living memory, which is an amalgamation of memorial and community initiatives that enhances the everyday life of South African society. It, therefore, sets out to critically analyse contemporary post-apartheid South African projects, which commemorate the struggle against apartheid, with the aim of establishing approaches to living memory that are appropriate for successful architectural commemoration in the context of a democratic South Africa.

To do so, the dissertation examines aspects of commemoration (psychological, philosophical, theoretical and architectural), the South African context (apartheid and democracy), and the current state of design of contemporary South African projects of remembrance. It compares South African and international commemorative interventions; questions what the appropriate approach to post-apartheid architectural commemoration in South Africa is; what the role of architects in South African commemoration is; and what the appropriate model for public South African commemorative projects may be.

It thereby involves the literature review broadly based on the subjects of memory and commemorative architecture, as well as South Africa's apartheid and current democratic context. In the author's knowledge, the critical assessment of this particular problem has been limited previously. However, the question has been stimulated by commemorative projects being inserted into the South African democratic context, and related research contributions that have generated writings on these post-apartheid sites that commemorate the struggle against apartheid. Thus, existing knowledge is evident by most of these projects being reviewed and published extensively since 1994. However, the critical comparative evaluation of post-apartheid memorialisation has been restricted, in terms of the appropriateness of contemporary commemorative theory and practice in the South African context.

The current investigation, therefore, arises out of these inadequacies, and focuses on the need to critically assess the success of the commemorative interventions in their relation and contribution to the South African socio-political spatial landscape. Hence, these projects require decisive analysis in the South African context of upliftment to ascertain the extent of positive contributions made to the socio-spatial milieu. The study is, therefore, inserted into a line of enquiry that relates to socio-political space at a time of transformation in South Africa.

Although memory in architecture and urbanism has been previously established internationally, both theoretically and practically, it currently forms part of a developing body of knowledge in South Africa. With commemorative projects proliferating the South African landscape since the rise of democracy in 1994, there has been increasing interest in the research of memorialisation theories and practice. Supported by significant international research by Benjamin, Boyer, Crimson, Lowenthal and Rossi, amongst others, architectural and urban memory applicable to South Africa has been publicised by theorists and practitioners such as Bremner, Harrison, Low, Murray and Nuttall, amongst others.

Although it is necessary to build on the past strengths of these existing writings and reviews in order to guide the research, identify problems and arrive at findings, the limitation of the current research is primarily the sourcing of direct answers, which is attributed to the research problem not being directly questioned previously. Also, while most projects have been documented through publications, some more extensively than others, several relevant projects have not been documented previously at all. The author has had to eliminate such examples from the study, or rely purely on tours of inspection and interviews to arrive at the findings in such cases.

Apart from recording these outstanding cases, the proposed research is worthwhile in order to establish appropriate and successful commemorative approaches in the transformative context of South Africa that encompasses notions of the everyday, for future reference. To do so, it is, therefore, necessary to determine whether and how contemporary South African post-apartheid commemorative projects make valuable practical and symbolic contributions to the development of society.

The potential outcomes of the research should be identified as South African commemorative interventions assisting in nation-building by engaging living memory, thereby existing meaningfully by amalgamating memorial and community initiatives, as opposed to being isolated projects. Thus, it is important that South Africa's transformative context stimulates interventions that contribute positively to the upliftment of the socio-spatial landscape in order to heal the wounds of the country's turbulent past whilst enhancing the daily life of society and inspiring future promise.

Thus, the establishment of a conceptual framework is drawn from the local and international literature, which assists in the establishment of the hypothesis that leads to the identification of research tasks and objectives. To prove the hypothesis, the research

tasks and objectives have been guided by analysis, diagnosis, synthesis, and the potential for application.

The analysis entails the investigation of the study area, which is that of contemporary post-apartheid liberation struggle commemoration, by data collection and an assessment that entails both primary and secondary research.

Primary research aids in the collection and study of data. It entails the carrying out of fieldwork, which is restricted to a manageable area of sampling, by tours of inspection, as well as the interviewing of relevant specialists through structured informal discussions that necessitate immediate and direct responses to relevant questions.

Secondary research focuses on reading towards the problem area, and entails the sourcing and collation of relevant material in support of the primary research. This aids in the understanding of various theories and concepts on memory, as well as their application recognised in selected international precedent studies, which reinforces the findings and key aspects obtained from the reading.

The assessment of the information gathered from the primary and secondary research yields a set of criteria, which is used to select, suitably understand and later analyse the South African case studies through the application of the established criteria and principles.

The diagnosis entails subjecting the selected case studies to the criteria and theories developed through the analysis. The critical evaluation of these commemorative projects assists in the deduction, description and significance of findings, thereby reinforcing the information gathered and establishing the success and failures of the individual case studies. The interpretation of these findings derives the conclusion, as they respond to the problem statement by answering the overall question of whether appropriate architectural commemoration in South Africa is based on living memory.

Thus, the synthesis arrives at conclusions through the testing of the hypothesis based on the undertaken research. It states the theoretical and practical implications of the research, and establishes recommendations that are crucial in informing the appropriate response to the research problem. These recommendations are proposed as guidelines in the design of future successful South African commemorative architectural projects.

The structure of the dissertation is divided into four parts, which comprise 'Commemoration', 'South Africa', 'Case Studies', and 'Implications'. Each includes sections that initiate interrelated discourse between the various parts in order to evaluate the research material and derive findings to prove the hypothesis.

PART A - COMMEMORATION

As an introduction to the topic, this part of the dissertation includes chapters on 'Memory', as well as 'Memory and Architecture', which refer to philosophical and architectural memory associations respectively. Related arguments are aligned by the theories of Freud, Proust, Halbwachs, Benjamin, Rossi and Lynch among others.

The philosophical framework of 'Memory' includes theoretical investigations that examine the psychological processes of memory through notions of remembering and forgetting, metaphor, narrative, identity and expression. It forms the basis for 'Memory and Architecture', which is studied through the filters of established architectural theories of post-modernism, post-structuralism and deconstructivism. Here, philosophical memory is combined with architectural theory to examine memorialisation, urban memory, catalysts, locus, semiology and semantics, introjection and projection, texts, palimpsest, representation and trace, and contemporary archaeology.

Direct applications of the theoretical and architectural analysis are studied where, international commemorative examples of the Holocaust have been selected as precedent. Precedent of the Holocaust has been selected due to the Holocaust being the nearest traumatic parallel to South African apartheid.

PART B - SOUTH AFRICA

This part introduces South Africa as the area of study. It is divided into two chapters, which include 'Background', and 'Current Context'.

In order to establish limitations for the selection of criteria, the study of the background to South Africa has been restricted to the period of apartheid and the struggle against it (1948-1994). This, therefore, investigates apartheid policies in terms of the intentions of apartheid and the engagement of society; the implementation of apartheid that resulted in its urban and architectural spatial manifestations; and circumstances of apartheid relating to the conflict and struggle against apartheid; and the abolishment of apartheid and

liberation of the nation. This chapter is intended as an historical primer and introduction to the research that follows. Thus, the author has avoided analysis and individual interpretation so as to maintain a factual historical record of the period.

Derived from this background, the contemporary commemorative understanding of the liberation struggle against apartheid may, therefore, be categorised into ideology (in terms of apartheid policies), events (in relation to the mass clearance, relocation and massacre of people), as well as people (who were defiant and resisted apartheid – many of whom were sacrificed in the struggle for liberation).

Thus, apartheid history forms the backdrop to the contemporary South African commemorative built environment, which has inherited the spatial permanences of the apartheid era in need of restructure and reconfiguration. In the context of a democratic landscape, memory-making tools are influenced by political legislation in order to reverse the legacy of apartheid, where the translation of memory into physical forms and material productions negotiates the inequalities of the apartheid past and remembers the struggle against it.

PART C - CASE STUDIES

The case studies are selected within the Gauteng region, as this is the major area where the maturation of the struggle for liberation unfolded. However, due to the struggle not being limited to one region only, this regional selection is intended as representative of struggle sites across South Africa.

The selection of the case studies is restricted to contemporary civic icons constructed during the period of South African democracy (1994 to present). Thus, five case studies have been selected, studied through published material and tours of inspection, and compared – these are the Apartheid Museum, Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication, Sharpeville Human Rights Precinct, Hector Pieterse Museum, and Constitutional Hill.

These commemorative case studies are compared under unified criteria, which utilise the research from the previous chapters on commemoration in order to inform their arguments, especially in relation to their philosophical and theoretical underpinning, and architectural manifestations.

Thus, by analysing these sites of memory, the significant role of the architectural

discipline's contribution towards the formation and development of South African society is assessed.

PART D - IMPLICATIONS

As South Africa addresses the heritage of socio-spatial segregation and fragmentation, the country's transformative context acknowledges individual identities whilst grappling with the forging of a national identity. Hence, new architectural initiatives are emerging in order to simultaneously respond to inherited urban structures, current social needs and global discourse, as well as to stimulate knowledgeable dialogue and elicit debate in the task of socio-spatial transformation.

In the post-apartheid context, architecture is realigned to respond meaningfully to the lives of ordinary South Africans through a fabric of common occupation and usage, as opposed to grand monumental accounts. These catalytic interventions are fusions of practical functionality and symbolic representations of memory, which steer the South African socio-spatial landscape progressively into the future.

To achieve this, this final chapter draws on the research in preceding chapters through the extrapolation and summary of the salient issues and the interpretation of these findings. It responds to the problem statement by answering the overall question of whether appropriate architectural commemoration in South Africa is an engagement of living memory.

Thus, conclusions are derived through the testing of the hypothesis based on the undertaken research, of which the established recommendations are proposed as guidelines for architects interested in the design of future successful commemorative projects in South Africa.

1.0 MEMORY

Processes of memory entail dedicated contributions of psychological, philosophical and theoretical concepts to the study of the subject. However, this chapter does not intend to analyse these notions in detail. Rather, by recognizing key elements, a framework is constructed in order to elicit an understanding of the ideologies of memory. These elements have been classified in terms of past, remembering, forgetting and revision, metaphor, narrative, identity, and expression.

Memory and history are avenues along which we become aware and informed about the past. It is, therefore, necessary to recognise history as an aspect of the memory process - due to history and memory being dependant on and incorporating portions of each other. The act of remembering allows for access to the past and includes various facets, of which the functions of forgetting and revision displace; invent; alter or transform the character of recollection.

The social acknowledgment and definition of memory form part of the comprehension of identity, in which memory assists in the founding of personal or individual identity. Along with communal recall, social or collective identity is established, through which recollections may be salvaged, contrived or altered to affect various legacies. The response to this knowledge, in terms of these legacies, influences how individuals and societies are made aware of the past through recollection and physical surroundings. This acknowledgment of memory is depicted as contextual manifestations, which lend identity to place through their expressions.

Hence, the components, manifestations and application of the memory processes explored here will contextualise and inform the chapters that follow.

PAST

“The sense of past, which has the original function of informing present action by experience, grows up out of the mental retention of...past actions, building up then to the recollection of fragmentary sequences tied together by internal associations, as well as to more playful and continuous fables, and to a sense of history” (Lynch 1972:120). Although linked by the mutual past, memory and history are fundamentally distinct, distinguished by how past knowledge is attained and verified, as well as it's conveyance,

maintenance and modification.

Regarded as a rationalised version of the past, which is based on analysis and critical discourse, history focuses on the sequential representation of the past. As suggested by Rossi, it is “pure knowledge of the past [that] focuses on effects or facts.... It is at once a structure and a ruin, a record of events and a record of time, and in this sense a statement of facts and not causes” (Rossi 1982:5). It divides time into a static continuum of chronologies comprised of fixed dates, periods and stages. The erection of these frameworks allows for the comparison of details within the unitary whole, thereby creating a summary of the past. By assisting in the understanding of the past, it assists in the understanding of the present.

History is considered to be more objective than memory. However, because history is an elaboration of memory, “by interpreting relics and synthesizing reports from past eyewitnesses” (Lowenthal 1985:210), it is combined with subjectivity. Historical reconstruction entails the investigation of evidence, which often includes the memories of others, in order to establish a critical awareness of the present, by representing facts and events in a linear sequence. Just as individual identity is validated by memory, collective self-awareness is perpetuated from history, which allows for the verification, preservation and endurance of historical knowledge.

However, history is inevitably prone to bias by its interpreters, narrators and audience, which usually extends to the ruling class that presents its version of a certain history and extends its power of that social group. Nevertheless, history gives “significant shape to the memory of social groups” (Connerton 1989:14), and involves the transformation of memory and experience through collective production and sharing. Although it is less open to alteration than memory, history is revised continually to recognise subsequent events and be applicable and understandable to new generations. Hence, information is put into context and subjected to a process of interpretation.

According to French philosopher and sociologist, Maurice Halbwachs, “history exists so long as an object is in use; that is, so long as a form relates to its original function. However, when form and function are severed, and only form remains vital, history shifts into the realm of memory. When history ends, memory begins” (Rossi 1982:7). Whilst history is often recognised as the reconstructed element that comprises unimaginative manifestation, memory is interpreted as fleeting moving expression.

Memory “mediates between the primitive and the scientific, between the orgiastic and the contemplative, between the elevated and the debased, being both the storehouse of mythical and elementary images and the container of named and rationalised experience”(Boyer 1996:200). It is through recollection that former events may be recovered, progression may be distinguished and experiences may be confirmed. The organisation of past memories conserves mostly the same material, with meaning and significance being altered through change.

Memory is socially and historically established in both public and private life, where experiences in the present largely depend on knowledge of the past. This often imposes difficulty in the extraction of the past from the present, as present factors influence and distort recollections of the past, as well as the past factors influencing and distorting experiences of the present. The range of meanings that are attached to recollection is sometimes distorted due to this. However, an awareness of the past is founded on memory by revisiting the past from present. Remembering enables the discovery of past perspectives in the recognition of future potential to formulate opportunities for change. “For it becomes the mission of the present generation to redeem the...hopes, aspirations, and struggles of its ancestors, the disconsolate traces of which are inscribed in our cultural heritage” (Wolin 1982:235). Through acts of interpretation, lost fragments of meaning may be reclaimed in experiences.

However, “the conscious application of subjective meanings upon the range of experiences” (Leslie 2000:214) is rejected by German-Jewish philosopher, Walter Benjamin in favour of French author, Marcel Proust’s *memoire involuntaire*, which provides an unexpected link between physical experience in the present and its associated occurrence in the past. Proust’s notion of the *memoire involuntaire* is seen as a “pure unbroken stream of experience” (Wolin 1982:229). It enables the repossession of memory traces and entails the continuous the weaving and unravelling of experiences in the fabrication of memory. Benjamin considers the invocation of the *memoire involuntaire* as “the sudden, fortuitous, fleeting remembrance of the forgotten past occasioned by some contingency, some chanced-upon correspondence in the present” (Crimson 2005:7).

In addition to being a term of analysis, the contemporary usage of memory has become a “mark of approval” (Crimson 2005:xii), especially regarding associations with agents of remembrance and amnesia, identity and anonymity, as well as the sensitivities and instability of the self, related to traumatic narratives. A balance is, therefore, pursued to

allow commemoration of the past without continuous dependence on it, as well as allowing release of the past without losing legitimacy. Thus, the recall of memories and traces reaffirms connections with the past and enables the transmission of values and social stability.

REMEMBERING

The World Book Encyclopedia defines memory as the *ability to remember something that has been learned or experienced*. The memory system is divided psychologically into three types that each has different time spans – sensory memory, short-term memory, and long-term memory – which may be measured using methods that include recall, recognition and relearning.

American urban planner and author Kevin Lynch has expanded on short-term and long-term memory in relation to the images of events. Lynch attributes short-term memory to the storage of images of current events via an active continuing process. His explanation of long-term memory, however, “involves a more permanent modification...in which selected events are organized into patterns so that they can be recovered without having to recapitulate all one’s personal history in the sequence in which it occurred” (Lynch 1972:121).

As explained by professor and author on history and heritage, David Lowenthal, “all memory transmutes experience, distils the past rather than simply reflecting it. We recall only a small fraction of what has impinged on us.... Memory sifts again what perception had already sifted, leaving us only fragments of the fragments of what was initially on view” (Lowenthal 1985:204). Although they may be altered or even lost, most memories that are recalled and recallable tend to accumulate over the years as experiences multiply. Hence, multiform mental and theoretical processes of memory may be recognised.

French philosopher, Henri Bergson, distinguishes between habit-memory and recollection. The former is the capacity to merely “reproduce a certain performance” (Connerton 1989:22) that is driven by the retention of motor-mechanism. The latter, however, is entirely different as it refers to the recollection of events. It may be referred to as “memory-proper” or “true-memory”, which stems from Bergson’s “memory par excellence” (Connerton 1989:23).

Cognitive memory is an act of remembrance that requires the individual to have had some association with the object of recall in the past. It does not require the object of remembrance to be something that is in the past. Examples of this application may refer to remembering “the meaning of words, or lines or verse, or stories, or the layout of a city, or mathematical equations, or truths or logic, or facts about the future” (Connerton 1989:22).

Central to cognitive memory is the notion of encoding, which entails “the construction of ‘schema’, a coding, that enables us to distinguish and therefore, to recall” (Connerton 1989:27). This, in turn, recognises major types of coding as the semantic code, verbal code and visual code. The semantic code is “like a library code, organised hierarchically by topic and integrated into a single system according to an overall view of the world and the logical relationships perceived in it” (Connerton 1989:27), which governs mnemonics. The verbal code contains information for the preparation of verbal expression. The visual code is usually supported by verbal expression and entails the translation of items into images, thereby strengthening the retention of those items better than abstract thought would.

Further analysis of memory processes includes *declarative memory and psychodynamic theory*, which allow for the revelation of past events (Antze 1996:176). Declarative memory comprises that which is semantic (sensory-motor memory) and episodic, entailing the explicit description of knowledge and experience, events and feelings through historical recall.

Semantic memory “recovers only abstract knowledge and meanings” whilst episodic memory recollects “factual details of scenes and events” (Antze 1996:177) that bear on specific events of daily life. The intensity of episodic recall varies, resulting in instrumental recall and reverie. The former is a purposeful set of markers and milestones, which does not require involvement and is least evocative. However, the latter exists in contrast, by detailing events and highlighting feelings, which encourages the involvement of comparing past with present through memories that are explicitly yielded in images of the past.

As opposed to the recollective purpose of declarative memory, psychodynamic theory focuses on reaction, as it is “implicit memory...that can be shown but not directly described” (Antze 1996:177) where details may not be remembered, but the experience of past events has left a lasting impression. It interprets behaviour through symptoms and signs, especially related to “hidden, unconscious, or repressed memories and images”

(Antze 1996:178). Comprising procedural and distributed memory, psychodynamic theory relates to social interaction within a large context, in which meaning manifests through enactment and experience.

The juxtaposition of various types of recollection, described above, allows the levels of memory to be experienced as an ensemble, where “different modes of memory afford differing perspectives into the past, but the process of recall merges all of them together” (Lowenthal 1985:204).

FORGETTING AND REVISION

“As remembering is a social act, so too is forgetting” (Antze 1996:191). Forgetting is an active process that deals with a form of cognitive memory. It entails methods to evade memory usually related to social contexts largely based on memorable political events and related circumstances. The act of forgetting is essential to memory in order to classify and order the turmoil of memories. As described by the World Book Encyclopedia, forgetting is explained by *interference (the blocking of learned material)*, *retrieval failure (the temporary loss of memory resulting in the inability to recall)*, *constructive processes or confabulation (the creation of false memories to complete a memory)* and *motivated forgetting*.

Of particular interest is the latter - the notion of motivated forgetting, which involves the suppression and repression of painful emotions in order to eradicate them from memory. Suppression is a conscious act, while repression is an unconscious act that is usually related to traumatic events and the fear of addressing them. In relation to this and confabulation Austrian psychoanalyst, Sigmund Freud, believed that “the recollection of repressed memories was a partial reconstruction, a fictional retelling that actually took the place of personal histories lost from sight” (Boyer 1996:25). Through psychoanalytic therapy, the purpose is not to reveal repressed memories, but to uncover patterns of repression.

Dissociation, although also a motivated form of forgetting, differs from suppression and repression in that it “refers to a gap in the normal integration of memory, identity and experience” (Antze 1996:179). However, just as repression is closely linked with trauma, so too is dissociation. It is an adaptive response that implies “a narrowing or splitting of consciousness so that some memories may be put aside” (Antze 1996:179) in order to interrupt the access to potentially available memory. It is based on the selection of more

pleasant ideas, images and events that individuals wish to remember or connect with. In relation to dissociation and motivated forgetting, is the disturbing notion of organised forgetting, which is most common to totalitarianism regimes. It is a systematic apparatus utilised in order to deprive citizens of their memory and national consciousness by means of mental enslavement.

The “need to use and reuse memorial knowledge, and to forget as well as recall, forces us to select, distil, distort, and transform the past, accommodating things remembered to the needs of the present” (Lowenthal 1985:194). Due to the existing hidden aspect of memory and its inaccessibility Benjamin explains forgetting as being the displacement of memory (Benjamin et al 1994:257). This displacement is also interpreted in the theory of Lynch, where the “elimination of information from the conscious record is essential to long-term memory, since useful memories require much compression and reorganisation” (Lynch 1972:121).

Apart from the displacement of memory through the method of forgetting, memories are also distorted or altered by revision, as supported by Benjamin, which is often an inadvertent act resulting in inconsistent self-definition due to the constant readjustment of memory. “Contrary to the stereotype of the remembered past as immutably fixed, recollections are malleable and flexible; what seems to have happened undergoes continual change” (Lowenthal 1985:206). As a result of consequent experience and current needs, events are reinterpreted in recall, of which the frequency of amendment weakens identity and validation. Imaginative elaboration impacts on the strength and longevity of the original raw memory, causing it to be lost in the confabulation indefinitely. The concept of revision, especially in terms of early memories that are seen as “the products of so much condensation...cannot be made to stand for historical facts” (Antze 1996:xxvii) and are distorted results of successive recollections.

METAPHOR

Memory is the work of interpretation that is not only descriptive, but acts as a reference point and a means of association. Metaphoric discourse assists in the imagining, understanding and explanation of memory as well as its associated processes to transform the abstract and temporal quality of memory into that of intense visual and spatial manifestations. This externalisation of memory depends on “vehicles for its expression...[where] it becomes important to look at the symbols, codes, artifacts, rites, and sites in which memory is embodied and objectified; the coherence or fragmentation of

the narratives, rituals, geographies, or even epistemologies it relies upon; and the way their authority changes over time” (Antze 1996:xvii).

Memory has long been coupled with history and relics in the association with metaphors. These range from Greek philosophy as “the seal in wax (Aristotle) and the wax tablet of the soul (Plato); via temple, library, treasure-house, book, palimpsest, storehouse, archive, building, space, theatre, labyrinth, and topography; to trace, ‘mystic writing-pad’ and writing” (Weigel 1996:147), including notions of landscape, cathedral, city, computer, filing system, encyclopedia, as well as referring to the excavation of layers, lifting of veils, and removal of screens (Antze 1996:xvii).

Further to this is an alternative metaphor that relates to weather. “It is a vigorous, active metaphor evoking restless movement but also one that prompts us to ask how much of memory lies outside our conscious will. The image of the weathered rock, its surface worn by time, reminds us that forgetting is at least as significant as remembering, and indeed, that one is not possible without the other” (Antze 1996:xviii).

The landscape of memory is also an alternative allegory that refers to the metaphoric terrain. Personal and social significance of specific memories can give shape to landscapes of memory, through which socially defined events, that are vague or absent from memory, are affectively remembered. French historian, Pierre Nora, refers to *lieux de memoire* as an inhabited landscape (a site or monument), which “leaves us only one fixed point of reference, the lieu or site provided by our own bodies” (Antze 1996:xiii).

The mental processes of memory have been likened to a palimpsest, which comprises “piled up ‘everlasting layers of ideas, images and feelings” (Lowenthal 1985:16). Memory is usually framed through a material-based approach that encompasses palimpsest, where past traces exist as overlaid mappings. Also, the process of layering is in a constant state of recreation as the stratification of time adds new layers to the evolving memory process, which is essential in making connections with the surrounding context. French poet and critic, Charles Baudelaire, however, recognizes a difference between “the palimpsest manuscript that superimposes one upon the other...and the divine palimpsest created by God, which is our incommensurable memory” (Boyer 1996:479). Although Baudelaire recognizes both as comprising a number of elements, the former is interpreted as being an uncomfortable heterogeneous existence, in comparison to the harmonious unity of disparate elements of the latter.

In relation to this notion of stratification, one of the most common metaphors is the archaeological analogy, where recollections are commonly referred to as artifacts by archaeologists, philosophers and psychologists. The resurrection of both buried artifacts and texts were associated with the retrieval of history and memory, which entail the “‘sub-reading’ [of] texts and pictures to make out the vestigial forms beneath, deciphering historical knowledge hidden under the visual or verbal surfaces” (Lowenthal 1985:252). Psychoanalyst and philosopher, Hans Meyerhoff, describes memory as “a repository or reservoir of records, traces and engrams of past events analogous to records preserved in geological strata’, like the earth (geological records) or the tools and instruments of man (archaeological records)...the human mind is also a ‘recording instrument’”(Lowenthal 1985:252).

Freud has often used the resemblance between psychoanalysis and excavation, as it refers to the unearthing of memories lying “buried beneath the present” (Antze 1996:xii). He sought to rebuild the past from the retrieval of his patients’ repressed memories, just as archaeologists do so from submerged artifacts. Hence, additional terms like uncovering, fragment and reconstruction contribute to the verbalisation of memories that lead to the visual association of archaeology to convey the “exhuming or unearthing what has been buried” (Benjamin et al 1994:255). The relevance of the exact spot of excavation and recovery is emphasised by Benjamin as bearing significantly on the relationship between traces and remains, as well as their resultant readability. The representation of this scene of memory superimposes a model of writing upon archaeological metaphor. Hence, the evolution from a “spatial-topographical to a scripto-topographical memory scene” (Weigel 1996:124) includes the notion of writing with that of layers in the attempt at representing memory in an archaeological image. Benjamin, therefore, employs archaeological images to represent memory as a scene in marking access to the past.

Memories have often been referred to as ‘snapshots’ due to them being “laid down at the time of experience through a process of registration...and persisting unchanged throughout our lives to be recalled when we look for them, like opening a photo album” (Antze 1996:176). Likened to photographs, the retrieval process may sometimes be difficult because of misplacement and accumulated clutter over time, and the fading of memories may limit the intensity of recall. However, memory is “registered as highly selective and thoroughly transformed by interpretation and semantic encoding at the moment of experience” (Antze 1996:176). Thus, implications that memory processes occur in a fixed sequence are also contradicted. Having to do with brief moments and

chance encounters, remembering is rather associated more successfully with involuntary flashes of montage images, as it results from a “mental manipulation of space and time, a prioritisation of temporary discontinuity over chronology” (Leslie 2000:70).

NARRATIVE

The concept of narrative is applied to the functioning of memory, as it establishes connections between past and present, where particular events are established in a number of contexts. Philosopher, Jean Rousseau, and poet, William Wordsworth, view life as an “interconnected narrative” (Lowenthal 1985:199) made up of time and sequence, and is thereby afforded meaning through acts of memory that form the unified connection of parts. “To remember, then is precisely not to recall events as isolated; it is to become capable of forming meaningful narrative sequences” (Connerton 1989:21). Benjamin describes narrative as “a politics of memory for which the character of the present, and hence the future, is determined by its relations to a series of specific pasts” (Benjamin et al 1994:80). The uncovering of the past is governed by criteria to best contribute to the present, where the “meaning of any past event may change as the larger, continuing story lengthens and grows in complexity. As readers we are continuously re-exploring the significance of earlier episodes of the story in light of what transpires later, as we are caught up in the hermeneutic spiral of interpretation”(Antze 1996:xix).

However, although ‘narrative’ is frequently associated with finite fixed written texts, the same implication, however, does not apply to ‘narrative memory’. As explained by Benjamin, “memory is that infinite rewriting of the past we call ‘experience’” (Benjamin et al 1994:286). Although an experienced event is confined to a certain sphere of experience, which makes it finite, an event that has been remembered is infinite because it is only a key to events surrounding it. Proust, shares similar sentiment on the infinite quality of memory, in terms of his formal principle of “‘convoluted time’ of memory” (Caugill 1998:66). This notion is expanded upon by Benjamin as “the folding into each other of narration and narrated... where the infinite is present in this experience...in the weaving and unweaving of memory” (Caugill 1998:66). Recollected memories form a set of discontinuous moments that are part of the infinity of time, which are located and retrieved by association rather than sequentially.

Memories are shaped by the “narrative forms and conventions of our time, place, and position” (Antze 1996:xvii). Thus, just as narratives are shaped on past experience, so to do narratives shape identity. Due to one narrative being an “interconnecting set of

narratives” (Connerton 1989:21), individuals derive their identity from the stories of other groups, where people emerge from the stories of their lives just as stories emerge from the lives of people. At least two types of context for identification by recall – by situating the “agents’ behaviour with reference to its place in their life history...and situate that behaviour also with reference to its place in the history of the social settings to which they belong” (Connerton 1989:21). Thus, the association of memory with narrative is distinguished by the analysis of certain roles, such as “author, narrator, character, reader, elicitor, and censor” (Antze 1996:xvii), which refer to degrees of identification related to various acts of memory. Further association with narrative type identification may extend to “hero, survivor, victim, guilty perpetrator, etc” (Antze 1996:xvii).

Described as “chronotopic”, the existence and actions of narrative are constituted by particular “spatio-temporal dimensions” (Antze 1996:xvii), which, although also operative in personal memory, usually applies to public memories. This refers to objectified conditions, “like the distribution of monuments in a landscape or the scheduling of commemorative ceremonies”(Antze 1996:xvii). Due to chronotopic conventions influencing the description and connection of content, in terms of the magnitude and focus of attention that certain events may be afforded, the conventions also play a role in distinguishing various genres of narrative memory. Benjamin sees the “treatment of narrative genres as embodiments of different kinds of memory” (Benjamin 1994:80) where the chain of memory is created through different forms.

Thus, based on the concept of narrative, memory may be understood in terms of identity and expression (Antze 1996:xv).

IDENTITY

“Memory implies identity” (Antze 1996:xix) as it plays an important role in aspects regarding history and experience. The essential link between memory and identity is associated with the production of memory out of history and the reshaping of memory through experience. Distinctions, which are significant in the processes of associated remembering and forgetting, are defined as personal (individual) memory and social (collective) memory.

Personal memories are “located in and refer to a personal past” (Connerton 1989:22) that concentrate on life history as the object of remembrance. It is this kind of memory that bears upon self-identity, as it is a significant feature in self-description, self-knowledge and

self-conception. Proust demonstrates that “memory is the basis of self-identity” (Lynch 1972:124), which allows the personal organization of passing events – making the remembrance of the past crucial to the sense of selfhood. Significant reminders of the past are based on direct individual association with memorable events, which is made personal by the content of the memory.

However, the sense of self, which is based on temporal frameworks that risk extinction due to its personal nature, is socially supported. The personal attributes of memory are also shared by groups through communication and support, which “creates a group past and a group future, selecting, explaining, retaining, modifying” (Lynch 1972:125) common symbolic and experienced events together. Benjamin “folds personal detail into encounters with collective, generational and urban histories” (Leslie 2000:71). By doing so, personal testimony is not threatened as the memories are supplemented, validated and, therefore, given endurance by social memories. Hence, personal memory plays a role in the narratives of larger social contexts, and vice versa, as “memory also converts public events into idiosyncratic personal experiences” (Lowenthal 1985:195).

Halbwachs has expressed the importance of social memory and ways of socially reconstructing it by arguing that “individuals are able to acquire, to localise and to recall their memories” (Connerton 1989:36) by being part of a social group. This is explained by the notion that personal recollections exist in relationship with a collection of recent and distant memories possessed by others, intimately linking memory with collective experience. As stressed by Halbwachs, “what binds together recent memories is not the fact that they are contiguous in time but rather the fact that they form part of a whole ensemble of thoughts common to a group, to the groups with which we are in a relationship at present or have been in some connection in the recent past” (Connerton 1989:36).

As with narrative memory, therefore, a continued process between memories of the individual and the collective exists, where personal and social narratives are always connected – promoting recall and making the evocation of events easier. By combining the material of discontinuous recollections into narratives, individual components fit into a collective past, a process that may cause personal and social memories to become blurred. Social memories, therefore, entail the shared memory of the participants, where “images of the past commonly legitimate a present social order” (Connerton 1989:3).

However, experiences are seldom shared when divergence in the memories of a society’s

past exists. This usually refers to differences in memories across generations, where different sets of memories occur, causing the communication thereof to be impeded. Collective memory is a “current of continuous thought still moving in the present, still part of a group’s active life, and these memories are multiple and dispersed, spectacular and ephemeral” (Boyer 1996:67). This also refers to the hierarchies of power that condition the boundaries between the individual and the collective, especially relating to the confirmation of the truth. This is often related to issues regarding either the suppression or commemoration trauma, and is more especially applicable to the identity of nations. It is here that “the nature and value of memory” (Lowenthal 1985:194) bear on the sense of identity in terms of individual and collective recollection.

This factor may be attributed to the need of nations to construct a past based on collective memory in order to represent them. This is especially apparent where identity is not taken for granted and memory may be questioned. Thus, the memory process is strategic in replacing historical continuity with political interpretation. Supported by a “group framed in space and time” (Boyer 1996:67), the memories are relative to that specific community or nation. The documentation of oppositional memories preserves that of certain social groups, which would otherwise have been ignored or silenced, especially with regard to totalitarian regimes. However, due to the responsibilities and obligations of nations, it is not only the collective memories that are significant, but also the enduring identities of individuals in the collective memory discourse, where personal pasts are linked with social memory and public history. And, just as narrative memory is not comprised of a fixed set of memories, so too is identity, which is based on the “dialectical, ceaseless activity of remembering and forgetting, assimilating and discarding” (Antze 1996:xxix).

Thus, “all memory is unavoidably both borne out of individual subjective experience and shaped by collective consciousness and shared social processes” (Coombes 2003:8). Memorial representation, interpretation and understanding, therefore, requires the recognition of both individual and collective contexts, where the sense of identity is strengthened by constructs of collective memory as well as means of communication. These collective constructs of memory are synonymous with the conveyance and material transfer that make remembering possible in order to ensure the sustainability of the memories of social groups.

EXPRESSION

Memory is the combination of communication and “images, the rational and the archaic, that forms the components of our collective memory and it gives rise to artistic expression” (Boyer 1996:200). It is, therefore, embodied through practical physical and oral forms of manifestation, as residues of events that allow it to transcend lifetimes and generate unlimited access to the past. Lowenthal expresses that memory “not only is the past recalled in what we see; it is incarnate in what we create” (Lowenthal 1985:39), whilst Freudian psychology maintains that all forms of memory, even those adopted prior to the receipt of the initial unconscious impressions, allow for the revelation and preservation of memories.

Thus, crucial to the nature of memory is the context of retelling, which is rooted in associations with frameworks that allow for the revelation of memory and the transmission of experience through memory traces, which become the surviving imprints of past events that are registered as experience. This allows for the orientation of experience, which enhances the existence of the individual within the social realm of memory, where individual memories are localized in the mental and material frameworks provided by society.

Leading authority on Walter Benjamin, professor and author Sigrid Weigel, defines memory traces as being “remains, images, things, words, gestures, and graphic images [that] become readable and recognizable” (Weigel 1996:127). Lowenthal stresses that memory traces differ from relics in that traces are “representations of things recalled, whereas relics are things” (Lowenthal 1985:252). The memories that manifest in traces are represented and understood by the chains of association between past history and the contemporary engagement with the past.

According to Proust, it is not possible to “recapture the past, hidden beyond the reach of intellect, in some material object” (Lowenthal 1985:16) if it is unfamiliar and has no recognisable associations, as it will be incomprehensible. However, “with the introduction of memory into the object, the object comes to embody both an idea of itself and a memory of a former self” (Rossi 1982:7), making the past present in the object, as is the discovery of Proust’s *memoire involuntaire*. Memory is, therefore, facilitated by the readability of traces in response to certain perceptions and associations.

It is the belief of Benjamin that the past is to be “regained in brief flashes and fragmented moments that arise like an epiphany from the presence of some material object or through the sensations and memories an image or object evokes” (Boyer 1996:192). However, although expressions of memory allow the past to be stored and regained, the more these expressions are altered, “the less they anchor us to contemporary reality” (Lowenthal 1985:40), as they symbolise the displacement of recollections onto contemporary contexts.

CONCLUSION

Memory “enables us not merely to follow, but to build on previous efforts” (Lowenthal 1985:300). Hence, the function of memory is to not only preserve the past, but also to understand former experience in order to enrich the present.

Although the mapping of recollections is situated within the context of mental spaces, these mental spaces are supported by and rely upon the relatively stable material expressions for recall. Thus, in order to imagine, understand and explain memory, it is transformed from abstract and temporal qualities into oral, visual, physical and spatial representations. These tangible manifestations of memory comprise “eclectic, selective reconstructions, based on subsequent actions and perceptions and on ever-changing codes by which we delineate symbolise, and classify the world around us” (Lowenthal 1985:300).

According to Halbwachs, “memory always unfolded in space, for when memories could not be located in the social space of a group, then remembrance would fail” (Boyer 1996:26). Recollections are thereby conserved by referring them to the surrounding material milieu because it “is to our social spaces – those which we occupy, which we frequently retrace with our steps, where we always have access, which at each moment we are capable of mentally reconstructing – that we must turn our attention, if our memories are to reappear” (Connerton 1989:37).

Spatial reconstruction, therefore, plays a significant role in the activity of recollection in order to capture the individual through lived experience, and allows for the experiences embodied in these spatial frameworks of remembrance to be passed down to further generations. The commonality of social groups is recharged by their reference to shared physical spaces and their collective identity because “no collective memory can exist without reference to a socially specific spatial framework” (Connerton 1989:37).

Hence, due to temporal previous encounters being better understood through memory in the context of more permanent surroundings, where the spatial context is a repository for memory, the expression of memory as architectural commemoration will be further investigated in the chapter that follows.

2.0 MEMORY AND ARCHITECTURE

Architecture is impossible without memory (O'Neill n.d.), however, *we cannot remember without architecture* (Ruskin 1891:182) – two interdependent statements that are related by the psychological constructs of memory as well as the technical dimensions of material memorisation. The first statement by the Director of Architecture Memory Lab Australia, Rory O'Neill, suggests that architecture lives in memory by existing as imprints in the mind, acquired through the experience, exploration, creation or imagination of the built environment. The second statement, stemming from architecture author and poet, John Ruskin, as the seventh lamp in his 'Seven Lamps of Architecture', is attributed to architecture existing, beyond structure and function, as the text of growing history that metaphorically conveys information. Architecture is a means of recall, which forms part of collective memory that is incorporated in present experience.

Hence, in addition to drawing on concepts from the previous chapter, this chapter seeks to explore this cross-disciplinary approach, which includes the investigation of architectural qualities of memory and notions of how architecture resides in memory through recollection and interpretation. It also includes the processes whereby internal memory is physically reproduced and externally manifested through spatial mnemonics that link historical information, as well as personal and public memory in the built environment. These frameworks are investigated in terms of memorialisation (memorials, monuments and museums); urban memory and architecture of the city; catalysts; locus; semiology and semantics; texts; representation and trace; introjection and projection; palimpsest; and contemporary archaeology.

Architectural manifestation describes connections between past and present, and acts as a trigger that stimulates associated responses, memory creation and interpretation. Hence, architecture and urban spaces are active implementers of memory, in which symbolic messages that represent various relationships, values and intentions are embodied and reflected in order to contest or reinforce cultural memory. This memory process of commemoration is memorialisation – which assists people in reclaiming their heritage and culture, thereby playing a significant role in societal collective development through shared memories of the past and the creation of memories for the future.

The interlinked frameworks of memory and architecture explored here will inform and establish the basis of the chapters that follow, which include South African background and current context, as well as the Case Studies and subsequent Conclusion.

MEMORIALISATION (MEMORIALS, MONUMENTS AND MUSEUMS):

“Remembrance is a vital human activity that shapes our links to the past, and the ways we remember define us in the present. As individuals we need to construct and anchor our identities and to nurture a vision for the future” (Andreas Huyssen, cited in Dubow 2004:360). Expressed architecturally, this remembrance takes the form of *statues; monuments; buildings; parks* (as stated in The World Book Encyclopedia); public sculptures; commemorative sites; museums; and legacy projects, which record and chronicle; perform functions of remembrance; and impress notions of significance and recognition on their landscapes. The collective terms of these architectural expressions of memorialisation will be referred to as memorials, although the term ‘memorial’ will be explained by a more specific definition later further into this chapter.

Memorials are enduring markers, which are “primary elements in the city that are persistent and characteristic urban artifacts” (Rossi 1982:6). They generally echo permanent qualities and represent a collective society. Located often as fixed points and places of attraction in the urban dynamic, memorials are usually centrally situated. In contrast, decontextualised memorials are positioned in artificial surroundings, thereby giving prominence to contexts previously unconsidered as significant or considered as unsuitable. Regardless of their location, however, memorials add layers of remembrance and meaning to the landscape of commemoration and their surrounding context. Memorial representation, in terms of the content of collective remembrance, is usually defined by the established power, thereby instilling civic virtue, and very seldom challenging it. Hence, due to the passing of time and changing powers, different types of memorials are generated and valued at different periods of time.

In relation to this, Austrian art historian, Alois Riegl, deduced that memorials have a “constantly changing role in culture as their value and appreciation shift with time” (Boyer 1996:143), which includes three types of values namely *memorial value, historic value and age value*. Memorial value is divided into intentional and unintentional classes. The former is specifically constructed to recall specific moments, nations’ greatness or testimonies for generations to follow. On the contrary, unintentional memorials are built originally for other purposes, but receive epic status once value has been bestowed on

them. Historic value is received by memorials that earn respect because they characterise a particular period or style. By remaining in their original state, they are valued due to their representation as authentic documentation of that time. In contrast, a memorial may be respected purely because of its age value. Even though it does not contain or represent anything else of value, its recognition is attributed to its antiquity.

In antiquity, Egyptian memorialisation sought closeness between the deceased and the gods through funerary monuments (Fig. 2.1). The relationship with the cosmos was commemorated through the pyramids, while “other monuments such as stelae, temples and obelisks were erected in propitiation of deities” (Turner 1996:42). The Egyptian preoccupation with the afterlife was, however, superseded by the Greeks’ religious and humanistic emphases (Fig. 2.2), where the “great monuments of the past...were places regularly visited by the whole community – edifices which embodied in stone values, myths and cultural certitudes that everyone held in common and which permeated all of life” (Davey 1989:11). The Romans’ most distinctive monument was the *triumphal arch* (Fig. 2.3), with other commemorative structures including the column of the type of *Trajan’s column*, and the *equestrian statue* – all of which were inherited by memorial architecture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. (Pevsner 1976:11). Modernism, however, saw the rejection of historical motifs in favour of form and function, where the *need to commemorate the deceased of many wars, resulted in more memorials being built then than in any previous era* (Crimson 1995:76).



Fig. 2.1 Ancient Egyptian funerary stele
(<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Steles>)



Fig. 2.2 The Acropolis, Greece
(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greek_temple)



Fig. 2.3 The Arch of Titus, Rome
(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arch_of_Titus)

However, the construction of memorials during the modernist era was plagued by beliefs that rejected historical associations and linguistic references, which resulted in the construction of pure abstract forms that displaced memory. Concrete was considered an amnesiac relating to the annihilation and erasure of memory by creating sameness,

thereby associating it with the blankness of modernity. However, it is now considered a default material in the construction of memorials for its qualities of preservation that signify memory due to its denseness and indestructibility, thereby guaranteeing prolonged commemoration.

Benjamin speculated that the *authenticity of the movement recorded no memory, thereby banishing past experience, ceasing interpretation and causing the senses to retreat* (Boyer 1996:19). His objections to the sterility of the period, as well as criticism and research from philosophical and psychological disciplines, stressed the fragility of memory and the affects of amnesia, thereby stimulating the need to perpetuate memory through the creation of enduring physical manifestations. According to American architectural theorist Charles Jencks, “memory and history are inevitable in DNA, language, style and the city, and are positive catalysts for intervention...[where] all architecture is invented and perceived through codes” (Jencks et al 1997:131).

Hence, post-modernism called upon images and artifacts to bear testimony to the past, reveal historical traditions and convey memories by utilising architecture to necessitate symbolism and memorialisation. Also, because memorials generally imply qualities of mass, solidity and weight, which are reflected in their form and choice of materials, “no expenses were spared in the construction of memorials, resulting in the use of granite and limestone” (Crimson 1995:76). The hardwearing materials conveyed the significance of the subject that was commemorated.

The term ‘memorial’ has been used in this section in a collective sense to discuss the architectural approaches to memorialisation. However, physical expressions of memory are commonly and more specifically identified in the form of built structures such as monuments, memorials and museums, which are of direct relevance to the topic. Even though the usages of the terms memorial and monument are used almost interchangeably and sometimes simultaneously, variances do exist as defined and set out by the explanations that follow.

Although The Concise Oxford Dictionary, explains a ‘monument’ as *anything enduring that serves to commemorate or make celebrated, especially a structure or building*, the concept of the monument tends to be conventionally associated more with the latter – as a commemorative structure, object and building. Its celebratory usage is designated to historical markers of memory, which is noted historically in the construction of monuments to the triumphs of victors, such as that of the Romans. Thus, monuments *outwardly*

proclaim something and tend to foreclose on further thought (Dubow 2004:361), becoming synonymous with the society that created it.

By contrast, memorials stimulate active processes of memory and invite *introspection and interpretation through reflective and contemplative structures and institutions* (Dubow 2004:361). Although, traditionally associated with architectural structures, a memorial, according to the Concise Oxford Dictionary may be a *statue, festival, building, religious service, custom, paper, or statement of facts serving to commemorate those who died*. This has been historically expressed in victims having memorials erected to their suffering, thereby making a memorial a token of remembrance that “implies a process by which memory is kept alive” (Dubow 2004:360).

The nineteenth century saw the transition of places of commemoration from palaces to public institutions through the development of theatre, the library and the museum (Pevsner 1976:17). Although they were institutions primarily associated with the preservation of cultural work, museums were also identified with the “civic virtues of public service, cultural attainment and social stability” (Turner 1996:359). Museums perform memory processes by mediating between the past, present and future, where collections bridge time periods and provide tangible reminders for recollection, thereby embodying memories of the past and evoking memory in the present. Due to this, museums have accumulated layers of meaning over time, which are constructed and reconstructed, and where the “significance attached to particular events in the past changes in relation to the politics of the present (Davison 2005:160).

Political transformation makes the revision and reshaping of public memory (which is the intersection of vernacular and official memory) an explicit process that involves *remembering and forgetting, inclusion and exclusion, in which museum curators determine criteria of significance, define cultural hierarchies, and shape social consciousness* (Davison 2005:145). So although museums are places of collective memory they anchor selected and authorised versions of the past thereby shaping national identity and institutionalising public memory. Thus, representations in national museums legitimise patterns of political authority and are, therefore, used by nation states to represent themselves both domestically and internationally.

However, apart from juxtaposing varying contexts of political time and place, museums are publicly aimed at cultural and social and identity. This is expressed by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) that believes

museums “can no longer stand aloof from the major issues of our time” (UNESCO: n.d.), thereby supporting notions of merging commemorative and general life as a contemporary approach to the museum concept. Hence, apart from prompting memory, through curatorship and the spatialisation of information, museums are instruments of dialogue essential to the functioning of society and necessary for the development of communities.

URBAN MEMORY AND ARCHITECTURE OF THE CITY

The notions of space, history and memory are invariably related to time, where the passage of time plays a definitive role in the creation and character of the urban environment. Time is a fragmentary term of reference that contributes to the structure of the urban realm in which spatial and architectural forms transform in various ways resulting in the constant reproduction of the city. French philosopher and author, Michel Serres, believes that *time doesn't flow; it percolates* (Crimson 2005:67). In terms of this statement, urban time is interpreted as a complex diversity that is better associated with Serres' metaphors of *crumpling, folding, and liquid turbulence*. Time in the built environment is, therefore, considered as simultaneously withdrawing and approaching, where past, present and future exist in tandem, rather than as a linear series of events and moments.

Time connects materialisations belonging to different periodical contexts, which Italian architect and theorist Aldo Rossi refers to as “time-place continuity” (Rossi 1982:8). By doing so, the urban realm retains the marks of the passage of time enabling them to symbolise the culture of a place, as well as steering consciousness within the urban structure through memory. Lynch has theorized that although the *vision of the future is affected by a perceived past, the perception of the present is affected by both past and future and influences what is remembered or foreseen* (Lynch 1972:124).

French urbanist, Marcel Poete, explains that urban life is understood as the “gathering and storing [of] all the memory tokens from bygone times, so that in our present time we can arrive at an equilibrium between the urban being and its material environment” (Boyer 1996:17). Thus, historical and spatial frameworks are encompassed in the concept of urban memory, where experiences and events are materialised as forms and places that analyse, articulate and address certain urban characteristics and concerns within that context. Urban memory is defined as “an anthropomorphism (the city having memory) but more commonly it indicates the city as a physical landscape and collection of objects and

practices that enable recollections of the past and that embody the past through traces of city's sequential building and rebuilding" (Crimson 2005:xii).

The city is considered as a memorial, which is a place of memory that juxtaposes past, present and future, destruction and creation, commemoration and amnesia – all of which contribute to the city existing as a whole that is disclosed by its physical structure. According to Rossi, the "city is a cumulative man-made creation where each site and structure is an artifact – a place of collective memory where earlier meanings are retained even as its function or context is forced to change" (Rossi 1982:i). Hence, due to the passage of time, the retention of various traces, and the discontinuous manner of construction of urban environments, cities may be read as historical and archaeological texts or archives that document and generate information. Although the city holds its original urban pattern, everything accumulated is a sign of the city's progress, which conjures the sense of growth and evolution, change and transformation, stimulating experience and triggering involuntary associations.

A relationship, therefore, exists between the urban fabric and the building typology that exists within it. If the city is to be considered as an *archaeological artifact and an autonomous structure* (Rossi 1982:i), and architecture is an extension of the city, then the significance of the city is made understandable through the reciprocal relationship between the city collective and architectural individuality.

According to Rossi, architectural artifacts are based on "technical and artistic formation" (Rossi 1982:128), where the former constitutes the self-governing principles upon which they are established, whilst the latter is the actual physical solution that relies on the former. Here, the understanding of the past is a vehicle for the transmission of the technical and artistic knowledge, where the artistic result is dependent on the technical aspects of history and memory or heritage.

Hence, architectural forms are concerned with past interpretation and present experience, which facilitate the remembering of the past in the familiarity of the present. French philosopher and historian, Michael Foucault, has described this as *heterotopia* – "a site in which the other is temporarily experienced, and the quotidian is temporarily banished" (Crimson 2005:138). This merging of past and present exists in contrast to the modernist concept of utopia, which represents fundamentally generic and artificial perfection, or an unreal spatial existence where memory is erased from the urban realm. Hence, in terms

of heterotopia, expressions of the past, which are experienced in the present, are manifested in architectural permanences.

Poete believes that it is these permanences that mark the differences between the contemporary and historic city as, “they are the artifacts that give meaning to and constitute our memory of the city” (Boyer 1996:17). Due to the inconsistent nature of events, which occur, disappear and return erratically within a context of transformation, permanences are often fixed scenes of events and generators of city form that remain constant. Hence, these permanences or ‘monuments’ are expressed through the principles of architecture, as *primary elements or fixed points in the urban dynamic – that are universal artifacts, which have permanent characteristics that give form to society* (Rossi, cited Jencks 1997:36). These architectural representations are instruments that participate in the evolution of the city and convey shifts and displacements in the urban context. In relation to this, South African architectural theorist Noelene Murray identifies three aspects of memory in architectural discourse, namely: “*social construction, contesting memory, and architectural knowledge*” (Murray 2003:13).

Linked to identity and culture (and revealed through memories and association with place) memory as *social construction* is a factor that has determining or limiting social effects. As stated by Halbwachs, “collective memory is always embedded in a spatial framework” (Boyer 1996:137), making the city the collective memory of its inhabitants. The urban structure is constituted of individual artifacts that compose a city collective. By connecting form to event, where past, present and future are unified through the shaping of an event into an artifact, physical manifestations of social experiences are created. Thus, the transformation of a place has bearing on the social implications in terms of collective consciousness as it prompts awareness and understanding in contemporary life whilst preventing the obsolescence of memory within the urban context.

However, due to the connection of collective society to the landscape, the obliteration of memorials also has bearing on social construction, or destruction, where the deliberate removal of such artifacts eradicates the existence of a period of memory and culture. This is related to the contestation and debate of issues regarding identity and culture in past, present and future legacies, which form the basis of *contesting memory*. The obliteration or creation of monumental displays and architectural gestures, in terms of previous rule or current governance respectively, are utilised in contested contexts to link objectives of the state or ruling power with the obligations of citizens. In relation to this, both Rossi and Benjamin see “the architectural event as the unfolding of a story – what the image and the

object reveal” (Boyer 1996:196). By doing so the built environment divulges the slow or rapid changes within the urban milieu through commemoration and amnesia.

The overall urban and architectural image is, therefore, *rooted in the human condition to which the memory of man is related in an inseparable whole* (Rossi 1982:27). *Architectural knowledge* is a significant agent of memory construction due to its engagement with site, spatial production and the directionality of transformation. If not completely obliterated, memory survives in the city context as physical traces that are used to incorporate the past into new forms of place-making. The link between history and architecture (where heritage is considered in terms of the existing historic fabric and new development) is, therefore, stimulated by residues or relics. According to Lowenthal, relics are markers in a context that exist simultaneously in the past and present, which undergo *direct and indirect transformation* (Lowenthal 1985:264). The former affects the physical condition of the relic or artifact in terms of its protection, enhancement or re-use, whilst the latter impinges on its perception, interpretation, explanation and appreciation. Thus, just as memory is shaped by selective recall and historical insight altered subjectively, so too does the manipulation of architectural artifacts remould its physical manifestation and meaning.

Architectural forms evoke the past by leaving old structures intact, thereby making the past physically visible. Often seeking to embody the historic character of an area or era through architectural elements, conservation thereby stimulates the preservation to evoke socio-historic association. Conservation may sometimes hinder the rate of regeneration, which retains the image of the old whilst projecting something new. By restoring and refurbishing old structures, damages that have occurred over time are overcome, and certain ideas from the past are incorporated and represented. Alterations allow current views and contexts to be articulated thereby allowing users to identify with the buildings.

CATALYSTS

Artifacts in the built environment are affected by the passage of time in different ways. Architecture, therefore, contributes to the city growing upon itself over time, where the “form of the city is always the form a particular time of the city” (Rossi 1982:61). Forming part of Rossi’s concept of permanence, time relates to the transformation of the built environment, and implies the definition of a context contributed to by the interrelationship of past, present and future. Characteristic of this, architectural artifacts are *permanent and primary elements directly related to the growth of an environment* (Rossi 1982:6),

which can retard or accelerate the process of urbanization in a city, thereby making them catalytic. The retardation of a development process is considered by Rossi to be *pathological*, whilst the accelerated development is defined as *propelling* (Rossi 1982:6).

Pathological permanences are preserved presences and unusual characters that are isolated within a certain context, which defines their form and static usage (Fig. 2.4). They are signs of a specific epoch and bound to a certain period or event in the historic course of the city. Although, they contribute to the memory of a city, pathological elements are “unmodifiable artifacts whose dynamic linkage with the rest of the city is severed” (Boyer 1996:187), due to their functional specificity.



Fig. 2.4 Pathological permanence - the Voortrekker Monument (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Voortrekkermonument>)



Fig. 2.5 Propelling permanence - the heritage building of Customs House, Sydney previously associated with harbour activities (author)



Fig. 2.6 Flexible Customs House plan converted to arts and recreation space (Custom's House leaflet 2002:1)

In contrast, propelling permanences endure time and transform from their original function to become characteristic fragments of the urban landscape (Fig. 2.5). They are not defined by their original function nor context, but rather by form and are, therefore, able to accommodate different functions over time (Fig. 2.6). By remaining as stable formal structures with changing function, and conditioning the morphology of a city and its transformation, *propelling monuments remain as focal points over time* (Boyer 1996:187).

Hence, propelling permanences continually allow the past to be experienced in some way as accumulated records of time – even when only form remains integral and the original function is altered. These elements of accelerated development “serve to bring the past into the present, providing a past that can still be experienced” (Rossi 1982:6). Primary elements can, therefore, either boost or inhibit understandings of the city, in which architecture forms the cumulative data of the city structure via the rationalisation of social, economic, political and historic complexities, thereby making building typology significant to catalytic intervention. The architect is, therefore, responsible for redefining the city by

analysing these aspects in spatial design, which, along with memory, constitute the structure of urban artifacts, the dynamism of context and spatial transformation that contributes to the making of place.

LOCUS

Locus is a characteristic component of urban artifacts, which encompasses notions of architecture, permanences, and history, in sites that manifest both past and recent events simultaneously. Like permanences, locus is defined by space and time as well as topography and form, thereby basing the imagery of the site or artifact on the relationship between architecture and landscape, the city and its inhabitants. As asserted by South African expatriate architect, Hans Hallen, memory is “rooted in time and the circumstances of building and spirit of site” (Hallen 1997:9). Thus, the making of memorable places depends on the relationship of building and landscape both maintaining their individual spirit whilst forming a symbolic public realm. The experience of the place extends beyond the tactile, and continues to thrive in memory through the generation of these associations.

Architecture, therefore, gives form to the spirit of the place, which persists even as functions may change, allowing locus to be interpreted as “the place on which architecture or form can be imprinted” (Rossi 1982:7). Thus, the specific relationship of site and building comprises the notion of *locus solus*, defined by Rossi as an “unique or characteristic place” (Rossi 1982:7), where the intervention holds the memory of the past and potential memory of the future. The memory, form and function of a space are, therefore, re-interpreted in the creation of a symbolic place of spirit, where perception and experience are encouraged through the architectural language. The architectural intervention thereby becomes the locus of collective memory susceptible to complex and abstract readings by moving the spectator or user.

Thus, the humanistic concern with the sense of place is one that extends beyond location or physical characteristics and refers rather to “an individual’s subjective, personalised sensitivity to particular environments” (Hart 1990:7). Intangible qualities such as perceptions and emotions are exemplified in the meanings that specific places of spirit hold for people. By assuming the value of the people; objects; events and places, the city is the locus of collective memory, where certain artifacts fade into memory and new artifacts materialise, along with new meanings. This forms a vital element within a

context, as interpretations of the past as well as readings and understanding of the present are reflected in memory and meaning of the place.

The International School for Holocaust Studies at Yad Vashem, by architectural practice Guggenheim/Bloch, is a site-specific intervention that faces the landscape of Jerusalem (Fig. 2.7). Due to this educational institution not being a typical memorial or museum, the device utilised as a generator of collective memory is the actual architecture, which encourages visitors to be constantly aware of the outside world. It “does not attempt to shape collective memory by using distinctive geometry or isolation from reality to give the visitor an immediate experience of recollection” (Padan 2000:81). Rather, the building is a container that commemorates the significance of its surroundings through the reinforcement of concepts that emphasise the immediate context and the changing conditions of natural light (Figs. 2.8 and 2.9), making the building a “container of time” (Padan 2000:81) that directs the visitor to the memory of the Holocaust in Israel.



Fig.2.7 Surrounding context
(<http://guggenheimarch.com>)



Fig.2.8 School orientated to view
(<http://guggenheimarch.com>)



Fig.2.9 Natural materials respond to context
(<http://guggenheimarch.com>)

SEMIOLOGY AND SEMANTICS

Just as *locus solus* is recognisable in its individuality by elements that mark the occurrence of the events on that specific site, the events that have occurred on the site are reflected in architectural interventions as signs, thereby making the relationship between site, event and sign distinctive of the artifacts. These notions are understood in the theories of semiology and semantics, where semiology, proposed by French philosopher and semiotician, Roland Barthes, as the theory of signs and their relationship, is associated with semantics – “the study of meanings” (Hesselgren 1969:247).

Jencks’ semiological triangle (Fig. 2.10), which is composed of “a percept, a concept and representation” (Jencks 1997:44), may be explained thus: one gains a visual perception of an object upon seeing it, after-which a conception of it persists (subsequent to the

disappearance of the initial impression created by the object), followed by the conception undergoing changes that result in the creation of representations of the object. Because the semiological triangle is intended to explain the connections between reality, thought and language, architecture may be experienced, interpreted and translated, thereby giving it meaning.

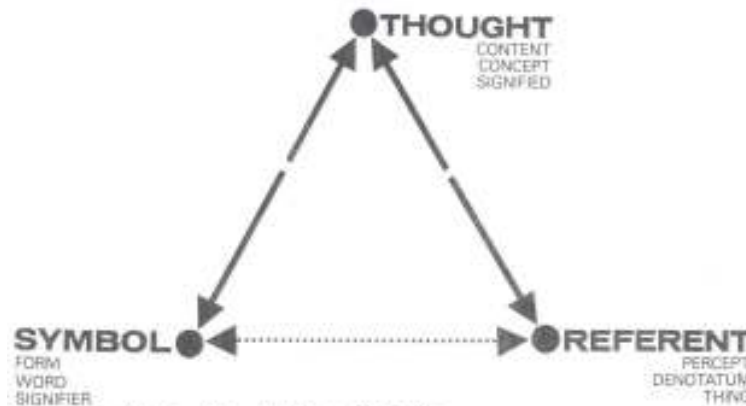


Fig. 2.10 Semiological triangle (Jencks 1969:15)



Fig. 2.11 Relative relationship of the sign (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Course_in_General_Linguistics)



Fig. 2.12 Perception - duck / rabbit? (Jencks 1969:18)

Benjamin, as well as French philosopher and deconstructivist, Jacques Derrida, argue that in deconstructive discourse translation “is not the transference, reproduction, or image of an original as the original only survives in translation. The translation constitutes the original it is added to” (Wigley 1992:242). New accounts and translations of subjects arise through the internal examination of processes that Derrida refers to as “solicitation, [which] is a form of interrogation” (Wigley 1992:251). The translation of vision and experience into forms, where architectural code relies on imagery to generate artifacts, therefore makes the built environment a metaphorical and symbolic memory space.

In Benjamin’s concept of *image-space*, the space in which “thought and body, memory and matter come together” (Cadava 1997:77), lies the correlation between architectural forms and images, which stimulates the relationship between optical and associated meanings, where images stored in the mental memory archive return from the past to impact on present perceptions. This notion is supported by the Greek philosopher Aristotle’s assertion that “there is no thought without a mental image and that recollection means to perceive something as an image” (Weigel 1996:148).

Seen as assimilations of light, colour and form, these visual perceptions are also related to spatial and textural experience, which is “intimately connected with that of movement and time and thus both these are indirectly significant in the perception of architecture”

(Hesselgren 1969:116). The structure of memory is, therefore, decisive in the patterns of experience. It is Proustian belief that the body registers or records memories and impressions, thereby making memory dependent more on bodily experience, rather than purely visual cognition. His *memoire involuntaire des members* explains this as “linking the process of inscription to that of memory, [where] involuntary memory flashes images of the past into the present and thereby produces an experience” (Cadava 1997:78).

Hence, the concept of the *signifier and the signified* (Jencks 1991:38) may be recognised, where the signifier (architecture) is the form that is a representation of an abstract idea, and the signified (the content) is the resultant meaning (Fig. 2.11). Thus, the stimulation of meaning is based on the discourse between events and signs, which links monuments and city to the original occurrence of the event, as well as permanences and evolution. The marking of an event and its related symbolism is reflected in a monument through its *form, function and memory* (Rossi 1982:106), so that these monuments may transmit ideas within their urban contexts in terms of physical appearance and meaning.

The most important notion of meaning and semiology in architecture is that any form and its subsequent usage is supported by certain determinants. Therefore, two essential ways in which a sign may achieve meaning can be recognised – “both through its relation to all the signs in a context...and through the other signs for which it has become a metaphor by association” (Jencks 1969:10). Architectural theorist Anthony Vidler defines three levels of meaning in the selection and reassembly of criteria in city structure formation. They are described as: “the first, inherited from the ascribed means of the past existence of forms; the second, derived from the specific fragment and its boundaries, and often crossing between previous types; the third, proposed by a recomposition of these fragments in a new context” (Vidler cited in Jencks 1997:77).

In addition to signs and symbols, meaning is classified by expression, which is a direct connection between perception and sentiment. Architects Tonkin and Laurence argue that the language of expression exists through “matter as a carrier of memory, material that evokes memory, and an elemental language of nature’s transformative process that unite to memorialise and commemorate” (Tonkin and Laurence 2003:49). Due to visual perception being the initial element of an experience, emotion is “connected to the meaning, which is usually the first aspect of a perception to enter the consciousness” (Hesselgren 1969:319). These are reinforced by the architectural concepts of *notation, articulation and sensation* (Tschumi cited in Jencks et al 1997:277) by deconstructivist architect and writer, Bernard Tschumi. Experience in the context of time (notation) via

movement through space and events (articulation), is concerned with emotion (sensation), rather than focusing purely on functionality. Hence, architecture is a psychological experience, where patterns of architectural expression manifest through perception and emotion – the experience of the edifice should move the human spirit.

Concepts of collective and individual memory further support this, where memory and perception depend on the imprint of mental images (Fig. 2.12). This occurs “through some experience of relating one sign to another: either because of a common quality, or because they occurred in the same context” (Jencks et al 1997:45). Thus, context, whether internal or external, is essential to remembering as well as the association with environmental images. Applied to architecture, therefore, architect Aldo van Eyck believes that “memory conditions perception and is in turn modified by it, so the history of design and architecture contains everything that has been designed or built and is continually modified by it” (Jencks 1969:242). Hence, past, present and future afford a continuum and associative perspective to architecture (thereby linking memory, experience, history and design) in an attempt to create a new milieu of meaning.

Thus, memory is stimulated, architecture interpreted, and meaning acquired through spatial experience via imagery, symbolism, and tactile qualities. Through the internalised unfolding of the experience, “representation is registered as a critical urban phenomenon on the level of perception and memory” (Crimson 2005:147), as described by Baudelaire. Different meanings are conveyed based on associations between the event and the sign, which, via certain reference points, evoke levels of emotion. These emotions, events, signs and icons constitute the *temporary, strategic manifestations of a continuous, dynamic process of symbolisation, which also lies at the heart of the formulation of national identity* (Crimson 2005:188).

Set along Boston city's central square, the New England Holocaust Memorial designed by Stanley Saitowitz is a seemingly simple colonnade of six etched glass towers (Fig. 2.13) that symbolise the number of Holocaust death camps in Poland, as well as Jewish candles. Positioned over pits of burning coals, these glowing markers simultaneously evoke notions of *loss, absence and tragedy* (Anonymous 1995:88) as well as *faith, hope and aspiration* (Rambhoroos 2004:92). The memorial engages the senses through the names of survivors from the etched glass being cast onto the skin of passers-by, as well as the hot air of the coals enveloping the passage space and ascending through the column flues (Figs. 2.14 and 2.15). Thus, meaning is conveyed through these symbols, which are “not representations of the Holocaust so much as triggers for the mind to

remember, imagine and dwell on the events, the people, the scale, and the inexplicable why” (Anonymous 1995:88).



Fig.2.13 New England Holocaust Memorial (<http://nehm.org>)



Fig.2.14 View upward through etched tower (<http://nehm.org/design>)

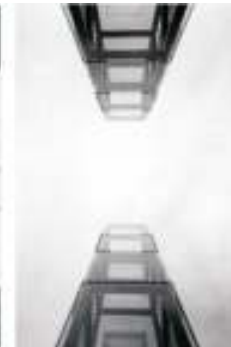


Fig.2.15 View between towers (<http://nehm.org/intro.html>)

INTROJECTION AND PROJECTION

Drawing from semiology and semantics, it can be deduced that an archive of memorised sensory experiences is formed over time by a collection of traces that are deposited by impulses responding to use and perception. As confirmed by Benjamin, buildings are appropriated in a twofold manner: by use and by perception – or rather, by touch and sight” (Crimson 2005:173), which is reinforced by habit, where memory, therefore, plays a crucial role. This is crucial to the processes of identification in which notions of introjection and projection contribute to the formation of identity in the built environment. The two operations of identification take place in a process of equivalent reflection – the “introjection of the external world into the self, and the projection of the self onto the external world” (Crimson 2005:173).

Introjection involves the human response to the built environment, as a reflection of the self and the replication of these properties in the self. It implies the “absorption of the external world” (Crimson 2005:173) through the senses, especially tactile and optical reception. Benjamin explains this through his representation of the “mind as a kind of camera obscura, a photosensitive plate” (Crimson 2005:173) onto which certain events and spaces are etched. Thus, introjection is the capacity of particular events and architectural environments to be imprinted on the mind, which is then recessed into consciousness to form a familiar background landscape.

The second operation, however, is the recreation and perception of the built environment in the image of the self. Projection involves “a twofold mechanism of grafting symbolic

meaning onto an object, and then reading oneself into that object and seeing one's values reflected in it" (Crimson 2005:174). It is a process whereby subjective readings are cast onto the object, building or site. One must project oneself onto something in order for recognition to take place. Hence, by reading the built environment, one is actually reading oneself.

Therefore, the built environment may be "read as the 'self', just as the 'self' can be incorporated into their design" (Crimson 2005:178). Individuals identify with buildings by the perception of the self in terms of the qualities of the building, as well as perceiving the buildings in terms of the self. This process is vital in architectural discourse as it is a means of identification as well as an investment of meaning. This notion is applied to memorials, which destabilises views that imply such buildings or sites are themselves places of memory. American literary critic and political theorist, Fredric Jameson, supports the notion that these memorials do not have inherent meaning and that they are "essentially inert" (Crimson 2005:174). In order to have meaning, they have to be invested with meaning. Hence, meaning must be projected onto them.



Fig.2.16 Aerial view (<http://www.sacred-destinations.com/germanyberlin.htm>)



Fig.2.17 Stelae amidst surrounding context (<http://www.sacred-destinations.com/germanyberlin.htm>)



Fig.2.18 Path through stelae (<http://www.sacred-destinations.com/germanyberlin.htm>)

Peter Eisenman's Memorial to the Murdered Jew of Europe is an unconventional memorial in Berlin, which is a minimalist expanse of horizontal tomb-like boxes or stelae that contain no contextualising text (Figs. 2.16 and 2.17). The undulating arrangement of these components allows for the movement of visitors amidst them (Fig. 2.18), thereby involving the visitor's body and subsequent experience as being part of the completion of the memorial. This is due to the memorial not being a representation of memory, which would entail it existing as an object to be looked at that stimulates introjection and suggests how and what to remember. Rather, the memorial's abstraction inspires different interpretations by encouraging the projection of the visitor's individual memory on to it. The memorial's "modernist reading – that of individual experience and the possibility of an infinite number of different readings – ...allows it to act as a democratic signifier: the

possibility now exists for the projection of different sets of values, transforming it over time" (Schmeing 2000:65). The memorial thereby provides a connection between space and memory by creating a physical landscape that lacks supportive information. The intention is for the projection of references onto the physical form by visitors, as well as that of unprescribed individual and collective memory. However, due to its open-endedness, a pertinent question may be raised as to how the memorial refers to the actual tragedy of the Holocaust.

TEXTS

Vidler's notion that the "image of the city enables the citizen to identify with its past and present as a political, cultural and social entity" (Crimson 2005:xiv) allows for the assumption that the built environment is an important memorial text, which indicates civic achievement and status through the inclusion of monuments and public infrastructure. It is Rossi's deduction that *architectural language is dependent on social, legal and institutional contexts* making "architecture in the city analogous to language" (Boyer 1996:178). Understood as an historical text, the city reveals Rossi's concepts of permanence and change through its grammatical structure, allowing the past and present to be read together.

Derrida deduces that the "reading of objects, words and events as texts, are subject to sub-texts, silences and the inter-contextuality between texts, and even the texts and their readers themselves" (Frescura 2006:12). The built environment is, therefore, the transmitter that conveys these subtexts, to "uncover what may have been suppressed or marginalised but bears urgently on the present" (Boyer 1996:200). Thus, the reading of an architectural or urban text, which has ideas, values and positions at its forefront, exposes its content and lays it open to contextual memorial interpretation. Stimulated by symbols recovered from the depths of memory as well as physical manifestations unearthed from the memorial archive of architectural types, it is possible to "establish a dialogue between the observer and the observed, thus giving voice to debate, which, in the past, have either been silent or, at best, poorly understood" (Frescura 2006:2), by scrutinizing the texts and reflecting upon its interpretations.

Thus, deconstructivist thinking engages architectural, philosophical and psychological metaphor, thereby allowing for the interpretation, analysis and comparison of subjects that contribute to the development and construction of reading memorialisation. Through a network of references and comparative readings, the context of the artifact is understood

by resituating the past in the present. This discourse shapes the architectural and urban landscape, in which the various interpretations of the built environment and related contexts are attributed to history and memory, and where associative links are made between internalised text and its outward manifestation.

This is understood as the concept of analogy, which has been defined by Swiss psychiatrist and analytic psychologist, Carl Jung, thus: “Logical thought is ‘thinking in words’. Analogical thought is archaic, unexpressed, and practically inexpressible in words. I believe I have found in this definition a different series of things, of affective objectives to be used by the memory or in a design” (Jencks et al 1997:66). Hence, associations are translated through methods of conception and the design of architecture, where duality of architectural language, through “a system of comparisons and contrasts, of selections and orderings” (Boyer 1996:174), links the spatial form and geometry of the city with its representational meaning and perceptual imagery.



Fig.2.19 Aerial view (<httpwww.daniel-libeskind.com.projects>)



Fig.2.20 Scripting on facade (<httpwww.daniel-libeskind.com.projects>)



Fig.2.21 Notions void expressed within the building and with external sculptural elements (<httpwww.daniel-libeskind.com.projects>)

Daniel Libeskind's irregularly formed extension to the Jewish Museum in Berlin (Fig. 2.19) uses architecture as “a form of writing” (Betsky 1998:45) or dialogue to convey the meaning of the museum's historical references (Fig. 2.20). “Libeskind refers to the theme of the building as ‘between the lines’. It is colloquialism referring to a mode of reading [where] what is meant is not represented or, perhaps, inversely represented” (Petterson 2000:73). It does not rely purely on structural organisation or physical manifestations to emphasise the museum's preservative function of the meaning of the Holocaust and its impact on the Berlin. Rather, the building's linguistic properties convey “what is not visible is the richness of the Jewish heritage in Berlin, which is today reduced to archival and archaeological material since physically it has disappeared” (Libeskind 1997:34). By materialising this physical absence or void in the building (Fig. 2.21), the museum acknowledges the erasure of the Jewish community from Berlin in order to ensure that the Holocaust is integrated into and remains in the city's collective memory. In addition to this, mechanisms of Holocaust control through isolation, claustrophobia and disorientation

are conveyed through the building's structural organisation. Thus, the deconstructivist building uses text to convey that the building *be read as an expression of an experience that should not be forgotten by present and future generations* (Van der Straeten n.d.).

PALIMPSEST

Associated with text, one of the most applicable metaphors related to memory in the architectural and urban realms is the "notion of exposing and erasing layers of expression" (Jackson and Johnson 2000:31) to describe overlaying texts. By including concepts of layering, tracing, scribing, collage and transparency, palimpsest is a reconstruction of sedimented layers of history, which exists in contrast to the tabula rasa concept that involves complete erasure. Based on the Greek meaning of tabula rasa, "a writing tablet needs to be erased before the new inscriptions can be composed" (Crimson 2005:151), which, applied in the anti-historicism of modernity, entails the creation of a blank slate in order to create a new beginning.

The process of palimpsest entails the analysis of a context that is deconstructed and transformed via reassembly, regrouping, distortion, or the alteration of code in a layered architectural intervention that is a re-presentation of past forms. According to Rossi, "each urban artifact has a complex individuality: a singularity arising from the successive marks that history's changes have left in its space over time" (Millanes: n.d.). As identified in the Jewish Museum by Libeskind, a deconstructivist approach may be taken in understanding the process of palimpsest, as new meaning is redefined by deconstructing the existing contextual code, thereby stimulating an understanding of the old syntax through the formulation and superimposition of a new one. Through this process, a variation in patterns of architectural syntax is decoded resulting in the revelation of elements that have been hidden behind existing layers. As a means of theoretical inquiry and comprehension, architecture based on deconstructivist theory uncovers the *unfamiliar hidden already within the familiar context* (Wigley 1988:17), thereby revealing and producing new form, where function follows the deformation process and new meanings are developed.

The city is considered as "a field of inscriptions, some nearly visible, some newly written, a delicate matter of layered traces that manifests the thickness of the past but requires care and maintenance" (Crimson 2005:66). It is marked by years of renewal where remains leave their imprint and become signs of change. By allowing for changes and additions, whilst maintaining the remembrance of the original medium, a palimpsest of past and

present exists in the urban realm, which is in a constant state of construction and demolition. This establishes the interplay between “surface and deep structured forms, between purely visible and intuitive or evocative allusions” (Boyer 1996:21) that connect through collision and collage. Through the incorporation of new forms with deposits that have accrued over time, different layers and strata of the city are read. The juxtapositions, created by layering new systems of expression over existing ones, initiate new understandings of material presences and their relation to the past and future.

They form a stratification of sites signifying a constant passage between time periods. Hence, “different layers of historical time superimposed on each other or different architectural strata” (Boyer 1996:19) formulate various forms of expression, generate diverse experiences, and convey newly invested meanings. These changing patterns and reconstructions of time always contain traces of the past, allowing for the formation of images and memory associations within a composite agglomeration of references. Memory is, therefore, in a constant state of recreation through this layering process, with the layer of time adding a new stratum to the evolution process. Thus, if the urban realm is recognised as a “palimpsest of timescales that includes the superimposition of frames of reference, [then] architecture is a frame of the landscape, an intervention of the landscape and a reflection of it” (Rambhoro 2004:31).

Hence, architecture is a symbol that marks space and time emerging as a differentiated experience. Architectural interventions are interpretations of sites as places of activity and symbolism, which comprise textual narratives of interrelated elements that are composite datums of memory. This is supported by Eisenman’s notion that sites are contextual texts, never void but always rooted in meaning. It is similar to Derrida’s concept of the “spectral, which makes reference to the relics and texts of the past that manifest and stay alive on any site” (Rambhoro 2004:33), which should be integrated into the complex whole of the intervention. By exploring architecture as linguistic expression, which embodies cultural and historical queues, typological syntax, and notions of the signifier and the signified, architectural palimpsest traces roots in order to understand and express a context. Thus, the utilisation and organisation of architectural elements within a context is essential in decoding the symbolism of a spatial environment, just as language and syntax are to understanding it.

Mappings of historic traces are overlaid with contemporary processes, allowing for the continuity of the historic processes. This is achieved through the insertion of new into old, where the relationship of the existence of old and new allows for the meaning and

recognition of each other. Thus, this framing of memory through palimpsest is essential in making connections with the context.

REPRESENTATION AND TRACE

Bergson draws together themes of memory, perception and representation to convey their articulation as a means of *condensing diluted historical periods into more intense and differentiated moments* (Cadava 1997:92). Thus, experience is an embodiment of the physical expression of interweaving past, present and future accomplished through the synthesis of description and memory. Following Freud's theory, Benjamin focuses on materialisations of collective memory in order to signify the "expression of a language of the unconscious" (Weigel 1996:11). By deciphering these materialisations, historical images become recognisable and, therefore, readable. In architecture, therefore, readable signs of memory are articulated through representation illustrated by using different models.

Benjamin's model of representations is used to convey notions of architectural memory. These *topographical representations* converge with Freudian "memory-space" (Weigel 1996:110) psychoanalysis, where architecture is the materialised representation of collective memory, which is attributed to the "past that becomes space" (Weigel 1996:112). Just as Freud refers to the readability of memory in the consciousness, so too do memory traces exist within physical spatial relationships, where "architecture is itself the memory-space" (Crimson 2005:xv). Benjamin believes that these traces are indicators of the past that are readable in the form of "symbols deciphering the various traces of the past – remains, ruins, fragments, testimonies, and so on" (Weigel 1996:116).

Thus, visible traces in architecture within a city context exist as a result of the interrelationship of past and present. The fragments and traces are elements extracted from the city archive and linked with others to suggest new insights. Past perception of these monuments manifests in the reading of the signs and symbols of representations. Deciphering the present is achieved through "a reading of memory traces and distorted representation" (Weigel 1996:119), where the reading of the city involves a revelation of symbols and traces within collective memory. Traces are mnemonic codes that give form to memories, which exist in architecture and city places. Stimulating recall, they are "tokens of the past that are to be reread, reanalysed, and reworked over time" (Boyer 1996:322).

Hence, the realisation of architectural structures considers the materialisation and transposition of the language of representability in relation to collective memory, where the “forfeiture of an experience itself leaves traces which persist and shape the experiences of the present” (Caugill 1998:121). The manipulation of fragments and traces, inserted as architectural expressions into transforming urban frameworks, formulates new texts in reconstructed contemporary contexts. So, just as the city structure shifts with time, so too do its representational forms change, thereby evoking memory through the figural images. These figural images are inseparable from the city experience as they participate in the perception and view of the city. Thus, the representational forms are records of present reality, based on the perception of the present spatial order, which stems from shifting scenes and reflections of the past that are materialised in a personalised vision.

The US Holocaust Museum building (Fig. 2.22) in Washington DC, by James Ingo Freed, accommodates a narrative-driven collection based on a sequentially arranged structure and circulation. The chronological journey through the museum includes the reinterpretation of Holocaust forms and iconography such as *watchtowers*, *brick ovens of camp crematoria*, and *transportation elements such as footbridges* (Branham 2000:59). The representation of these symbols is translated into architectural form (Figs. 2.23 and 2.24) to interpret the narrative of the Holocaust tragedy and evoke memory that is both “visceral as well as visual” (Branham 2000:59). It, therefore, gives expression to the memory of the Holocaust, which is manifested through spatial experience associated with the physical and organised contents of memory traces.



Fig.2.22 The US Holocaust Museum (www.pcfandp.com_a_p_8627_s.html)



Fig.2.23 Bridge with inscriptions (www.ushmm.org_museum_a_and_a_inside1.html)



Fig.2.24 Reinterpreted relics (www.pcfandp.com_a_p_8627_s.html)

CONTEMPORARY ARCHAEOLOGY

Associated with representation and trace, the concept of archaeology comprises Eisenman's *theory and practice of negativity* (Jencks 1988:17), which is the development of Derrida's linguistic and philosophical theories into architectural justifications. Generally defined as the "reconstruction of past events and societies through the reconstruction and interpretation of material culture" (Frescura 2006:1), archaeological theory involves the spatial interpretation of the built environment, where "hidden meanings and unconscious memories lie buried in the material form and generating structure of the city" (Boyer 1996:19). The revelation of hidden surfaces and materials is, therefore, linked to remembering and recollecting – the experience of uncovering repressed memories.

"The notion of archaeology and excavation symbolically represents the human modification to the natural environment, [which] in its entirety encompasses natural and cultural elements in unity, with the physical landscape being characterised by markings and deposits resulting from the way nature has been transformed by man" (Rambhoros 2004:34). As identified in the US Holocaust Museum, because every site is affected by memory, which involves tangible and intangible associations with material traces and people or events respectively, these associations emerge as *inscriptive, commemorative and monumental as well as fragmentary, embracing and intimately subjective* (Murray 2003:12).

Comprising "horizontal and vertical stratification as well as interpretative representation based on the topographical, geographical and dynamic complexities" (Rambhoros 2004:34), the unearthing of a context is essential in expressing its texts and codes, making the traces of a place vital to an architectural intervention, which may result in the architect being referred to as an archaeologist. Due to present day perceptions embedded in remains and interpretations of the past, contemporary archaeology creates contemporary meaning, thereby existing as an active agent of interpretation. By engaging context, every distortion formulates new responses, where "with each new generation of distortion, the trace of the previous ideal remains, producing a convoluted archaeology, a history of successive idealisations and distortions" (Tschumi 1988:92). Thus, new meanings are dependent on that which is previously constructed.

CONCLUSION

From the preceding research, it is evident that two residual processes inform each other and thrive in tandem: architecture exists in the memorial archive of the mind, whilst memory exists in the archive of the built environment. Both the mind and the built environment are sites that simultaneously deal with the “complex interlinkage of reality and fantasy in representation and interpretation: the balance between reproduction and representation, or fact and interpretation, or recollection and understanding” (Antze 1996:xxvii).

The capacity to constitute the city, its history and memory results in the permanence of a monument or memorial. Apart from merely reflecting what is memorialised, a myriad of symbols is added to the landscape as mnemonic devices intended to commemorate and stir memory. However, as argued by Jencks, the paradox of deconstruction is the creation of “the most individual symbolism possible, where only the author has the authority to tell you what it means, [making] this ultra-poetic use of language virtually private and therefore authoritarian” (Jencks 1988:22). The approach to architectural language should, however, allow for the literal to meet the figurative opening it to various interpretations. It thereby becomes more public, where the reading of the cityscape as text through figural and interpretative ways includes both functional and figurative terms. Memorials should, therefore, exist symbolically as well as physically within a context, differentiated and valued as places of symbolic function (related to time and form) as well as physical conventional function (only related to use).

Hence, in order to achieve meaning in a contemporary context, a memorial should not preclude aspects of use, but rather incorporate and celebrate them. In this way, more rewarding spatial relationships may be achieved, which users can relate to easier, thereby merging both the commemorative and general life of the urban realm. As supported by professor in urbanism, Christine Boyer, “the city of collective memory should entail a continuous urban topography, a spatial structure that covers rich and poor places, honorific and humble monuments, permanent and ephemeral forms, and should include places for public assemblage and public debate, as well as private memory walks and personal retreats” (Boyer 1996:9). Thus, memorialisation extends beyond purely commemorating specific events and people, to the creation of places for everyday occupation and interpretation thereby making them living memorials.

In Nora's theory of *lieux de memoire* (Crimson 1995:50), remembrance within such

environments is, therefore, constantly shifting and altering, thereby not existing as a static representation of history. By defining city structure and acknowledging memory, architecture conveys civic vision and spirit through these public spaces and monuments. Hence, the processes of projection form the basis of architecture and politics. This is attributed to political values being projected onto an edifice in order to imply that the views are part of the structure. Architecture, therefore, plays an important role in national identity, which is founded in mirroring views and values assigned to the surrounding structures. Certain buildings become vehicles to symbolise a city or nation, whilst other more common structures embody the familiar native soil. The modification of the original subjects of the city and the creation of new structures render character and development, and reflect the values and vision of the ruling classes. Thus, civic architecture legitimises state interventions and assists in the remembrance by their inscription in these artifacts, thereby transferring meaning and knowledge across generations.

3.0 BACKGROUND - APARTHEID

In order to analyse South African architecture that commemorates the liberation struggle, the historic background of the country's current context must be understood, which entails the recognition of apartheid and its impact on South African society. This chapter examines apartheid policies, implementation, manifestations and circumstances – which extends from the implementation of apartheid policy in 1948 to the achievement of democracy in 1994.

The policy of apartheid became an ideology, which underpinned its legal framework, in order to express what apartheid was and its intended purpose. It entailed the passing of laws to reinforce apartheid and the government's powers against resistance.

The subsequent phased implementation of apartheid focused on the social engineering and engagement of society, of which spatial manifestations in terms of architectural and town-planning factors played a major role. It, therefore, pervaded every aspect of society including housing, labour, recreation and education.

The circumstances of apartheid are studied by recognising key events of struggle and conflict during the period of apartheid. Those who resisted apartheid dealt with arrest, police brutality, banning orders, and imprisonment. However, these circumstances contributed to the abolishment of apartheid, the country's liberation and the acknowledgement of apartheid thereafter.

POLICY

The word 'apartheid' became common use when the National Party came into power in 1948 "to denote a systematic policy of differentiation between racial groups" (Kahn 1970:472). The importance of "race purity" (Omer-Cooper 1994:196) was fundamental to the theory of apartheid, as well as the separate political development of the different races. Apartheid was intended, by its founders, to serve in the *advancement of South Africa's several racial groups through segregation at all levels, which included social, political, economic, biological, cultural and territorial through a system of parallel development* (Kahn 1970:472).

The intended purpose, which resulted in the approach of separate development being

adopted, was based on the fear that the “Bantu race, being the largest, will assert dominance, no matter what constitutional safe-guards or guarantees there be, and ultimately the Whites will lose their collective identity and be absorbed” (Kahn 1970:473). The existence of the European culture was, therefore, deemed to be at stake, prompting the need for measures to be taken in order to achieve a non-integrated “racially segregated and stratified” society (Omer-Cooper 1994:193), with whites being at the highest strata. Whilst protecting their own culture, dominance was to be asserted to hinder the advancement and aspirations of other groups.

Hence, the founders believed that the implementation and subsequent impact of apartheid was justified, and that “any large exercise in social change and adjustment must cause temporary hardship and perhaps injustice, but a dynamic policy of separate development, which means uplift, not disregard or rejection, will ultimately produce just order for all social groups” (Kahn 1970:485). Conversely, the National Party government’s reorganisation of society, through the programme of apartheid, caused massive suffering and vast disruption of lives.

PHASES

As recognised by Omer-Cooper, the implementation, rise and fall of apartheid is characterised by distinct three phases. These phases may be defined as *baaskap apartheid*, *separate development* and *the final phase* (Omer-Cooper 1994:193), of which the latter led to the collapse of apartheid in 1994. The phases are summarised briefly below as an introduction to their elaboration that follows.

Commencing in 1948 and reaching its peak in 1961, the first phase of “classical or baaskap (white supremacy) apartheid” (Omer-Cooper 1994:193) determined the period in which the original ideas of apartheid were legislated. It was highlighted by South Africa being transformed into a republic dominated by white Afrikaner-rule. Apart from establishing the legal framework of apartheid, the impact of this first phase on non-white South Africans prompted black-led opposition, mass defiance campaigns, the establishment of the Freedom Charter, black protest and resistance, the Sharpeville massacre and armed struggle.

The second phase of ‘separate development’ evolved as a result of “changes in the South African economy and its market” (Omer-Cooper 1994:193) and continued until 1974. It marked a new policy for the black reserves or homelands, the execution of forced

removals and labour controls, the stimulation of black opposition as well as the uprising of Soweto.

However, the pressure of changes in South Africa led to the beginning of the final phase of apartheid. This phase saw the departure from previous policies and the adoption of new ones, including changes in policy towards urbanised Africans and the suppression of the townships, which was marred by black opposition and militarisation. Stemming from widespread township and inter-African political violence and significant guerrilla activity, considerable changes at a political level were required. The abandonment of apartheid was hastened by the introduction of a tricameral parliament in 1984 (Omer-Cooper 1994:193), which inspired the development of the country towards a new constitution and democracy in 1994.

BAASKAP APARTHEID (1948-1961)

Spanning between the election victory of the National Party government and the Sharpeville massacre, as well as the banning of liberation movements, this period of *baaskap apartheid* marked the systemic instillation and rigid implementation of segregationist apartheid laws and policies, which provoked resistance and rising conflict between government and liberation struggle groups.

However, laws and policies of segregation existed prior to 1948, which controlled the town, economic and social interactions of races in order to ensure racial segregation in terms of the 1913 and 1936 Native Land Acts, and 1923 Natives Urban Areas Act (Nuttal 1998:57) – which portioned reserves for the black population, “enforced residential segregation...[and required] towns to enforce that segregation” (Peters 2004:537). The social engineering of society through interrelated laws was designed in the interests and of the white population, initially aimed especially at the Afrikaners, from whom main support was derived.

LEGAL FRAMEWORK

Thus, based on these laws and “Afrikaner nationalist ideals” (Omer-Cooper 1994:193), the legal framework of *baaskap apartheid* included laws of racial classification ie. 1950 Population Registration Act and 1953 Reservation of Separate Amenities Act as well as racial zoning, urban removals, and controls over black labour ie. 1950 Group Areas Act; 1952 Natives Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Passes Act; the 1953 Bantu

Resettlement Act (Kahn 1970:478) and the 1953 Native Laws Amendment Act (Omer-Cooper 1994:200).

The above-mentioned legislations most affected urban planning and architecture by detailing race classification, the separation of population groups to regions and residential areas, and the “extended segregation to any premises, transport, ‘benches, counters, or other amenity or contrivance’”(Peters 2004:538), thereby posing functional planning challenges, especially with regard to public architecture.

The Population Registration Act was passed in order to achieve racial separation and entailed the provision of race classification registration that required every South African to carry documentation specifying their race category (Omer-Cooper 1994:196).

Further to this, the Natives Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Passes Act was introduced to control black migrant labour, and allow white farmers to control black labour. “Under this system no African could leave a rural area for a town without permit from the authorities in his local area, and on arrival in the town he was obliged to acquire a permit to seek work within seventy-two hours” (Omer-Cooper 1994:197).

Stricter racial segregationist policies were enforced by the Group Areas Act, which entailed the separate demarcation of land reservations for particular race groups. It was aimed at the “division of the country into areas for the exclusive occupation, and to a certain extent, ownership of different racial groups”(Kahn 1970:478). Property was to be disposed of should a member of another race group reside or trade in an area proclaimed under the Act, and move to their prescribed racial area.

The inherent belief in racial inequality was exhibited by the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, which specified the use of separate amenities and the provision of unequal facilities to different races. It permitted the full or partial reservation of premises (ie hospitals, schools, places of entertainment, libraries, parks, beaches, government courts) and vehicles for particular races. “It was in this general area that apartheid in its first phase was taken to the most extreme, even absurd lengths” (Omer-Cooper 1994:200).

The law was extended to the Native Laws Amendment Act that enforced the prohibition of social and cultural events in public buildings in white areas if they were attended by blacks. This was also intended to deny blacks “the rights of permanent residence and property ownership outside the reserves” (Omer-Cooper 1994:196), which were portions

of land reserved for blacks under the 1923 Natives Urban Areas Act. Hence, previous urban legislation laws were reinforced by the Native Laws Amendment Act to control and restrict the movement of blacks into urban areas by further limiting their rights to permanent residency in these regions.

To curtail the influx of Africans into urban areas as well as to promote their removal and relocation from such areas, and Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Acts were passed, - under the guise of granting Africans “various forms of self-government and the economic advancement of their own areas” (Kahn 1970:481) - inherent with the Bantu Resettlement Act, which granted reserves to Africans in order to deny them South African citizenship and residency and to “entrench separate black tribal ethnicities” (Peters 2004:538). The Bantu Authorities Act made the apartheid ideal of separate political development a reality, by providing for the establishment of local authorities in the reserves under white control. Due to the prohibition of blacks in national politics, the reserve areas were intended to allow each ethnic group limited political expression “in accordance with its own traditions” (Omer-Cooper 1994:200).

The introduction and implementation of apartheid significantly improved the living standards of white South Africans, leaving Africans, Coloured and Indians to “live in artificially induced poverty and squalor” (Omer-Cooper 1994:202). Hence, the establishment of mass defiance movements was reinforced, by growing political consciousness, to oppose the discrimination against prejudiced groups. Defiance by opposition campaigns was approached via peaceful means. However, continued rejection by the state later forced the opposition into pursuing a militant wing in order to “force the white population to recognise the need for change” (Omer-Cooper 1994:210).

FREEDOM CHARTER

Failing to achieve any initial compromise from the state, the mass defiance campaign’s participatory support declined, and the campaign collapsed. However, the Congress of the People met on a soccer field at Kliptown in 1955 (Fig. 3.1) to approve and adopt the Freedom Charter, “which pronounced that South Africa belonged to all its inhabitants and called for a non-racial democracy, the removal of all discriminatory legislation, and equal opportunities in education and work for persons of all races. It also called for the nationalisation of the banks, mines and heavy industry and the redistribution of land” (Omer Cooper 1994:207).

The government reacted drastically to this “manifesto of the Struggle” (Harrison 2004:34) by raiding the residences of leading participants, and arresting and charging them with treason. Although the accused were finally acquitted at the Treason Trial, which lasted five years, it resulted in the liberation movements being drained of resources (Harrison 2004:13).

The meeting on 25 June 1955 “was the largest and most important multiracial gathering ever held in South Africa, and the Charter was arguably the most politically significant document ever produced in the country.... as it expressed the first real vision of a non-racial, apartheid-free South Africa” (Harrison 2004:13). Almost forty years later, the Charter resulted in South Africa’s first democratic elections as well as the adoption of the New Constitution, which is based on the principles of the Freedom Charter.



Fig.3.1 Freedom Charter gathering
(<http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/governance-projects/freedom-charter/graphics/iptown.jpg>)



Fig.3.2 Sharpeville massacre
(<http://www.sedibeng.gov.za/Pics/sville/sharpeville.jpg>)

SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE

A mass anti-pass laws campaign was launched on 21 March 1960 at Sharpeville, which is a township planned in the 1940s as a “model township” (Harrison 2004:62) to house a relocated informal settlement that developed outside Vereeniging in the 1920s. Of the crowd that gathered outside the Sharpeville police station, “some had come without their passbooks intending to court arrest. Others had the impression that an important announcement about the pass laws was about to be made” (Omer-Cooper 1994:209).

The breakout of a scuffle caused panic amidst the police who opened fire into the unarmed crowd. The police continued to fire into the fleeing crowd (Fig. 3.2), killing 69

black South Africans and wounding 186 others, in the “defining moment in the country’s history” (Harrison 2004:62). Similar outbreaks of police violence took place in Durban and Cape Town later that day.

The Sharpeville massacre on 21 March 1960 provoked unrest that spread to other townships across the country, which resulted in the outbreak of panic in white communities and the belief of liberation in black communities. Due to this, the government declared a State of Emergency and banned liberation movements in an attempt to regain control, which forced the movements underground and the leaders into exile. This, however, led to armed struggle.

The massacre also stimulated massive worldwide protest, highlighting a major turning point in international attitudes, especially regarding the condemnation of South African policies. “In 1966 the United Nations proclaimed 21 March the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (Harrison 2004:62). The anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre is celebrated as Human Rights Day on 21 March in post-apartheid South Africa.

The massacre marked the transition of *baaskap apartheid* to *separate development*.

SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT (1961-1984)

Due to underground internal and exiled resistance movements, the National government was able to implement Grand Apartheid due to the opposition that was suppressed. The government’s rise to the height of its strengthened power was also attributed to its use of “force and violence rather than political legitimacy” (Nuttal 1998:4).

However, the previous outbreaks of violence across the country (in both rural and urban areas), as well as the local and international response to the Sharpeville massacre, changed South Africa’s economic situation. This provoked fiercer opposition, as well as the “government’s desire to find some new way of diverting African political aspirations away from the key issue of control of the South African economic heartland” (Omer-Cooper 1994:212). South Africa’s image, as viewed internationally, was under threat due to the negative connotations of ‘apartheid’. Hence, “the word ‘apartheid’, which had acquired a bad image in the world at large, was increasingly replaced by the term ‘separate development’ “(Omer-Cooper 1994:213) in order for South Africa to re-represent itself to the international society.

A further attempt of re-representation was extended to the native reserves, which were renamed Bantustans and involved the division of South Africa into a white state with numerous black states. This implied that the full development of Bantustans into states would be permitted, which resulted in their transformation into “fully independent nations and members of the United Nations” (Omer-Cooper 1994:212).

This was vital to the strategy enforced by the government, as it denoted a significant change in apartheid’s basic principles. The ideology of different races having different potentials, which encouraged the advancement of the white race alone and the limited blacks to the expression of their tribal culture only, was abandoned to adopt the new strategic policy. “Instead of a system of increased segregation and discrimination, apartheid was to be presented as a system of internal decolonisation” (Omer-Cooper 1994:212), which discriminated against blacks due their citizenship to separate states, as opposed to blacks being openly discriminated against on racial grounds within the South African heartland.

FORCED REMOVALS - SOPHIATOWN

“Representations of city space under apartheid were profoundly shaped by imagery on the dangers of impurity and contamination.... Apartheid ideologies and policy-makers were especially wary of the urban ‘ethnic melting pot’” (Robins 1998:458) and sought to enforce separation, especially in cities, where vast numbers of diverse people cohabitated.

Defiance and resistance emerged out of “para-cities” (Herwitz 1998:418) like District Six, Cato Manor and Sophiatown (in Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg respectively) because of the hybridised identities that gestated in such areas. To prevent this, the state developed laws such as the Slum Clearance Act and the Group Areas Act, in order to achieve the segregation of races. In the name of urban planning, apartheid involved the destruction of cities and the disruption of communities through the construction of inefficient, inadequate pre-planned townships. People were forcibly removed from their communities and their “homes were bulldozed, leaving only churches and mosques standing among the rubble and empty desolation of the once colourful and lively community” (Omer-Cooper 1994:199).

The government’s Slum Clearance Act justified the forced removal and demolition of multiracial neighbourhoods, such as District Six, Cato Manor and Sophiatown. A “house

was declared a slum because it had been built before 1920 and was not constructed of brick and mortar.... Where for legal reasons an abode could not be declared a slum dwelling, or where no alternative housing was provided, pressure was applied by destroying all the local amenities – cinemas, schools, clinics, recreation centres, sports fields” (Dangor 1998:360).

To follow the policy of racial segregation in terms of the Group Areas Act, the state systemised the segregationist planning of the townships and a programme of mass housing construction in the 1950s, to accommodate the separation of racial groups into dormitory townships (such as Soweto in Johannesburg and KwaMashu in Durban) that were built at considerable distances from the cities. Entailing the forced removal (Fig. 3.3) and resettlement of over 2.5 million people, it was one of the “most pernicious aspects of apartheid of the ‘grand’ kind” (Harrison 2004:15).

The distant location of the townships from the cities impacted on inhabitants by imposing burdens of heavy transport costs to commute to and from work, the distance between traders and the main shopping districts, as well as the break-down of family networks. “In the new, racial group areas to which people were relocated, social amenities were concentrated at central points. These became the nerve centres of the separate local governments. Euphemistically called ‘community centres’, they housed the bureaucrats who controlled the lives of local residents, determining who was ‘legal’ and who was not” (Dangor 1998:360).



Fig.3.3 Forced removals
(http://www.cathca.co.za/images/Forced_removals.jpg)



Fig.3.4 Apartheid semi-detached housing (Japha 1998:434)

The townships housed uniform *state-built NE51/6* (Frescura nd:17) and similar abodes constructed to a National Housing Standard pattern (Fig. 3.4). They were designed on a “space-to-occupation formula” (Dangor 1998:360), which intended to control the separation of sexes and the density of occupation to a maximum number per room. “In later years, bathrooms and kitchens were counted as ‘rooms’ to obscure the fact that the actual occupation in most township houses exceeded the legal limit” (Dangor 1998:360).

Inclusive of settlements across the country, Soweto was one of the major results of this segregation process. The “number of long-established African settlements in Johannesburg were then destroyed and their inhabitants forcibly shifted to new government-built townships, which came to form part of the huge complex to the south-west of Johannesburg” (Omer-Cooper 1994:198). The name Soweto was only adopted in 1963 (as an acronym for South West Townships).

The vast concentration of African people was moved to an area originally established at Klipspruit. It was here that authorities relocated inhabitants from the inner city due to an outbreak of the bubonic plague in 1904 (Harrison 2004:34). “By the late 1950s about 10000 standard box-like houses had been produced each year” (Harrison 2004:35), culminating in the area being covered with a large township complex in the early 1960s. Soweto grew immensely during the 1970s as an agglomeration of townships that comprised single-sex hostels and identical homes that “housed fully one half of the South Africa’s urban black population” (Harrison 2004:34).

Though, it may be argued that “the standard of housing was on the whole rather better than in the slums and shantytowns that were destroyed, the new settlements were soulless agglomerations of standard housing units set out in rigid geometrical patterns” (Omer-Cooper 1994:198) as compared to the dynamism of community settlements like Sophiatown. Although it was never intended for occupation by Africans, Sophiatown was not favoured for white occupation due to its location near a municipal refuse dump. Hence, “an opportunity emerged for Africans, and also for a minority of Indians, Coloureds and Chinese, to own land and take tenants” (Harrison 2004:47).

Initially noted as a place of poverty and crime, Sophiatown emerged as an urbanised centre of cultural, political and intellectual life, in which the “forums of the Sophiatown era – most notably the equally famous *Drum* magazine...– were themselves places where the constructed and divided ‘races’ of apartheid mingled and melded” (Herwitz 1998:418), which contributed to growing apartheid resistance. Neighbouring white working-class

suburb residents roused for the removal of the occupants of the adjoining Sophiatown. Due to their agitation and the emerging “racially mixed conglomeration of people” (Herwitz 1998:418) that populated Sophiatown the state vigorously planned for the removal and relocation of its inhabitants. The entire process would last a decade.

The state announced plans of the relocation in 1953, began construction of houses in Meadowlands in 1954, and completed the removals and demolition of Sophiatown in 1963 (Harrison 2004:48). “The final insult to the memory of Sophiatown was the construction of an Afrikaner working class suburb, cynically named Triomf (‘triumph’), on the rubble of the demolished homes” (Harrison 2004:48).

SOWETO UPRISING

Opposition began to resurface in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and the South African Students’ Movement (SASM) was founded in 1970 to “mobilise opposition to ‘Bantu education’” (Harrison 2004:35), which was an educational system designed to provide black people with skills to serve in the Bantustans as well as to perform labour tasks required by whites. “The theory of apartheid, with its doctrine that different races should develop along different lines in accordance with their inherent cultural propensities, implies that different races require different types of education...to prevent Africans being given an education which would lead them to aspire to positions which they would not be allowed to hold in white society“(Omer-Cooper 1994:201).

However, conflict sparked in 1976, when the government focused on the enforcement of plans for the teaching of Afrikaans to students as a compulsory “key medium of instruction through which they would have to learn other key subjects like mathematics [which] seemed an intolerable, artificial obstacle to their struggle for advancement“(Omer-Cooper 1994:226). Opposed to adopting “the language of the enemy” (Harrison 2004:15), the youth staged a protest for 16 June 1976, which entailed the gathering of students at various Soweto schools in preparation of mass demonstration marches that would eventually converge in Orlando Stadium (Harrison 2004:35).

However, the demonstration turned violent when police confronted protestors, throwing teargas into the crowd, and shooting an unarmed 13-year-old child, Hector Pieterse, killing him (Figs. 3.5 and 3.6). The streets were turned into battlegrounds that sparked the spread of violence to townships across the country. “During the course of the conflict 575 people were killed and 2380 injured” (Harrison 2004:15). Again, the state responded by

banning political opposition.

The June 1976 Soweto students' uprising was one of the largest racial violence outbreaks in South Africa, and "assured the sprawling township a prominent place in the lexicon of resistance in South Africa and internationally" (Harrison 2004:36). It may be argued that the uprising may have marked "the beginning of the end of apartheid" (Harrison 2004:34) as young urbanised black South Africans emerged as a leading political force that strongly challenged the state. Although Afrikaans as the language of education triggered the demonstrations, "the uprisings were actually about apartheid oppression" (du Preez 2002:28), which led to the strengthening of resistance and liberation movements, resulting in settlement talks and the democratic elections.

16 June 1976 is now commemorated as Youth Day, in order to remember the youth who participated in the country's liberation. Hector Pieterse's photograph remains one of the most powerful reminders and symbols of the struggle.



Fig.3.5 Soweto uprising (http://www.ligali.org/images/african_resistance_soweto_uprising.jpg)



Fig.3.6 Hector Pieterse (<http://www.south-africa-tours-and-travel.com>)

FINAL PHASE (1985 - 1994)

The events of the Soweto uprising renewed the opposition movements' strength in the fight for liberation, which led to significant changes in South Africa's political situation due to widespread internal and external resistance that plagued the government in the early

1980s. In addition to growing resistance, the transition from the policy of 'separate development' to the 'final phase' of apartheid was marked by changes in the South African economy, which led to "multiracial co-option"(Omer-Cooper 1994:223).

This stemmed from the government's recognition and acceptance of its dependence on the black workforce in terms of the economy. The need to forge new relationships with black, Indian and Coloured people implied "the abandonment of one the basic principles of baaskap apartheid and separate development" (Omer-Cooper 1994:224), which impacted on further policy changes.

These policy changes, however, did not apply to the homelands. The government maintained that black political expression would still be limited to these states. This, in addition to the economic decline of the country, led to a massive wave of violence across the townships, which resulted in a State of Emergency. However, the State of Emergency did not contribute to making the townships more governable. Internal and external pressure on the state mounted, due to brutal repression, the economy in crisis and the boldness of the opposition movements. Hence, the collapse of apartheid was brought about as the outcome of these events, which created prospects for a political settlement.

NEW CONSTITUTION

In 1990 the government took an historic step in the dismantling of apartheid by announcing the release of Nelson Mandela from imprisonment and the unbanning of the liberation movements, as well as beginning political negotiations to develop a new constitution. But the anticipation of political liberation did not imply the end of violence – township brutality continued amidst intensified fears and hostility by white extremists.

However, procedures for the adoption of the new constitution continued, and were initiated by multi-racial party conferences (Figs. 3.7 and 3.8). The negotiations led to the first democratic elections in April 1994 and the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as the first president of post-apartheid South Africa in May 1994 (Harrison 2004:19). The assignment of reconstruction and development began thereafter, which obliged the country to come to terms with the past by confronting it. "The Promotion of National Unity and National Reconciliation Bill (1995) was signed into law to establish the truth and lay the basis for genuine reconciliation by granting amnesty to those who make full disclosure of gross human rights abuses committed between 1 March 1960 and 20 May 1994" (Peters 2004:545).

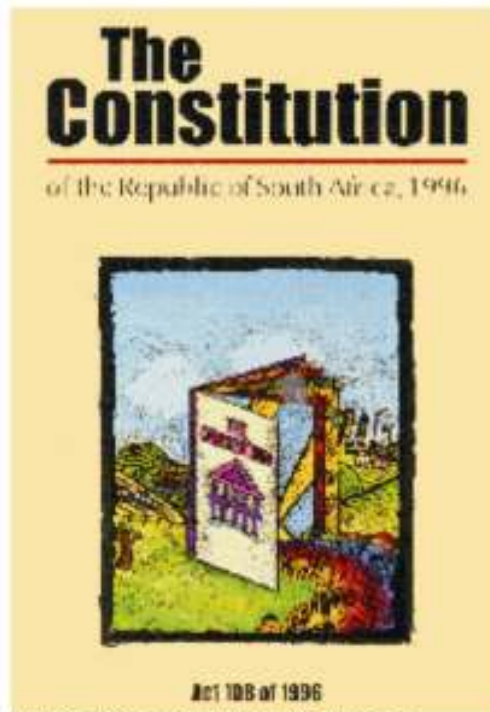


Fig.3.7 The New Constitution of South Africa
<http://www.environment.gov.za/soemsoer/Graphics/nationalconstitution.jpg>



Fig.3.8 Signing of the New Constitution
<http://www.sedibeng.gov.za/Pics/sville/madiba.jpg>

CONCLUSION

Apartheid was a slow but deliberate social engineering process that systematically controlled the lives of people by taking away their liberty, exploiting and oppressing them (Fig. 3.9). Entailing the passing of laws to reinforce government's powers, apartheid pervaded every aspect of society including housing, labour, recreation and education through the segregation of races and the separation of facilities. Resistance against apartheid and the struggle for liberty led to violence, bloodshed and the exile of many people (Fig. 3.10).

Apartheid's grand plan has been most effectively realised and maintained by spatial constructs, through its assertion of power and repression on the state in terms of the administration of people and space. Apartheid legislation on town planning characterises the current patterns of South African post-apartheid space due to the structured formal organisation of the apartheid city. Thus, the spatial phenomenon has extended its legacy into South Africa's present democratic landscape, which has borne the physical manifestations of apartheid's socio-political control.

The adoption of an anti-city notion of centre and periphery led to the modernist mono-functional separation of areas and activities, resulting in urban sprawl, increased commuting distances and limited resources. The areas have been buffered by engineered urban spaces that have inhibited public gathering space, unrestricted access and incremental growth. Large tracts of open land, natural features, industrial belts and road networks have typified these buffers.

The buffered zones segregated ethnic groups housed in separate areas with controlled infrastructure for the different races. As the result of forced removals and the relocation of black people into townships, the fabric of communities was disrupted. The black population had been accommodated in blankets of monotonous housing stands (Fig. 3.11) devoid of community and social infrastructure. Thus, these dormitory cities comprised an abnormal distribution of urban amenities, facilities and services.

The distribution of these functions favoured the white group areas, whilst the black townships have been either severely deprived of these provisions or endure a sparse distribution of them. The provision of public gathering space was also undesirable, limited and sanitised due to the division and regulation of people and their activities. Spatial representation was one of purposeful exclusion in order to *eradicate the possible cultivation of any public discourse through the shared use of public space and institutions* (Herwitz 1998:412).

Other markings of socio-spatial atrocities include the dependence of black people on transit systems in order to carry them from their residential peripheries into the commercial centres of employment. The aims of segregation were thereby supported by the individually immobile black population's dependence on expensive mass transport systems to cross the racial and functional boundaries to access urban functions. A structuring factor of these townships was the street planning that limited access points and assisted in the military control of the settlements. As a result of apartheid liabilities, the politicised notion of streets and roads have been simultaneous "symbols of oppression and resistance" between the apartheid dictatorship and the liberation fighters (Bremner 2004:108).

Many in the architectural profession had participated in apartheid's systematic tyranny through the utilization of architecture and town-planning as instruments in the processes of apartheid. By analysing the country's existing spatial context and implementing solutions for such conditions, the profession indirectly supported the ideology of the

regime.

Hence, to address these past atrocities and establish future democratic objectives, the “obligations by the profession to reconstruct should be derived from a moral basis for promoting universal design that is non-discriminatory, regardless of age, ability, economic status, race, religion, and gender.” (Peters 2004:545). It is vital that whilst this reconstruction should include spatial and communicative processes, meaningful approaches should also comprise nation-building and the commemoration of the struggle for future generations. This is critical to ensure that the struggle for liberation is never forgotten and the atrocities of apartheid are never repeated.

Thus, the understanding of the liberation struggle is necessary to do so. Based on the examination of apartheid in this chapter, the struggle for liberation may, therefore, be categorised into ideology (in terms of apartheid policies); events (in relation to the mass clearance, relocation and the massacre of people); and people (who were defiant and resisted apartheid – many of whom were sacrificed in the struggle for liberation). This categorisation will later also assist in the selection and analysis of the case studies in order to assess how successfully the architectural profession is addressing and restituting the scars of the apartheid past, memorialising for the future, and contributing to nation-building.



Fig.3.9 Segregation and exclusion
(<http://www.popicks.com/images/apartheid.jpg>)



Fig.3.10 Brutality
(<http://www.media.npr.org/programs/atc/features.jpg>)



Fig.3.11 Spatial manipulation (Japha 1998:433)

By establishing the broad framework of the ideology of apartheid segregation that was materialised by spatial planning, this chapter contextualises the chapter that follows in order to understand the nascent of South Africa's post-apartheid memorial landscape.

4.0 CURRENT CONTEXT - DEMOCRACY

The imposed totalitarian apartheid doctrine, which resulted in the creation of a prejudiced and oppressive society, called upon built environment professionals to carry out the work of injustice via the physical manifestation and implementation of segregationist and discriminatory apartheid ideology. These scars of apartheid planning elements, which have been imprinted into the South African built environment, may never be completely obliterated from the urban fabric. Thus, memorial interventions will encompass these inscriptions, allowing for simultaneous readings of past and present within the socio-political spatial landscape.

Presently, via a government committed to democracy and empowerment, victims of past atrocities are entitled to reparation for the suffering inflicted upon them. The South African model for confronting the past, therefore, relies on notions of “truth, peace, democratisation and economic success that are linked and support each other” (Amadiume and An-Na'im 2000:5). It also includes an interdependent process of remembering and forgetting crucial to society's sense of continuity and the nation's restoration of unity in order to address the “disputed lines of inclusion and exclusion, solidarity and fracture” (Gready 2003:4). The collective task of nation-building, therefore, is based on the knowledge and acknowledgement of the past. In doing so, the corrective qualities of memory are summoned, which carry political expectations, to serve in the processes of reparation.

If transition in South African context is understood as a *change in political regime and culture towards a greater democratisation*, then the socio-political expectations relate to various forms of transformative delivery that entail a *layered and often fractured political and cultural reality* (Gready 2003:2). Thus, part of this process is expressed in a reinvented physical environment that aims to generate an improved quality of life. In order to meet these needs, the architectural profession is required to amend the structures of inequality inherited from the previous system by amalgamating them with present and future needs, possibilities and realities.

Drawing on the historic socio-political background of South Africa, this chapter analyses the approach to South African commemorative architecture in light of the psychological and physical constructs of memory explored in preceding chapters. By using the past as the basis for understanding the present, the built environment is identified as an

instrumental tool in the societal transformation of the South African nation, which has been marked by years of trauma. This chapter examines the memorialisation of trauma of the apartheid struggle; the social justice and healing process incited by the constitution and the Truth And Reconciliation Commission; the politics of memory and identity; and socio-political spatial transformation. It forms the foreground to the case studies that follow.

THE ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF TRAUMA

The traumatic period typified by the battle against apartheid, and its intense inequalities resulting from social and economic conflicts and divisions attributed to racial discrimination, is regarded as the struggle. Defined by The Shorter Oxford Dictionary, the word 'struggle' is the *continued effort to resist force or free oneself from constraint; to contend resolutely especially with an adversary superior power; to offer obstinate resistance; to make violent efforts to escape from constraint*. These characteristics epitomise the fight for liberation that consists of the people who fought for freedom through events in places that now signify democracy. It is this struggle that moulds South African heritage, and it is only through understanding and acknowledging the history of apartheid that the country's democratic post-apartheid identity may be shaped.

In relation to the struggle against the horrors of apartheid, it may be argued that one of the most common traumatic comparisons with apartheid is, perhaps, the holocaust. Although associations and parallels between these atrocities remain controversial, they are both "associated at some level with state terror and attempts to systematically destroy communities on the basis of racial or ethnic discrimination and for political ends" (Coombes 2003:69). Shared issues between holocaust commemoration and apartheid liberation struggle strategies lie in their destructive histories of dehumanisation, as well as the belief and triumph of humanity's ultimate goodness against all odds. By holding symbolic value for human rights, these principles now form the basis of experiential interventions located mostly at transitional sites.

Hence, contemporary interventions are perceived as memory stimuli, which pervade landscapes affected by the holocaust, where the "places, edifices and signs composing the urban environment are saturated with earlier associations and these act as a series of prompts to the present-day" (Crimson 2005:5). However, in places such as Berlin, these interventions are preceded by an extensive modernist culture and a past that includes the eradication of historical holocaust reminders via the application of

Vergangenheitsbewältigung, a German term meaning *to come to terms with* or *overcoming the past* (Crimson 2005:xix). It is through the application of this process that many reminders of unpleasant memories have been wiped away – especially when related to the destruction of the built structures that contributed extensively to the implementation and undertaking of the holocaust, such as that of railway stations, prisons and camps.

Thus, the history of overcoming the past via these urban implications has had an almost tabula rasa effect on the landscape, which has caused the few remaining mnemonic devices to be fragmentary in nature, thereby resulting in limited material remnants of this horrific period. Contemporary architectural application to these relics, as well as new interventions, now employ somatic representations in order to evoke feelings of discomfort “to signal how the horror of the holocaust defies description and narrative” (Coombes 2003:88). This is attributed to the holocaust presenting an “incomprehensible catastrophe that undermines the very possibility of coherent narrative” (Antze 1996:175), where even the survivors are perceived as unable to recount their experiences for fear of the pain that will be re-evoked due to the traumatic memories.

Therein lies the fundamental difference between society’s coming to terms with the holocaust and apartheid. The South African approach to healing is based primarily on oral testimony as an essential and direct bridging process to move victims from the “horrors of political oppression to the victory of surviving” (Coombes 2003:69). Hence, it is through this process that the trauma of apartheid is evoked in hope that South African society acknowledges and addresses the lessons of pain and suffering to ensure that the message of ‘never again’ is conveyed. It thereby lays the foundation for physical commemorative interventions, stimulated by attempts for reconciliation, renewal, and unification, where the “effectivity of the commemoration experience lies largely with the power of oral testimony and the notions of witnessing what both ‘survivors’ and ‘place’ in different ways, can offer” (Coombes 2003:88).

Thus, the purpose of recalling trauma is not just to describe events or experiences for factual record, but rather to also contribute to the formation of meaningful discourse. As stated by the late Minister Dullah Omar in 1994, *if the wounds of the past are to be healed, then disclosure of the truth and its acknowledgment are essential* (Morris 2004:277). Although these emotional legacies may lead to conflict and negotiation over identities and memories, and the apartheid markings that live on in the democratic South Africa will be carried forward in generations to follow, the commemoration of the traumatic

past needs to be documented and interpreted to facilitate necessary socio-political transformation (Figs. 4.1 and 4.2).



Fig.4.1 The Nelson Mandela Gateway to Robben Island Building symbolically bridges between the past and present, oppression and freedom (Low 2003:18)



Fig.4.2 The exhibition space acknowledges the past in the context of transformation (Low 2003:19)

SOCIAL JUSTICE AND CATHARSIS

The liberation struggle against the oppression of apartheid led to the country's negotiated political settlement. It has been described as an "historic bridge between the past of a deeply divided society characterised by strife, conflict, untold suffering and injustice, and a future founded on the recognition of human rights, democracy and peaceful co-existence and development opportunities for all South Africans, irrespective of colour, race, class, belief or sex" (Nuttall et al 2005:14). This vision, embodied in the new South African Constitution, represents a future of freedom and equality framed through significant references and traces of the past. Thus, memory has become a significant analytical tool in the creation of meanings that contribute to healing.

The historical context of the Constitution is captured by simultaneously inscribing fragments of the past in a vision for the future. It attempts to "remind the interpreter of the constitution of the unequal society that forms the backdrop to the text" (Fagan 2005:250) to ensure that the past is never forgotten. Thus, as an instrument of healing, the Constitution commemorates the failures of the past whilst celebrating its successes, thereby representing the transformation of the South African society. It is instrumental in "public acknowledgment, accountability, debate and ownership, and a combination of past- and future-related functions of memory" (Gready 2003:5), where society associates directly with the formation and functioning of constitutional processes.

The transition to reconciliation, however, is not achieved by the text of the Constitution alone. Supported by the Constitution, a linking process is required that has manifested as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) where memory and representation form

the basis of reconstruction. As a public forum necessary for the assembly of the truth about human rights infringements in order to offset the “lies that were associated with and produced by apartheid” (Nuttall et al 2005:3), the TRC began hearings of the victims of apartheid in 1996 (de Kok 2005:57). By provoking disturbing somatic memories based on mostly violent experiences of apartheid, the injuries of the past had been opened to scrutiny.

Because the *national government did not negotiate to the TRC’s blaming of the system on apartheid itself, which would have resulted in possible punishment*, the TRC has instead been perceived as a *process of reconciliation dependent on amnesty* (Amadiume and An-Na’im 2000:5). It, therefore, forms a contemporary cathartic platform through oral testimony, aimed at the “restoration of human and civil dignity, personal and national healing and with the creation of post-apartheid identities” (Gready 2003:18) in the hope of societal transformation. Via the power of oral testimony, the TRC has done *significant work in recording and publicising the stories and representing the memories of people who suffered horrendous human rights abuses and experienced pain, dislocation and dispersion* (Field 2001:12) due to apartheid laws and ideologies. Although the past is open to political contestation and various interpretations, via the exploration and acknowledgment of issues belonging to the previously oppressed and marginalised, the process of oral testimony has contributed to societal transition and development. Thus, memory is perceived as the basis of democracy in South Africa.

THE POLITICS OF MEMORY AND IDENTITY

The transcendence from the previous apartheid course of societal suppression to that of current democratic expression is a powerful one, where the shared social consciousness and legacy of the South African TRC narratives was concerned mainly with the politics of memory. The politics of memory is two things: *official or public memory that consists of policies of truth and justice in transition, as well as social memory that entails how a society interprets and appropriates the past in an ongoing attempt to mould its future* (Gready 2003:3). Thus, the reworking of memory and historical reproduction in South Africa, which is marked by remembrance through oral testimony, has facilitated the unearthing of submerged memory of traumatic experiences in a “relationship between individual testimony, evidence, and historical memory” (Minkley et al 2005:89).

As demonstrated by the TRC proceedings, individual memories shape collective remembrance. The latter consists of multiple memories laden with many meanings and,

therefore, requires a range of readings of texts for a variety of discourses and extents of versions. However, the collective meanings that are based on individual memories are required to interpret South Africa's traumatic past and legitimise historical details, where the delicate relation between individual and collective memory has contributed to attempts to reinterpret public memory (Figs. 4.3 and 4.4). The multiplicity of meanings associated with this process in South Africa's complex socio-political context, therefore, subjects texts to conflicts and brings to the fore debate and disputes about versions of commemoration.

And, just as *memory during transition is plural, so too is there a diversity of identity possibilities within a transitional context, thereby implicating memory and forgetting in identity formation at all layers/levels, and vice versa* (Gready 2003:5). The politics of memory is, therefore, significantly linked to the politics of identity, where the search for identity is also constituted of the socio-political uncertainties of insecurity, difference and discontinuity. Hence, transitional identity may be interpreted in a way that complements the dominant discourse in the field of nationalism, "by highlighting various trajectories of identity: the politics of victimhood, the link between identity and recognition/resources, between identity, recovery and action; interrelationships and divisions between individual, group and nation/state; identity as a reaction to another time and another place; lines of continuity as well as change, grand narratives alongside the everyday" (Gready 2003:5) (Fig. 4.5). These aspects are attributed to identities, whether individual or collective, being unfixed elements that shift over time.



Fig.4.3 Nelson Mandela Museum (Low 2003:14)



Fig.4.4 Individual participation contributes to collective identity (Low 2003:16)



Fig.4.5 Memorial intervention amidst everyday activities (Low 2003:14)

It may be argued, therefore, that the shifting nature of representation is expressed at a public level, where identity formation can replace one narrative of nationalism for another. The approach is substitutive rather than an additive – achieved through the "reworking and rescripting of individual testimonies of violence, where embodied personal memories of trauma are often erased and rewritten in the name of nationalism" (Robins 2005:123). Precedent of this is identified in Nazi totalitarianism, which resulted in the holocaust.

Similarly, the reshaping of South African history, based on colonial and Afrikaner nationalist consciousness, encompassed the suppression of large tracts of history

belonging to other societies in order to emphasise the dominant master narrative in support of apartheid ideology. The recasting of South African history to totalise apartheid nationalism, which is evidence that political identity of any era may be recast as dominant narrative. Equally, "it would be possible for the newly emerging post-apartheid memory conveniently to forget or underplay other events and characters in the overall narrative" (Brink 2005:37) in order to dislocate the traumatic apartheid version of South Africa's past.

So, although the activation of public memory is a tool to excavate the silences employed by the apartheid era (by being based heavily on the reflective capacity of recall) it may be argued that the various levels of memory and related instability make memory an unreliable instrument in the establishment of facts. This is attributed to the fragmentary and selective nature of memory, the continuous revision and degradation of memory over time, as well as the possible suppression of certain, especially traumatic, memories. And, just as certain levels of memory survive, so too do certain levels of forgetfulness exist. Based on the principle of amnesty, the TRC proceedings and confessions that stimulate remorse are meant to lead to forgiveness, which may sometimes lead to forgetting.

However, although it may be argued that the approach of the TRC contributes to subjectivity, political distortions, uneven remembrance and possible amnesia, it is important to note that "democratically forged collective memory can be an agent of inclusion and reconciliation" (Gready 2003:6), especially in the process of social transformation and nation-building. Hence, "in the interest of reconciliation and of building a truly inclusive democratic nation, the post-apartheid government took a policy decision to abstain from a radical iconoclastic onslaught on white heritage (Marschall 2006:4). By recasting individual memory and identity as collective post-apartheid narrative, the fragmented nature of silenced experiences of atrocities of the struggle form part of an inclusive process of coming to terms with South Africa's traumatic history.

SOCIO-POLITICAL SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION

The invocation of *sets of relations (including personal/public, history/story, and facts/fiction) predicated on memory* (Brink 2005:30) cannot be the sole method in the derivation of facts in the movement toward reconciliation (especially because of the diversity of available narratives and interpretations). Thus, the creation of a sanitised version of the past has not been the outcome of the TRC. By acknowledging the contaminated pieces of the past, the product of the TRC has resulted in a *patchwork* where "old scraps are put to new use in a larger whole" (Nuttall et al 2005:3) in order to

reconstitute the lives of a fractured society.

The South African socio-spatial discourse had been affected by the politics of apartheid in which the landscape bore the markings of a history of marginality related to perceptions of exclusion, boundaries, centre and periphery. These spatial manifestations, which manipulated architectural and town-planning factors, have been characterised by inefficient public spaces, amenities and facilities; linkage, accessibility and transit system associations; and illegible, sprawling dislocated communities. The notion that spaces symbolically reflect the relationship between a society and its political context is clearly evident by these characteristics in South Africa's landscape – these are primary characteristics that require restitution.

The contemporary built environment bears witness to the encapsulation of history and memory in the material expressions of transformation, where the concurrent existence of past and present is visibly apparent. Although the risks of the approach of the TRC were explored earlier, clear evidence of the notion of 'forgiving but not forgetting' is exemplified by the tangible manifestations of memory that have proliferated the South African landscape since the TRC hearings.

Public space is now being amalgamated into present democratic space via a new definition of place and occupation. Thus, the nature and quality of South African public space is changing, as it becomes the canvas onto which society freely projects both individual and collective identities onto the socio-political landscape. It is undergoing re-creation via the activation of spaces with life-supporting activities and enactments and "a chaotic informality that is distinctively South African" (Herwitz 1998:418). However, this articulation occurs in a context of extremes, which reflects current opportunities through the fulfilment of everyday requirements within a context marked with historical inadequacies and oppression.

Various forms public life have been incorporated into the previously controlled transit zones, which have been opened up to the uninhibited movement of people and activities over boundaries. Thus, previously disconnected spaces and experiences are acquiring new approaches to multiple uses and identities, as the activities associated with these systems and are now exploited for the delivery of basic amenities and commercial opportunities to those who commute or simply traverse these areas.

"The communities from which people were forcibly removed, and the places they were

moved to, are important sites of popular memory from the apartheid era” (Field 2001:119) because, as opposed to purely being sites of the occurrence historical events, these sites of memory are physical places where communities shared memories. Moulded around physical experiences of loss, they are reminders of the socio-spatial atrocities, as well as, more importantly, the sustained expression of community memory and collective identity. Although the lives of people were shattered by spatial dislocation and deprivation, “a sense of community belonging and identity has been kept alive through people’s memories of the time before forced removals” (Field 2001:117).

In order to accelerate the restitution process for victims of forced removals, the *Commission of Restitution of Land Rights (CRLR) was integrated into the Department of Land Affairs in 1999* (Field 2001:120). By facilitating the resolution of land claims, victims are entitled to their original land or financial compensation for their suffering. Political interventions such as this address the exploitative spatial practices of apartheid in the transition to democracy.

Also, prior to the actions of the CRLR, the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee (RRC) received a mandate from the *Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act No. 34 of 1995 to include a report on its work, as part of the Final Report of the TRC in 1998*, which presents policy recommendations that discuss the “need for reparation and the moral and legal obligation to meet the needs of victims of gross human rights violations” (Doxtader and Villa-Vicencio 2004:1). Symbolic reparation and legal and administrative measures are stated as *encompassing measures that facilitate the communal process of remembering and commemorating the pain and victories of the past. Such measures aim to restore the dignity of victims and survivors. Commemorative aspects include exhumations, tombstones, memorials or monuments, and the renaming of streets or public facilities* (Doxtader and Villa-Vicencio 2004:4).

Thus, in 1998, the Department of Arts and Culture set out to establish commemorative symbols in memory of the struggle against apartheid and the triumph of democracy, aiming to “capture, remember and celebrate South African history in its totality, emphasising those aspects of history that had thus far been deliberately neglected under the apartheid regime” (Vennard 2006:76). Taking cognisance of the TRC and the National Heritage Resources Act a trust and infrastructure as well as local, provincial, national and international participation were established to implement the main project in this regard, that being Freedom Park (Figs. 4.6, 4.7 and 4.8). Envisaged as an addition to the country’s national heritage sites, the *national memorial seeks to facilitate a communal*

process of commemorating the pain, and celebrating the victories of the past, by preserving the memories of victims, conflict and human rights abuses and honouring the victims, heroes and heroines of the struggle against apartheid (Fox 2004:265).



Fig.4.6 Freedom Park (Low 2008:23)



Fig.4.7 Section (Low 2008:22)



Fig.4.8 Plan (Low 2008:22)

Hence, the “socio-political and economic contours of post-apartheid South Africa are shaped, in significant respects, by the structuring of political spaces under apartheid” (Howarth et al 1998:6). Acknowledgment and forms of past representation in the present, therefore, insure against society forgetting the trauma of the country’s political oppression and violence as well as the resistance struggle against it, where history and experience contribute to the reconstruction of a nation. So, in a society shaped by historical form, socio-spatial remedies are required to remedy the legacy and horrors of apartheid by addressing sites of memory that reflect the principles of the new Constitution. This is based on the transformation of the urban fabric as well as the roles that related contributors play in creating the change from authoritarianism to democracy.

Although “space and transformation is an active condition that simultaneously responds to and describes the current political transition experienced in the country” (Low 2005:133), the temporal qualities of shifting political powers leave permanent spatial imprints on the landscape. Hence, the existing spatial configurations and preservation of public figures in the colonial cities, which the new South Africa inherited, epitomise prejudiced representations and a history of undemocratic exertions of power. However, although there has been a political exchange of one political condition for another, this substitution is not evident in the built environment, as existing past spatial manifestations have not been overwritten by new interventions to aid in the construction of new histories. Instead, memory and identity are rearranged accordingly to reveal the complex overlapping histories of place. Existing biased representations of apartheid have been juxtaposed with new heritage sites that commemorate those who have been previously marginalised. The identification of these newly recognized commemorative markers allows for the symbolic intersection of diverse historical perspectives in the consideration of present and future intentions, as well as becoming “one of the key strategies of public commemoration in

post-apartheid South Africa" (Marschall 2006:5).

Thus, contemporary post-apartheid architecture takes cognisance of the *physical remnants of the country's collective past, like authenticity, intactness, and stylistic purity* whilst finding ways to represent, reflect and celebrate the *intangible culture, memory, the hidden history, values, experience, the social and cultural fabric of communities* (Coombes 2003:123). Following years of modernist apartheid architecture, the social impact of current interventions is interrogated in the new context of political and economic freedom in order to demonstrate the new heritage and values of the country. This has resulted in a large-scale approach to transformation, where the revisiting of and reconciliation with the past are essential to create a new South African cultural landscape, in which the apartheid struggle's *personalities, heroes and events are given their rightful place in the country's consciousness* (Cooke 2006:5).

It is people's association with place and related material traces that triggers memory, which engages architecture in material-based approaches within historical contexts. The revelation of residual layers is brought to consciousness in order to recreate fragmented meanings. Thus, in order to establish significant presence on commemorative sites, memory is socially reconstructed and scripted into sites. This process reveals the multiple presences and histories of the place and people, where "memory, identity, space/place and voice are central to the vocabularies, politics and cultures of political transition, in which policy decisions in relation to justice, truth and reconciliation imply as well as create a value system for these terms" (Gready 2003:1).

Memory plays an important role in the creation of new forms and commemorative sites in the contested South African terrain, where by "renegotiating memory and place, material memory emerges as not only inscriptive, commemorative and monumental, but also fragmentary, embracing and intimately subjective" (Murray 2003:12). However, these approaches to commemoration are "double-edged with the potential to either fuel conflict or its resolution" (Gready 2003:11) as they bring to the fore debates about the denial and/or acknowledgement of certain histories. Although this confrontation of the past is required to inform the present, *the result becomes more complex and swollen with conflicting meanings as the present becomes markedly more diverse and heterogeneous* (Cooke 2003:1). And, in a context where space has different meanings for different societal groups, *the understanding of place is important in recasting and transforming meaning* (Hart 1990:261).

This is especially pertinent in the political context of a country that is reinventing itself, in which the changing politics of space in South Africa are linked to the transitional politics of memory and identity. Thus, in order to inform current architectural practice, which sets out to transform the South African landscape via new approaches, the *intersecting roles played by notions of race, memory and identity in architectural discourse* (Murray 2003:13) are continuously debated and negotiated in South African society. Although opening itself to contestation, the change in balance of political power is equated to the shifting nature of the country's history, which has undergone an incessant manufacturing process in order to fuel commemorative efforts to reflect a shared identity. The relocation of architecture in this malleable socio-political landscape has, therefore, engaged the revelation of the brutality of apartheid and the histories of those that were previously denied a past in the reconfiguration of urban space and its meanings.

Thus, the nature of buildings is changing in order to reflect the country's newly acquired distinguishable contextual identity, thereby foregrounding architecture as "a significant mode of national identity formation" (Bremner 2004:99). This local identity also includes a form of regionalism "sensitive to the local climate, topography and ecology, and the associated patterns of living, working and systems of value" (Cooke 2005:11) of a place. However, the establishment of a new local identity not only extends to meaningful place-making, or the upliftment and upgrade of banal apartheid townships via social initiatives. The struggle against apartheid is also seen as a *significant and attractive lens through which to view the past, resulting in its commodification in the South African heritage industry* (Nuttall 2005:10) and the packaging of buildings for tourist consumption.

This obsession with foreign investment may sometimes distort the aims of the commemorative efforts, thereby compromising the integrity and intent of the commemorative sites in order to take advantage of the money-spinning abilities of the commercialised tourist attractions. It can be argued that South Africa entered the global arena as a marketable post-apartheid utopian icon at a significant time by making the transition from racist dictatorship to negotiated democracy at the "end of the 20th century which realised the concretisation of the forces of globalisation, the influence of which is shaping a metaculture of world politics and economics" (Low 2005:133). Through the resultant sustained economic growth of marketable struggle symbols, "reconciliation has become our biggest cultural export" (Coombes 2003:68). It has positively benefited the building industry by stimulating feasible projects that vary in scale and nature, which are "globally aware and sophisticated, typically displaying a local interpretation of internationalist language" (Murray 2007:77), that are mostly funded by government capital.

The negotiation of the politics of memory in South Africa is aimed at keeping “the multiple versions of the past alive and not to privilege, as has so often been done, a few master narratives that offer a sense of unity at the cost of ignoring the fracture and dissonance” (Nuttall et al 2005:14). Hence, the pursuit of new political imperatives interwoven with the significant new approaches of architectural contributions has resulted in the proliferation of projects that are “spaces of reflection, articulation, engagement, and healing” (Gready 2003:10) initiated by both state and private sectors.

Thus, as demonstrated by government mandates and the construction of Freedom Park, the architectural discipline has been called upon to appropriately mark places of significance as reminders of the traumatic past as well as the freedom of democracy. The transforming spatial poetics in post-apartheid South Africa are, therefore, represented by new approaches to urban planning and architectural interventions. The interventions are envisaged to stimulate awareness and contribute to socio-spatial transformation by reshaping and rebuilding society. The built environment is, therefore, read as text that divulges and recounts the historical processes of the place to which it belongs via a new critical consciousness, because the “position, form, character, and indeed every aspect of buildings are profoundly related to the social, economic and political nature of the society that erected them” (Cooke 2003:1).

Architectural interventions are now positioned strategically at the core of “state-sponsored competitions, new government policies, globalisation, tourism, new modes of urban competitiveness and urban restructuring” (Bremner 2004:98). Various projects address forms of memory production in new spatial explorations that memorialise and give physical expression to apartheid struggle memory. New interventions deal with inherited past conditions and memories embedded in current spatial reality to achieve new meaning in the present. These are typified by memorial devices such as museums, monuments, memorials, re-use of apartheid sites, public sculptures, the marking of commemorative sites, urban regeneration projects, judiciaries, exhibitions, legacy projects, smaller interventions, as well as the development of socio-spatial programmes for community mobilisation.

The adequacy of these forms of representation as well as their appropriate expression is also debatable, in which the adaptability of existing sites and the catalytic processes of new interventions is of significance. Thus, following Rossi’s promotion of propelling permanences, new approaches to design may be more experimental and speculative,

where “designers might be given space to consider how their buildings and urban spaces might not work as intended or planned” (Murray 2007:77). For a direct contrast to this notion, consider the Voortrekker Monument by Gerard Moerdijk (Prussin 2007:13), which monumentalises the Battle of the Blood River. It is “too specific to be adapted to another more inclusive purpose, yet it represents a people defined and intimately connected to the land of South Africa” (Loebenberg 2004:96). By doing so, it stands as a beacon that rises above the city of Pretoria as an isolated pinnacle, symbolic of the previous dominance of the Afrikaner people.

However, it is in this “concentration of complex events into symbols” (Peters 2004:16) that the significance of memorialisation lies in order to engage society. Architects play a vital role in the literal and figurative representations of memory in order to guide the perceptions of a wide spectrum of people, in which the capturing of memory in both the object and text contributes to nation-building. The severe *abstraction of works may be inappropriate in the conceptual or actual embodiment of experience, although abstraction also serves as the focal point for enactments that are symbolic embodiments of the experience* (Coombes 2003:91). Hence, the ways in which visions, interpretations and memories are conveyed at individual and collective levels without being too literal or exploiting traditional iconography, impart symbolic meanings whilst engaging the ordinary and everyday.

CONCLUSION

Thus, living memory may be understood as the performance of everyday life in urban spaces that encourage the development of society through sites of memorial significance. It is a correlation between the representation and recall of the past as well as community participation in the present, whereby memory and reconciliation reconstruct the South African society that was repressed by apartheid.

Although the term ‘community’ is often misused due to its connotations with apartheid and its associations with townships, living memory uses the notion of community as an all-encompassing milieu synonymous with South African society as a whole. Communities are enabling instruments that assist in opposing conventional approaches to memorialisation through the understanding and contextualisation of socio-political memory in reconfigured space.

Living memory is evident in nodes of historical importance that traverse the containment

of memory, as well as the enhancement of opportunities for public culture and daily encounters, in projects that stimulate the emergence of transformative social spaces that evoke national consciousness. The constructs of post-apartheid socio-spatial landscapes are, therefore, based on the correlation of space and identity through living memory.

Thus, living memory includes the relative aspects of space and community, where the social mobilisation of communities is dependent on spatial constructs, and post-apartheid spatial reconfiguration through contemporary commemorative projects is dependent on communities.

5.0 CASE STUDIES

The case studies are selected within the Gauteng region (Fig. 5.0.1), as this is the major area where the maturation of the struggle for liberation unfolded. It is also where the most contemporary memorial devices are concentrated in one region, making the case study selection suitable for ease of accessibility, study and comparison. However, due to the struggle not being limited to one region only, this regional selection is intended as representative of struggle sites across the country, as the dysfunctional socio-spatial conditions inherited by the South African landscape are widely symptomatic.



Fig. 5.0.1 Map of South Africa showing Gauteng in relation to other regions

Fig. 5.0.2 Locality of case study projects in Gauteng:

- | | |
|-----|------------------------------------|
| 5.1 | Apartheid Museum |
| 5.2 | Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication |
| 5.3 | Sharpeville Memorial |
| 5.4 | Hector Pieterse Memorial Museum |
| 5.5 | Constitutional Hill |



The case studies are located in and around Johannesburg (Fig. 5.0.2), a region in which political, social, economic and spatial tensions converge as a result of South Africa's apartheid past. The region is characterised by a relatively unattractive physical landscape shaped by its gold mining industry; the vastness of bare veld; and scarred by the apartheid devices of inequality and division, which have resulted in the spatial ordering and lack of public space imprinted on large tracts of the landscape.

Through the acknowledgement of its distorted history, the Johannesburg region, like other regions across the country, is transforming itself by developing a respect for memory, which is turning the country's traumatic past into a celebratory present. Although vast differences in poverty and wealth still exist, these contorted juxtapositions contribute to the identity of the region and the country, which holds opportunities that satisfy basic human needs.

Architecture is a constructive device in this process, as it embraces potential keys to unlocking a progressive future for South African communities – in addition to stimulating a sustainable economy, it divulges historic trends, reveals meaning and holds promise by evoking memories and associations, thereby altering the face of the landscape that is now open to all.

The selection of the case studies is restricted to contemporary civic icons constructed during the period of South African democracy (1994 to present). They are intentional memorial interventions that have been specifically constructed to recall the country's struggle for the liberation from apartheid for generations to follow. The formation of these commemorative structures derives meaning from generally existing as contemporary recompositions of physical and symbolic historic fragments in current contexts.

Drawing from the previous chapter on South African background to establish the choice of case studies, the selection is based on three factors: ideology, events and people. The case study selection is arranged chronologically in terms of the unfolding of apartheid history. It uses apartheid ideology, events and the people of the liberation struggle, which includes that of the Freedom Charter; the Sharpeville massacre; the Soweto uprising; and the new South African constitution to inform the selection. Although forced removals were a major part of apartheid, no significantly scaled contemporary commemorative interventions have been made in the Gauteng region, which could be analysed.

Thus, five case studies have been selected, studied through primary and secondary research, and compared. As stated above, apartheid 'ideology' has informed the choices of the Apartheid Museum, and Constitutional Hill. 'Events' of apartheid struggle have informed the choices of the Hector Pieterse Museum and the Sharpeville Human Rights Precinct. 'People' have informed the choice of the Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication, although it also meets the factor of 'event'.

These commemorative case studies are compared under unified criteria in terms of their context and site status, inception, design, memory and symbolism, catalyst, and additional involvement by the architectural profession. The criteria utilise the research from the previous chapters in order to inform their findings. By assessing the sites of memory within this context, the significant role of the architectural discipline's contribution towards the formation and development of South African society is investigated.

5.1 APARTHEID MUSEUM - JOHANNESBURG

| | | |
|--------------|---|--|
| COMMEMORATES | - | Struggle against apartheid |
| PROJECT TYPE | - | Museum |
| CLIENT | - | Akani Egoli |
| ARCHITECT | - | Mashabane Rose Architects, Gapp Architects and Urban Designers, BritzRoodt Partnership, Linda Mavusi Architecture and Design |

CONTEXT AND SITE STATUS

Located along the mining belt of Johannesburg's southern suburbs, the Apartheid Museum is sited on land previously owned by a mining company. The site of the abandoned gold mine lies in the underdeveloped district between Soweto and the Johannesburg inner city, conveying the layering of South African social history through an intersection of mining and politics. However, although located near Soweto, the site has no direct connection with the township or other communities, and carries no significant markings or references to apartheid or the struggle against it.

The isolated position of the Apartheid Museum, immediately adjacent to the Gold Reef City theme park and casino complex, riddles it with irony and perhaps fallacy, making it a decontextualised monument positioned in an artificial surrounding. The highly controversial siting has been justified as being a "confrontation of past and present [that] serves to remind us that history is not that which is retrospectively written, but rather that which we construct on a daily basis" (Low 2005:136).

INCEPTION

In order to replenish the massive fissures in the urban landscape, the City of Johannesburg encouraged developers to utilise re-claimed expired mining land on the outskirts of the metropolis. This notion became an exchange requirement in exchange for assistance regarding the proposed casino development alongside the Gold Reef City entertainment theme park. Hence, the museum was the result of a social component in the bid to the Gauteng Gambling Board to secure the casino license in 1995 (Bremner 2004:10).

Developed as an R80-million (Findley 2004:28) private venture by the Krok brothers (owners and founders), the Apartheid Museum was initially conceptualised as an ethnic settlement. However, the notion of addressing the history of South Africa's people finally evolved into a museum modelled on the US Holocaust Museum in Washington DC, as it "provided a prototype of how architectural language might be deployed to create metaphoric spaces of oppression" (Findley 2004:27). Designed and constructed over 18 months, the building was "conceived as an incision into the wave shaped landscaped site, which measured 3.5 hectares" (Feireiss et al 2005:24) conceptualised by an architectural consortium, as well as a multi-disciplinary team of historians, curators and filmmakers.

DESIGN

Recognised for "utilising field|work to construct a landscape|urbanism" (sic) (Low 2005:136), the Apartheid Museum merges building and landscape in an attempt to create a continuum of movement between a fluid internal environment and a continually flowing external terrain (Fig. 5.1.1). This stimulates an experiential discourse for human interaction between the immediate museum exhibition, the surrounding mining context and the city of Johannesburg beyond.



Fig. 5.1.1 The building set amidst landscaped plains of veld grass (Low 2005:137)



Fig. 5.1.2 Interface with the carpark at entrance to the building (author 2006:27)



Fig. 5.1.3 Entrance courtyard (Feireiss et al 2006:27)

The Apartheid Museum utilises the physical landscape and historical perspectives, to express a contemporary local language, which does not attempt to reproduce or mimic traditional vernacular types. It is a strongly crafted and highly detailed architectural work that skilfully applies the notion of locus, which manipulates interior and exterior space in order to overcome the challenges of its inappropriate site. The major design challenge posed by the Apartheid Museum was its siting amidst the immediate context of Gold Reef City's theme park pleasure. It had to be separated from the seriousness of the museum experience, whilst allowing the museum to "emerge strikingly against the surrounding landscape" (Feireiss et al 2005:24) in order to stand as an urban icon. The adjacent theme park is blocked by a large bulk of the building and a strategically designed wall (Fig. 5.1.2).

Views across the mining landscape and distant Johannesburg CBD are captured from the ramped landscaped roof, which forms part of the movement course from the waterscaped entry courtyard (Fig. 5.1.3) into the museum. Stairs lead from the landscaped roof down into the core of the museum. It is a spine that stretches around the perimeter of the site (Fig. 5.1.4), thereby making it a long narrow space, which eventually opens into the landscape again (Fig. 5.1.5) and to the point where the journey first began. An auditorium, administration and archive space, coffee shop, bookshop (Fig. 5.1.6) and security office form part of the building, with the latter three aspects overlooking a lake.

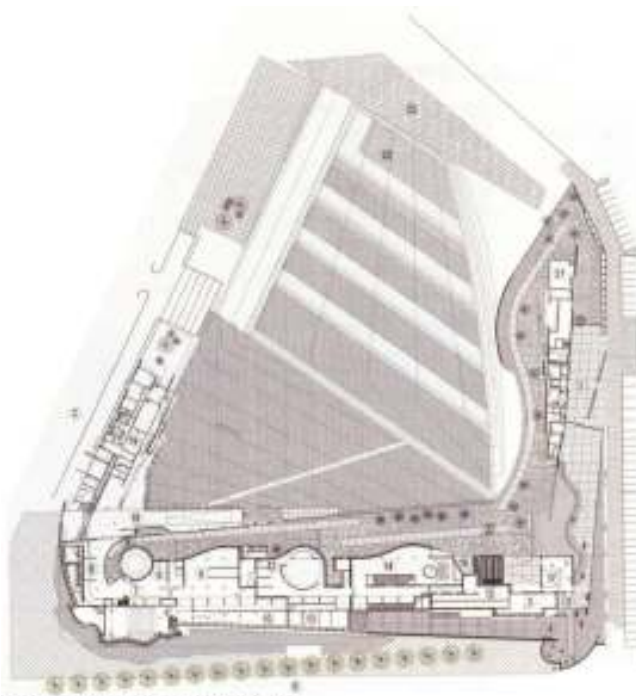


Fig. 5.1.4 Plan (Findley 2004:28)



Fig. 5.1.5 The building emerging from the landscape (Low 2005:137)



Fig. 5.1.6 Freestanding shop building in lush surroundings at exit (Feireiss et al 2006:27)

The Apartheid Museum accommodates a dramatic exhibition, composed in a number of chambers (Fig. 5.1.7), based on a narrative structure. Within the labyrinth interior, the significant events of apartheid, including its inception, reign and demise, are highlighted. The rise and fall of apartheid is depicted in ten multimedia (documentaries, photographic pieces, film, texts, audio, and live accounts) exhibition spaces arranged as an unfolding of time, which follows a “curatorial style [that] leaves much unsaid and many points of view unrepresented” (Findley 2004:27). Despite this, the close collaboration between the curator and the architects has resulted in a corresponding exhibition content and museum design, through the identification of categories such as “topographies, surfaces and atmosphere – which identify the architectural project as a body or living organism of

integrated and co-operative parts” (Low 2005:136). By doing so, the architectural qualities of spaces are deployed together with the exhibition content to convey the experience of the events displayed.



Fig. 5.1.7 Internal exhibition (Deckler et al 2006:40)

The experience is reinforced by the internal and external application of a uniform material palette (Fig. 5.1.8). The urban industrial landscape, along which the building is positioned, has informed the building’s choice of materials, which includes dry-packed stone and rock, plate steel, red facebrick, rock-filled gabion, rusting steel, smooth off shutter concrete, and timber slats. The museum’s landscaping encompasses indigenous rooigras, large mounds of earth, (reflective of the region’s mine-dumps), gravel beds and water.



Fig. 5.1.8 Material palette (author)

The “single narrative strain is co-ordinated with space, light, movement, texture and sound to instil in the viewer, through the physical power of architecture, a simulation of the bodily experience” (Noero cited in Findley 2004:30). This experiential narrative extends through the contained environment into the surrounding context, which allows the exhibition journey to weave between interior and exterior spaces (Fig. 5.1.9).

MEMORY AND SYMBOLISM

The journey through the museum and its landscape evokes memories for those who have experienced apartheid and stimulates emotion in those who have not. The Apartheid Museum communicates metaphoric themes and contrasting concepts embodied in its design, such as chaos and peace, struggle and liberation, and tragedy and triumph. “The horrors of apartheid are given tangible presence...as a permanent reminder of apartheid’s ongoing damage” (Bremner 2004:10) whilst offering a sense of liberation and resurrection.



Fig. 5.1.9 External exhibition ramp (Deckler et al 2006:40)



Fig. 5.1.10 Perimeter wall to museum (Feireiss et al 2006:25)



Fig. 5.1.11 Separate entrances (author)

The use of locus in the design of the museum is apparent, as although the project is not site-specific (in terms of relating directly to a site of apartheid struggle), it utilises the site’s topography and form to develop a relationship between the architecture and landscape. In relation to this, contemporary archaeology greatly influences the metaphoric interpretations of the Apartheid Museum in terms of the uncovering and excavation of memories. The Apartheid Museum uncovers meanings that are buried in the physical forms of the building. As the building emerges from the landscape, it reveals the repressed memories of apartheid, and exposes the horrors of the regime. The topographical arrangement assists in the sequential arrangement of the journey through the museum.

The Apartheid Museum uses introjection as the method of communication, where the building and exhibition content are designed to influence the observer’s memory and resultant interpretation. It relies on the human response to the built environment by using sensory devices to imprint events on the mind as a means of memory identification and to investment meaning.

Thus, meaning is conveyed through the relationship of the site, the events of apartheid and the symbols that trigger memory. Semiology and semantics make memory recall

dependant on bodily experience, which is a major communication device used at the Apartheid Museum. Visual, textural, spatial and psychological experiences stimulate memories and meanings that impact on the observers' perceptions and emotions.

The museum's literal methods of communication and spatial interpretation outweigh the figurative in order to convey the socio-spatial manipulation, restriction and control enforced by apartheid, as well as its resultant violence. This is evident in the building's walled perimeter (Fig. 5.1.10), limited openings, defined movement systems, restrained spaces, the disfigured arrangement of the building body, and the use of cold materials, all of which aim to illicit the notions of apartheid dehumanisation.

Racial segregation (the basic principle of apartheid) is conveyed at the entrance of the museum (Fig. 5.1.11), immediately subjecting visitors to racial separation and categorisation in order to impart the impact of inequality. Although this symbolises the division of the nation, both sides are physically the same, and perhaps do not fully convey the spatial discrimination between the races during apartheid. This division and oppression is, however, reinforced by the stark exterior of the museum's architecture, which is followed by the gloomy atmosphere within the museum representing the darkness and desolation of apartheid.



Fig. 5.1.12 Section above, elevation below (Low 2005:137)

The integrated movement of the journey between inside and outside serves as a constant reminder of the juxtaposition of past and present. The long intense linear arrangement of the spaces within the museum conveys the painful duration and dominance of the apartheid era. The difference in ceiling heights enhances the metaphoric use of rise and fall movement to depict the different stages of apartheid by stimulating feelings of constriction and release (Fig. 5.1.12). The hangman's nooses draped in one of the exhibition chambers is a literal representation of the people executed under apartheid. However, they do not evoke the actual horror of the proceedings and murders that they imply.

The “transition from a racist state into Africa’s beacon of hope” (Apartheid Museum brochure) is communicated by the movement between the dark constricting museum interior to the open light-filled exterior courtyard. The nearing of the end of apartheid is signified by gradual consuming light shafts and the sounds of falling water. The upliftment of the human spirit against adversity is symbolised by external landscaped courtyard with the lake (Figs. 5.1.13 and 5.1.14), which represents the positive message heralding the beginning of the new South African constitution. The courtyard’s triumphant soaring columns (Fig. 5.1.15) marking the new constitution symbolise this liberation as “the climax of a nation’s resistance, courage and fortitude” (Moja 2007:19).



Fig. 5.1.13 Water court at exit (author)



Fig. 5.1.14 Museum exit (Deckler et al 2006:40)



Fig. 5.1.15 Soaring columns (author)

CATALYST

Although the Apartheid Museum documents the struggle against apartheid and the country’s transition into democracy, it unfortunately does little to move beyond that point in order to contribute “to the real efforts to reconstitute the social, political and economic fabric of the country” (Findley 2004:28). Because of this, its contextual isolation, and its defined form and static functional specificity, the Apartheid Museum is a pathological catalyst – even though it contributes to the formation of memory.

It does, however, contribute to the tourism industry by packaging and marketing apartheid and the struggle as a brand through the museological experience.

CONCLUSION

The Apartheid Museum conveys the story of South Africa's miracle of transformation and carries a cathartic message – the triumph of the human spirit over the systematic racial discrimination by the apartheid state. Serving as a reminder of the horrors of apartheid for all South Africans, as well as the global community, the museum is primarily directed at “those who never really experienced the dehumanising repression and violence of apartheid” (Findley 2004:28).

It, therefore, offers an experience that weaves together context and technology in a multi-sensory journey, steeped in symbolism and meaning that engages body and mind. However, despite its strong design and experiential qualities, the museum's use of dramatic devices and media manipulation to evoke and simulate emotion incorporates the architecture as part of the exhibition staging, making it disappointingly theatrical.

Nonetheless, the Apartheid Museum tackles the spatial experience of segregation and the contradictions of its controversial site, resulting in an isolated intervention that is a landmark, which merges built-form and landscape. By doing so, it has stimulated a contemporary local architectural identity that positions it within global discourse.

The museum's approach to memorial expression in terms of architectural language has set the benchmark for numerous contemporary South African commemorative projects that have followed, which have improved upon its example. Hence, the Apartheid Museum may be perceived as a catalyst that has inspired proceeding architectural works of significant value, thereby contributing to the development of South Africa's socio-spatial memorial context.

In spite of this, the Apartheid Museum does not renegotiate the processes of memory formation in terms of nation-building. As an institutionalised repository for memory, its limited functionality and involvement in socio-spatial development and upliftment do not make it a successful example of a living memorial.

5.2 WALTER SISULU SQUARE OF DEDICATION - KLIPTOWN

| | | |
|--------------|---|--|
| COMMEMORATES | - | Adoption of the 1955 Freedom Charter |
| PROJECT TYPE | - | Public gathering space, retail-oriented mixed-use. |
| CLIENT | - | Johannesburg Development Agency |
| ARCHITECT | - | studioMAS Architects and Urban Designers |

CONTEXT AND SITE STATUS

Established in 1903 as a tented camp to house people displaced from the raised 'coolie-location' (which is now Newtown), Kliptown was divided into black, Indian and Coloured areas (Meyer 2005:31). As the multi-cultural township (where black people were allowed to own property) grew, shacks and brick veranda houses replaced the tents, and commercial activity thrived. Although the commercial identity of Kliptown forms part of the township's heritage, its historic value is grown out of the significance of the settlement being "the birthplace of South African democracy" (Meyer 2005:31).

The Kliptown site, on which the 1955 Freedom Charter was accepted, has been renamed and dedicated to Walter Sisulu - the social activist and struggle hero who fought for freedom and equality. Sisulu had "a secret office in Kliptown to hide from the apartheid regime" (Meyer 2005:30). Although its development is especially pertinent to the local struggle against apartheid as well as post-apartheid transformation, the Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication is of international significance as it commemorates human rights, freedom and equality on a global scale. The site was "provisionally declared a national monument by the National Monuments Council on 23 October 1998 in terms of the National Monuments Act, No 28 of 1969" (Bremner et al 2001:43) and is now a National Heritage Site.

As one of the oldest townships in Johannesburg, and home to approximately thirty thousand people (Bremner 2006:32) comprising eleven informal settlements (Meyer 2005:31), Kliptown is the product of severe systematic apartheid socio-spatial organisation. The township is, therefore, "an undefined, unbounded, virtually invisible place" (Bremner 2006:32), characterised by underdevelopment, unemployment, poverty, dilapidation, lack of services, and disconnection from the Johannesburg CBD.

However, despite the dire conditions, "people have managed to carve out a space of

freedom for themselves within a wider society where the freedom of black people was increasingly curtailed” (Moja 2007:22). As a result, Kliptown has become one of the most economically active commercial and residential nodes in the greater Soweto area, powered mostly by informal activity supported by the township’s residents. Its vibrancy and energy is derived from the hawkers, taxis, pavement traders, markets, street life and multi-purpose infrastructure bustling with people conducting their daily lives.



Fig. 5.2.1 Site plan (Low 2007:20)

“Kliptown falls within the ‘Struggle Route’, a proposed route that aims to link historical sites in Johannesburg and allow tourists an opportunity to follow history along a defined route” (Moja 2007:22). Kliptown’s Freedom Route exists within the context of the Struggle Route, and journeys through the township showcasing a series of heritage spaces, which include Mandela’s Hide-out and Gerald Sekoto’s House, documented by mini-billboards created by community sign-writers. The redeveloped Freedom Square, renamed Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication, is “a shrine to the resistance movement” (Harrison 2004:36) that forms part of the Freedom Route. Located at the heart of the greater Kliptown area (Fig. 5.2.1), the Square “is one of the few public spaces with any sense of urban scale” (Bremner et al 2001:43) within the context of apartheid’s monotonous township planning.

INCEPTION

In 2002, the Johannesburg Metropolitan Council, in consultation with the Kliptown Development Forum, intended to develop Freedom Square (which was provisionally declared a monument) as a grand memorial (Harrison 2004:36) within the greater urban improvement of Kliptown. The purpose of the project was “to redevelop the traditional

apartheid buffer-zone township into a desirable and prosperous residential and commercial locality, using its historical significance and tourism potential as the tools for transformation” (Meyer 2005:32).

The Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) was committed to the Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication and Kliptown renewal project. Financed by Gauteng provincial government’s Blue IQ funding agency, “other agencies such as the City of Johannesburg, the national Department of Environment and Tourism and the Gauteng Department of Agriculture, Conservation and Environment” (Meyer 2005:32) supplemented the development of various other projects within Kliptown.

Local and international architects and urban designers were invited to submit conceptual proposals and ideas for a competition to stimulate the Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication project, which intended to commemorate and celebrate the Freedom Charter events of June 1955. Johannesburg-based practice, studioMAS Architects and Urban Designers proposed a symbolic entry that won the competition.

Construction of the Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication commenced in April 2003 and was completed in September 2005, and the official opening took place on 26 June 2005 to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter (Meyer 2005:32).

DESIGN

Forming a commemorative node within the Kliptown Development Framework and the larger context of Soweto, the urban and architectural approach explores “issues of cultural difference, dialogue, heritage, social and economic development and the creation of public space in the barren undefined landscape of a South African township” (Bremner et al 2001:45). Due to the historical lack of orientation and sense of place within the township, the Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication is the focus of the precinct with a strong architectural and urban character and identity.

“Architectural expression is given to the ideals of the Freedom Charter through the establishment of nine guiding design principles: history, equality, accessibility, vitality, robustness, identity, legibility, symbolism and ecology” (Low 2007:19). For ease of recognising the application of the concepts (Fig. 5.2.2) in the urban and architectural

design of the Square, they are elaborated as follows:

history is based on Kliptown's roots as the economic heart of Soweto that embellished commercial activity despite the neglect of the area; *equality* is the core of the design and denotes a variety of meanings such as "equal rights, equality under the law, equal distribution, equilibrium, balance and equitable access to opportunities"(Meyer 2005:33); *accessibility* is significant in reversing the movement limitations established by apartheid in order that impeded development; *vitality* is stimulated through the creating a sense of place that assists in the upliftment of the community and environment; *robustness* implies durability and adaptable nature to accommodate changing needs and future growth; *identity* explores landscape, physical, cultural, historic and traditional notions in order to create strong character; *legibility* refers to recognisable organised parts that follow coherent patterns; *symbolism* deals with place-making through notions of identity, analogy and iconography; and *ecology* establishes the setting for positive township environments in contrast to the desolate and dry conditions instituted by apartheid (Low 2007:18).



Fig. 5.2.2 The 9 ideals illustrated for public understanding (author)



Fig. 5.2.3 Markers at the turning circle (author)

The architectural objectives comprising the Square's conceptual design within the urbanity of Soweto are supported by an interpretation of Kevin Lynch's five elements of city form, which defines the precinct's urban landscape. These include concepts of *landmarks*, *paths*, *district*, *edges*, and *nodes* (Trancik 1986:120). For ease of recognising the application of the theory in the design of the Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication, the concepts may be elaborated as follows:

landmarks are orientation devices that are physically and visually recognisable points of reference in and around the building, *paths* refer to movement by determining circulation around and through spaces; *districts* are largely recognisable sections; *edges* are the

boundaries between the parts that define spaces; and nodes are concentrations of activity (Trancik 1986:120).

Giant elongated columnar structures, located at the Union and Klipspruit Valley Roads traffic circle, herald the approach to the Square (Fig. 5.2.3). The powerful landmark, which is visible from afar, defines the entrance to the Square, thereby announcing the arrival of the visitor, and drawing the visitor into the hub of the site. The structure performs the dual function of urban and building marker that announces the gateway into the site.

The enhancement of movement routes in and around the Square encourages development along existing and new paths and axes, thereby providing connectivity within the precinct and “establishing Kliptown as an accessible town centre to the greater area of Soweto” (Meyer 2005:33). This access to opportunity, as well as the interrelationship of buildings surrounding the square is reminiscent of the principle of equality, which informs aspects of the design in terms of the balance and distribution of built forms.

The Square is visually and spatially dominated by two legible structures that flank the northern and southern edges of the site, defining both the site extents and a central gathering space (Figs. 5.2.4 and 5.2.5). The robust design of the buildings allows for a durable environment that responds to present and future interventions. Modular forms have been adopted to allow for a flexible architecture that may “adapt and grow with the changing needs of the local community” (Low 2007:20).



Fig. 5.2.4 Plan (Low 2007:21)

The selection of conveniences and services accommodated in the Square attracts a wide spectrum of users, offering a variety of experiences and adding to the site's character and level of appeal. The vitality and quality of the place is enhanced – “by offering people an opportunity to make a living where they live...through increased choice of services and goods without destroying the current socio-economic vitality of the place” (Meyer 2005:34).

An assortment of functions is accommodated in largely recognisable districts of activity. The North Structure comprises defined modules that include retail and office space, a restaurant, banking facilities, conference and training rooms, and a multi-purpose venue. The colonnaded South Structure houses an informal covered market at ground floor level, and hawkers' trade area, with a tourist centre and boutique hotel occupying the two floors above. A conical tower, constructed of corrugated sheeting, which is an informal restaurant (a place to prepare food), is positioned within the South Structure.



Fig. 5.2.5 North structure (top and middle), South structure below (Low 2007:21)

Two shorter permeable edges exist in contrast to the solid forms that frame the perimeter lengths of the Square. Whilst the western edge is completely free of structure, the eastern edge is punctuated by an evenly spaced row of sculptural columns, which relates to the entrance sculpture at the turning circle. The clearly demarcated edge is positioned between the bustling street and the ‘internal’ public gathering space, mediating between township activity and the open space of the square. The structure also liberates the square from the adjacent built forms, allowing the gathering space to function as a multi-purpose outdoor room slightly detached from the surrounding township life. The utilitarian, tree-filled square includes seating, taps and trading areas, thereby contributing to the multi-functionality of the space.

Although the design of the Square's central gathering space may be interpreted as having a “Euro-centric nature of urban planning” (Krige 2003:51) as it is not the circular African

vernacular gathering space, it is a central node that is contemporary response to the site. Its open space matrix draws from and acknowledges the existing layouts and activities of the surrounding urban context, as opposed to being an implanted literal reproduction of a vernacular gathering space. Rather vernacular approaches are taken by embracing them through the interpretation of concepts and execution of detail design elements.

Whilst the different treatments of the Square's four edges assist with orientation in and around the Square, the central conical monument provides a point of reference within the large open gathering space. Inside, the monument is a place of quiet calm encouraging the visitor to reflect on the clauses of the Freedom Charter. Also encouraging reflection on the Freedom Charter at a more formal level is the People Shall Govern Exhibition. This museum offers both "an historical and a contemporary cultural experience" (Moja 2007:22), through exhibits made by local crafters and artists.

Considering the needs of a greener environment, the Square has been conceptualised using several sustainable principles, which include the planting of trees within the Square and the establishment of a 'green corridor' on an urban scale. In addition to permeable paved surfaces, which limit stormwater run-off, rainwater is collected via the large overhangs that protect the facades of the buildings. The re-use of materials "harvested from buildings that were demolished to make way for the Square" (Low 2007:22) reduces the embodied energy of the development.

The materials used in all the new building structures bring "their own unique colours, textures and emotional energy to the spaces" (Low 2007:22), also representative of the processes of recycling predominant in the township. New identity is created and memory stimulated through the integration of the new structures within both the old and existing fabric, as well as through its related symbolism.

MEMORY AND SYMBOLISM

The Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication is a hub of commercial activity within a symbolically significant public domain that is a legible memorable cultural landmark. It acknowledges history by retaining the site's original functions as a place and gathering and trading. The use of locus in the design of the Square is apparent as it encompasses characteristic components of history, urban permanences and new architecture, thereby defining the Square in space and time. It has resulted in a symbolic public realm that maintains the spirit of both past and present by commemorating the spirit of the

surrounding context, whilst allowing the intervention to be susceptible to reading the memories of the past and formulating new meanings in the present.

In doing so, the Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication is a living memorial that is a place of commercial activity (Figs. 5.2.6), which is “monumentally appropriate to the spirit and historic status of the meeting and document it celebrates” (Meyer 2005:34). In keeping with the acknowledgement of locus, and retaining the original character and memory of the precinct, a record of the original traders who previously occupied the space, was kept to ensure their prioritised engagement of the Square’s market trading place (Fig. 5.2.7).



Fig. 5.2.6 Formal commercial activity (author)



Fig. 5.2.7 Informal commercial activity in the public square (author)



Fig. 5.2.8 Interface with existing commercial activity and historical fabric (author)



Fig. 5.2.9 Symbolic forest of columns and informal trading area (author)

The existing context has, therefore, been analysed, deconstructed and re-presented as a palimpsest that reveals Kliptown’s history through the layering of various references, thereby making essential connections within the precinct (Figs. 5.2.8). The memorial text of the intervention comprises the built environment and the public infrastructure, which allows the past and present to be read together by encompassing the permanences of the

past and the changes of the present, thereby indicating public achievement. In this way, the architecture of the Square transmits the subtext of the past that bears on the present by establishing a dialogue for understanding and interpretation. Associative links are, therefore, made to history and memory through the outward manifestation of internalised texts and a network of comparative readings and references. Hence, the built environment is understood by resituating the past in the present thereby shaping both the architectural and urban interventions.

In order to stimulate memory in relation to the site's historical significance, various imprints, "signs, motifs and symbols have been used to evoke the shapes, patterns and stories of South Africa" (Low 2007:20). This relationship of semiology and semantics marks the significance of the Freedom Charter event that occurred on the site through the reflection of these signs in the urban and architectural intervention. Through iconography and analogy of this nature, the design refers to the previous meaning of the site, as well as the creation of new meaning and memory (Fig. 5.2.9).

Thus, by using distinctive artifacts of the site and the commemorated event in the intervention, the architecture is experienced and interpreted. By adding to these original signs the appropriate meanings are translated and conveyed, thereby making the built environment a metaphoric and symbolic memory space that is dependant on architectural code and imagery. The architectural intervention, therefore, triggers memory through symbols, which results in meaning being conveyed.



Fig. 5.2.10 Columns symbolising the tenets the Freedom Charter (author)



Fig. 5.2.11 Symbolic 'X' and Freedom Charter Monument in public square (Low 2007:19)



Fig. 5.2.12 Significance of the Square clearly illustrated for public understanding (author)

Representing the tenets of the Freedom Charter, the towering robust concrete columns (Fig. 5.2.10), which mark the main threshold to the Square, stand proud and distinct. They symbolise the strength and stature of the principles of the Freedom Charter and form the basis of meanings encapsulated within the Square. Open and equal access into and through the space signifies and celebrates the freedom of movement in a democratic

society, which was controlled in the apartheid regime. Also symbolic of the principle of lawful equality, is the distribution of the two linear structures that define the lengths of the Square.

Concepts of permanence and change are revealed through the arrangement of memorial text that allows the past and present to be read simultaneously. This stimulates comparative readings in a context of artifacts and references, thereby stimulating interpretations of history and memory. Thus, new insights are evoked through the insertion of fragments and traces as architectural expressions within the transformed urban landscape.

Maintaining balance between the structures, the Square's elongated gathering space explores the notion of mediating between past and present, by comprising the Old Square and the New Square. The Old Square on the lower west portion of the site is the actual location of the meeting of the Congress of the people. Hence, the square's white grid on black stone represents the old apartheid South Africa and commemorates the past struggle against inequality.

The grid transforms into 'x'-shape portions that form the upper New Square, which is symbolic of the transformation from apartheid to democracy - the 'x'-shape (Fig. 5.2.11) symbolises the "mark of freedom" (Meyer 2005:34) whilst the subdivision of the square into nine smaller landscaped squares is symbolic of the nine provinces of South Africa, as well as the nine keynotes that governed the design of the space. Nine types of acacia tree planted in the Square reinforce these notions. The New Square celebrates the new democratic nation and its related ideals by being a highly accessible space open to all that allows freedom of choice by encouraging people to gather, play, trade and rest. Its historical significance is well documented for people to read (Fig. 5.2.12).

The mediation between apartheid and democracy is also represented by a transition space connecting the Old and New Squares (Fig. 5.2.13). This symbolic course forms a junction with the historically important movement route of Old Kliptown Road. The incorporation of this existing occurrence acknowledges the historical value of the site within the context of the new gathering space. The intersection of the axes forms a focal point celebrated by the Freedom Charter Monument (Fig. 5.2.14).



Fig. 5.2.13 The Square comprised of old and new squares and axes (Low 2007:18)

The Freedom Charter Monument is the conical structure, symbolic of a “universal form used in, among others, ...traditional African fishing baskets” (Meyer 2005:34). It is a place of reflection that accommodates engraved concrete tablets upon which the tenets of the Freedom Charter are inscribed (Fig. 5.2.15). The Flame of Freedom, which is “a constantly burning flame that serves as a reminder of the need to uphold and protect human rights for all South Africans” (Low 2007:19), is positioned at the centre of the tower (Fig. 5.2.16) and the concrete tablets. The tower is terminated by the symbolic ‘x’-shape cut-out in the roof of the tower, directly above the Freedom Flame. Apart from the ‘x’-shape being used in the Monument and the New Square, it is repeated throughout the building structures on the facades, thereby symbolising the democratic principle of freedom continuously throughout the Square and township context.

This notion of integrated past and present is further represented in the South Structure’s colonnaded market building for informal trade. The playful reinterpretation through a “forest of columns” (Meyer 2005:33) symbolises and commemorates the Union Road eucalyptus trees under which traders conducted business in the past.



Fig. 5.2.14 Freedom Charter Monument (author)



Fig. 5.2.15 Inside the Freedom Charter Monument (author)



Fig. 5.2.16 Symbolic 'X' cut-out above (author)

CATALYST

The Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication is the focal point of an urban renewal intervention for Kliptown, which is a catalyst for sustainable development within the urban context. The creation of the bold urban square is a vehicle for other significant opportunities to be stimulated within the precinct, making it a propelling permanence that accelerates the process of positive urbanisation in the precinct and township. The nine principles that guide the design of Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication also “form the backbone of the Kliptown Urban Development Framework as an attempt to support a single development and design narrative, thereby ensuring integration in the urban fabric” (Meyer 2005:33).

Intended to create a legible and cohesive environment for the area by establishing unique character and identity, the overall aims for the development are “to create a vibrant, safe and welcoming public domain that would stimulate retail and commercial activity; provide open recreational space; focus on tourism, education, heritage and arts; and make the area accessible for locals and visitors through the provision of a safe and secure transport system” (Anonymous 2007:18). To achieve this seven strategic components comprise the catalytic development, which include *environmental upgrade; economic development; heritage education and tourism development; transport infrastructure development; the creation of sustainable neighbourhoods; social development through clinics, awareness and literacy guidance; and the improvisation and management of institutional arrangements* (Meyer 2005:32).

The residents of Kliptown actively participated in the construction of the Walter Sisulu

Square of Dedication, where smaller elements of the building (Figs. 5.2.17 and 5.2.18) were contracted to local businesses from Kliptown. Local community involvement included the construction of the conical Freedom Monument structure, *weaving of acoustic panels for the multi-purpose hall, manufacturing of pre-cast concrete façade grille blocks, staircases and steel balustrades* (Anonymous 2007:20). By attaining and developing skills through participation in the construction of the Square, the residents are now able to sustain themselves in the future. In addition to skills development, the Square's informal market provides affordable space for over 700 *informal businesses* (Anonymous 2007:19), as well as stimulating emerging entrepreneurial activity. As a robust, durable and adaptable environment, it is also envisaged that the Square's users will make their own additions over time, thereby contributing to the unique character and sustainability of the development. Hence, job creation, retail and commercial growth and promotion, stimulated by the Square, will contribute to the economic development of the entire precinct.



Fig. 5.2.17 Grille panels (Low 2007:22)



Fig. 5.2.18 Concrete panels on the facade (author)

To encourage economic growth in the area through connectivity within and around the precinct, the Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication established a taxi interchange adjacent to the development. In addition to this, street networks, pedestrian and vehicular circulation have been improved (Fig. 5.2.19) in order to “stitch together the surrounding urban fabric to facilitate ease of movement through the precinct, and within the surrounding neighbourhoods (Low 2007:20). Hence, the upgrade of existing transport facilities and the development of new infrastructure assist in countering the existing segregation and controlled movement in the township, as a result of apartheid.

The central location of the Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication offers the surrounding context access to convenient services, transportation, and recreational facilities. This allows for the creation of sustainable neighbourhoods and the improvisation of living conditions and township upliftment. The Walter Sisulu Precinct has, therefore, been

developed through “higher density social housing programmes and project-linked subsidies” (Meyer 2005:32). The development of medium-density cluster apartments cater for the varying needs of tenants by offering a variety of unit types (Fig. 5.2.20). These include live-work units, which together with the proximity to the Square, educational and health institutions, creates a sustainable community.



Fig. 5.2.19 Open social gathering space (author)



Fig. 5.2.20 Social housing (author)



Fig. 5.2.21 Soft interface of the Square with the housing across the street (author)

The Square’s museum concept and space for public gatherings, exhibitions and activities emphasise the tourist attraction of the precinct. This is supported by the other nodes in the precinct that comprise the Kliptown Freedom Route, which in turn form part of Johannesburg’s broader Struggle Route. By creating a unique sense of place within a rich and diverse environment, the support of heritage tourism generates socio-economic activity in the area, thereby assisting in improving the community’s quality of life.

The quality of place is further enhanced via environmental initiatives. The planting of indigenous trees in the Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication has encouraged the re-establishment of relationships between people and their surroundings. This reaches beyond the boundaries of the Square to ensure that it is not only the Square in isolation, but also the precinct as a whole that benefit from the creation of a sustainable green environment (Fig. 5.2.21). Through *environmental upgrade, the rehabilitation of the river, recreational open space along the Klipspruit will be maximised and pollution will be reduced* (Meyer 2005:32).

ADDITIONAL INVOLVEMENT BY THE ARCHITECTURAL PROFESSION

As a contribution to the competition brief for the development of the site, the Department of Architecture at the University of the Witwatersrand involved staff and students in a project to research the context of Freedom Square. The opportunity allowed for the exploration of the “role of architects and architecture in the compilation of the Freedom

Charter as both political phenomenon and experiential spectacle” (Bremner et al 2001:45), thereby allowing for its conceptual spatial organisation.

The academic architectural profession engaged with the urban context in an attempt to “develop reciprocal relations with Greater Johannesburg, to be involved in the problems faced by the city, and to be a partner in finding solutions to them” (Bremner et al 2001:44). These engagements included participation between groups that were traditionally segregated under apartheid, resulting in constructive mutual empowerment. A multi- and trans-disciplinary approach was adopted through research, teaching and service, which engaged sociological, historical and environmental advancements with architecture. Hence, the project grappled with the impact of new realities and “strategies for design and renewal of architecture, social and economic development” (Bremner et al 2001:48), where contemporary issues and emerging city conditions affect the direction and approach of architecture and vice versa.

StudioMAS Architects and Urban Designers have carried these contemporary issues through to the development of the Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication. In an attempt to address concerns such as job creation and sustainability, the architects were involved in the unskilled and semi-skilled labour that was introduced into the design and construction process. This required the architects to “become acquainted with available resources, in terms of skills and materials, in order to have a clear idea of the local cultural identity with which a building will finally be imbued” (Low 2007:20). By doing so, the architects put the sustainable development of the community before their preconceived notions of their design, by allowing the final form to be derived from the skills-development processes.

CONCLUSION

Inspired by the principles of the Freedom Charter, the Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication draws on celebratory and commemorative concepts based on the evolution of a democratic South Africa. The preservation and interpretation of the Kliptown fabric founds the experience of the Square as it explores the “physical, cultural and historic built legacy and local traditions of Kliptown” (Meyer 2005:34).

Set within the context of inherited apartheid planning, the Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication has responded to the apartheid symptoms of segregation-based defined dormitory settlements, the lack of a clearly defined central node, monotony and illegibility, as well as distanced and limited amenities. Thus, a public gathering space of civic scale

has been created within a developing mixed-use precinct, where the taxi transport system contributes to the success of the development.

Designed to celebrate the significance of the site, the historically charged Square serves as a propelling catalyst for the upliftment of the township by facilitating a multi-functional framework that “allows for the development of a unique regional character through the making, occupation and changing of the Square for the people who will use it” (Low 2007:22). The urban intervention stimulates different levels of interaction between township residents, commuters and traders, as well as implementing urban improvements in and around the precinct, thereby re-conceptualising the township inherited from the constructs of apartheid planning.

The Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication weaves together aspects of past and present, formal and informal, township and city, formal and informal, building and environment, and living and working in a contemporary new memorial approach that sustains everyday life. This is supported by the additional involvement by the architects who have responded to the upliftment of an emergent inner city community within the apartheid township.

Thus, by stimulating the enhancement of the larger urban framework of Kliptown, as well as the future advancement of its residents, the Square offers adaptable developmental opportunities and significant improvements within the local community, whilst commemorating past struggles and celebrating the ideals of “democracy, equality and freedom” (Low 2007:22), thereby making it a successful example of a living memorial.

5.3 SHARPEVILLE MEMORIAL - SHARPEVILLE

| | | |
|--------------|---|---|
| COMMEMORATES | - | Sharpeville massacre (21 March 1960) |
| PROJECT TYPE | - | Garden memorial and Exhibition centre |
| CLIENT | - | Vereeniging Municipality and Department of Sports, Recreation, Arts and Culture |
| ARCHITECT | - | GP Greef and Associates |

CONTEXT AND SITE STATUS

The township of Sharpeville is situated north of the town of Vereeniging. Its vast proximity from the economic hub of Johannesburg makes access to amenities and employment scarce. This contributes to it being a township marred by poverty and dire conditions, which is a direct result of apartheid planning. The harsh township environment is characterised by streets lined with sand and dirt, with the sparseness of trees contributing to the dry conditions amidst which the impoverished houses and shacks are set (Figs. 5.3.1, 5.3.2 and 5.3.3).



Fig. 5.3.1 Informal street trade at Sharpeville en-route to the Memorial (author)



Fig. 5.3.2 Remains of the town hall with commercial activity in foreground (author)



Fig. 5.3.3 Neglected and impoverished township context (author)

Administered by the Sedibeng council, Sharpeville forms part of the proposed Sedibeng Heritage Route. This includes the Sharpeville Human Rights Precinct, the Vaal Teknorama Museum, Constitution Square, Peace Monument, Peace Negotiation Site, Garden of Remembrance and the Witkop Blockhouse (Sharpeville Human Rights Precinct brochure).

The Sharpeville Human Rights Precinct comprises the Sharpeville Memorial (which includes the Garden of Remembrance and Exhibition Centre), library, police station, shop and the remains of the burnt-out town hall (Sharpeville Human Rights Precinct brochure). The Sharpeville Memorial is located in Seeiso Street, opposite the police station where

the massacre on 21 March 1960 took place. *The victims of the massacre are buried in the Sharpeville cemetery, the graves of which have been recently restored* (Harrison 2004:62).

INCEPTION

The Sedibeng council applied for an urban regeneration plan to upgrade Sharpeville and to commemorate the event of the Sharpeville massacre that took place on 21 March 1960. Funding was made available to pay consultants.

As appointed by the town council, research was conducted on the site to establish findings and identify the story of Sharpeville. Based on this, urban designers and other consultants presented design proposals to a design panel and the council. The aim was for Sharpeville to have an historical and redevelopment intervention, for which the selected design was awarded, due to its proposals for positive socio-economic spin-offs.

A spatial framework for the entire precinct was considered in terms of the design intervention to the site and the approach to its conservation areas, as well as the development of a memorial space – which was submitted to the council with reports. It was decided that to prevent the desecration of the actual site, any intervention should be outside of the actual site of the event of the massacre.

The proposal required R30-million, which was to be acquired through US funding. However, the funding fell through and the council could only support R1-million. A design for a memorial with simple markers and urban spaces fell within the initial spatial framework and the council's budget. The council commissioned it, with the available funding of R1-million. The Sharpeville Garden of Remembrance opened on 21 March 2001 (Harrison 2004:62), the day commemorated annually as Human Rights Day.



Fig. 5.3.4 Memorial Stone (author)



Fig. 5.3.5 Detail on Memorial Stone plaque (author)



Fig. 5.3.6 Memorial Stone in the Garden of Remembrance (author)

The new Constitution of South Africa was signed in Sharpeville at the grounds in the vicinity of the library and church precinct. To mark the event, a memorial stone (Figs. 5.3.4 and 5.3.5) for the victims of the massacre, was unveiled on 10 December 1996, and is now accommodated in the Garden of Remembrance (Sharpeville Memorial brochure).

The Department of Sports, Recreation, Arts and Culture was interested in commemorating the massacre and, therefore, contributed R3.5-million for the development of an Exhibition Centre. Due to the intervention being situated on actual heritage property, submissions were made to the heritage council. The Exhibition Centre was completed in 2004, and the Sharpeville Massacre Photo Exhibition formally opened on 21 March 2005 (Moja 2007:34).

Unfortunately, initiatives for informal trade and economic tourist activity were not followed through as initially anticipated. Phase two of the development, however, is envisaged as the environmental reconstruction and urban market to capture tourist interest and strengthen economic activity.

DESIGN

The Garden of Remembrance honours the victims of the Sharpeville massacre. It is located on the site of the memorial stone, which has a dedicated position in the garden (Fig. 5.3.6). The Garden of Remembrance is a landscaped memorial that incorporates hard and soft elements, which includes grasses and water; as well as concrete, pebbles, gravel and masonry respectively.



Fig. 5.3.7 Entrance through the pylon from the gathering space along the street (author)



Fig. 5.3.8 Axis running through the Garden of Remembrance (author)



Fig. 5.3.9 Pylon framing the street from within the Garden of Remembrance (author)

Located on Seeiso Street, entry to the memorial is gained via a paved forecourt set back from the main street, which is an informal gathering space. The embracing structure that

defines the forecourt and draws people into the Garden of Remembrance is a bold access pylon (Fig. 5.3.7), which landmarks the memorial. Upon entry, the main axis through the Garden of Remembrance is clearly visible. A stream embedded in the concrete floor marks the axis, which makes its way past the garden of cenotaphs from the entrance towards the focal point (Fig. 5.3.8). The 69 individually inscribed concrete cenotaphs are dedicated to each victim of the massacre. The focal point is defined by a smaller pylon, (a reflection of that at the entrance), which accommodates a fountain that feeds the stream.

Visual connections are made with the surrounding context. The remains of the town hall are visible on axis behind the focal point of the Garden of Remembrance. A gravel cross-axis links the central point of the memorial with external pedestrian walkways. These walkways flank the garden and link it visually with the surrounding context. It is unfortunate that the memorial is gated, and that the cross-axis cannot physically connect the memorial with the adjacent sites. Upon exit, the street of the massacre and police station are viewed through the access pylon along the main axis (Fig. 5.3.9).



Fig. 5.3.10 View of Exhibition Centre from Garden of Remembrance along cross axis (author)



Fig. 5.3.11 View of Memorial from Exhibition Centre along cross axis from forecourt (author)



Fig. 5.3.12 Access to adjacent library on axis from Exhibition Centre forecourt (author)

The Sharpeville Exhibition Centre is a visitor and documentation centre located adjacent to the Garden of Remembrance along the line of the cross-axis of the memorial (Fig. 5.3.10), which continues through the forecourt of the Exhibition Centre. It is physically separated from the memorial, although connected visually. Located within a gated perimeter, the Exhibition Centre forecourt is a landscaped space positioned at the intersection of the cross and entrance axes, making it a welcoming space that is shared between the Exhibition Centre and the adjacent library, which terminates the cross axis (Fig. 5.3.11 and 5.3.12). Thus, the visual and physical connections made through and around the forecourt and the actual Exhibition Centre building, make reference to and acknowledge the surrounding township context.

The Exhibition Centre is integrated into the precinct and the everyday activities of people. A mix of encounters occurs through its close proximity to the library and nearby clinic,

allowing it to be a secure gathering space for children and elders. Seeiso Street, which runs past the forecourt, accommodates parking for the Exhibition Centre at the entrance, as there is no parking lot (Fig. 5.3.13). It is also a taxi-stop and space for informal traders. Formalised trade occurs across the road in the shopping centre that dates back to the 1960s – a building that contributes to the historical fabric of the precinct and is viewed along the entrance axis of the Exhibition Centre forecourt (Fig. 5.3.14).



Fig. 5.3.13 View of shopping centre on Seeiso Street from forecourt (author)



Fig. 5.3.14 Forecourt of Exhibition Centre with entrance at the top (author)



Fig. 5.3.15 Angled wall leading up to entrance into Exhibition Centre (author)

Significance is achieved by the Exhibition Centre being a formal public space, which forms a backdrop to the daily lives of people. The building is an unassuming structure that exudes strength in its commitment to the community that it serves. Although it is larger than its neighbouring buildings, it is of modest scale that fits into the existing township fabric. It commands a presence without physically dominating the surrounding context of mostly single storey structures. The uncomplicated aesthetic divulges an architectural language that exists in contrast to the traditional civic structures that were historically instruments of exclusion during apartheid.

The Exhibition Centre is an unpretentious structure of undemanding proportion and ordinary materials. It is a simple, yet abstract container that does not attempt to influence the visitors' emotions through profuse design undertakings. Rather, it remains honest to the content it accommodates and the people it represents. The angled sculptural entrance wall that channels access into the building through the forecourt is the only part of the building that is read from the street. It stands boldly in a strong yet welcoming colour that matches the adjacent memorial, complementing each other and making the entire heritage development cohesive.

The humble entrance at the end of the angled entrance wall (Fig. 5.3.15) makes for an unexpected internal space of multi-volumes lit naturally by a clerestorey strip located above a ramp to the side of the exhibition space. The ramp splits the building into two along its length. It creates an element of surprise, which is only unravelled by moving

through the flexibly modulated space. Due to the initial lack of funding available for a formalised exhibition installation, the non-hierarchical building is not designed along the lines of a fixed narrative. Although it follows a narrative, the uncomplicated layout (Fig. 5.3.16) does not restrict its usage. The exhibition itself relies strongly on oral history and also includes photographic, text, and audio-visual material.

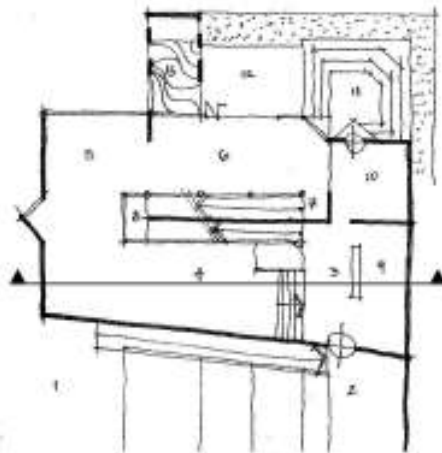


Fig. 5.3.16 Conceptual sketch plan (author)

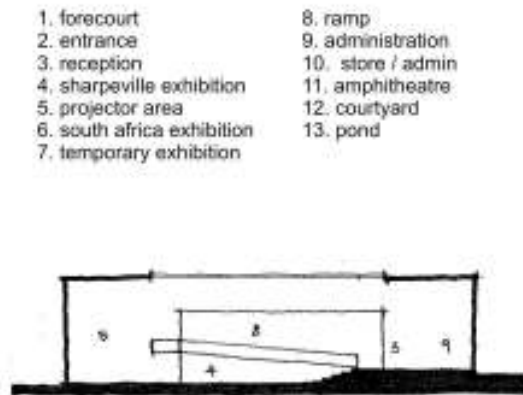


Fig. 5.3.17 Conceptual section (author)

The first half of the building, which is lower than the entrance foyer, is a linear strip in the tallest volume located alongside the ramp. The internalised space affords limited connections with the exterior context, which is achieved through the positioning of slit windows and the clerestory above. A projector space at the hairpin of the linear arrangement allows for school programmes and other functions to be accommodated in the multi-functional space.

The second strip of linear movement from the projector space is completely different to the first half. It is flanked by a courtyard that throws daylight into it, thereby submerging it in visual connectivity with the external context. A stepped concrete outdoor auditorium is located within the courtyard, which makes visual connections with the adjacent Garden of Remembrance and the remains of the town hall.

The internal exhibition spaces are infused with these views and natural light, allowing for a flow of exhibition material through internal and external spaces. Movement within the exhibition space continues upward along the ramp that accommodates temporary exhibition material, which is lit by the clerestorey above. The journey along the ramp concludes the experience of the Exhibition Centre as it overlooks the entire linear arrangement once more before leading to the entrance level where the journey began

(Fig. 5.3.17). The exit through the forecourt is on axis, with a view of the historic shopping centre building across the street, thereby contextualising the “fractured qualities of memory” (Findley 2004:27) that are contained within the building.

MEMORY AND SYMBOLISM

Although the majority of the memorial content at the Sharpeville Garden of Remembrance and Exhibition Centre focuses on the Sharpeville massacre, it also honours the struggle for liberation across the region and the country. The memorial “uses the story of the people in the region to tell the larger story of the historical struggles against oppression in South Africa” (Findley 2004:32).

It, therefore, uses introjection through the built environment to convey memories and meanings. Introjection is crucial to the identification of the built environment via the human response to the intervention as a reflection of the observer. In doing so, civic status is indicated, thereby allowing observers to simultaneously read and identify with past and present political, cultural and social achievements.

Both the Sharpeville Garden of Remembrance and the Exhibition Centre use locus as a characteristic component of the development. By doing so, architecture gives form to the spirit of the place whilst expressing permanences and history. Thus, the intervention carries the memory of the past and exemplifies the intangible qualities of perception and emotion held in the meaning of the place.

The interventions use signs to mark the occurrence of the event of the massacre and convey related messages and impact on present perceptions. By doing so, an associative perspective and continuum of past, present and future are established, where events, signs and icons constitute a process of symbolisation and the formation of identity.

The Sharpeville Garden of Remembrance and the Exhibition Centre share recurring symbolism, allowing for communication between the structures, thereby making the memorial intervention cohesive. It encompasses a visual relationship between the memorial and the artifacts of the surrounding sites, as well as maintaining the spirit of the township. Memory is thereby stimulated through the inclusion of historic permanences within a symbolic public realm. Thus, the memorial is a text that forms the fabric of collective memory, which allows for the country’s socio-political civic achievements to be read through the memorial structure.

Through a post-modern interpretation, old forms and symbols of antiquity have been utilised in the memorial to render the message of Sharpeville. Elements in the Garden of Remembrance exemplify the modification of Egyptian iconography through the use of axes and sculptural forms located in the urban locale. The bold entrance portal is a reinterpretation of the Egyptian pylons, whilst the cenotaphs (Figs. 5.3.18 and 5.3.19) in the garden are truncated and battered elements derived from Egyptian obelisks. They symbolise the loss of every life in the massacre, not just a collective mass of people. The Egyptian belief of life after death, symbolic through these signs is a reminder that although the massacre has passed, its memory will not be forgotten and the narrative will live on as a reminder.

This notion is further symbolised by pebbles that line the stream running through the garden. The Exhibition Centre courtyard replicates this concept, with pebbles forming the base of the pond in the courtyard (Fig. 5.3.20). Water is an important symbol in both the Garden of the Remembrance and Exhibition Centre. It is symbolic of the blood that was shed by the victims of the Sharpeville massacre as well as the rain that fell after the massacre, which cleansed the streets and people. Water runs along the stream through the Garden of Remembrance to the fountain, where outlets in the fountain's wall (Fig. 5.3.21) are symbolic of the bullet holes that riddled people, buildings and vehicles in the massacre. To take cover from the reign of gunfire, people hid amidst vegetation. The memorial symbolises this through the inclusion of indigenous grass. The grass borders at the Garden of Remembrance are also located at the entrance forecourt of the Exhibition Centre.



Fig. 5.3.18 Garden of Remembrance cenotaph (author)



Fig. 5.3.19 Detail of cenotaph (author)



Fig. 5.3.20 Pebble pond in Exhibition Centre (author)



Fig. 5.3.21 Pebble fountain terminates axis in Garden of Remembrance (author)

The Exhibition Centre's medium of oral history, depicted through the stories, photographs and text of the survivors, reframes memory and honours the survivors, thereby allowing

the past to be remembered in a way that is familiar to the community. The documentation content commemorates the liberation struggle against apartheid, thereby making memory inclusive and non-discriminatory.

CATALYST

The Exhibition Centre is a propelling permanence as its design allows for function to evolve over time, whilst remaining as a stable formal memorial structure and focal point. The Sharpeville memorial is a catalyst for tourism, urban development and education.

In order to benefit tourism in the region, the Sedibeng District municipality is partnering with Robben Island Western Cape Tourism to engage in tourism exchange programmes. This will not only market the experience of the Sharpeville Human Rights Precinct and the district, but will also deliver economic opportunities to the region.

Economic prospects are also envisaged to result from the urban development of the area. As a result of the Sharpeville memorial development, the Sedibeng District municipality is preparing a detailed plan for three precincts around the Sharpeville massacre memorial site. The environmental reconstruction and urban plan will support initiatives to capture tourist interest, thereby strengthening economic activity.

The Sharpeville Exhibition Centre currently accommodates programmes, which are aimed at learners from grades 11 and 12 from various high schools. Apart from promoting the meaning behind the Garden of Remembrance, the intention is to educate the learners about the history of the Sedibeng region.

Community outreach programmes and forums are also hosted by the Exhibition Centre, in conjunction with those at the Hector Pieterse Memorial. They are initiated by enthusiastic and dedicated curators who are committed to the positive development of the communities they serve.

CONCLUSION

The Sharpeville Memorial is “a symbol of hope and a pledge to the South African community that an incident as horrific and painful as the Sharpeville Massacre will never be allowed to happen again” (Moja 2007:34). It is a bold acceptance and commemoration of the massacre and the struggle for liberation.

Responding to the apartheid condition of a township defined by low-density sprawl; monotony and illegibility; limited public space; and the sparseness of amenities, the Sharpeville Memorial is a project that furnishes Sharpeville with a civic monument and institution, whilst rebuilding the impoverished township through a phased urban development. Its siting incorporates the surrounding more permanent infrastructure that supports community upliftment as well as the related temporal facets of the community, thereby directly contributing to nation-building.

The memorial is a socio-spatial response that demonstrates a traditional approach to static monuments and memorials, with a contemporary perspective on civic buildings, which encourages oral history through ongoing story-telling as a significant memory device. This is supported, not only by the Exhibition Centre's content and approach, but also by the siting of the building amidst the neighbouring community buildings, allowing for a cross-programming of community infrastructure and public gathering.

Thus, the Sharpeville Memorial's appropriate scale, siting and usage within the township context make it a functional and symbolic landmark that contributes to community upliftment. It is not a sombre monument but an active architectural and urban intervention that is a propelling catalyst, thereby making it a successful example of a living memorial.

5.4 HECTOR PIETERSON MEMORIAL MUSEUM - ORLANDO

| | | |
|--------------|---|---|
| COMMEMORATES | - | 16 June 1976 and Soweto uprisings |
| PROJECT TYPE | - | Memorial museum, public gathering space. |
| CLIENT | - | Standard Bank of South Africa, The Department of Environment and Tourism, and City of Johannesburg. |
| ARCHITECT | - | Mashabane Rose Architects |

CONTEXT AND SITE STATUS

“Epitomising defiance against injustice everywhere” (Bremner 2004:11) the township of Orlando West in Soweto has grown into a heritage precinct that commemorates the struggle against apartheid. Comprising a number of important sites, which are significant to the fateful events of 16 June 1976, the precinct also includes the houses of prominent political leaders and freedom fighters, such as Nelson Mandela and Archbishop Desmond Tutu. Forming part of this precinct (Fig. 5.4.1), the Hector Pieterse Memorial Museum complex is situated on Khumalo Street - two blocks away from the exact site of Hector Pieterse’s shooting, which occurred on the corner of Moema and Vilakazi Streets.



Fig. 5.4.1 Sign showing the position of the Hector Pieterse Memorial amidst the context of adjacent significant sites (author)

The Hector Pieterse Memorial Museum is a heritage site that serves to “commemorate Hector Pieterse and all the other young heroes and heroines of our struggle who laid down their lives for freedom, peace and democracy” (Harrison 2004:37). Commemorating the Soweto Uprisings and its aftermath, it also honours the general struggle against apartheid, thereby preserving heritage and making it more accessible to the community.



Fig. 5.4.2 Site plan (Deckler et al 2006:31)



Fig. 5.4.3 Informal trade adjacent to the public gathering space (author)



Fig. 5.4.4 The public gathering space and church interface (author)

By closing off roads and a traffic circle, as well as consolidating several sites, the museum has been constructed on the site of the 1976 uprising (Fig. 5.4.2). It overlooks a micro-context of a memorial and public gathering space (Figs. 5.4.3 and 5.4.4), which allows the adjacent community centre, primary school and church access to the square, as well as a macro-context that is enveloped by an ordered landscape of township houses. The public square is not only a place of gathering for local and foreign visitors – it is also a place of contemplation to reminisce on the uprising thereby contributing to the healing process.

Against the physical and symbolic backdrop of 1976 and the present, the museum serves as a place of both tragedy and triumph, and of memory – where memories are shared and contested, and where individual identities are established in terms of a national collective.

INCEPTION

Opened on Youth Day 2002, the Hector Pieterse Memorial Museum filled the gap in Soweto's heritage landscape. The opening was preceded by efforts marred by funding and development battles.

Although the architects were involved with the Soweto Heritage Trust, the project could not materialise due to the battle to acquire funding. Eventually, the Department of Environment and Tourism, the Johannesburg City Council and the Standard Bank of South Africa, (each contributing R16-million, R8-million, and R4million respectively) funded the project (Reilly 2003:13).

Conflict regarding the need to secure the land allocated to the museum from local Soweto developers, as they had planned to develop the site for hotel, retail and shebeen usage. The local community, however, had considered the heritage of the area too significant to sacrifice for an intervention of that nature. Hence, development of the memorial museum advanced.

The first initiatives to memorialise the uprisings resulted in the erection of the Hector Grave Stone and the Cenotaph in the 1980s and 1990s respectively. Located in the Hector Pieterse Memorial Square, which was provisionally declared a National Heritage Site, the Cenotaph site later marked the 25th anniversary of the uprisings as part of a commemorative exhibition. The popularity of the temporary exhibition amongst local and international visitors encouraged the extension of its duration, and highlighted the need for commemorative heritage interventions in the township as well as a museum to service the community. Thus, community's decision to develop the heritage precinct stemmed from these previous efforts that occurred on the site.

DESIGN

The design of the museum has been interpreted as a punctured box that "stands in an appropriately monumental relationship to the match-box houses by which it is surrounded" (Bremner 2004:11). However, the placement of the museum box has taken heed of the houses on the corners of the intersection that it fronts. Although it commands a presence, the building is not overbearing in its siting due to suitable proportion and scale in relation to its surroundings, as well as its colour and features.

The Memorial Museum is an integration of this physical external landscape, the narrative of the 1976 uprising, and museum space. The effect of the exhibition is maximised by utilising the Soweto context. By connecting with the surrounding landscape and directing gazes to capture significant points and landmarks of the 1976 uprising (such as the Orlando Police Station), the window placement is strategic to the contextual display. Hence, it contributes extensively to the exhibition, even though the window shapes and positions appear to be seemingly abstract in the external composition of the façade.

Taking advantage of the fall across the site, the building is designed over three levels as a ramped and flat sequence of interleading spaces surrounding a quiet central courtyard void, which, although inaccessible, is intended as a place of contemplation and reflection. Viewed from the interior, the gravel covered open-to-sky courtyard is scattered with the “individually inscribed granite blocks with the names of 350 previously unrecognised students whom had all lost their lives in the uprising” (Reilly 2003:15). Surrounding strip windows allow natural light to enter into the exhibition space from the courtyard, whilst establishing the constant reminder of those who died through the visual connection with the intermediary space.



The public exhibition spaces occur on the upper two levels (Figs. 5.4.5 and 5.4.6), with administrative and archive space located below (in the level that is partially concealed externally due to the slope of the site). Located above the semi-basement level, the main entry into the museum (Fig. 5.4.7) occurs directly off the public square and makes an immediate impression through the aspects of space, height and light. The internal experiences of the museum are the result of volumetric and functional spaces and relationships, as well as the inter-disciplinary involvement by historians, filmmakers,

writers and picture-researchers. The permanent exhibition (Figs. 5.4.8 and 5.4.9) is a linear narrative composed of a combination of mediums (comprising short films, news reports, documents, video footage, text panels, personal and eye-witness testimonies and photographs) that unfold along the gently sloping ramps, which form a chronological route through the museum.



Fig. 5.4.7 Museum entrance (Low 2003:32)



Fig. 5.4.8 Internal exhibition (Low 2003:32)



Fig. 5.4.9 Internal exhibition (Hector Pieterse Museum Soweto 2007:6)

The materials and services utilised at the museum are intended to be honest, thereby symbolising accurate disclosure. This is expressed through a basic and unadorned material palette comprising exposed service ducting, teak floors, glass, unpainted off-shutter concrete, galvanised steel, and red facebrick. Although the internal use of facebrick has been criticised as a presentation surface, due to “the scale and shape of the brick with that of the photographs” (De Beer 2004:67), the material establishes the continuity between the interior and the exterior, which maintains constant connection and serves as a reminder of the surrounding context.

The public square is a cobbled, paved and grassed area that recalls the quality of the street where the uprising arose. It encompasses the original memorial that includes a water feature (Figs. 5.4.10, 5.4.11 and 5.4.12). A symbol for cleansing, the water feature, which also serves as a backdrop to the memorial, trickles through the square down to the bottom of the site, thereby representing the democracy and freedom that the uprising and the struggle fought for. Dry-stack black slate walls of varying heights define the square’s edge and establish direction, anticipation and a line of movement into the museum, whilst telling the story of 16 June 1976.



Fig. 5.4.10 View of Hector Pieterse Memorial (author)



Fig. 5.4.11 View of memorial across the square from street (author)



Fig. 5.4.12 Memorial water feature integrated with stone wall (author)

MEMORY AND SYMBOLISM

The Hector Pieterse Memorial embodies notions of being the signifier of the event of the uprising. Through semiology and semantics, the association of signs of the past and present mark the event that occurred on the site. Hence, experience is translated into a form that contributes to the meaning of past memory, which impacts on present perceptions. Architectural form, function and memory thereby transmit meaning in the urban context through a metaphoric and symbolic memory space. The content scripted into the intervention conveys its resultant meanings. This is based on the discourse of the actual event and the signs and symbols that link the memorial and surrounding context to the occurrence of the uprising, artifacts and the evolution of time and place. These tactile and optical memorial devices use introjection as a means of memory identification by imprinting the event and meaning of the Soweto uprising onto the visitor.

The positioning of the past in the present allows for the context of the memorial to be understood through a network of references and comparative readings, making the intervention a historical text. It thereby layers historical time and traces to create a time-place continuity, which allows past and present texts to be read together. This juxtaposition of old and new is achieved through the deconstruction and alteration of the context. Thus, the framing of memory through these palimpsestual devices is essential in making connections with the context, in which the site is interpreted by the architectural intervention as a place of activity, symbolism and memory. The overlaid mappings and references are composite datums of memory where traces exist as indicators of the past in the form of the artifacts extracted from the site and linked with others to give form to memory.

Thus, it is the application of the locus solus that comprises the site, its history and architecture in the making of this memorable and symbolic place. It establishes a relationship between the building and surrounding context within a symbolic realm. The

architectural intervention holds past memory that is opened to complex readings in the present, thereby allowing new meanings to materialise and interpretations to be reflected. Emphasising the context, in which architecture is a generator of memory, the architectural intervention commemorates the significance of the surroundings.

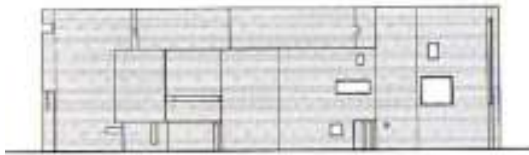


Fig. 5.4.13 East elevation (Deckler et al 2006:33)

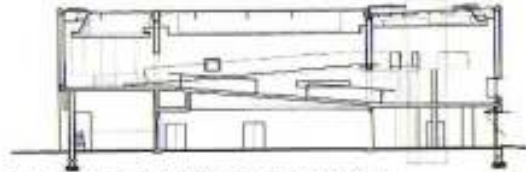


Fig. 5.4.14 Section (Deckler et al 2006:33)

In order to achieve this, elements of the museum's exterior and interior, as well as the public square make reference to the surrounding environment, thereby creating a memorable device that unfolds the landscape and language of the township as well as the events of the uprising. In addition to the actual site, the museum itself is "designed to recall the physical and emotional context of the 1976 uprising" (Reilly 2003:14).

The most striking component of the entire composition is the arresting red-brick box – which evokes the simplicity of the immediate context that is resultant of the distinctive township 'match-box' houses, which were executed by apartheid's housing scheme (Figs. 5.4.13, 5.4.14, and 5.4.15). Hence, the overall impression of the stark heavily massed building in the sprawling residential surrounds resembles the oppressiveness of apartheid – the sheer dominance of power amidst dehumanisation. This symbolism is further explored in the solid form of the building through the repressive elevations (lacking base and roof) framed only by the landscape and sky. The facades include only a few controlled openings that allow connection with the daily lives of Sowetans outside – a constant juxtaposition of past and present.



Fig. 5.4.15 Entrance facade (author)



Fig. 5.4.16 Approach to museum through the public gathering space along the stone wall (author)



Fig. 5.4.17 Position of museum in relation to adjacent community centre (author)

The symbolism is exemplified by the line of rooigras that runs across the public square from the museum entrance in the direction of the actual site of the Hector Pieterse's shooting. It visually connects the sites, thereby putting the event of the uprising into context. Each stone in the wall defining the public square symbolises an individual life sacrificed in the uprising, which when combined stands stronger than when standing alone. This enforces notions of gestalt, where the composition of the wall as a whole is stronger than the sum of the individual parts of stone, thereby symbolising the significance of the uprising and the struggle for liberation. The gaps between the stones in the wall represent the missing victims of the uprising who have not been accounted for. Leading off the main intersection, the wall partially screens the road from the road without separating the activities of the adjacent school, church and shops from the public gathering space of the square (Fig. 5.4.16).

The photograph of the dying Hector Pieterse, taken by Sam Nzima, has become an "icon of the anti-apartheid struggle" (Harrison 2004:35). The struggle has made Hector Pieterse a representation for that which he symbolised, rather than for a specific achievement. The museum has made this symbol the focus of the exhibition, represented by the use of the enlargement of the photograph. The sequence of ramps, surrounded by various parts of the events of the uprising, lead to the enlargement, which is the climax of the exhibition – symbolic of "the moment when the anger provoked by years of humiliation and brutality finally erupted" (Harrison 2004:35).

CATALYST

Initially perceived by the locals as an edifice devoted to foreign tourism, the local community has now been exposed to the initiatives established by the museum, which is dedicated to the honest and sincere interaction between it and its immediate users.

Through its collections and exhibitions the museum encourages public understanding of the struggle for human dignity, thereby preserving heritage and making it simple and accessible. This is especially aimed at the local community via devices of remembrance that recalls the events of the uprising, the celebration of triumph and freedom, socialisation through spaces of public debate as well as the interaction of local and international visitors and the commemoration of liberation struggle events.

The Memorial Museum promotes an income-generating climate that facilitates economic and employment opportunities. By becoming a major attraction, it is envisaged that the

overall Soweto township will benefit from the heritage tourism sector. This extends to methods of entrepreneurship, which capitalises on such a market by encouraging the sale of locally-produced items to create a competitive and unique appeal. Local business prospects are stimulated by the museum's coffee shop, with the informal business stalls along the square creating self-employment. Outsourcing functions and cooperating with existing community organisations, to maintain and manage the site, provides further employment opportunities.

The Memorial Museum's proximity to the adjacent community centre (Fig. 5.4.17) supports their participation in education, training and development programmes, which assists in uplifting the community's standard of living. These services therefore, meet their interests and needs by utilising various means in order to disseminate an integrated range of information for all the museum's users. The social empowerment initiatives are especially directed at the youth, as they are seen as vehicles for change.

Object-based school education through museum information and guided tours; seminars and lectures by academics and politicians; as well as outreach programmes and travelling exhibitions contribute to the stimulation of ideas and life-long learning. These programmes and activities follow the Department of Education's Revised National Curriculum. By linking to the curriculum the *senior phase of the Social Sciences Curriculum explores three learning outcomes that encourage learners to: use enquiry skills to investigate the past and present, demonstrate historical knowledge and understanding, and interpret aspects of history* (Journey of Discovery Newsletter 2006:2).

Thus, the Hector Pieterse Memorial Museum is a living museum, which is a propelling permanence that will remain as a focal point over time, as it is a place of community development, economic upliftment and education.

ADDITIONAL INVOLVEMENT BY THE ARCHITECTURAL PROFESSION

Museums are becoming more accessible and inclusive sites that "allow formerly excluded histories and new voices to be heard" (June 16 1976 Hector Pieterse Museum Brochure) through not only through the design of the museum but also through community engagement. In relation to this, the architects of the Hector Pieterse Memorial Museum have exceeded their scope of work, in terms of design and construction, by involving themselves in the catalytic scope of the project that involves both design and community.

The architects have contributed to the museum's participation in the object-based education for schools, through the compilation of the museum's information guides that teach social history. The brochures (Fig. 5.4.18), supported by guided tours, encourage students to investigate concepts of history and memory and how they have been represented by the design of the museum and the exhibitions. By assisting in the compilation of educational brochures, various architectural devices that have been employed in the project are explained, which are significant to the understanding of the museum and context, as well as the moulding of social, historical and national consciousness.



Fig. 5.4.18 School curriculum guide brochure contributed to by the architects (Journey of Discovery 2005:1)

By providing such a product, which meets high information standards relevant to the curriculum and the museum's concept and context, these community and school educational programmes and are made enjoyable and accessible.

CONCLUSION

The Hector Pieterse Museum Memorial is a national site of commemoration that is both a marker of memory as well as a place for reflection, celebration and education. It reflects the current changes in contemporary South African museology and the articulation of democracy through tools that contribute to it being a living memorial.

Sited within Soweto's commemorative core, it responds to the apartheid township condition of low-density sprawl; monotony and illegibility; and limited public space. The

Memorial furnishes the township with a suitably scaled museum and memorial, and public gathering space that incorporates the surrounding infrastructure to support community upliftment and engage a mix of public involvement and activity. As opposed to standing as an independent architectural icon, the siting of the museum within the public square, flanked by community infrastructure, permits meaningful exchanges between local inhabitants and tourists.

The museum's architectural intervention mediates between museology and basic infrastructure in its approach to memorialisation. Located at the place of the Soweto uprising, the museum commands both site and user participation. The design utilises the site's geography to convey the history of the occurrences of the event by incorporating the immediate and distant surroundings into the museum experience. By using the context as a memory device, the museum conveys the significance of the event into an interpretative experience that condenses time and space.

The Hector Pieterse Museum Memorial's significant role in community development, economic upliftment and education make it a propelling catalyst that is a contemporary commemorative icon for South Africa. Further to challenging traditional museological typologies, the additional involvement by the architects in achieving this serves as a beacon for the architectural profession to follow. Thus, the Hector Pieterse Museum Memorial a successful example of a living memorial.

5.5 CONSTITUTIONAL HILL - BRAAMFONTEIN

| | | |
|--------------|---|--|
| COMMEMORATES | - | Struggle for democracy |
| PROJECT TYPE | - | Judiciary, campus for human rights. |
| CLIENT | - | Johannesburg Development Agency / Department of Public Works |
| ARCHITECT | - | Constitutional Court: OMM Design Workshop and Urban Solutions |

CONTEXT AND SITE STATUS

Sited on the ridge of the Johannesburg, Constitutional Hill affords a contrasting perspective of the inner city characterised by degradation and regeneration, flourishing residential suburbs, and dormant mine dumps. This fragmented city structure, an enduring legacy of apartheid segregation, inaccessibility and dysfunction, lays the foundation for the urban and architectural intervention of the precinct. The commanding site has developed into an heritage, tourist and legal precinct to human rights on what was previously a “notorious prison under the apartheid regime” (Law-Viljoen 2006: 7).

Envisaged as a type of “urban acupuncture, Constitutional Hill aims to undo the spatial order and heal parts of the city” (Deckler et al 2006:19) by visually and physically reconnecting neighbouring precincts. Hence, positioned at the apex between the degraded Hillbrow and recently renewed Braamfontein, the public precinct establishes direct linkages between its historically disconnected surrounding context. Thus, physical access to the site, its history and its current meaning have been achieved through the “urban design strategy of linking north and south, east and west, and the introverted island of prisons with the adjacent residential, recreational and commercial functions of the city” (Masojada cited in Law-Viljoen 2006:24).

Previously referred to as *Hospital Hill* (Harrison 2004:44), the precinct was a site for the detention and punishment of political activists under the apartheid regime. The buildings within the precinct contributed to the subjection of the detainees to brutality and injustice before the rise of democracy in 1994. Visible from Advantage Point within the precinct, the complex retains the existing structures of the prison complex (Figs. 5.5.1 and 5.5.2), which includes the Old Fort, Number Four, and the Women’s Jail, whilst reincorporating the demolished remains of the Awaiting Trial Block.

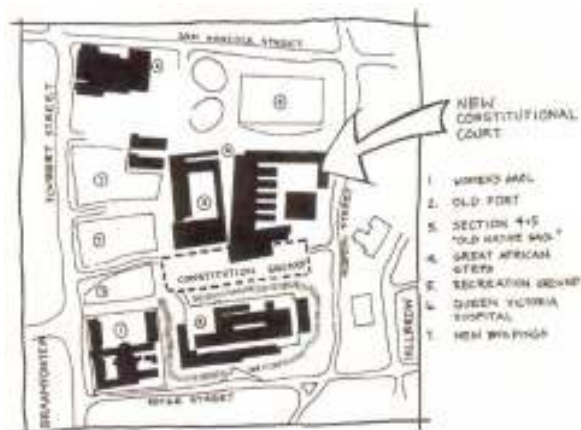


Fig. 5.5.1 Site plan (Low et al 2005:19)



Fig. 5.5.2 Remaining structure of the prison complex (author)

The ramparts of the Old Fort were built as a fortress during the Anglo-Boer War, “to protect the Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek (ZAR) from the threat of British invasion, and to keep watch over the miners flocking to find gold in the village below” (Moja Heritage Collection 2007:12). Later, during apartheid, the Old Fort (Fig. 5.5.3) was used as a prison for the incarceration of white men only, with the exception of Nelson Mandela, until it was abandoned at the beginning of the final phase of apartheid to house an infantry.

Other black prisoners were imprisoned in Number Four (Fig. 5.5.4), which was a part of the Old Fort complex. It included isolation and punishment cells that witnessed the horrific conditions under which the prisoners were incarcerated and brutalised. Although the prisoners were housed within the same premises of the Women’s Jail (Fig. 5.5.5), they were detained in racially separated sections. Female political offenders were held within the confines of a deceptively charming Victorian building and attached courtyards that were the sources of humiliation and pain. The building included front and rear entrances and courtyards for whites and blacks respectively.



Fig. 5.5.3 Old Fort (author)



Fig. 5.5.4 Number Four (author)



Fig. 5.5.5 Women's Jail (author)

In the campus' new intervention, "these spaces of oppression have been transformed in a living museum dedicated to human rights" (Noble 2004:21) marking the intersection of South Africa's past, present and future. The new additions at Constitutional Hill include the Constitutional Court and the Human Rights Library, as well as buildings that house the South African Human Rights Commission and the Commission of Gender Equality. Constitutional Hill celebrates South Africa's progressive journey from the struggle against apartheid to the adoption of the Constitution.

INCEPTION

The national government selected the site for the development of the new Constitutional Court in 1995 (De Klerk 2003:136). Due to the Old Fort having been listed as a national monument, permission had to be obtained from the National Monuments Council to build on the site. However, due to budgetary issues, the R700-million (Harrison 2004:45) development stalled.

Two years later, an international open design competition was launched by the Department of Public Works for the design of the Constitutional Court, which called for "appropriate architectural expressions to reflect the new democratic institution and profound changes in society and culture" (Peters 2004:2). However, the competition also required proposals for the delivery of a contextual setting of the Court, stipulating the preservation of most of the existing buildings immediately located on the site. The brief "spelt out what the building and the precinct within which it would stand should do, what they should represent, how they should be experienced, what values they should express, what places they should take in the development of the country's identity and what the relationship of the architecture of the Court and precinct should be to the architectures of our collective, shared and disjointed heritage" (Makin cited in Law-Viljoen 2006:11).

The award of the design competition in 1998 preceded amendments to the design before construction commenced in 2001 (Law-Viljoen 2006:8). The project was managed by the Johannesburg Development Agency and funded by the Department of Justice (Law-Viljoen 2006:8). Funding was supplemented by the Gauteng Provincial Government Department of Finance and Economic Affairs' funding agency Blue IQ. Blue IQ invests in developments that involve key sectors for provincial development (de Klerk 2003:136), and Constitutional Hill falls within this ambit as it includes business and tourism elements. President Thabo Mbeki inaugurated the Constitutional Court and Constitutional Square on

21 March 2004 (Noble 2004:21), Human Rights Day, which is dedicated annually to the commemoration of the Sharpeville massacre.

DESIGN

Through a differentiated architectural language, the significance and integrity of the new structures of the Constitutional Court are legibly defined against a backdrop of the original built environment, where the character of these original structures act as reminders of the harsh conditions under apartheid. The intention has, therefore, been “not to produce another theme park but, rather, to preserve painful memories evoked by the prison, and to counterpoint them with the new developments that symbolise democracy” (Harrison 2004:45).

The democratic vision for the future of South Africa is simultaneously embodied in the Constitutional Court’s historical and architectural commemoration and breaks with the past in order to embody the ideals of the present. Thus, the design of these urban and architectural interventions addresses notions of “how to conserve intangible aspects of our culture and how to enable the process of reconciliation to continue” (Damon 2006:28). By retaining existing buildings, as well as their associated representations of memory, and juxtaposing them with new interventions, the spatial boundaries of the precinct are simultaneously acknowledged and defied.

Although the fragmentation of the complex is symbolic of South Africa’s disjointed past, the Constitutional Court stimulates the cohesion of the site by incorporating the surrounding structures of the precinct into the fabric of both the Court and Constitutional Hill. The psychological term ‘gestalt’ may be identified here. Defined by the Concise Oxford Dictionary, ‘gestalt’ is *the perceived organised whole that is greater than the sum of its parts*. Thus, Constitutional Hill is a composition of fragments, each treated as a singular piece standing distinct and commanding individual attention. But even though the pieces exist as individual entities, together they comprise one harmonious unit that alludes to the total conception of the entire precinct.

As opposed to standing as an overbearing object, indicative of the previous apartheid regime, the Court’s fragmented approach to planning offers a more public and welcoming locale. The Constitutional Court is the focal point that characterizes the Constitutional Hill precinct. Symbolically posed at the summit of Constitutional Hill, the Court has been likened to the “acropolis, the defender of the polis itself” (Anonymous 2004:81), accessed

by a winding journey via the Great African Steps (Fig. 5.5.6) that tapers up to its chosen destination.



Fig. 5.5.6 The Great African Steps (author)



Fig. 5.5.7 The Great African Steps mediate between past and present (author)

It is the freedom of the journey that validates the ideology of the South African democratic society, as the design approach of Constitutional Hill opens up and reintegrates what was previously blocked and isolated by apartheid. Through the identification of various routes, the site is reconnected to its surrounds by access ways running through and around its perimeter. People mediate between past and present as they pass by the buildings and traverse the site in carrying out their everyday lives (Fig. 5.5.7). Thus, characterised by a varied urban landscape that privileges open and enclosed courtyards and walkways, these spaces connect the Court to the surrounding structures within the precinct, as well as link the accommodation within the Court building itself.

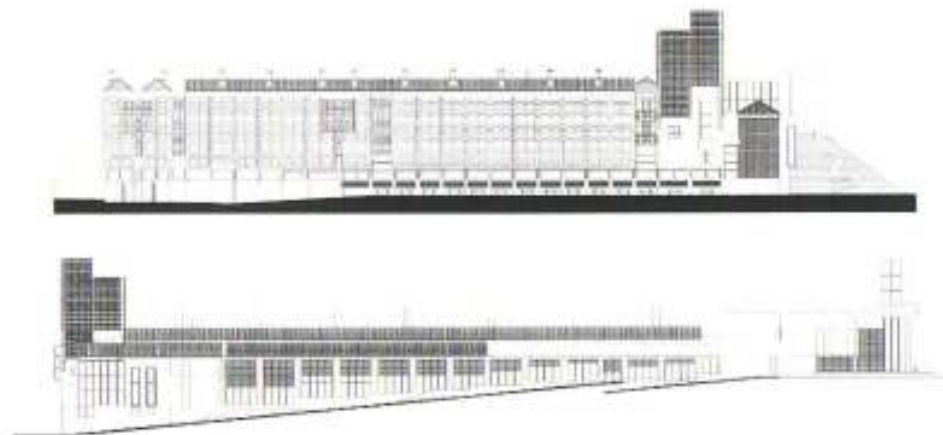


Fig. 5.5.8 North elevation above, West elevation below (Deckler et al 2006:22)

Encompassing the library, court foyer and chamber, administration and exhibition areas, as well as the judge's chambers, the Constitutional Court is set amidst the existing built structures of the precinct, consisting of complex juxtapositions of built and void spaces, and entails a split positioning of the building into the sloping site (Figs. 5.5.8 and 5.5.9). Although located at the bottom of the site, the northern portion of the Court is marked by

the tallest structure of Constitutional Hill – the library (Fig. 5.5.10), which has been declared as a “glowing beacon of knowledge” (Makin et al 2004:12). This public space is linked on axis to the southern volumes by an administrative wing, which acts as the buffer between the public components on the main axis and the private components attached to it.

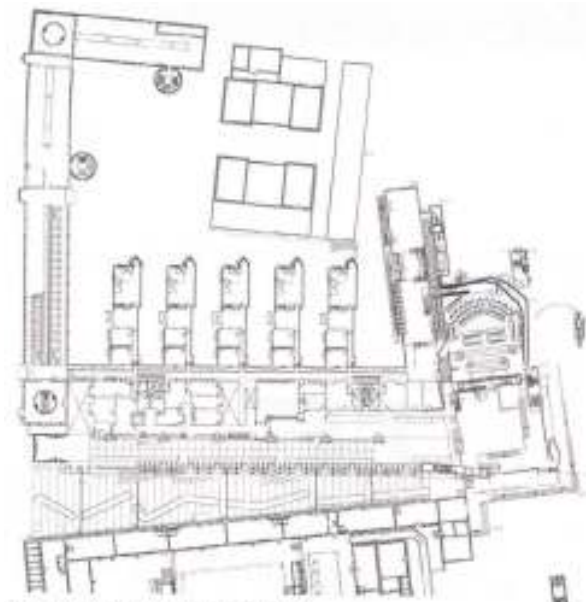


Fig. 5.5.9 Plan (Low et al 2005:20)



Fig. 5.5.10 Legible corner of gallery and library at bottom of the Great African Steps (author)

The series of spaces within the administrative wing includes the Exhibition Stairs (Fig. 5.5.11) – a public gallery space for the works of the Constitutional Arts Trust (Deckler et al 2006:21), which uses craft products and art as an instrument for legibility, and influences the general perception of the building itself. The private areas stemming from this section are characterised by the judges’ chambers, with water garden courtyards and access ways between them. Standing opposite the library, to the south, is the court foyer and court chamber. This “chamber of wisdom” (Makin et al 2004:12) is the primary focus of Constitutional Hill is positioned at the top of the site opening out to Constitutional Square. “Rather than generating meaning through form, it expresses meaning in its void” (Law-Viljoen 2006:46).

Thus, as an instrument for communication, the Constitutional Court expresses its intent through its symbolic and physical open welcoming spatial qualities. As “an architectural metaphor for trees” (Constitutional Hill Visitor Brochure), the Court foyer (Fig. 5.5.12) reinforces the notions embodied by the Court’s emblem. Slanting columns populate the space in which the public gathers before entering the court chamber or the exhibition

gallery. The notion of community and potential for multifunctional public activity is enhanced by the expansive use of glass is a way to “express the open transparency required of civic democracy” (Noble 2004:20). The inside-outside visibility is a quality that extends into Constitutional Square, which is directly accessible from the court and foyer through a threshold significantly marked by heavily carved timber doors (Fig. 5.5.13).



Fig. 5.5.11 Exhibition gallery (author)



Fig. 5.5.12 Foyer (author)



Fig. 5.5.13 Carved door (author)



Fig. 5.5.14 Remaining stairwell (author)

To accommodate the gathering space of Constitutional Square, the existing Awaiting Trial Block was demolished. Although it has been controversial, “with the demolition came the desire to commemorate the building and to incorporate its history into the new Court to recognise that the Constitutional Court is the outcome of a historical process” (Masojada cited in Law-Viljoen 2006:39). Thus, the stairwells have been retained at the centre of Constitutional Square as reminders of the past that exist in the present. Overlooking the precinct, the remaining stair towers landmark Constitutional Square and respond to the urban grain of the city of Johannesburg. They trace the footprint of the original building, thereby contributing to the definition of socio-political memory and the symbolic value of the Court. They also relate to the Court foyer, where the basement of the Awaiting Trial Block has been incorporated into the new structure (Fig. 5.5.14), “exposed to serve as a reminder of its previous use” (Du Toit 2004:39).

It has been suggested that the Constitutional Court has “modernist appeal combined with refreshing low-tech elements” (Noble 2004:20). This is a paradox, as the rational and decontextual principles of modernist architecture exist in contrast to the tactile qualities of an African approach to design. However, a relationship between the two approaches does exist at the Constitutional Court – the limited palette of materials, which includes glass, concrete, brick, steel and timber, may be attributed modernist design, whilst the craft elements, planning, movement relationships and respect for the surrounding landscape, climate and light is undoubtedly African. The approach results in a tectonic language by relating the grain and roughness of the existing precinct with the refined

sophistication of the new interventions, which stimulates the cohesion within the urban context.

MEMORY AND SYMBOLISM

The position that “environments in which democratic debate takes place can be seen as physical expressions of mankind’s relationship with the ideals of democracy” (Sudjic et al 2001) is epitomised by the Constitutional Court, which symbolises the ideals of South Africa’s progressive Constitution. The interventions at Constitutional Hill contribute to the formation of a new collective South African identity (Fig. 5.5.15), whilst it exists simultaneously a memorial of the past and a gesture of the future.



Fig. 5.5.15 Collective identity signified by the various South African languages at entrance to the foyer (Makin et al 2004:9)

This is achieved through a process of introjection where the symbolism of the built environment is projected onto society to form a collective memorial consciousness. Introjection allows for the formation of identity through the imprint of events and the environment on the observer. It is a representation of memory that prompts how and what to remember through the memorial context and supporting commemorative information.

The new South Africa inherited a collective identity representative of a *fractured*

dysfunctional society (Makin cited in Law-Viljoen 2006:10) from the previous regime. The Constitutional Court sheds the institutional and national associations of apartheid inheritance. It projects a collective identity of national freedom and reflects the new functioning of a South African nation with democratic values. Thus, by representing these civic aspirations, the Constitutional Court stimulates societal inclusiveness and belonging amongst all South African people. The Court is, therefore, a symbol of the bridge which is our democracy that intends to carry all people into a life of dignity” (Justice Yvonne Mokgoro cited in Law-Viljoen 2006:31). These values not only include the historical elements of identity, but also extend to that of the architectural in a building that reflects the “structural dismantling” and the “personality of democracy” (Makin cited in Law-Viljoen 2006:11). As an iconic building, which embodies the identity of the new South Africa, the Constitutional Court articulates the South African architectural vernacular, in which the character and form of the building, as well as the precinct, illustrate connections between memory and space. This manifests in the metaphoric associations and spatial relationships evident in the Constitutional Court.

Constitutional Hill carries a complex socio-political legacy that now expresses the victory of human rights over adverse abuse in a public space of national symbolic importance. It is not the site’s architectural intervention that is the most symbolic aspect, but rather “the traces of political memory inscribed on this site, and the way these memory traces contribute to our conception of human rights” (Noble 2004:21).



Fig. 5.5.16 Traces of old and new at Constitutional Square (Anonymous 2004:84)

These indicators of the past are readable as symbols, remains and fragments. The visible traces are linked with elements of the present to suggest new insights and give form to memory. The reinterpretation of existing forms and iconography into the new architecture, therefore, expresses memory through physical traces and spatial experience. By being inserted into new frameworks, they formulate and stimulate new text and understanding. Through the sedimentation of historical memory and the creation of new structures (Fig. 5.5.16), the site physically and experientially commemorates the struggle against oppression and celebrates the values of the country's Constitution.

This collective memory is engaged through the sense of place, which is an integration of architecture, permanences and history in the site that simultaneously manifests past and present. This concept of locus is enhanced by the Court's contextual sensitivity. It is defined by space, time and topography where architecture gives form to the spirit of the place. By doing so, memory is reinterpreted to create a symbolic place that stimulates experience, emotions and perception. Memory conditions perception and is modified by it through the continuum of past and present within the context to suggest new meanings.

The analysis of the context and its re-presentation through the reconstruction of historical layers reveals and produces both existing and new forms and meaning. The interplay of past and present, as well as the juxtapositions of new and old, allow for the relative understanding and recognition of each other. The palimpsestual process ensures the continuity of historical process and entails memory associations and references necessary to reveal, express and understand the context.



Fig. 5.5.17 Internal and external exhibitions include a layering photography, text, remnants, and video footage with existing and new structures (author)

This has been achieved through the integration of new buildings with existing buildings, the retention of remaining structures, the reuse of found materials in new interventions, as

well as the use of exhibition media (Fig. 5.5.17). It includes concepts of exposure, disposition, and the addition of physical and symbolic layers of the buildings forming the precinct. Through the peeling away process the revelation of hidden layers uncovers the ideology of apartheid and its devices. Thus, this exposure through the layering of physical and symbolic traces destabilises and dismantles the dysfunctionality of the system, thereby “providing healing through memory” (Damon 2006:28).

The notions of palimpsest have been supported by archaeological concepts, which inspires the revelation of hidden surfaces and materials linked to remembering and recollecting. This process expresses both tangible and intangible texts, codes and associations necessary for the interpretation of the context. The unearthing of embedded physical and cultural elements are crucial to the understanding of new interventions and the generation of new meaning.

Via these processes, the context at Constitutional Hill is deconstructed and reassembled through a reworking of spatial and metaphorical elements, thereby establishing a time-place continuity. The evolution of the context is understood through this process, which conveys invested meanings that have been repressed and are now revealed. The unconscious memories are brought to the fore through the material forms of the context.

In relation to this, remembrance through association is stimulated by the relation of one sign or artifact to another within the Constitutional Hill precinct. Through semiology and semantics, these signs and symbols are the elements used to mark the remembrance of the site and related events via visual, spatial and textural experience. Perceived meanings are transmitted within this context through this experience and the movement through space and time, which in turn moves the human spirit. This associative perspective also establishes a continuum of past and present.

Thus, the translation of these signs in structural linguistics indicates that the built environment at Constitutional Hill signifies civic achievement allowing it to be read as historical text. Text is, therefore, an important memorial device that allows the past and present to be read simultaneously. The associative links between internalised text and outward manifestation are stimulated by symbols that establish a dialogue open to interpretation.

Within the Constitutional Hill precinct, the Constitutional Court stands as a dignified civic institution of democratic social empowerment via its potential for open public use. By

expressing this concept of freedom through accessibility, as well as the cultural and symbolic views on democracy and justice, the Constitutional Court alters the notions of what a court building is preconceived as. It is the converse of the “inaccessible and offensive public buildings of the previous autocratic and oppressive state” (Deckler et al 2006:19) as well as the preconceived ideology of most courts being alienating or intimidating monuments.

Rather, as an institutional and civic building in a democratic society, the Constitutional Court “gains symbolic value by expressing the openness it represents” (Peters 2004:2). This, along with accessibility, inclusiveness, and legibility, is reflected in the structure and expression of the Constitutional Court. Hence, founded on the values of the Constitution, the Court conveys the ideals of “freedom, democracy, equal opportunity, diversity, responsibly, reconciliation and respect” (Deckler et al 2006:19) that are being constructed in South Africa.

Just as the urban intervention at Constitutional Hill is based on the notion of gestalt, the Constitutional Court is structured such that its character is based by mechanisms of relationship in the formulation of a place of solidarity. Because the “South African democracy is an accomplishment of unity in diversity” (Masojada cited in Law-Viljoen 2006:117), the Constitutional Court is a symbol of this collective character. Thus, making reference to the concept of gestalt, the Court is a “collection of buildings under a common roof, symbolic of the judges working together for a common response to matters of the Constitution” (Masojada cited in Law-Viljoen 2006:117).

The Constitutional Square is “tangible evidence of striving for an open democracy” (Peters 2004:2) as it is the public space that forms the heart of the precinct. The Square links the Constitutional Court to the city and celebrates society’s freedom and right to gather. It is, therefore, a public political space that carries the ideals of democracy in the principle of freedom, which French political philosopher Claude Lefort terms “resistance to oppression” (Noble 2004:21). Reflecting the values of a democratic society, therefore, it is a central and accessible gathering place open to all (Fig. 5.5.18), which fiercely opposes the apartheid laws, which forbid the “congregation of more than two people within two square meters” (Makin et al 2004:11).

The inner walls of the Court chamber (Fig. 5.5.19) are clad with the bricks of the demolished Awaiting Trial Block, contributing to the *symbolic and physical connection with history and place* and suggesting a *complete intermingling of past and present* (Masojada

cited in Law-Viljoen 2006:39). The bricks of the demolished Awaiting Trial Block have also been reused to pave the Great African Steps, which lead to the Court chamber. The route, therefore, symbolises the “legacy of apartheid on one side and the values of freedom, equality and dignity on the other” (Constitutional Hill Visitors Brochure), as the Steps mediate between past, represented by the solid stone wall of the Number Four prison, and the present, characterised by the glazed transparency of the Court.



Fig. 5.5.18 Constitutional Square encourages accessibility in and around the precinct (author)



Fig. 5.5.19 Bricks from the Awaiting Trial Blocks are reused in the Court Chamber (author)



Fig. 5.5.20 The symbolic banyan tree logo reflects traditional gathering space(http://www.umich.edu/news/MTNews/E02_04/bisachs.html)

One of the most significant metaphoric representations at the Constitutional Court is that of the banyan tree, which carries symbolic associations on a social level. It characterizes the social exchanges of wisdom and knowledge arising from communal gatherings that take place under the shade of trees in African society. Thus, as a “reinterpretation of African cultural values” (Noble 2004:20), the tree is the emblem of the Constitutional Court. Apart from being reflected as the Court’s logo (Fig. 5.5.20), the abstracted depiction of the open administration of “justice under a tree” (Anonymous 2004:82) is projected in the physical manifestation of the Constitutional Court building.

CATALYST

The passage of time relates to the transformation of a context. The architectural artifacts at Constitutional Hill have endured time and become characteristic fragments of the urban landscape, thereby making it a propelling permanence that allows the past to be experienced in the present as an accumulated record of time.

Thus, instead of existing as an inert edifice of heritage, the architectural interventions at Constitutional Hill have become prompts for urban renewal that exist at local and national levels. Because of its location, Constitutional Hill includes the catalytic integration of surrounding areas in the development of the precinct. The proximity of the site to the

main Johannesburg railway stations assists in this accessibility, addressing the suppressive historical components of isolation and inaccessibly established by apartheid planning. By “converting negativity into optimism” (Judge Sachs cited in Law-Viljoen 2006:11) the location, development, and character of Constitutional Hill benefits the communities of surrounding contexts spatially, socially and economically.

Constitutional Hill is a “hub of development activity, attracting great interest and investment” (Frank 2006: 24), thereby stimulating the development and maintenance of other progressive precincts that are part of inner city Johannesburg. Through ongoing initiatives the urban decline and withdrawal of business that marred the inner city is slowly being reversed. Thus, in addition to contributions made to the transformation and regeneration of the inner city, financial benefits have also impacted on the city of Johannesburg. The economic benefits broaden to a national level, where the recognition of Constitutional Hill as a site of national significance strengthens heritage tourism for South Africa as a whole. As a symbol of South Africa’s democracy, the overall development of Constitutional Hill has “continued to draw increasing numbers of tourists – local, national and international” (Frank 2006: 24), thereby contributing to the development and investment of the city of Johannesburg as well as the country.

Although the linkage of nodes and precincts is vital to the spatial and economic redefinition of the post-apartheid South Africa urban landscape, the focus on community initiatives is of utmost significance to the development and empowerment of a democratic society. The socio-political ensemble of the precinct is a result of the incorporation of new architectural initiatives with the respectful retention of existing artefacts. Thus, it presents a platform for public participation in the enactment of the Constitution via the transformation of architectural space into “genuine political space of civic participation” (Noble 2004:21). Heritage, Education and Tourism (HET) manage this aspect, which is related to the planning and marketing of these spaces and related exhibitions, workshops, activities and events in order “to engage the public in aspects of South African political history” (Noble 2004:21). The *Ex-prisoner Workshop* is an example of collecting exhibition material and the recording memories and stories of prison life. Via sessions with inmates, to workshops contribute to the process of acknowledgment and the restoration of the inmates’ dignity that was lost during incarceration.

Similarly, members of society are encouraged to actively participate in the *We the People* programme that “aims to transform Constitutional Hill from a place of pain and suffering into a place where freedoms are protected and the values of the Constitution are upheld”

(Constitutional Hill Visitor Brochure). The process of recollection began a year before the Constitutional Court opened, where the 'We the People' exhibition travelled throughout the country, recording the thoughts and memories of the nation in the transition to democracy. By physically inscribing experiences and memories at exhibitions around Constitutional Hill for future visitors to witness, the public contribute to a shared process of collective healing.

This process of acknowledgment extends to the youth. The restoration of the Old Fort includes 'The Children's Room', which provides a secure place for children to play and learn. By teaching children the values of the Constitution in the 'Schools Programme', the precinct tours, exhibitions, interactive projects and activities are educational resources that contribute to school curricula, such as life orientation, social science and history, thereby contributing to the healthy social development of society.

As a campus for human rights, Constitutional Hill incorporates the Constitutional Court and the Human Rights Library as well as the South African Human Rights Commission and the Commission of Gender Equality, as a collection of interventions by various architectural practices. This is displayed by the addition of new office buildings (executed by Kate Otten Architects) to the existing Women's Jail museum and exhibition complex (Fig. 5.5.21). The housing of the South African Human Rights Commission and the Commission of Gender Equality in these new structures has, thereby, enhanced the significance of the site. The addition has contributed to the precinct's functioning as a living museum, where, by representing memory through the retention and renovation of the existing prison building, the new addition transforms the complex to a place where human rights are protected under democracy, as opposed to the unjust inhumane abuse displayed by the previous apartheid regime.



Fig. 5.5.21 New building by Kate Otten Architects juxtaposed with the existing Women's Jail building (author)

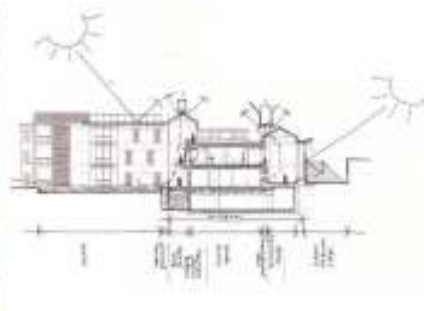


Fig. 5.5.22 Section showing climatic response of the Constitutional Court building (Low et al 2005:20)



Fig. 5.5.23 Artistic screens (author)

Apart from being a catalyst for urban and social interventions, the Constitutional Court also addresses issues of environmental sustainability (Fig. 5.5.22). By engaging principles of energy conservation in the design approach, the Constitutional Court makes a statement of environmental responsibility. It is representative of the Court and the country, whilst setting a precedent for future buildings of a similar, or varied, nature. In addition to the socio-political appropriateness of the design, courtyard planning is executed to climatically control the Court and its surrounding spaces. The indigenous trees and artistic screens (Fig. 5.5.23), which also activate the edges of the buildings for public usage, control sunlight and heat gain into the building. Sun and light levels are controlled by the angled rectangular slits in the foyer's concrete roof, which minimises the harshness of the sun in summer, and maximises solar penetration in winter, creating qualities of light that vary in richness and texture.

CONCLUSION

The Constitutional Court is a dignified intervention set amidst the Constitutional Hill precinct that responds to a South African society in transition. As the first major post-apartheid government institutional development, it is intended to embody the spirit of the new South Africa in a memorial-museum-court intervention that offers justice, hope and a positive vision for the future. By conserving existing buildings and adding new interventions to the site, there is interplay between South Africa's socio-political past embodied in the preservation of the prison buildings, and the aspirations for the future illuminated by the court building.

The Court responds to the precinct's inheritance of apartheid symptoms that include the vast separation of areas with controlled access and limited linkage, the hindrance of public gathering resulting in the lack of public space, and the dissonance of human dignity. Thus, the connections that have been established between the precinct and surrounding areas allow for free uninhibited movement. The public gathering space created at the heart of the precinct allows for a mix of people to encounter each other, quiet reflection as well as a variety of public activity. Constitutional Hill elicits respect for the Court and the country's citizens through its celebratory architecture.

Thus, nudged into a site laden with the contradictions of sadness and joy, the Constitutional Court expresses a vernacular architecture that is rooted physically, historically and culturally in the South African landscape. The Court's regional character, dependent on its spatial relationships and assembly of materials, is a visible and

experiential acknowledgment of the qualities of the historic site. The public architecture “transcends a purely formal occupation with material and symbol” (Du Toit 2004:22) by the active creation of spaces to engage society and stimulate interactive initiatives. It, therefore, addresses the democratic imperative of involving society in the political decisions through a significant piece of post-apartheid South African architecture.

Supporting human rights, education and prisoner rehabilitation, the Constitutional Hill is a propelling catalyst that adds another layer to South African history by creating memories for future generations (especially those who did not live through apartheid) to discover and experience. It is the physical manifestation of political duplicity, whence, the “figure of freedom is held in stark contrast with its political inversion, the rule of tyranny, as a perpetual reminder of the frailty of human worth” (Noble 2004:21).

Hence, the Constitutional Court celebrates the country’s struggle for liberation and the resultant democracy. It establishes positive perceptions of an appropriate South African approach to civic architecture through its success as a living memorial.

5.6 FINDINGS

By analysing the case studies, five categories of memory and resultant commemoration types may be identified in the South African context, which may be defined as: traumatic, rhetoric, nostalgic, contested and vernacular.

Traumatic memory is the memory of disturbance, especially recognised in events of systematic political oppression. It is expressed through urban and architectural space in which monuments address important traumatic events and moments. Architecture involves notions of trauma-reflection where the design of buildings contributes to the materialisation and redemption of traumatic experience. They provide the contemporary city with new monuments that are *mnemonic symbols, originally built to mark particular traumatic experiences, where personal traumatic memories are projected onto them* (Crimson 2005:xvii). The physical manifestation of the shock and knowledge of these memories is important in remembrance and future recognition, to acknowledge those lives that were sacrificed and to ensure that such events are never repeated.

Contested memory involves the divergence of historical knowledge, narrative and experience, where memories in debated legacies and conflicting socio-spatial environments are seen to be *hybrid, fractural, and conflictual, even though they belong to collective identities* (Crimson 2005:178). Architectural responses exist as contemporary markers within urban contexts that exude the markings of the previous political regime, which is a constant reminder of the conflicting authoritative associations between past and present. The dependence of historical and memorial knowledge on changing power relations results in the conflicting constructs of collective identity and threatened individual identities. Although not the case at Sharpeville, the fate of monuments that were previously erected to commemorate past regimes may be discredited and dishonoured by commanding powers. Although usually destroyed, some monuments may, however, be rehabilitated in an *effort to associate and reinscribe them with new resonances that enable them to remain as highly public monuments* (Coombes 2003:23).

Nostalgic memory exists as affective indulgence of historicism that contributes to the acceptance of memories. Stemming from the Greek words '*nosos*' meaning 'return to native land', and '*algos*' meaning *suffering or grief* (Lowenthal 1985:10) nostalgia serves a socially connective purpose. It is a *genesis of lived and mediated experience* (Coombes 2003:124) that places emphasis on reflection, where meanings emerge by celebrating the

virtues of relics. The historical sites recall the familiar, thereby enhancing personal and communal recollection and reminiscence, as well as the attachment to a recognisable place. "What pleases the nostalgist is not just the relic but his own recognition of it, not so much the past itself as its supposed aspirations" (Lowenthal 1985:8).

Rhetoric memory encompasses notions of national identity, where civic ideology shapes and imprints the landscape via mnemonic and monumental construction. These architectural markers are defined by Boyer as, "civic compositions that teach us about national heritage and our public responsibilities and assume that the urban landscape itself is the emblematic embodiment of power and memory" (Boyer 1996:321). Sites of rhetorical memory are, therefore, spaces and monuments that officiate the memory of significant events and are metaphors of national life. Expressions of political ambition and national aspirations are reinforced through these material representations. Civic buildings serve as symbols of political power as well as international emblems that assert identity and reinforce national perceptions in the global arena.

Vernacular memory is the preservation of personal memory anchored in collective remembering. It is established through a variety of symbolic inscriptions, institutions and public space markers in which memories are activated and produced. It places emphasis on the needs of people by marking local customs and everyday events, occasions, dates and anniversaries for remembrance and commemorative events through symbolic representation, which has commemorative "significance as a means of transmitting social memory" (Connerton 1989:52). According to Boyer, *vernacular landscapes are rooted in a sense of place where the calendar days of events leave their traces on a series of public spaces* (Boyer 1996:321). The articulation of these ceremonial places is attributed to social and political patterns that the national or municipal government intends to encourage within the public realm. Therefore, specific meanings are conferred upon markers "depending on the circumstances and the political scenarios in which their strategies and projects unfold over time" (Jelin 2003:55). These public spaces are platforms to express the variety of meanings attributed to the past, which are reinforced and transformed over time. They are also vehicles for transformation and positive development.

The successful living memorials studied in this chapter are manifestations and representations of positive new values under democracy. With the exception of the Apartheid Museum, they all utilise memorialisation to aid in the recovery of apartheid

through the direct development of society.

The projects have re-conceptualised South Africa's inherited socio-spatial conditions through new commemorative approaches that respond to the scars of apartheid on the landscape. These responses are characterised by public gathering spaces; appropriate scale and legibility; community infrastructure, facilities and amenities; linkage and access; mix of activities and development nodes.

By acknowledging the contemporary transformation of the socio-spatial South African landscape, the architects have established connections between local issues that attend to the needs of the people, as well as participating in global architectural discourse. The projects are propelling catalysts that contribute to urban renewal; environment; sustainability of the development; tourism; education; economy; and community upliftment. Thus, they are contemporary icons that should endure transformation over time, whilst carrying the memories and associations of the original interventions.

Appointed through competitions, direct and award commissions, the architects' additional involvement in selected projects includes collaboration between academia and practice to respond effectively to the intervention; direct contributions to skills development, community initiatives and educational programmes. Although, the projects' memorialisation communication methods comprise various levels of symbolism, they also include practical approaches to commemoration.

Hence, these commemorative projects are acceptable and understandable to all South Africans, whilst contributing to and enhancing their everyday life, thereby making them successful examples of living memorials in South Africa.

| | APARTHEID MUSEUM | WALTER SISULU SQUARE OF DEDICATION | SHARPEVILLE MEMORIAL | HECTOR PIETERSON MEMORIAL MUSEUM | CONSTITUTIONAL COURT |
|---|----------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| | | | | | |
| <u>APPOINTMENT</u> | commission | competition | award | commission | competition |
| <u>PROJECT TYPE</u> | museum | public gathering, retail | memorial, exhibition centre | museum, public gathering | judiciary |
| <u>COMMEMORATES</u> | struggle against apartheid | delivery of the Freedom Charter | Sharpeville massacre | Soweto uprising | democracy |
| <u>CATALYST TYPE</u> | pathological | propelling | propelling | propelling | propelling |
| educational | • | • | • | • | • |
| urban renewal | - | • | • | - | • |
| sustainability | - | • | - | • | - |
| tourism | • | • | • | • | • |
| environmental | - | • | - | - | • |
| social/ community | - | • | • | • | • |
| economy | - | • | • | • | • |
| <u>RESPONSE TO APARTHEID SPACE</u> | no | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| public gathering space | - | • | • | • | • |
| legibility and scale | - | • | • | • | • |
| facilities, amenities, infrastructure | - | • | • | • | - |
| linkage, access, connectivity | - | • | - | - | • |
| development node, mix of uses | - | • | • | • | • |
| <u>ADDITIONAL INVOLVEMENT BY ARCHITECTS</u> | no | yes | no | yes | no |
| academia/practice | - | • | - | - | - |
| skills development | - | • | - | • | - |
| education | - | - | - | • | - |
| <u>MEMORY CATEGORY</u> | | | | | |
| traumatic | • | • | • | • | • |
| contested | • | • | • | • | • |
| nostalgic | - | • | - | - | • |
| rhetoric | - | - | - | - | • |
| vernacular | - | • | • | • | • |
| | | | | | |

Table 5.6.1 Case study comparison

6.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This dissertation set out to analyse current South African commemorative architecture in order to test the hypothesis and to ascertain recommendations for successful future projects.

To achieve this, this final chapter draws on the research in preceding chapters through the extrapolation and summary of the salient issues and the interpretation of these findings. It responds to the problem statement by answering the overall question of whether appropriate architectural commemoration in South Africa is based on living memory.

Thus, conclusions are derived through the testing of the hypothesis based on the undertaken research. It states the theoretical and practical implications of the research, and establishes recommendations that are crucial in informing the appropriate response to the research problem. These recommendations are proposed as guidelines in the design of future successful South African commemorative architectural projects.

COMPARISONS BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICAN AND INTERNATIONAL COMMEMORATIVE INTERVENTIONS

Based on the commemoration of tragic events, international and South African comparisons are drawn between the holocaust and that of the struggle against apartheid, as they entail genocide and racial discrimination, which resulted in tragic consequences of suffering, violence, persecution and death. From the preceding research, it may be concluded that the major differences between international and South African commemoration include catharsis, communication, and programme.

In comparison to most international approaches, the South African approach to the commemoration of tragic events involves notions of memory preservation, as well as catharsis. Thus, unlike international examples, South African commemorative projects are more than just painful and pitiful historical reminders of significant events and people, as South African memorial strategies stimulate healing that results in social cohesion.

Thus, notions of reflection and celebration are integrated to convey the concept of overcoming adversity, which is an important part of history and lessons for future generations. In this way history is exposed and the positive outcomes of a transformative

country is conveyed, which allows for the latter to stand in triumphant contrast to the negativity of the former. Hence, architectural interventions are victorious means of acknowledgement, which express that the dehumanisation and cruelty that was inflicted on society was not in vain.

Although the memorial content of South African and international interventions may be similar in nature, the difference between the approaches also lies in the communication of the content. This includes the levels of symbolism and conveyance of meaning through the commemorative projects. International interventions tend toward sculptural abstraction with figurative meanings. Whilst they directly mark significant events, these manifestations are almost completely textual and limited to linguistics. However, in order to appeal to various levels of public understanding, South African approach to memorialisation is more inclusive. It includes both literal and figurative means of communication to allow for both indirect interpretation and direct understanding of memorial representations.

The South African approach to commemoration also involves a dialogue between symbolic and practical meaning, where memorial architecture is the propelling vehicle for the catalytic unfolding of daily life. It utilises programme to bridge the gap between aspects of functional use and meaning in places of work, learning and leisure. Civic identity and memory is contextualised for the benefit of ordinary people, where the previously oppressed are offered opportunity for development. This forms an important part of the South African collective narrative, making living memory fundamental in the functionality of architecture and the levels at which meaning is conveyed.

ARCHITECTURAL COMMEMORATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Architectural commemoration in South Africa responds to the socio-spatial apartheid condition by addressing notions of catharsis; the re-conceptualisation of conventional memorialisation to aid in social development; and the reparation of the physical landscape.

As argued in the previous chapters, architecture influences the social contexts of an environment by supporting various political views. Current South African models of memorialisation are depicted through the filters of memory and democracy within the public realm, in which the symbolic and physical dismantling of apartheid and the

reconstruction of a democratic South African society responds to current political demands and emergent national freedom.

Thus, in order to address transformation in South Africa, the current landscape requires an execution of memorial initiatives within a framework of contemporary urban and architectural approaches that serve the country's historical and socio-political context. Although the appropriate approach to memorialisation in South Africa will be contested, the communication of historical content will either stimulate remembrance or amnesia in future generations, pending the dominant political power.

In South Africa's current context of democratic freedom, the commemoration and curatorship of the liberation struggle is crucial to remembrance in order to heal the wounds inflicted by apartheid and ensure that those horrors are never repeated. Commemorative interventions should reflect on the pain of the struggle against apartheid whilst also celebrating the liberating victory of freedom. This should apply to intangible and tangible memorialisation, which comprise the conservation of events in mental memory as well as that of the physical remains or attributes of significant sites.

Tangible and intangible representations of memory should be read as both texts within metaphoric associations as well as visible manifestations within the physical landscape. Due to the political context having had an immense impact on socio-spatial development, South African commemorative interventions should extend beyond purely symbolic associative values and contribute to the reconstruction of the South African socio-spatial fabric. Interventions should reflect the tendencies that have shaped the socio-spatial context and redefined South Africa's national identity, whilst allowing for future change in the built environment.

In relation to this, previous notions of memorialisation predominantly entailed the conventional perceptions of museums. In the South African historical context, these barred a vast majority of the population in accordance with apartheid ideology of racial segregation and exclusion. Although museums aid in the conservation and sustainability of heritage via the physical containment, as well as the record and triggering of memory, the approach of these museological concepts should constitute a paradigm modification in order to accommodate, and be accommodated within, the transforming South African society. The South African cultural fabric should be utilised as a larger collaborative platform to aid in the conservation, development and performance of memorial functions.

Thus, a flexible understanding of memorialisation is required in contemporary South African approaches, in which architectural manifestations participate meaningfully and productively in this process. The reinterpretation of interventions should ensure that memorialisation makes significant contributions to the country's development. Rather than meeting purely functional or physiological requirements, architectural memorial interventions should, therefore, be treated as integral influences on South African social facets by responding to the human condition within the post-apartheid context of transformation.

This should consider the South African context of extremes in which interventions should be informed and characterised by polarisations of poverty and wealth, instead of marketing monuments purely as objects for tourist consumption. However, in addition to being erected within a framework of popular culture and globalisation, commemorative projects should respond to apartheid constructs by creating public gathering spaces; legibility and scale; community infrastructure, facilities and amenities; linkages and access; and mixed-use nodes of development.

THE ROLE OF ARCHITECTS IN SOUTH AFRICAN COMMEMORATION

Apart from responding to the spatial requirements for appropriate memorialisation, the role of architects includes that of moral contributions; communication methods; and an engagement between academia and practice.

Due to commemoration comprising a major part of the contemporary South African context, the role of architects should extend beyond the reconfiguration of space. The process should entail making moral contributions to the rebuilding and remoulding of South African society, which includes new methods of transformative delivery, as well as the healing, sustainability and empowerment of the nation. This should be achieved by architects taking responsibility for shaping the future of the country, apart from shaping space, as exemplified by the Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication and the Hector Pieterse Memorial Museum.

Hence, architects can be directly involved and make immediate contributions to the social, economic and educational empowerment of the country by using memory as a platform for the significant development of the cultural landscape. The professional approach to the design and construction of cultural institutions and interventions should be informed by the needs of and consultation with communities. Architects should involve and be involved

with communities in design and manufacture, integrated with local culture and craft, thereby contributing to social transformation and the establishment of new models of national unity.

The engagement of the architectural professional in the scripting of memory into interventions makes methods of communication essential to society's understanding of history, as well as the iconography of the South African landscape. Hence, meaning should be conveyed through inclusive approaches that appeal to various levels of public understanding. Architects should balance the practical and symbolic, the formal and informal, the literal and figurative. Although sculptural abstraction that holds figurative meanings should not be avoided, it is essential that these symbolic manifestations of memory also include means of communication that allow memorial representations to be more directly understood. This takes the form of relating figurative and formal expressions to more informal practical processes that relate to the everyday lives of communities, allowing for commemorative approaches to directly mark significant events, without limiting interventions completely to text and linguistics.

Broader issues of the role of architects in South African memorialisation and transformation include that of the practicing of architecture. Approaches to theorisation, training and practice within the architectural profession should be revisited to accommodate revised notions and models that give consideration to the social, educational and economic relevance of interventions within a globalised country. As opposed to excluding informal approaches to education and practice, an approach that allows for professionals to engage in more direct relationships with the transforming South African socio-spatial structures should be adopted.

However, it should also be noted that although architects provide the means for the programmatic and moral intentions of memorial interventions, it is ultimately the responsibility of the curators, occupants and users of the projects to participate in and carry out the objectives of the architect's intentions.

THE APPROPRIATE MODEL FOR PUBLIC COMMEMORATIVE PROJECTS

In attaining an appropriate South African model for public commemorative projects, urban and architectural interventions should be propelling catalysts. As opposed to being purely symbolic, they should communicate memory by considering practical elements that include context, programme, form and identity.

1. Context:

Responses to context include siting, and urban renewal through connectivity and a mix of land-uses.

Commemorative projects should preferably be located on the actual site of commemoration, and avoid being dormant monumental edifices. Thus, they should be active, site-specific and make concerted efforts in the understanding of place in order to relate to the surrounding environment and activities.

Instead of existing objects isolated in space, such as the Apartheid Museum, interventions should mend the fractured social and spatial frameworks that have been inherited from apartheid. This should be achieved by liberating lost or neglected space, linking to significant nodes and other precincts, as expressed by Constitutional Hill.

Urban renewal should also be contributed to through the reparation of the country's physical fabric and the transformation of everyday public space. As articulated by the Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication, a mix of land-uses should also be adopted, thereby allowing for interventions to integrate with surrounding precincts and everyday amenities and facilities, such as housing, transport and retail.

This should encourage the reinterpretation and reconstruction of historic contexts. The remaining historic elements within these contexts should also be preserved and integrated with new interventions, where possible.

2. Programme:

In addition to memorial content, responses to programme should stimulate social reconstruction and development. They should comprise a mix of uses that include memorial content as well as everyday activities, amenities and facilities; and the creation of social and gathering spaces.

South African commemorative projects should include an integration of grand memorial gestures in relation to that of the everyday. They may include a combination of existing and new buildings, and may combine conventional and inventive approaches to memorialisation. New advances in describing programme should be adopted through

innovative applications for the design of buildings that accommodate conventional memorial functions (such museums, archives and libraries). Static monumental notions of memorialisation should be replaced with flexible strategies that incorporate commemorative notions of reflection, recording and archiving whilst allowing for the performance of daily life in order to sustain memory. Thus, a variety of spatial approaches that are diverse in nature, scale, utility and experience should be implemented in order to articulate the diversity of the transforming South African socio-political context to meet current needs.

This should be achieved by integrating memory with facilities that are required for basic amenities within the broader community, which allow for dignified human enactment and add to a positive quality of life. Economic, health, educational, skills transfer and empowerment opportunities should merge with memorial space in order to benefit the communities that they serve. As demonstrated by the Hector Pieterse Memorial and the Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication, functional co-existence should be adopted in place of functional isolation in order to activate the notion of living memory through amenity.

In support of this, public space should be reclaimed, reassessed and remade into interactive and secure social spaces that are supported by public buildings. Pedestrianised squares and courts, meeting and trading spaces should form the forecourts to community buildings and become the backdrop for social and economic activity, as indicated by the Sharpeville Memorial and Exhibition Centre. Social spaces and associated buildings should, therefore, encourage active public participation and discussion as unification strategies to aid in social renewal and reconciliation.

3. Form:

Responses to form include formation to identity and ownership; additive design; scale and legibility; and adaptability.

Due to contemporary memorial processes requiring new approaches to programme, the making of form is sometimes sacrificed. However, in the contested South African socio-political terrain, formal representations of memory should embrace programme and assist in the negotiation of past, present and future by allowing for a tolerant understanding of history through an informed approach to commemoration in the public arena.

Because current South African memorial approaches deal mainly with cathartic

engagements, formal representations should be cumulative and inclusive as opposed to discriminatory and selective. They should allow users opportunities to contribute to form making and giving identity to formal manifestations through their physical involvement, such as with the Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication. This promotes constructive social dialogue and contributes to the process of transformation through the reinterpretation of approaches to form.

Existing forms should not be erased from the spatial fabric in order to create new. Thus, form making should be an additive rather than substitutive, which is an inclusive rather than discriminatory process. Existing manifestations should be retained and integrated or juxtaposed with new forms in order to enhance the traces of memory and contribute to varied layers of associated meanings.

The scale of projects within surrounding contexts should vary to suit the programmes of intervention. They should satisfy the conditions on site as well as encourage legible human-scaled environments. Consideration should also be given to the nature and quality of edges and the contemporary interpretation of traditional space. Projects within a township, for example, should perhaps, be larger to give character to the monotonous physical fabric created by apartheid, by making it more legible, and allowing opportunity for the definition of public and private space.

Formal approaches should play a significant role in the creation of propelling catalytic interventions. As indicated by the Sharpeville Exhibition Centre, forms should be designed with flexible functionality to ensure the adaptability and longevity of the memorial intervention. Thus, urban and architectural manifestations should be permanent formal representations that are functionally adaptable with the potential for reuse in order to meet the changing future needs of a transforming society.

4. Identity:

Contemporary South African society exists as a paradox – it exudes a collective nature of national unity, as determined by the current political power, yet is comprised of multiple identities, thereby making the content of remembering and forgetting a contested issue.

Thus, it is important that divergent histories and identities are respected and reflected in memorial projects so that all South Africans may feel apart of and contribute to nation-

building. Thus, interventions should appeal and contribute to all facets of the South African community, thereby contributing to a sense of identity and dignity.

Socio-political monologue in public space, which is defined by the dominant power, should be avoided in order to prevent distortions and biased selectivity of memory as well as limited dialogue on memorial issues within the heterogeneous South African society. Memorial projects should carry polyvalent meanings and provoke varied interpretations amidst its users and observers in order to accommodate both individual and collective positions in the South African cultural landscape. The engagement between manifestations and readings should hold a multiplicity of perspectives including both specific and/or open meanings. They should signify different things for different people in order to promote tolerance and thoughtfulness in South African society.

Yet the inclusion of multiple views of the past should also extend beyond metaphoric interpretation to the physical development of heritage sites as well as the development and empowerment of communities in order to establish a South African identity that depicts transformation. This should be achieved by acknowledging varied historic traces that preserve the past and keep memory alive, whilst injecting new values into contemporary interventions, as with the interventions at Constitutional Hill. By learning from tradition and cultural heritage, various traits should be incorporated into memorial contexts to establish a collective identity comprised of individual identity attributes. South African identity should be landmarked by preserving the past and sustaining memory through the relation of previously valued qualities with new focal points in newly interpreted memorial contexts.

Because historic terrains have the potential for continual adaptation to suit changing socio-political spatial environments, sustainable means of communication and construction should be considered in order to continue the process of memorialisation within the transforming South African context. As demonstrated by the Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication, the recontextualisation and juxtaposition of new and old artefacts should give sites new and inclusive meanings and identity, allowing for the accumulated and layered traces of memory to be acknowledged. Thus, although the memorial associations of sites should be maintained, they should allow for gradual shifts and alterations with time.

CONCLUSION

Although the South African socio-spatial context is one of suffering and victimhood, contemporary commemorative interventions reflect the triumph of humanity that has arisen from affliction. Transformed power relations manifest as physical interventions that encourage dialogue within a heterogeneous society in order to meet the contemporary needs of all South Africans.

Architectural commemoration in South Africa is, therefore, developing as a vital component in the construction of a progressive democratic nation that is borne out of the remains of the apartheid past. It is a response to the uniqueness of the South African historical, physical and cultural context where aspects of memory are intimately linked to repairing the ills of the previous regime.

Thus, as argued in this dissertation, the hypothesis has been proven: architectural commemoration enhances the everyday life of South African society by amalgamating memorial and community initiatives through an engagement of living memory.

APPENDIX A

GLOSSARY OF SELECTED TERMS

In the absence of a definitive source, these working definitions are interpreted in the context of the study as an amalgam of the preceding research as well as the Compact Oxford English Dictionary.

archaeology - the revelation of hidden surfaces and materials for analysis and recollection, the uncovering of repressed memories.

catalyst - a stimulus that precipitates the retardation or acceleration of an occurrence, such as urbanization in a city.

catharsis - the healing process through the release of painful memories and emotions.

commemorate - to honour the memory of an event or person.

Holocaust - the mass murder of Jews under the German Nazi regime in World War II.

linguistics - device related to language, often used in memorialisation.

locus - the particular character of a place, defined by space, time, topography, form and other unique elements.

memorial - a site, an object, structure, festival, or statement of facts established in memory of a person or event.

mnemonic - aiding or designed to aid the memory, relating to the power of memory.

monument - an enduring and memorable example or reminder, such as a site, statue or structure of historical importance to commemorate or celebrate a person or event.

palimpsest - the process of exposing and erasing layers of expression, through reuse or alteration, whilst still bearing visible traces of its earlier form.

semantics - the study of meanings.

semiology - the study of signs and symbols and their relationship, use or interpretation.

somatic - device relating to the body, often used in memorialisation.

struggle - to make forceful efforts and strive under difficult circumstances to get free, to contend resolutely especially with and offer obstinate resistance against an adversary superior power.

syntax - the arrangement of words and phrases for analysis, often used in memorialisation.

trace - the readable signs of memory articulated through various representations as indications of the existence or passing of something.

APPENDIX B

LIST OF OTHER CONTEMPORARY SOUTH AFRICAN PROJECTS COMMEMORATING THE STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID

Should the reader wish to analyse further examples of contemporary apartheid liberation struggle commemorative sites, these post-apartheid projects are found across the country:

Gauteng:

Drill Hall, Joubert Park
Freedom Park, Pretoria
Lilies Leaf Legacy Project, Rivonia
Mandela Yard, Johannesburg
Oliver Tambo Exhibition, Benoni
The Freedom Park, Tshwane
The Nelson Mandela Centre, Alexandra
Trevor Huddlestone CR Memorial Centre, Johannesburg
Women's Gaol, Johannesburg

Kwa-Zulu Natal:

Cato Manor Heritage Centre, Durban
Chief Albert Luthuli Legacy Project, KwaDukuza

Eastern Cape:

Nelson Mandela Museum, Mthatha
Red Location Museum of the Struggle, Nelson Mandela Metropole (prev. Port Elizabeth)

Western Cape:

District Six Museum, Cape Town
Nelson Mandela Gateway to Robben Island, Cape Town

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