COLLECTIVE MEMORY AS AN INFORMANT OF CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

Towards A Collaborative Place of Reconciliation for the Mining Community of

Marikana

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The School of Architecture, Planning and Housing University of KwaZulu-Natal Durban, South Africa "Our experience of cities of refuge then will not only be that which cannot wait, but something which calls for an urgent response, a just response, more just in any case than the existing law. An immediate response to crime, to violence, and to persecution. I also imagine the experience of cities of refuge as giving rise to a place (lieu) for reflection – for reflection on the questions of asylum and hospitality" (Derrida, 2001:23)

It's a poor sort of memory that only works backward (Alice in Wonderland, Lewis Carol, 1865:198) A document submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters, in the Post Graduate Programme in Architecture, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus, Durban, South Africa.

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. It is submitted for the degree of Masters in Architecture in the Faculty of humanities, development and social science, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus, Durban, South Africa. None of the work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other university.

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This dissertation is dedicated to people in places of influence in government, architecture, planning and construction who have a responsibility to give aid to those in unfortunate circumstances. It is also dedicated to all those who have lost loved one's in the Marikana Massacre and in the aftermath since, and who strive daily for a better life, despite the intolerable living and working conditions on the mines.

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"I get by with a little help from my friends" (The Beatles, 1967)

My husband, Craig. Thank you for cultivating my appetite to do the things in life that really matter and for loving me through the chaos. I couldn't have done this without you. I love you.

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To the Lord, I thank you for making my path more clear with every step and for being the voice in my head that has encouraged me to pursue my passion.

<u>PART 1</u>

DISSERTATION DOCUMENT

Mining towns, like cities, are experiencing similar outcomes of rapid-urbanisation where the opportunities that are presented by mass urbanisation and migration (economic growth, jobs and increased social engagement) are increasingly overshadowed by the consequences of over-urbanisation (housing shortages, slums and failing infrastructure). These consequences, coupled with the growing gap between the rich and the poor result in undesirable outcomes and lead to conflict, protest and violence. As such, the majority of the South African population, while striving for a better life, live in poorly serviced settlements on the outskirts of the city where crime, oppression and exploitation, contribute to a growing fragmentation of the society as a whole. These underdeveloped settlements and their working population contribute largely to supporting the wealth of the city and generating profits for a small minority. This is evident in the county's mining operations where the disparity between the mineral wealth below ground and the social condition and poverty above ground is manifested in the failure of the social structure of the community and is responsible for the psychological and physical condition of 'in-betweenness'.

Halbwachs argues that culture and social framework, is presupposed by memory. As such, the research aims to explore collective memory and its influence on social cohesion as well as how it is manifested and mediated in the built environment. The research is concerned with establishing a consciousness in design that values humanity in the process and outcomes (i.e. From inception, through design development, construction and realisation). Consciousness in the built environment suggests a sensitive approach to social context while regenerating and revitalising new and existing communities and simultaneously providing facilities that will contribute to a socially and economically sustainable future in the wake of conflict and trauma. As such it is argued that human-nature, self-interest and competition for survival, if managed by conscience, promotes positive social advancement (Sumner, 1883).

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CHAPTER ONE | RESEARCH BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

1.1.1 Research Background

We live in a time of rapid urbanisation (Holsten, 2008), where the attraction of jobs in the city results in the establishment of new communities on the outskirts of the city. Smaller, local communities are seen as mobile and interchangeable, where their displacement is seen as a by-product of progress (Bauman, 2004). Coupled with this, the "acceleration of momentary events, mobility of work life, futility of communication, fragility of relationships, receding loyalty and commitment are the symptoms of a growing fragmentation of society as a whole" (Fuchs, 2007: 385). Globally, there is a general loss of appreciation and connection with each other and with our past, where bonds between individuals are ephemeral and often meaningless (Fuchs, 2007). This disconnection with one's self extends to dissociation within a community and is associated with conflict, protest and violence. The research pertains to the protest that resulted in the Marikana Massacre at Marikana in August 2012 and it is in the turmoil of this fragmented and traumatised community, between the utopia of the wealthy city of Rustenburg in the noth-west province of South Africa and the dystopia of the surrounding mining settlements, that this research positions itself.

Since the 1980's, the mega-developments of the mining industry have utilised "flyin/fly-out commuting which has largely replaced the construction of residential townships as a means of accommodating remote mining operations" (Landorf, 2011:1). Therefore, locals and immigrants in search of jobs settle in townships out of necessity. In settling, migrants lack a shared emotional connection, shared history and shared experience that, according to McMillan and Chavis, are central in developing a sense of community (McMillan and Chavis, 1986). Migration from areas of poverty into rapidly developing areas is a form of a fly-in/fly-out approach that serves to utilise the skills of immigrants in the mining industry. This has manifested in a number of undesirable outcomes such as over crowdedness, homelessness, violent protest, xenophobic attacks and prostitution (amongst other impacts on the environment). Most commonly, specific populations, experience the consequences of this violence, which impacts on their livelihoods, health, and access to basic services (Patel and Burkle Jr., 2012).

Fernandes (2007) has studied the impact of 'mega developments' on surrounding communities and his studies demonstrate that the number of people affected by forced migration or displacement as a result of these developments, often outweighs the employment opportunities created by the project. These jobs are also mostly inaccessible to the local population, as they require an experienced workforce or technical skills (Ganguly-Scrase and Lahiri-Dutt, 2012). Fernandes' analysis concludes that the economic condition for the locals is approximately halved and that "people have to resort to desperate and unsatisfying forms of employment" (Ganguly-Scrase and Lahiri-Dutt, 2012: 11) and as a result, often live in informal conditions with associated social problems, inadequate services, environmental degradation and high crime rates (Davie, 2012). These underdeveloped and inadequately serviced settlements largely contribute to supporting the wealth of the city. Like the city, they are multi-faceted and integrate both utopian and dystopian tendencies. For many the city is experienced as a palimpsest, layered with memories and is a place that has established a complex, yet meaningful, space for its inhabitants (Murray et al, 2007). But, it is also a place that, for the majority of the rural population in South Africa, has little or no meaning at all. For many communities living on the outskirts of the CBD, their connection to place is determined by collective memory and the cultural heritage that is found within the confines of their region. A sense of community, identity and belonging are integral in social cohesion and urban development (Dewar, 1991) however, a mining settlement is a temporary assemblage of immigrants who have settled out of necessity and lack cohesion.

The research aims to show that the protest at Marikana is owing to a number of social issues and that the lack of communication between leaders and communities is manifested in frustration and resentment amongst members of the community. The protest and the aftermath is viewed as an existential crisis and provides a collective consciousness for a previously segregated group. In this way, collective memory is considered a necessary component for establishing 'invited' or public space and a sense of community. In support of this, Spurr states that "unlike the momentous event, the post-traumatic aftermath elicits a focus on survival, the desire for regeneration, the need

for hope" (Spurr, 2010:52). Hence, "cultures in transition are pulled in two directions, enthusiastically toward the future and nostalgically toward the past" (Rogers, 2001). As such, the miners at Marikana find themselves in a state of in-betweenness in the transition from the events of August 2012 to their hope for a better future.

1.1.2 Motivation/Justification Of The Study

The Marikana Massacre has sparked an interest for investigating the underlying causes, and related outcomes, of protest violence and how this pertains to collective memory. The research is motivated by the belief that the built environment has the opportunity to create meaningful places of encounter where aspects of collective memory, participation and reflection can encourage the notion of reconciliation. Architecture and memory exist in parallel in an essential relationship that is given meaning by the actions of the user (i.e. making, doing, living, and being) (Cairns, 2004). Taking this into consideration, the researcher believes that the built environment, as a mental mediation between the world and our consciousness; provides an in-between space of opportunity for participation and reconciliation. As such, this dissertation sets out to investigate how the qualities of collective memory impact on the built environment and how this impact can thus intersect a space of contradictions between the reality of the present and hope for the future of a community that is in a state of 'in-betweenness'.

Apartheid and post-apartheid regimes have had a profound impact on our built environment and urban planning and are therefore still influencing encounters one might experience in space. Murray, Shepherd and Hall (2007) point out that "because of the close correlation between apartheid legislation and town planning, post-apartheid space in South Africa remains affected by the patterns of organisation and the forms of the apartheid city" (Murray et al, 2007: 5). The need for a conscious response to social issues has plagued planners and architects for many years and as such, Paul Sanders (2000) suggests that after many years of repression, South Africa is in desperate need for its architects to respond directly to social and cultural challenges in society (Sanders, 2000). Prince Charles reiterates this notion of consciousness in built form:

"What is so badly needed is for architects to be more sensitive to the deeprooted feelings of 'ordinary' people and to find ways of integrating their opinions and their needs into the creative process from which new buildings emerge" (Charles, Prince of Wales, cited in Lindeire, 2006:2).

Thus the primary motivation for this research is to look beyond a purely aesthetic architecture and investigate the role that architecture can play in improving dialogue and the way in which collective memory can facilitate the creation of 'invited space' (Mubangizi, 2013). This work is informed by a desire to promote an appreciation for humanity and an understanding of others by establishing a renewed sense of community that, as a result of modern life, has been lost.

1.2 DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM, AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1.2.1 Definition Of The Problem

In South Africa, a shared history results in common associations and collective memories and since democracy South Africans have been "in constant dialogue with the past" (Mizan, 2008:4). Memorial and community initiatives have bettered everyday life of South Africans but unfortunately, despite its potential; architecture is having little quantifiable and positive influence on communities in need. "Today the vernacular is subjected to a more thoughtful scholarly and professional analysis, but often this is still based on physical form rather than social and political meaning" (Hayden, 1997: 11). Political and social struggles have led to the lack of usable public space or 'invited space' in society and the resultant absence of a sense of community is manifested in the isolation and dehumanization that is felt in the unconscious and collective minds of many South African citizens.

"I think we in this part of the world live with perhaps the most violent contrasts that mankind has ever faced. 'I believe architecture has very little meaning as an isolated object and I believe this is the dimension that we, at best, are obtaining. I believe that we will not achieve real liveable urban environments until we have the courage to understand the deep social and cultural contrasts within our society and until we acknowledge them and try to find ways to express them and in some cases, resolve them" (Forjaz cited in Sanders, 2000:23).

There have been attempts by those in power to conceal traumatic memories and hurtful associations by eradicating symbols of the past (e.g. violent protests, street names and buildings). There have also been contributions made by government and organisations to reinforce collective memory and establish national identity. But, despite the sometimes-necessary intervention by authority, attempts to influence collective memory may result in an incomplete, distorted and fragmented understanding of our history, leaving people in society confused and spaces devoid of meaning. It is important to acknowledge shared memories of the past in order to shape a democratic post-apartheid identity but not to perpetuate associated feelings of shame or guilt. There is a need for liberation from the effects of the existential crisis where, in many cases, the enslavement of traumatic memory and poverty go hand-in-hand. Perhaps collective memory can result in a collective consciousness, where a 'group' (Halbwachs, 1992) can be motivated by a collective objective.

In the shaping of and the participation in collective memory, a community is able to learn from past turmoil, tragedy or success. Architecture, as a memoir of humanity, can provide space for the creation of new memories, associations and meanings and provide a place that is aligned with identity and aspiration. The research looks at how the construction and recall of collective memory can have a positive effect on the establishment of a 'public place' as opposed to the many meaningless contemporary spaces that form a part of our built environment. The research considers the potential for collective memory to inform the notion of in-betweenness and in-between space and in this way establish meaningful places of encounter and interaction.

1.2.2 Aims

The research aims to investigate the potential for collective memory to create a collective consciousness that is reflected in the built environment. By recognizing the importance of collective memory, this dissertation aims to develop a post-traumatic socio-spatial response for the liberation of the community of Marikana. The research aims to assist in creating spaces of hope where architecture is seen as a heterotopia; set in a dystopian environment but symbolising the transition from dystopia towards utopia. Through reflection, communication and participation, the proposed building will connect the past with the present and the future and allow individuals to engage with

others through chance encounters in an effort to establish meaningful connections and further long-term relationships.

1.2.3 Objectives

This dissertation, throughout its discourse endeavours to:

- Identify and understand collective memory and its role in uniting a fragmented society and promoting a collective consciousness.
- Identify underlying causes of public violence and how it is manifested in society.
- Understand the factors that influence the creation and manifestation of collective memory.
- To propose guidance as to how to create a place for reflection, communication and participation as a means of conflict resolution.
- Investigate ways that collective memory can assist in creating positive outcomes by including members who are perhaps, excluded from the 'group'.

By understanding the components and implications of collective memory on architecture, the research will provide a foundation for an architectural response that is meaningful and relevant, appropriate to its context and that will prompt a collective consciousness in society.

1.3 SETTING OUT THE SCOPE

1.3.1 Delimitation Of The Research Problem

Collective memory plays a significant role in uniting a community and creating meaning through the layering of past, present and future events. The physical presence of the body and mind in space provides the opportunity for architecture to intervene in dealing with fragmentation and the post-traumatic effects of disaster. The complexities involved in understanding the psychological response of those in question are understood and addressed in so far as it influences the research.

The issues in this research refer not only to the relationship between architecture and the subconscious, and the ephemeral qualities of collective memory and meaning, but also the way in which architecture and the built environment can evoke collective memory, encourage reflection, stimulate interaction and assist in reconciliation. In addition to this,

it is understood that it is imperative to address the psychological condition of the individual in order to deal with post-trauma and prevent reoccurrences of violent protest. The research acknowledges the role of autobiographical memory and self-perception but delimits the scope to include aspects pertaining to collective memory.

It is acknowledged that the scope of the problem extends beyond the realm of architecture and the built environment. The topic is influenced by political, social and economic issues which will not be dealt with in their entirety but that undeniably have affected the present situation and contributed to the cause of violence and protest. It is understood that there are a number of factors that contribute to achieving reconciliation, therefore this dissertation delimits the research to the possible influence that architecture can have in providing a place for the process of reconciliation and mediation. The researcher's intention is to be objective and consider the social, political and economic context and to apply the research to the field of architecture accordingly.

1.3.2 Definition Of Terms

Collective Memory in general, refers to shared memories of a particular group or family framed in space and time. It can be constructed, shared or passed on by groups both small and large. Collective memory is influenced by autobiographical (personal) memory and in turn, influences the memory of an individual. It is often subjective and subject to change depending on an addition or subtraction to the group (Halbwachs, 1992).

Community is a collective body who shares a common identity or shared social circumstance. Therefore community is defined, not only as a group's positive participation in public life but also as a group united in a common cause as a result of conflict or exclusion (McMillan and Chavis, 1986). Thus, community in this sense of the word, refers to groups unknowingly being a part of a community and subconsciously viewing another as 'the other'.

The Existential Crisis is a moment at which an individual questions the very foundations of his or her life: whether his or her life has any meaning, purpose or value. It is a tipping point, a turning point and a moment of truth. This discourse describes trauma and social fragmentation as an existential crisis, thus seeing the chaos in a

trauma as a catalyst for change and an opportunity to question methods, policies and structures in the political or social realm (James, 2007).

Invited space is defined as a physical public space that is found within the urban context. In addition to this, in the context of this discussion, invited space refers to an amicable feeling of acceptance where one is able to voice their opinion or demands, in an unthreatening environment (Mubangizi, 2013).

In-betweenness is both a state of being and a physical manifestation of invited space. It describes a condition where one is suspended in a state of limbo between the here and there, between the reality and memory, and between who we are as a society and who we want to be. In the context of this dissertation, in-betweenness describes a condition between dystopia and utopia where the notion of Purgatory is found in an environment where the abundance of wealth found in the ground is proportionate to the poverty and lack of resources that is found above ground. It describes the pull from opposite sides for migrants that are searching for a better life in the city but are at the same time, harking back to life in their homeland. In the hypothesis of this dissertation, it describes a place that exists between these contradictions that is a neutral space for mediation and reconciliation. In establishing the notion of in-betweenness as both a psychological and spatial condition, this dissertation views collective memory as an in-between space that has the potential to manifest in a meaningful place (www.dictionary.com, accessed 23 May 2013).

Massacre is defined as an unnecessary and sudden violent outburst where the perpetrating party is in total control while the victimized party, a small group or larger, is perceived to be helpless (Levene, 1999).

Sense of Community: In his influential 1974 book, psychologist Seymour B. Sarason proposed that a sense of community is the "feeling that one is part of a larger dependable and stable structure" and "is one of the major bases for self-definition." (Sarason, 1974: 157). It also, "in essence, relates to creating a sense of identity and belonging – a sense of absorption into urban life" (Dewar, 1991: 21).

Public Space is defined as "a continuous urban typography, a spatial structure that covers both 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).

Place is defined as a particular point in space that has, for whatever reason, been given meaning. It is a space that fosters a sense of authentic human attachment and belonging (Norberg-Schulz, 1980).

Trauma refers to a feeling of in-betweenness and a fear of an uncertain, dystopia future. In this dissertation, the author identifies trauma as the chaos that is related to the outcomes of protest and its effects on social decline.

Consciousness describes a filter through which one is encouraged to view the world. It prioritises an emotive response above a haptic or visual sense and views the world not through 'one's eyes but through one's heart'. It promotes empathy towards others. In the context of the built environment, consciousness is manifested in a sensitive response to context, social issues, the environment and new and existing communities.

1.3.3 Stating The Assumptions

This dissertation assumes that the effects of over-urbanisation and migration continue to have a devastating effect on small communities on the outskirts of the city and that without proper intervention, incidents of protest and violence will continue to proliferate and intensify. More specifically to this discourse, the research assumes that current mining practices and conditions are maintained and communities continue to be exploited for the benefit of the minority.

It is assumed that the common post-traumatic effects of dissociation in a community is felt, on some level, by all those affected by trauma (even perhaps if only subconsciously) and that the effects outlined by professionals in the field are correct. As a result, in proposing a place for reconciliation, correct psychological support needs to be given to those affected by trauma. Therefore, architecture in the aftermath assumes a place for reconciliation, where those affected by violence are willing and able to engage in remembrance and reflection and participate in mediation.

1.3.4 Key Questions

Primary Question

• Why is collective memory necessary to achieve a consciousness in the built environment?

Secondary Questions

- How can collective memory be manifested in society and in architecture?
- In what way can the built environment respond to facilitate reconciliation?
- What is a meant by 'consciousness' in architecture and why is it important in the built environment?

1.3.5 Hypothesis

Architecture which is sensitive to social context and which aims to encompass collective memory and instill meaning, will provide an effective platform for restoration, development and unity within the community by overcoming trauma and creating the opportunity for reflection, communication and participation. Therefore, architecture is a tool with which to facilitate reconciliation, encourage reflection and promote an appreciation and consciousness for humanity.

1.3.6 Research Methods And Materials

1.3.6.1 Research Methods

The means of data collection is structured in a methodical manner and aims to understand the research problem, its key question and subsequent issues. Means of collecting data includes both empirical data collection and qualitative research methods through analysis of philosophical and social psychological research, interviews, case studies and the written word. Both primary and secondary research methods are employed.

Primary research:

Primary research is obtained by the author by means of interviews and case studies as well as on-site observations that are presented in the form of field notes and photographs. Given the nature of the research and the topical subject of mining protest, interviewees include academics and authors on the subject of mining and mining communities as well as the influence of authority and power in protest.

Focused Interviews:

Professor Philip Frankel is the former head of the Department of Political Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, and is an organisational and community development consultant whose company, Agency for Social Reconstruction (ASR) works extensively with government, the mining industry and the private sector in South Africa and on a global basis. An interview with Professor Frankel will offer insight into the causes and outcomes of the Marikana Massacre and will provide a holistic understanding of mining conditions in both South Africa and abroad as well as how mining activities relate to power, protest, violence and trauma.

Ms. Dakile Ndiwalana and **Mrs. Elizabeth Boikanyo** are community workers in Marikana and the nearby township of Wonderkop. Ms. Ndiwalana is a psychologist and former employee of Lonmin mines who started the Nkathalo Traders initiative. Mrs. Boikanyo and Ms. Ndiwalana's experience and knowledge of the Marikana community offers a sound contribution to the research in understanding the needs and existing conditions of the workers and their families.

Dr. Tara Polzer-Ngwato is an executive in the Research and Knowledge Management Department for the Royal Bafokeng Nation in Phokeng. The methods employed by the Royal Bafokeng Nation offers an innovative approach to mining and community participation. Dr Polzer-Ngwato's insight allows the research to appreciate that, despite the similarities of mining conditions, a conscious approach to community is possible and is needed.

Professor Betty Mubangizi is an associate professor in the School of Management, Information Technology and Governance at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal. Her knowledge on leadership and the Municipalities Systems Act offers substantial information regarding the role of authority in addressing and overcoming dissociation and dehumanization of communities in South Africa.

The primary data will be analysed and discussions and conclusions will be formulated, delineating the research intention by addressing the key issues and desired outcomes of the research. This discussion, in conjunction with secondary research, is presented in chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5. The subjective nature of these interviews will form the basis for the analysis of the case and precedent studies that are presented in chapters 6 and 7.

Case Studies:

Two case studies are conducted that endeavour to explore the way in which collective memory is manifested in the built environment and projected onto the community. This is understood through the analysis and investigation of forms of memorialisation, commemoration and reconciliation. These case studies address the way in which architecture might be sensitive to collective memory and in incorporating memory, may provide space for participation and interaction between conflicted parties.

A site visit to Marikana and the Wonderkop township offers the researcher a comprehensive understanding of the context in which the Marikana Massacre took place. The findings are discussed in chapter 2 which propose the Marikana Massacre as the departure point for the research.

Qualitative data that is relevant to the case study in question is obtained by visits to the site, and interpretation of the findings through concept sketches and notes. Site visits are conducted in order to gain first-hand experience of the space and a clear understanding of the implications of consciousness in built form and in the community.

Secondary Research:

Secondary Research is presented in the form of a literature review and involves the analysis and presentation of theoretical and methodological information from experts and academics in the fields of social psychology, memory and reconciliation. This information is obtained through various published media such as books, journals, reports and academic papers by various authors on the subjects of collective memory, consciousness, trauma, protest, violence, community and mining. The information is discussed in a manner that pertains to the research problem: facilitating a consciousness in society through collective memory. Information has been gathered from both published and unpublished literature and includes books, journals, newspaper articles, thesis and websites. In conjunction with this, two international precedent studies are researched in an attempt to reinforce the concepts and theories presented in chapter 1 and the arguments found in the primary research and the literature review. The arguments presented pertain to the justification of the research and the issues raised in chapter one of this dissertation. As a result, conclusions are formed to determine the probability of the hypothesis. Recommendations are then made for the proposal of a

collaborative place of remembrance and reconciliation for the mining community of Marikana.

1.3.6.2 Research Materials

A variety of research materials are used as an attempt to gather information and provide a sound and objective analysis of the data. These include: the library and all the resources found within, the internet and computer resources and personal communication, including interviews and telephonic and technological means. A sample of the questions asked in an interview can be found in Appendix A, B, C and D. The researcher has used photography as a means to document many issues and findings pertaining to the research. Site visits provided the opportunity to document this information through photography, facilitating analysis and discussion when not on site.

1.4 THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

1.4.1 Theories

1.4.1.1 Collective Memory

Contemporary interpretation of collective memory is largely traceable to Émile Durkheim's (1858–1917) writings on commemorative rituals and to his student, Maurice Halbwachs (1877–1945) who advanced Durkheim's notion of collective memory and published a study called the 'Social Frameworks of Memory' in 1925. Halbwachs' interpretation of collective memory is not limited to memorialisation and commemoration but rather he suggests that individual memory is part of a greater collective memory and as such "it is in society that people normally acquire their memories" but "it is also in society that they recall, recognize, and localise their memories" (Halbwachs, 1992 :38). Collective memory is considered by Halbwachs to be a more reliable source of knowledge and remembrance because a group is able to draw on the knowledge and experience of all members whereas autobiographical memory is reliant on an individual and their interpretation of the event and is susceptible to manipulation (Halbwachs, 1992). Halbwachs argued that it is impossible for an individual to remember coherently outside of a group context and that the group is responsible to prompt recall within that individual (Halbwachs, 1992).

This research proposes that collective memory defines our identity and that social discord is impacted by a conflict of community identities. Collective memory can

therefore contribute to the cause of conflict but in the aftermath, a collective subconscious is formed by the collective memory of the group. This action is described as the existential crisis or 'starting point.' It is seen as a catalyst for change and in this way combines the notions of critical theory in so far as it is oriented toward critiquing and changing society as a whole, in contrast to traditional theory oriented only to understanding or explaining it. The existential crisis aims to initiate change and liberate human beings from the circumstances that enslave them (Horkheimer, 1982:244) which in this case are: traumatic memory, violence and poverty. Collective memory thus forms a collective subconscious that ensures social cohesion and can therefore, also be privy to reconciliation and the formation of a sense of community.

1.4.1.2 Structuration

Giddens' structuration theory suggests, "spatialised practices of power can be modeled as enabling and constraining relations between 'structure' and 'agency' (Dovey, 1999: 3). "Agency is simply the 'capacity' to transform our world" or can be described as human action or interaction (Dovey, 1999: 19). "Structures are the organised properties of social systems in the form of rules and resources" (Dovey, 1999: 19). Therefore, the relationship between 'agency' and 'structure' is primarily that of 'enabling' and 'constraining'. Giddens contends that 'structure' and 'agency' are a mutually constitutive duality and one is as important as the other. 'Structure' both enables and constrains 'agency' but at the same time, structures are constructed and given meaning by agents (people) (Dovey, 1999). In the same way that rules and resources define social structure, buildings frame human activity and are, owing to agency "forever objects of (re)interpretation, narration and representation" (Gieryn, 2002: 35). Over time, spaces are given meaning by their inhabitants. According to Giddens, spatial structure is a form of 'structure' where the arrangement of space influences or limits the choices and opportunities available. Design is a kind of 'agency' that draws on the rules and regulations of structure in order to create social space (Dovey, 1999:20). Agency is therefore critical to both the reproduction and the transformation of society. Winston Churchill alluded to this: "We shape our buildings and afterward our buildings shape us" (Churchill, 1944).

Durkheim states that "structure itself is encountered in becoming, and one cannot illustrate it except by pursuing this process of becoming. It forms and dissolves continually; it is life arrived at a certain measure of consolidation" (Durkheim, 1964: 362). Giddens' theory of structuration explores the question of whether it is human activity or social forces that shape our social reality but concludes that both structure and agency are able to produce a social structure and lead to social change.

1.4.1.2.1 Supporting Concepts

1.4.1.2.1.1 Consciousness

The concept of consciousness describes a social awareness of others and an appreciation and empathy towards humanity. Consciousness prioritises the 'agent' and in this way, describes a manner in which to view and respond to the world, being aware of the difficulties that different societies and communities face on a day-to-day basis. In the context of the built environment, consciousness is manifested in a sensitive response to context, social issues, the environment and new and existing communities (www.architectureforhumanity.org, accessed 23 May, 2013)

1.4.1.2.1.2 A Sense of Community

In Dewar's book the concept of community has several realizations. He points out that "social interaction is not only fundamental to human development but it is an essential part of urban development" (Dewar, 1991:21). He suggests that in order for urban development to occur it is largely dependent on "communication and interaction" (Dewar, 1991: 21). Often, a sense of community is started in a place, building or event that has deep historical significance. Other communities assemble around a crisis or opportunity and find that a shared purpose, intent, or vision creates the foundation from which a sense of community is readily built (Walsh, 1997). If a sense of community is to be established, it requires that public spaces be created for citizens to connect to each other and to the place itself. Dewar points out in "South African Cities - A Manifesto for Change" that the concept of community is a "complex" one and that "In essence, it relates to creating a sense of identity and belonging – a sense of absorption into urban life" (Dewar, 1991: 21). Many people achieve a positive self-esteem from their collective identity, which furthers a sense of community and belonging. Collective memory and identity are intertwined and as such, the influence of both is necessary in facilitating a sense of community. In his influential 1974 book, psychologist Seymour B. Sarason proposed that a sense of community is the "feeling that one is part of a larger dependable and stable structure" and "is one of the major bases for self-definition"

(Sarason, 1974: 157). A sense of community relies on social cohesion, participation and inclusion. As such, a lack of a sense of community can be attributed to the notion of social exclusion that has been defined as 'the process through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in the society within which they live' (European foundation, 1195: 4, quoted in de Haan, 1998, cited in Francis, 1997).

1.4.1.2.1.3 Conflict Theory

Conflict theory is a Marxist-based social theory that argues that groups in society are defined by the amount of resources available to them and that those with more exploit those with less. It emphasizes the role of power and coercion in producing social order where social order is maintained by those in power with access to the largest amount of political, economical and social resources. Conflict theory is the result of organised social movements and other forms of resistance to oppression (Andersen et al, 2007). Spencer (1898) suggested that a tendency for conflict is a natural human reaction and contributes to social evolution (Spencer, 1898). Similarly William Sumner (1883) argues that despite human-natures self-interest, this competition for survival, if managed by conscience, promotes positive social advancement (Sumner, 1883).

1.4.1.2.1.4 *In-betweenness*

The concept of 'in-betweenness' is both a social and spatial condition. It can be described as psychological (the mental position between the present and the past), physical (the economic disparity between the city and the slum) and spatial (spaces between buildings, objects and people). In the context of this dissertation, inbetweenness is defined by all three conditions. It describes a mental process of healing from the aftermath of conflict where the collective memory is seen as an in-between space. The concept characterises a location that exists between the wealth of the city and the poverty of the squatter camps that is between place and placelessness. Spatially, in-betweenness is found on pavements, in corridors and public spaces. Despite the planned or unplanned influence of power, these places mediate interaction and participation where encounters with others provide opportunities for reconciliation. In terms of reconciliation, in-betweenness describes a state that makes use of both 'structure' and 'agency' but is neither at the beginning nor at the end of the process of resolution but at a place between two extremes. In-betweenness makes reference to the juxtaposition of opposites and the space between these opposing forces as embodying the opportunity for positive change. Architecture can interpret these states of in-betweenness by responding to both social and spatial conditions in the built environment by intersecting the space between reality and the hope for a stable future and provide permanence for a society that is in a state of inbetweenness.

1.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has outlined the research problem and justification for the research and the means by which the researcher intends to obtain data related to the findings and verification of the hypothesis. It has also outlined the main theories and concepts that will contribute to the research and data analysis.

CHAPTER TWO | THE REALITY OF THE URBAN CONDITION

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Rapid urbanisation, despite its benefits to the economy and the population, has also manifested in a number of undesirable outcomes. Urbanisation and migration coupled with the notion of in-betweenness, dissociation, frustration and social disintegration is typical in many primarily single-industry towns. These conditions manifest in a number of undesirable outcomes and contribute to an increased risk of protest and violence.

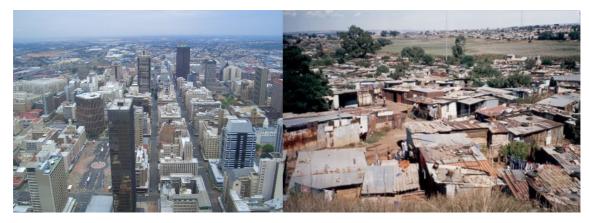
2.2 THE GROWING DISPARITY BETWEEN THE CITY AND THE SLUM

2.2.1 Urbanisation And Migration

Globally, an increasing number of people are moving from rural areas into the city in search of jobs and opportunities, and the consequences of rapid urbanisation and migration are evident in the social structure of society. Urbanisation is defined as the "redistribution of populations from rural to urban settlements over time" (Peng et al, 2009:2) and is the process by which large numbers of people become permanently concentrated in relatively small areas, forming cities (Long, 1998). Today 3.5 billion people live in cities and for the first time in history, the majority of the world's population lives in urban areas (Smith, 2011), many of who are forced to live in 'impoverished' conditions (Badshah, 1996: 88) with one in three urban citizens living below the poverty line (Muggah, 2012). This condition, where the city is not able to cope with growth and migration, has come to be known as over-urbanisation (Sovani, 1964).

Sovani asserts that a city is considered over-urbanised if the city cannot provide adequate employment and housing for citizens migrating to urban areas (Sovani, 1964). Previously, urbanisation saw the rise of dynamic city centres through the provision of job opportunities and the possibility for improved living conditions where a social and cultural richness contributed to the makings of a vibrant city. However, the condition of over-urbanisation is abnormal and not based in the logical industrial development of urban areas. In over-urbanised countries urban misery and rural poverty exist side by side (Madan, 1996) (*Plates 1 and 2*). The opportunities presented by urbanisation are overshadowed by over-urbanisation where over-urbanisation results in a growing condition of exclusion and in-betweenness. Over-urbanisation highlights the disparity between affluence and poverty where social and racial exclusion has, in modern times, evolved into economic exclusion (Stols, 2012).

Over-urbanisation thus results in conflict, violence and poverty (Muggah, 2012). According to The Landmark 2011 World Development Report, written by The World Bank, it highlights the probability of increased violence in developing countries. The city infrastructure is unable to adapt to the rapid insurgency and the population encounters a variety of issues, including a lack of housing, poor service delivery, exploitation and violence (The World Bank, 2011).



Plates 1 and 2: Owing to over-urbanisation, the city is increasingly beginning to replicate the informal conditions of the slums where social exclusion and in-betweeness are a result of economic exclusion (Source: www./guylundy.com/?portfolio=the-business-of-cities and www.soweto.co.za/gallery/SowetoLife, accessed 23 April 2013)

Rapid urbanisation offers increasing opportunities for local and migrant populations. Migration has historically been seen as a way for individuals to improve their lives by taking advantage of resources elsewhere. Today, increasing economic divides are motivation for individuals to leave the permanence of 'home' and escape poverty, through migration (Murrugarra, et al, 2011: 22). Smith suggests that there are an estimated 200 000 people who, through processes of migration, enter cities across the world, every day (Smith, 2011). These people, have historically, been compared to nomads, gypsies and "other figures that haunted the imagination of the settled citizen" (Cairns, 2004:1) but are rather people in search of a sense of belonging. Cairns (2004) explains that a migrant's aim is to settle and to "become a citizen in a new place," and is not intentionally responsible for the threats relating to "social cohesion or exclusion;

strain on housing and servicing infrastructure, disrupting a sense of home and belonging and inducing social resentment and racism" (Cairns, 2004: 2).

Motivated by Derrida's arguments surrounding migration, Cairns points out that the migrant's intention to settle unassumingly and be absorbed into the collective has been strengthened by the "assumption that immigrants might settle in their new destinations in ways that openly acknowledge and express their own cultural origins" (Cairns, 2004:7). But despite the belief that the urban fabric will accommodate and 'absorb' newcomers, there is an underlying tension that continues to "pressurise, routinely breach and sometimes disaggregate national and metropolitan spaces" (Cairns, 2004:7).

Historically, patterns of migrancy have "always carried dislocating effects," (Cairns, 2004:7) and even though migrants are mostly economically better off; socially, there are a number of negative consequences of migration: potential exploitation, family separation (Murrugarra, 2011:22), exposure to abuse and illness (Goldin et al, 2011), feelings of isolation and fragmentation within the individual (Fuchs, 2007), "social exclusion and in extreme cases, even death" (Goldin et al, 2011:193). These social issues continually challenge the social identity of a collective group and may result in conflict where "migrants experience xenophobia, hostility and discrimination, particularly in times of economic crisis or insecurity" (Goldin et al, 2011:202).

2.2.2 Mining the City

The undesirable conditions of over-urbanisation are replicated in the surrounding settlements of mining operations. The establishment and growth of mining towns mimic the effects of over-urbanisation in cities. Success of development in the mining industry has fuelled massive "infrastructural development in road and rail transport, banking, health services, and education in and around resource-rich areas" (Nyame et al, 2006: 6). Similarly rapid urbanisation of cities creates an ongoing demand for metals and minerals thereby further fuelling the mining industry. This development in concurrence with the shortfall in labour supply provided the necessary impetus and demand that encouraged immigration into countries like Mexico, Australia, Ghana and South Africa (Nyame et al, 2007: 6).

Mineworker: You see my brother, it was not my dream to come work here in the mine but looking at my situation at home, and I was desperate looking for work and so I ended up coming here in the mines...I stayed in the mine and then the situation started changing, I saw that my life was not the same, now I was staying with men and I saw all kinds of bad influences and I was regretting being there (Alexander et al, 2012: 132).

Denver in the USA, Silver City in Australia, and Johannesburg in South Africa are examples of cities that were established in response to mass urbanisation that resulted from the mining industry. The establishment of Johannesburg's gold mining industry in 1886 sparked a gold rush. Within 10 years it was a fully-fledged town, within 30 years it was South Africa's largest city and today Johannesburg is Africa's biggest city (The City of Johannesburg, 2012).

Rustenburg, in the North West province of South Africa is another such example and is considered as the epicentre of the platinum region. It is reportedly the fastest-growing city on the continent with mining activities contributing to 75% of its growth (Steyn, 2012). On its outskirts is the small town of Marikana. Also known as Rooikoppies, Marikana finds itself the embodiment of irony where a dystopian landscape of poverty, joblessness and violence is buried in the abundance of wealth in the earth below.



Plate 3 and 4: The platinum belt of the north-west province in South Africa is witness to the extremes of overurbanisation. The wealth of the mining city of Rustenburg is manifested in the luxury resort of Sun City and Marikana main street is at the heart of the platinum mining industry but remains poorly developed and badly serviced. (Source: http://www.mysouthafricantour.com, accessed 23 April 2013 and Author's own, 2013)

During apartheid this, and similar areas, were set up and labeled by government as "black homelands" and starved of resources to force the population to migrate as temporary workers to the mines, farm and factories, including the platinum mines of Marikana which were first established in 1971 (Lichtenstein, 2012). Since the abolition

of apartheid, not much has changed as the mines continue to rely heavily of migrant labour and enlist the services of labour brokers to source labour in an attempt to keep wage bills low. This, according to Professor Philip Frankel, is "little better than human trafficking" (Frankel, 2013). Typically, workers employed through labour brokers earn less than 'permanent' workers and are excluded from additional benefits such as healthcare and pension funds (Frankel, 2013). The temporality of mining employment sees the establishment of short-lived inflormal settlements. This fly-in/fly-out (FIFO) method of recruitment sees employees given work for the duration of the lifespan of the mine (Landorf, 2011:1). "The FIFO lifestyle can be accompanied by a range of damaging consequences for participants such as relationship stress and breakdown, excessive alcohol and drug use, depression and violence" (The Parliament for the Commonwealth of Australia, 2013:89). In this way, communities are constantly reminded of the temporarlity of their situation which contributes to the condition of inbetweenness and the absense of a sense of belonging to a stable community.



Plate 5 and 6: Poor living conditions are a part of the underlying frustration that led to the strike at Marikana in August 2012 (Source: Author's own, March 2013)

Migrants flock to the mines and cities in search of a better life and as a desperate attempt to support their dependents on the mines or in their homeland, the majority of whom are unemployed. But many of the effects of migration and over-population are manifested in the informal settlements surrounding Rustenburg where "corrugated boxes, scarcely big enough for the pigs and goats among the litter, serve for human shelter" and some residents are "forced to sleep in dog kennels" (Frankel, 2013). The settlements are poorly serviced and unemployment rates are in "excess of the national average" (Steyn, 2012)(*Plates 5 and 6*). As such, many of the population are unskilled and illiterate and concede to unsavoury sources of income for their survival. As a result, HIV, drugs and sex trafficking are common occurrences in environments like Marikana

(Frankel, 2012). The impacts of mining project beyond the establishment of the mine and do not disappear with the closure of the mine. In the process, "the fabric of society is destroyed as communities are uprooted and workers are poorly paid" (Bench Marks Foundation, 2011: 1).

The conditions in such mining settlements reflect a lack of consciousness in urban planning and an insensitivity to needs of the workforce and the community. The Royal Bafokeng Nation's mining practices are in direct contrast to this. The Royal Bafokeng Nation is "actively involved in the improvement and development of their community and aims to provide employment and a sustainable future for the local population by the year 2020" (Polzer-Ngwato, 2013). Today, The Royal Bafokeng Nation has acknowledged the finite supply of platinum and is putting in place remedies to sustain their community in the future. This forward thinking approach and conscious consideration of future generations, has allowed the Bafokeng to establish a strong sense of community and confidence in their leaders. A member of the Royal Bafokeng Nation recounts that "the Royal Bafokeng has recognized that money and buildings alone don't define the wealth of who we are. The true value of who we are lies in our people" (Totem Media, 2010).



Plate 7: The Royal Bafokeng Stadium in Phokeng was the only community-owned stadium to host the FIFA World Cup in South Africa 2010. The Bafokeng have used their royalties and the shares that they have subsequently bought in platinum companies to create and manage innovative community development solutions (Source: www.smh.com.au/world-cup-2010, accessed 25 April 2013).

Considering the example of the Royal Bafokeng Nation, Derrida argues that, "it is the city, and not the state, which offers the greatest potential for embodying the kind of hospitality that is required in the age of migration" (Cairns, 2004: 10). He explores the idea of the city as a refuge that calls for a "genuine innovation, experimentation and the invention of new forms of solidarity" (Cairns, 2004: 10). Single-industry towns, like cities, have the potential to utilize their resources and respond to the undesirable conditions that result from over-urbanisation and migration. The mining metropolis of Johannesburg, stands out as a classic example of the importance of migration in helping to build a self-sustaining, economically-viable city which, at present, is completely independent of mining (Nyame et al, 2007). As such, migration "not only evokes a sense of leaving, which is a longing and a carrying with, but also is evocative of destination not yet achieved, and of return never fully realised" (Dawson and Johnson, cited in Cairns 2004:126). The mining industry may contribute large amounts to country economies but often fail to accommodate and value the people or 'agents' that contribute to their success. These towns have the opportunity to provide hospitality, a stable future and a sense of belonging to its population, thereby rectifying the condition of in-betweenness.

2.3 CONCLUSION

Urbanisation involves providing services, infrastructure and social support systems to sustain livable and stable environments for its inhabitants, which should valorise the existence of communities on the outskirts of the city. If not, the effects of economic exclusion at 'grassroot' levels will lead to conditions of dissociation, insecurity and frustration and may result in conflict and violent protest (Clarke, 2012). In this way "the city is both a territory and a living space in which values of human dignity, tolerance, peace, inclusion and equality must be promoted among citizens" (Montreal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities, 2006: 5). Having said that, there is the need for conscious involvement from those in places of authority. The roles of government and others in positions of power are privy to the social reality of the urban condition, where the need for a conscious response is fast becoming a necessity. In acknowledging the value of miners and workers as 'agents' and the role of mining companies and government as 'structures', both 'structure' and 'agent' are dependent on one another and according to Giddens, both structure and agency, together, are able to lead to social change (Dovey, 1999).

CHAPTER 3 | POWER, PROTEST AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

3.5 INTRODUCTION

Pierre Nora suggests that where in the past we used to live lives in a community, closely connected to habit, custom and ritual, today we live disconnected from our past and see ourselves radically different from our ancestors (Nora, 1989). This dissociation coupled with over-urbanisation and the negative effects of migration may lead to an unstable social structure that is frustrated and volatile. In addition, shortcomings of policies and decision-making, made by municipalities and government, largely influence social cohesion and contribute to the unfortunate circumstances that are encountered by those living on the outskirts of the city (Mubangizi, 2013).

3.6 THE ROLES OF 'STRUCTURE' AND 'AGENT' IN THE PURSUIT OF SOCIAL COHESION

A social structure, as defined by Tepsic (Tepsic, 2010) that is "repressive, exploitative or alienating" can be privy to violence. Violence may escalate when groups, genders, classes or nationalities have more access to resources or opportunities. This notion is confirmed by the Marxist-based theory on conflict that emphasizes the role of power and coercion in producing social order. As opposed to the slow and gradual process of functionalism, where groups adapt to the social system, conflict theory offers a critical approach and is the result of organised social movements and other forms of resistance to oppression (Andersen et al, 2007).

In Dovey's discussion on power, he distinguishes two main types of power: 'power to' (empowering) and 'power over' (a relationship between people that uses others capacity to perform). 'Power to' involves notions of liberation and freedom where one's capacity to act is increased. 'Power over' involves aspects of force, coercion, domination, manipulation, seduction and authority. Dovey identifies both forms of power as being reciprocal but suggests that "'power to' is often taken for granted" which leads us to believe that 'power-over' is somehow primary (Dovey, 2010: 11). But Dovey points out that "oppression and liberation are two sides of the power coin" and that "power is both

positive and negative" (Dovey, 2010: 12). Correlations exist where 'structure' (government/municipalities and corporate companies) is seen as harnessing 'power over' the people or 'agency'.

According to Tepsic (2010), the advantage of 'power over' governs the social, political and economic systems of society (Tepsic, 2010) and is what defines social exclusion and inclusion of members in society. The resulting effect of social exclusion is that individuals or communities are limited in their 'power to' and their participation in the economic, social, and political life of the society in which they live (Young, 2000). Conversely, a group is said to be in a state of cohesion when "its members possess bonds linking them to one another and to the group as a whole" (Forsyth, 2010: 118). The concept of social cohesion embraces notions of trust, connectedness, and civic engagement but expands this behavioural emphasis to include participation through empowerment (Speer et al, 2001).

The consequences of limiting community participation and their involvement in decision-making are felt in dislocated societies and in peri-urban area's where poverty and violence go hand-in-hand. Professor Betty Mubangizi is an associate Professor in the School of Management, Information Technology and Governance at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal who suggests that the problem lies in the municipalities that are not living up to their promises according to the legislation in the Municipalities Systems Act. Municipalities are supposed to engage with the community, encourage communication and participation and resolve issues before the tipping point of violence or protest (Mubangizi, 2013). This dissatisfaction with 'structure' (government) and the demand of the 'agent' (people), Mubangizi believes, is the stepping-stone for violent outburst (Mubangizi, 2013).

3.6.1 SOCIAL COHESION IN THE MINING INDUSTRY AND THE CASE OF PROTEST AT MARIKANA

Protest can be described as a form of communication where power struggles between 'structure' (government/ employer) and 'agent' (agent/employee) are used to demonstrate the social reality and initiate social change. The consequences of social decline are evident in the unique social structure of the mining industry where issues related to a lack of social cohesion in South Africa are a result of a long history of

migration and poverty (Oosthuizen, 2013). The social structure of mining towns is unusual in the atypical establishment of mining 'communities' as a byproduct of industry (Oosthuizen, 2013). In this way, "a mining community or a community affected by mining is fundamentally unsustainable" (Oosthuizen, 2013). The protest at Marikana was a response to this instability and was a "tragic demonstration of the dissonance between policy and practice" or between 'structure' and 'agent' (Nyar, 2013). In furthering this, Frankel suggests that "the Marikana Massacre is a symbol of something deeply generic in the mining industry" and "is representative of bigger problems in South Africa" (Frankel, 2013).

The illegal miners strike took place on a platinum mine owned by Lonmin Plc in the Marikana area near Rustenburg in the North-West province in South Africa. What started out as a wage dispute, (amongst other complaints of dire living and working conditions and a general disregard for worker wellbeing) resulted in what has come to be known as the Marikana Massacre. The Marikana tragedy was a climax of ongoing strikes that have plagued the area since January 2012 (Dhliwayo , 2012).

On 10 of August 2013, 3000 workers walked off site after management failed to respond to their demands. The strike occurred in an already hostile environment between worker unions. The ongoing power struggle between the African National Congress-allied National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and its emerging rival, the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU) is evident of the competition for workforce members where it is believed that "whoever controls the workforce, controls the mine" (Brookman, 2013). On the 11 August 2013, NUM union leaders allegedly opened fire on striking workers who were approaching their offices. This further antagonised the striking miners as it confirmed their distrust of the union and their failure to communicate the needs of the workers to management. With no response from management or union leaders, 16 August 2012 saw angry miners marching in protest. This resulted in the South African Police opening fire on the striking workers, killing 34 miners and wounding 78 others (Alexander, 2012).

"The union dues at Lonmin alone are worth around R100 million a year" and it was noted in a news report that "thirty-five dead people is not that many for that kind of money in this part of the world" (Brookman, 2013). The union's role has clearly been

distorted where power is used, not to represent the people, but as a means of economic gain for union management. Considering the power struggles between unions, Michels (2011) argues that when as organization grows, leadership values tend to be less concerned with the ideology of the group and more focused on maintaining power (Chinguno, cited by Michels, 1911). As such, workers at Marikana began to lose confidence in their union leaders and attempted to reposition the element of power to negotiate for themselves.



Plate 8 and 9: Lonmin workers gather on the 'koppie' in protest to poor working conditions (Source: www.dailymaverick.co.za, accessed 23 April, 2013)

Described as the ANC's Sharpeville, it is the deadliest incident of violence between police and civilians in South Africa since the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre and has "raised questions about the post-apartheid socioeconomic order and the integrity of industrial relations" (Chinguno, 2012). Professor Frankel points out, "when you look carefully at the sociology of some mines, you are reminded, to put it very bluntly, of the apartheid years." Frankel suggested that the Marikana massacre has been 20 years in the making and he describes the mining industry as a "race-based industry" where the social structure has changed very little since apartheid and where segregation is maintained by class, race and skill. He observes that mining is a conservative industry where violence and conflict are common occurrences where the "basic power structure has not changed in over 150 years" and where the "hierarchy of mines is very similar to that of the military" (Frankel, 2013). It has been suggested, "the state is at war with the poor majority" (Stupart, 2012) and according to Chinguno, "the workers engaged violence to overcome fragmentation and challenge an order of inequality that characterises the new South Africa" (Chinguno, 2012).

This inconsistency exacerbates the likelihood of protest but in addition to this, Mubangizi believes that "widespread protests are indicative of the failure to negotiate or understand the situation, properly" (Clarke, 2012:66). She says that violent protest, whether it be "throwing bricks, stoning cars, burning tyres or wielding pangas, is not at the beginning but rather at the very end of the frustration line" (Clarke, 2012:66). Mubangizi believes that interventions need to address the beginning stages of protest where these voices can be heard before the need for violence. "It all comes down to a lack of involvement and communication from municipality and their lack of participation in a community" (Mubangizi, 2013).

Interviewer: [What are] your hopes for the future, and your fears? Mineworker: ...my hopes are that maybe our cries will be heard at last, I do not know, that is the hope we harbour (Alexander et al, 2012: 129).

In a presentation to the Kwa-Zulu Natal Speakers Forum in Durban in 2012, Mubangizi suggested that "an honest rethink at the highest levels of leadership would be the first step in encouraging communities and workers to set aside violence and come together to achieve sustainable outcomes" and to "entrench accountability" (Clarke, 2012:66). She believes that social cohesion needs to be central to policy making and that it is vital that the lives of ordinary people are improved so that they can have confidence in the promises of leaders (Mubangizi, 2013). Social cohesion includes "the ability to construct a collective identity and a sense of shared belonging, which in turn can help nurture strong social capital and community networks" (Nyar, 2013). It also emphasises "equality of opportunity, reduced marginalisation and the eradication of social exclusions" (Nyar, 2013). "Social Cohesion is how we… unite and work towards a common goal – it comes down to recognizing our common humanity in meaningful ways which involve meeting basic human needs, amongst them decent shelter, food, meaningful work, tolerance, respect, family and friendship" (Nchoba cited by Memela (ed), 2011).

The Marikana Massacre has roots in a number of social, political and economical conditions that will impact the future of mining and the 'rise' or 'fall' of trade unions in South Africa. It is "the result of a process of degenerative civil society in the North West and other provinces that back-dates to 1994" (Frankel, 2012). According to Eusebius McKaise, "There is an incredibly basic but crucial leadership lesson to be learnt from the Marikana disaster. It is this: unresponsive leadership will not be

tolerated forever" (McKaiser, 2012). "Marikana will come to be a textbook case study in the failure of responsive leadership. Not just on the part of labour union leaders, but the politicians also, and the callously silent corporates" (McKaiser, 2012). Mubangizi believes that the Rustenburg municipality failed to engage and communicate with the people and is a major contributor to the protest at Marikana (Mubangizi, 2013). In considering the Marikana Massacre, she points out that if the legislation and policies that are in place fail at providing 'invited spaces' for communication and protest, then people will invent their own spaces – in streets and bars that is more likely to result in violence.

Having discussed the necessity of power struggles between 'agent' (people) and 'structure' (government) in facilitating social change, the importance of communication and the need for the provision of 'invited space' is identified. Taking this into consideration, Dovey suggests that power relations between 'structure' and 'agent' are mediated in built form (Dovey, 2010). As such, this will be discussed in so far as is relevant to the research.

3.7 MEDIATING POWER IN BUILT FORM

Having recognized the need for 'invited space', Miraftab (2001) identifies 'invited' and 'invented spaces'; 'invited space' is "legitimized by government interventions" and 'invented space' is "claimed by the collective action of those at grassroot level" (Miraftab, 2001:1). In the absence of 'invited space' (e.g. public space/housing/places for recreation), necessity drives the creation of 'invented space'. 'Invited space' is generally considered to represent empowerment and liberation and thus the absence of 'invited space' is characterised by oppression and exploitation (Dovey, 2010). This suggests that liberation therefore occurs in informal/invented spaces, open plans or fractured geometries. Authority and those in positions of power attempt to maintain social order despite the proliferation of 'invented space'. Both the protest camp and the informal settlement are a production of inequality, exploitation and economic divide (*Plates 11 and 12*) and are beginning to look alike. In the same way that the city has not provided space for protest, it does not accommodate the insurgency of the poor where both, while waiting for change, are forced to exist in a state of in-betweenness.



Plate 10 and 11: Poverty and protest are represented by a haphazard arrangement of informal shelter in the built environment where the results of economic exclusion are felt by both groups. The informal arrangement of space acts in defiance to the characteristic language of institutional architecture. (www.cbc.ca_news_yourcommunity and www.boston.com, accessed 17 April 2013)

Taking into consideration 'invited' and 'invented' space, Dovey discusses the spatial properties of 'striated' and 'smooth' space as defined by Deleuze and Guattari. 'Striated' space is "where identities and spatial practices have become stabilised in strictly bounded territories with choreographed spatial practices and socially controlled identities." 'Smooth' space is identified with "movement and instability through which stable territories are erased and new identities and spatial practices become possible." When discussing the way in which power is mediated in built form and considering the roles of 'structure' and 'agency' and 'striated' and 'smooth' space.' Dovey suggests, "Spatial structure can be analysed in terms of this distinction between smooth and striated space" and that those in power are separated by "programmed boundary control" (Dovey, 2010: 45). Dovey believes that every place is a mixture of both 'striated' and 'smooth spaces' that continually overlap creating spaces of 'in-between.' This includes the folding of "different spaces and functions, of public with private space and of inside with outside" (Dovey, 2010: 23).

It is interesting to note the position of the 'mountain' or 'killing koppie' at Marikana (*Fig. 1*) in the context of this discussion. The 'koppie' served as the invented place for protest of the people (agent) and is where the police force (structure) demonstrated their authority in the killing of the protesting miners. The unplanned 'smooth' spaces of the informal township of Wonderkop and the town of Marikana bound the 'koppie' on the North and South side. The 'striated' space of Lonmin's mining operations and the union and management offices surround these 'smooth' spaces and thus establish their prominence in 'overseeing' the daily activities of the workers and their families. The

'folding' and overlapping of 'smooth' and 'striated' space is evident in the context of Marikana where 'in-betweenness' is felt both physically in space and psychologically in the unstable existence of the mining community.

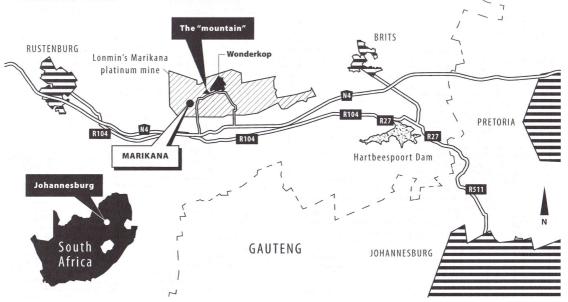


Figure 1: The proximity of Marikana and the 'killing koppie' or 'mountain' to Lonmin's Marikana platinum operations and the surrounding towns and cities (Source: Alexander et al, 2012).

Dovey's work entitled "*Framing Places*" compares the role of architecture to that of a frame where the 'picture' or action is framed by its context and social structure (Dovey, 1999:1). In the same way, the researcher identifies the 'frame' (context) and the 'picture' (action) as symbolic of the power struggle between 'structure' (social systems) and 'agency' (human action). Dovey suggests that "architecture is regularly called on to legitimize power in a crisis" (Dovey, 1999:14) and that "the practice of power can be hidden within the structures and representations of space" (Dovey, 1999: 46). This is evident in most societies, where the government buildings are a reflection of the power of the state. Dovey believes that "all architecture represents some social order and that style is its language of expression" (Dovey, 1999:1)(*Plates 13,14,15 and 16*).

"Architecture always mediates spatial practices in a semi-coercive manner, it enables and constrains; the question is not whether but how it does so and in whose interests." (Dovey, 2010: 45)



Plates 12 and 13: Dovey believes that all architecture represents social order. If so, the order of power (presented here in the form of the Lonmin office boardroom) and the informal gathering space in the township of Wonderkop, will continue to be symbolic of the disparity between the controllers and the controlled. (www.headinteriors.co.za, accessed 17 April 2013 and www.goodreads.com, accessed 17 April 2013)

In furthering this argument, Dovey suggests that "vertical symbolism permeates the language of power and domination" and that "the idea that a taller building is better than a lower one is entirely irrational at one level yet vertical prominence reads as dominance in social space" (Dovey, 2010: 49). It is interesting to note that in contrast, "diagonal forms play upon this tension between vertical and horizontal, embodying a certain perceptual dynamism." Dovey recognizes that "a predominance of diagonal forms is characteristic of the dynamic architecture of revolution but also marks the expression of tension and disorder (Dovey, 2010: 49).



Plate 14 and 15: Power mediated in built form – the offices of Anglo America Plc in Johannesburg and the Anglo Gold Ashanti headquarters at Turbine Square in Johannesburg, valued at R200 000 000.00. The sculpture of the mine workers at work is symbolic of those responsible for the opulent offices (source: www.members.virtualtourist.com and www.tiber.co.za, accessed 22 May, 2013)



Plate 16: The 'killing koppie' is the highest point in the horizontal landscape of the context of Marikana and the Wonderkop township. The 'mountain' is representative of the power of the people (Source:www.gregmarinovich.photoshelter.com, accessed 22 May, 2013)

In addressing the use of space as a means of social ordering, it is noted that "an awareness of the way power is mediated by built form enables us to change the way it is practiced" (Dovey, 1999: 16). As such, Dovey considers Tiananmen Square an example that demonstrates the notions of power mediated in built form. Tiananmen square in Beijing, China was established in 1949 as the "democratic expanse of the worlds largest open plaza" where the open space, access and visibility of the square were used as a metaphor for freedom (Dovey, 1999: 89). During the 1980's the square became "a highly charged political space" and "its role as a representation of the 'people' became tightly controlled" (Dovey, 1999: 91) On April 15 1989, shortly after the death of the pro-democratic politician, Hu Yaobang, many students gathered at Tiananmen Square to say their respects and lay wreaths. The wreaths were removed the following day by the Chinese Communist Party, which served as a tipping point for the growing unrest in Beijing. As a response, 3000 students participated in a march on 4 June 1989 demanding government accountability, freedom of the press and freedom of speech (Bamboo, 2012). Army troops were dispatched and opened fire on the unarmed civilians, killing several hundred students (Vogel, 2011). The Tiananmen Square massacre was accompanied by a period of repression, which involved arrests, executions, threats and harassment. Many young people became disillusioned with the government and the hope of reform.



Plates 18 and 19: Tiananmen Square today and in 1989 when half a million students gathered to protest against oppression from the government (Source: www.rebirthofthecool.wordpress.com, accessed 22 April 2013)

According to report by Elizabeth Lynch (2012), to this day the Chinese government has prohibited any form of remembrance of the event and every year the anniversary of the Tiananmen Massacre goes unnoticed (Lynch, 2012). Lynch believes that the 23 year silence "isn't just denial. It's been a active and fairly effective effort to erase Tiananmen, and the government's bloody actions on the night of June 3, 1989, from China's collective memory" (Lynch, 2012). Béja (2010) confirms this saying that "twenty years later it is possible to meet well-educated young Chinese who know nothing about what really happened" and that the post-CCP government has wanted the official version of the events to be remembered, but the authentic stories of victims to be forgotten (Béja 2010).

Ed Morrow (2012) highlights the negative consequences of non-memorialisation while speaking about the perceived invisibility of the Sarajevo memorials. Morrow believes that without sufficient closure, denial is a tool that will reinforce ethnic divisions and magnify bitterness and feelings of alienation whilst simultaneously perverting collective memory in such a way that it may be increasingly hard to ever provide the remorseful acknowledgement that is a prerequisite for reconciliation (Morrow, 2012:89).

By attempting to control collective memory, there is no official commemoration of the Tiananmen Square Massacre, despite the number of veterans that descend on Tiananmen Square to commemorate the event. In an interview with Maria Elena Viggiano in 2009, Andre Nathan, a professor of Political Science at Columbia

University, remarked that "instead of marking the beginning of the end of authoritarianism in China...Tiananmen led to the strengthening of authoritarianism in China." He expands on this by saying that currently there is a "general public mood that places less value on the idea of democracy than was the case twenty years ago" (Viggiano, 2009).

The recent proliferation of sporadic protests, including those in North Africa and more locally, in South Africa, have a similar disposition as that of Tiananmen (Mubangizi, 2013). Although the majority of protests have not escalated to violence, dissatisfaction with leadership is an underlying concern where complaints and the needs of society are not being communicated. Mubangizi has observed that the escalating number of protests has underscored the need for a new approach to the way in which public space can facilitate participatory democracy (Mubangizi, 2013). In addressing the need for places of participation, Kim Dovey's work explores ways in which democracy is represented in private and public space. He points out that in contemporary times architecture has been reduced to representation alone and is separated from everyday life. Hays (1984) defined critical architecture as "resistant to the self-confirming, conciliatory operations of a dominant culture" (Dovey, 2010: 44) and Dovey suggests "this early formulation of a critical architecture, however, then focused firmly on form to the exclusion of social meaning" (Dovey, 2010:44). Architecture is thus required to be critical of its role and respond and engage the public (Dovey, 2010:47). "In this way Dovey requires that architecture serve a dual purpose: firstly by constructing meaning through signs and symbols where the architecture "may seek to unsettle or disorient its subjects, to transgress the grounded comfort zone of fixed identities and meanings while engaging with new identity formations" (Dovey, 2010: 45) and secondly by responding to social issues through spatial planning and participation. This includes "involving architecture in framing spatial practices, actions and events through its social programmes" (Dovey, 2010:45). Dovey defines participation as "a name we use for power when it is distributed evenly" (Dovey, 2010:41).

Dovey's purpose for architecture to establish meaning can be seen in the use of symbols, artifacts and sensory simulations that are used to evoke emotions or memories of the past. "The symbols of authority are institutionally embedded from the family house to the corporate tower and the public buildings or urban designs of the state. Rituals,

ceremonies and symbolic displays are often a means by which State authority is reproduced under the cover of diplomacy." He believes that "buildings and urban designs are often integrated with such rituals and ceremonies" (Dovey, 2010: 12).

3.4 CONCLUSION

It has been suggested in chapter 1 that a tendency for conflict is a natural human reaction and contributes to social evolution (Spencer, 1898) where the traumatic event can be seen as a catalyst for positive change. William Sumner (1883) argues that despite human-natures self-interest, this conflict and competition for survival, if managed by conscience, promotes positive social advancement (Sumner, 1883). This competition is driven by the disparity between the have's and the have-not's and is embodied in the built environment where power is mediated in built form. But architecture and urban form by themselves do not contain any form of power. Bentley (1999) suggests, "Buildings are not inherently subjugating or liberating. People, ('agent' or 'structure') utilise them to generate such meanings, and by a discursive mode of signification buildings can serve interests for which they are not originally intended" (Bentley cited by Noobanjong, 1999: 34). In the same way that buildings can be used to establish meaning, authority is able to use the built environment and its symbols, artifacts and notions of sensory stimulation to evoke memory and shape identity.

CHAPTER 4 | COLLECTED AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Collective memory becomes a dominant narrative in times of change, when the identity of a society or community is being reassessed (Alexander et al, 2004). "These accounts are not simply the details about the past but a central feature in the moral, political and social lessons they communicate" (Kenan, 2010). Heidenreich, argues that collective memory and urban planning are closely linked and that collective memory is an essential constituent of identity, place making and the built city fabric (Heidenreich, nd: 2). In this way, architecture and the built environment have a direct implication on shaping the identity of a city. In addition to this, architecture has a responsibility to house and communicate memory.

4.2 COLLECTED MEMORY (HISTORY) AND THE IMPACT OF AUTHORITY IN SHAPING IDENTITY

In the same way that architecture can be used to demonstrate power, collected and collective memory can be used as tools for memorialisation to shape the identity of an individual, group or nation.

On a national level, collective memory is expressed in the form of monuments, museums, memorials and holidays and is linked to re-establishing collective identity and adjusting collective memory (Neal, 2005). Neal suggests that human beings take an active role in determining their collective memory through events that are remembered and given significance (e.g. through celebrations, film, memorials or rituals), and some that are forgotten (Neal, 2005). The use of these allows for meaning and values to be questioned in order to promote the "collective good" (Neal, 005:199) and gives future generations a framework, which allows them to move forward. These historical narratives help us understand our origin, who we are and where we are supposed to be going (Wertsch, 2002). According to Heidenreich, "architecture is a crucial component in shaping collective memory" and "selective memory construction" (Heidenreich, nd: 5). To use Eyerman's words: "how an event is remembered is intimately entwined with

how it is represented" (Eyerman, 2001:12). Delanty and Jones suggest, "architecture is not only responsible for shaping collective memories but also provides a cultural potential for the expression of new identities" (Delanty and Jones, 2001:464). "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" (Eyerman, 2004). "A primary task of a nation is to rework the data from the past in order to shape a contemporary identity" (Neal, 2005:198) and thus selective remembering or forgetting serves a political purpose to justify the views of one group over the other.

"A central institution involved in the state control of collective memory is education" where "the process often goes unnoticed, but during times of transition and turmoil, the importance of history instruction in the formation of national identity snaps into focus" (Wertsch, 2002:70). The attempt of the state to control education can be seen in the Soweto Uprising of 1976. School children protested the implementation of Afrikaans as a means of instruction in schools. The protest became violent after the arrival of the police force and amongst the dead was the young Hector Pieterson. The iconic photograph that captures the trauma and death of Hector Pieterson has, through the media, become a part of our national collective memory. A museum and memorial has been erected in memory of Hector Pieterson and those who died in the Soweto Uprising where the architectural language and the spirit of place (genius loci) evoke a collective consciousness and a continuous reminder of the oppression of apartheid (Plate 20). It is also noted that the museum and its surrounding mixed-use functions serve to liberate the local community from economic exclusion. Taking this into consideration, it is noted that in order to promote democracy, 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).

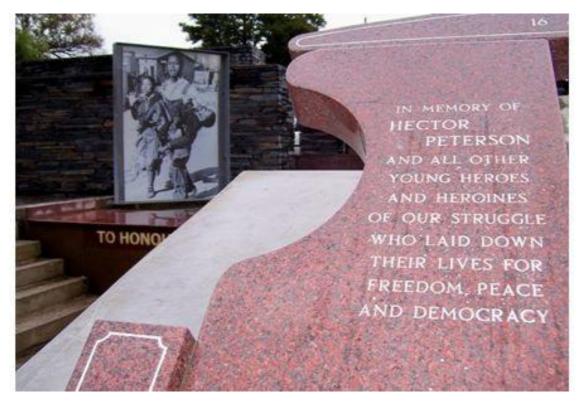


Plate 19: The image of Hector Pieterson's death has become a part of the national collective memory of South Africa. The architectural language of the museum and the spirit of place (genius loci) evoke a collective consciousness and a continuous reminder of the oppression of apartheid (Source: www.mydestination.com/johannesburg, accessed 24 May, 2013)

Wertsch claims that individual and collective memories are distributed between what he calls 'social actors' and 'texts'. I.e. Between 'people' and 'written works,' 'historical facts' or 'cultural tools' (Wertsch, 2002). Wertsch (2002) claims that "textual resources (e.g. narratives in textbooks about a collective past) function as mediators between the historical events and our understanding of those events" (Bietti, 2011). Wertsch argues that collective memory is associated with an 'identity project' that helps to unite a society and assists in projecting images of heroism or national trauma. He points out that this 'group' is often impatient with alternatives or evidence that would interject the collective memory and, thereby, the main group cohesion (Wertsch, 2002). Alternatively, the 'main actors' (i.e. government, political leaders and historians) are responsible to provide accurate accounts of events and aspire to portray the truth, regardless of the consequences (Bietti, 2011). According to Wertsch, "research has shown time and again that memory is more a matter of re-organising, or re-constructing, bits of information into a general scheme than it is a matter of accurate recall of the isolated bits themselves" (Wertsch, 2002:7). Schwartz calls collective memory "the representation of the past embodied in both historical evidence and commemorative symbolism" (Schwartz et al, 1986:8). Hutton provides a summary and suggests "while memory is the connection between past and present, history seeks to distance itself from the past. And where memory addresses recurring, ritual events, history focuses on the unique, momentous events of the past (Hutton, 1993:76).

Halbwach suggests that history and memory are in contradiction to each other when dealing with the past. He believes that history is past and only accessible through historical records, therefore only accessible to a minority, whereas collective memory is shared. History is continuous and factual and dependent on time, whereas collective memory relates to context and is limited only by the infinite number of human communities that exists (Halbwachs, 1992). Halbwachs suggests that collective memory is a flexible interpretation of the past and believed that once the storytelling or communication crystallised in the forms of writing, texts, buildings and the like, the group relationship and contemporary reference would be lost (Assman, 1995).

"Collective memory, unlike history is not concerned with the past but rather how the past is remembered" (Assman, 1997:9). It is subjective and, according to Halbwachs, more authentic and reliable (Halbwachs, 1992). Collective memories strengthen social identities and create a sense of belonging amongst group members (Sani 2008). History is defined as facts and records that are selectively remembered or forgotten and influenced by policies, government and institutions. History "...defines a trajectory which helps construct the essence of a group's identity, how it relates to other groups, and ascertains what its options are for facing present challenges" (Liu and Hilton, 2005:537). It can be deduced that both collective memory, and history are important in their contribution to forming a collective identity but that history is more concerned with 'structure' and providing methods of reconciliation whereas collective memory is conscious of the 'agent' and the construction of a sense of community.

4.3 COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND THE EXISTENTIAL CRISIS

A narrative of an individual's perception of the world takes place in a social context (Halbwachs, 1950) and association connects all recollections and interpretations of the past (Bartlett, 1932). Through communication with others, these autobiographical memories are reinforced and form associations with others, thus allowing groups of people to share memories. In this way, collective memory is formed and will "establish

a collective identity" and promote unity within a community (Brown, Kouri and Hirst, 2012:1). But, in addition to this, a collective memory is defined as being shared extensively and it defines and binds a group together (Assmann, 1995). Put simply, individual memory encompasses activities on a neuron or psychological level whereas collective memory encompasses others and forms a group (e.g. Family, community, nation, religion) (Anastasio et al, 2012: 8).

In the latter part of the 19th century and early 20th century, Emile Durkheim and Maurice Halbwachs began empirical studies on collective memory. Halbwachs argued that it is not possible for individuals to remember in any coherent fashion, outside of their group context. "It is in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognize and localize their memories (Halbwachs, 1992:38). The group context, prompts the individual to recall and remember. The individual becomes a part of the collective group and in turn, the collective group shapes what is individually remembered. Collective memories are therefore, freely accessible to any individual participating in the collective (Halbwachs, 1992). "In a group of any size, the number of potential subgroups is extremely large. In a real society there are many social subgroup with overlapping membership, as well as a hierarchy of subgroup. Each subgroup can influence the others, and all can have their own collective memories" (Anastasio et al, 2012: 8). Groups are even able to produce memories in an individual of events that he/she has never experienced (Olick, 1998).

Since the writings of Maurice Halbwach's, collective memory has been discussed in relation to national, social and cultural identities. Identities are socially constructed and moulded by the memories of the individual and the memory of the 'group' (Halbwachs, 1992) where group members who share and relate their representations of the past are able to form a social identity. It can thus be argued that a mining 'community', established out of obligation for the industry and comprising of the diversity of immigrants, although having established a degree of cohesiveness, lacks an established collective memory or identity.

"Identity is intimately tied to memory: both our personal memories... and the collective or social memories interconnected with the histories of our families, neighbours, fellow workers, and ethnic communities. Urban landscapes are storehouses for these social memories, because natural features such as hills or harbours, as well as streets, buildings and patterns of settlement, frame the lives of many people and often outlast many lifetimes" (Hayden, 1977:9).

According to Eyerman, collective or cultural trauma refers to a "dramatic loss of identity and meaning, a tear in the social fabric, affecting a group of people that has achieved some degree of cohesion" (Eyerman, 2004: 61). As such, the Marikana Massacre can be defined as a cultural trauma whereby the 'social actors' and 'texts' have prompted the beginnings of a national collective memory, shaping South Africa's national identity.

Since the tragedy at Marikana, the town and it's community is in the process of redefining themselves. In so doing, Frankel pinpoints that "there is something wrong with the culture, that is, the mindsets, behaviour, attitudes, perceptions and the social relationships in the mines" and that at least 60% of the problem is a behavioural one. He stresses the need to focus on this 60% and "encourage coherence, trust, accountability and a sense of fairness between management and labour" through engagement, not only through consultation but through community development and 'real understanding' (Creamer, cited in Frankel, 2010). The Massacre at Marikana has established a collective consciousness amongst the workers, unions, leadership and management where the collective memory of the trauma can be used as a conscious informant in a new narrative for the future of the community and the mining industry as a whole.

"As events like Sharpeville made it impossible for our parents to claim ignorance about the violence of the apartheid state and the abominable inequality that made such repression necessary, so Marikana has made it impossible for us to claim to the next generation that we were unaware that the majority was being repressed" (Stupart, 2012).

The Marikana Massacre can be described as an existential crisis in the manner in which it has prompted a search for a "higher level of meaning" and has provided "reference points for assessing the quality of life in the present" (Neal, 2005:210) in an attempt to "enhance collective values and ideals" (Neal, 2005:203). Arthur Neal (2005) points out that the significance of a traumatic event stems from discussions and questions that arise after the event. But also suggests that in time, these traumatic events will become a part of the "general fabric of social life" that are retold as stories to others and thus become embedded in our collective memory (Neal, 2005: 197). Trauma results not so much in a need for revenge than in a need for reconciliation where "unlike the momentous event, the post-traumatic aftermath elicits a focus on survival and the desire for regeneration, the need for hope" (Spurr, 2010 :52).

According to Aleida Assmann, contemporary culture should be called the 'posttraumatic era' and that the post-traumatic is no longer the exception; it is the global condition" (Lahoud, Rice and Burke, 2010: 1). In this way, our 'era of commemoration' is shouldered with the responsibility to confront and comprehend the historical and cultural trauma of the past and has the obligation to 'repeat, to return and to work through' the traumatic event (Dziuban, nd). Traumatic memory is stored in the collective memory of a community, where the post-traumatic effects have the potential to further fragment society as a whole. The tragedy at Marikana has resulted in a traumatised society where the memories of that day are, even now (at the time of writing), continuing to haunt the community. The small 'koppies', where many of the killings took place has, over the last few months, become a shrine for the people. Everyone "goes to the mountain" on pilgrimage (Frankel, 2012). The 'killing koppie' has become a meaningful place for remembrance and reflection and provides a common ground for the people of Marikana.

And so, as the long struggle and bitter reality unfolds, the songs of Marikana have changed. The tempo, the rhythm, the words and their meaning are urgent, direct and angry. A firm and grim determination now animates the songs as they give expression to a new phase of struggle. No more pleading. No more prayers. These songs that are being sung and ululated are the low rumblings of deep anger which will be heard and whose force will yet be felt. They will not be sung from platforms or in the choreographed shows of the politically connected. They will be hummed in shacks, swayed to on street corners and the message will carry over the sounds of teargas, rubber bullets and Nyalas (Thapelo Lekgowa, 2013). It is suggested that the way in which a violent past is collectively remembered is vitally important in "understanding contemporary instances of intergroup conflict, prejudice, stigmatization, and racism" (Volpato and Licata, 2009:4). As such, "collective memories...could also be instrumental in promoting intergroup reconciliation, mutual respect, and mutual recognition in and between contemporary societies" (Volpato and Licata, 2009: 4). Goldin points out that conflict has the tendency to dissipate over time when individuals become integrated into society (Goldin et al, 2011). In this way, social order is maintained when various individuals or groups find a sense of belonging in their respective exclusive membership and identity, I.e. Social order is sustained when members experience a sense of community.

3.2 COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND ITS INFLUENCE ON FOSTERING A SENSE OF COMMUNITY

In "South African Cities – A Manifesto for Change" Dewar clarifies the notion of identity and its influence on community where the concept of community "in essence, relates to creating a sense of identity and belonging – a sense of absorption into urban life" (Dewar, 1991: 21). The social identity of a city is complex and according to Dewar the "richness" that this complexity creates is expressed in two main ways. Firstly, it is "through the celebration of valued societal institutions in the organisation of urban space" and the second is "through the reflection of cultural expression" (Dewar, 1991:22). As such, participation in rituals, commemoration and memorialisation are all methods of remembering and constituents of collective memory.

Another of Dewar's realizations is that the concept of community has several notions. The first is the "recognition that social interaction is not only fundamental to human development but it is an essential part of urban development" (Dewar, 1991:21). He suggests that in order for urban development to occur it is largely dependent on "communication and interaction" (Dewar, 1991: 21). He then suggests that it is only logical that the places where this interaction takes place are critically important in urban development and as a result, a sense of community is often started in a place, building or event that has deep historical significance. These places may be characterised as parks, plazas, public squares, streets, sidewalks or any other 'invited' or 'invented' space that is available for public use.

In his influential 1974 book, psychologist Seymour B. Sarason proposed that a sense of community is the "feeling that one is part of a larger dependable and stable structure" (Sarason, 1974: 157). It can thus be deduced that a sense of community is atypical in the unstable and temporary nature of mining towns but that the existential crisis offers an opportunity to "enhance collective values and ideals" (Neal, 2005:203). In this way, the community may assemble around a crisis or opportunity and find that a shared purpose, intent, or vision creates the foundation from which a sense of community is readily built (Walsh, 1997). Shared emotional connection, as identified by McMillan and Chavis is one of the four elements that constitutes a sense of community. It is rooted in participation and a shared history or identification with the past. McMillan stated that shared emotional connection "seems to be the definitive element for true community" (McMillan and Chavis, 1986: 14). If a sense of community is to be established, it requires that the built environment, not only memorialise and commemorate crisis but provide space for interaction and participation while at the same time, identify with the spirit of place or genius loci. In this way, the built environment can contribute to creating meaningful space and a consciousness amongst civilians.

3.8 CONCLUSION

Collective memory, selective remembering and commemoration contribute largely to establishing a social identity and, embodied in the built environment and through mass mediated narratives, are used by government to influence a nation's character. Collective memory is shaped by the society it is found in and in turn influences that same collective. By continually sharing a collective memory, a community defines and identifies itself (Adam, 2008). A group's identity, therefore, is a manifestation of their collective memory and contributes to social cohesion (Landorf, 2011).

A sense of community is an intangible but essential component of a healthy community and when such places are lacking, people feel less connected to each other and to the place where they live" (PPS, 2012). In modern times, the need for acceptance and acknowledgement defines the lives of many individuals in society for they no longer find value within themselves and suggests a superficial and temporal gratification (Fuchs, 2007). Thus this defines the need for a post-traumatic, conscious response that is sensitive to both collected and collective memory and that will facilitate the creation and the cohesion of a community.

CHAPTER 5 | THE MAKINGS OF AN ARCHITECTURE OF CONSCIENCE

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Conscious architecture is a socio-spatial response to the conflict and disaster that dominates the daily news. Together with the necessity for forms of commemoration, there is the need to reveal and restore the cause of related violence and facilitate collaboration between conflicting groups. Consciousness in built form describes a condition where disaster or conflict has disrupted and damaged social and cultural networks and demands a critical, sensitive and creative architectural approach to posttraumatic social contexts. Conscious architecture suggests that the built environment may respond as a spatial opportunity to assist in preventing and overcoming conflict. It has been suggested in chapter 4 that we are the generation of post-trauma and the question remains; how can collective memory in architecture assist in creating a consciousness in the built environment in circumstances of dissociation and fragmentation?

5.2 TOWARDS A CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

Consciousness in the built environment aims at producing architecture with a social conscience. In doing so, it aims towards providing a space for reconciliation to encourage social inclusion and instill a collective consciousness through participation, commemoration and communication.

Collective consciousness is defined as the set of moral attitudes that operate as a unifying force within society (Collins Dictionary of Sociology: 93). Collective consciousness is created and reflected in the city's public spaces (Schamp, n.d), and provides a platform for public participation. Public space is physical space or empty space between buildings that is accessible to the public (Schamp, n.d). These spaces nurture growth and social cohesion amongst a community that has been previously stunted by experiences of violence, isolation or conflict. "As these experiences are repeated, public spaces become vessels to carry positive communal meanings (Carr, Francis, Rivlin and Stone, 1993: 344). It is in these spaces that "...cultural groups can come together in a supportive context of mutual enjoyment."

In Julian Bonder's writing, she suggests that Alberto Pérez-Gómez clarified the historic role of architecture as a 'theatre of memory' that is capable of embodying truths making it possible to affirm life and contemplate a better future. As such "it is in the face of catastrophes, historic traumas and human injustices that the architects and the artists roles become increasingly complex, problematic and necessary" (Bonder, 2009). Neal recognizes the importance of the role of architecture as a social unifier by pointing out that "the act of commemoration is essentially a means of rejuvenating cultural values and promoting images of society as a moral community" (Neal, 2005:203). He therefore acknowledges both the physical and spiritual impact of architecture on a nation and an individual.

"Neither art not architecture can compensate for public trauma or mass murder. What artistic and architectural practices can do is establish a dialogical relation with those events and help frame the process toward understanding" (Julian, 2009: 65).

5.2.1 Reconciliation Through Participation And Memorialisation

The notion of creating space for reconciliation through participation and memorialisation is a critical strategy that involves collective memory in the creation of a sense of community in the built environment. This approach is based on Dovey's two key determinates for spatial democracy. As discussed in chapter 3, Dovey's first objective is to construct meaning through architecture and a connection to place and the second objective is to respond to social issues through spatial planning and participation. Furthering Dovey's notion of spatial democracy, Connerton, argues that the collective memory of society is organised and allowed through only two types of social activities that are closely related: commemorative ceremonies and bodily practices. He states, "commemorative ceremonies prove to be commemorative only in so far as they are performative; performativity cannot be thought without a concept of habit; and habit cannot be thought without a notion of bodily automatisms" (Connerton, 1989:5). "To diminish the importance of the body's internal value is to diminish our opportunity to make responses that remind us of our personal identity, responses we may have had as

children when we were playing house or exploring the outdoors" (Bloomer and Moore, 1977:49).

In responding to Dovey's first objective of establishing meaning through architecture and a connection to place, it is noted that in the wake of disaster, the physical presence of the body and mind in space provides the opportunity for architecture to intervene in processing feelings of disillusionment. The existential crisis extends beyond the psychological confines of the human body into the realm of space, where meaning and memory are intertwined into the spirit of 'place.' Place can therefore be expressed as space + meaning" (Harrison and Dourish, 1996). The philosopher Edward S. Casey defines a "place" as different from a "site" or "space" in that a place, he believes is a physical location where memories are contained and preserved (Rich, 2012). In architecture, the transformation of space is a dual process of erecting a structure that enables the space to contain memories and at the same time, populating that space with memories in order to make the structure a place (Rich, 2012). Place is important in forming a sense of belonging and a sense of community. According to Norberg-Schulz, architecture transcends the role of shelter and becomes a place with meaning and it contributes to one's identity and a sense of belonging (Norberg-Schulz: 1980; 5). Durrell clarifies this by saying that "... you begin to realise that the important determinant of any culture is after all the spirit of place" (Durrell: 1969; 156). In furthering the idea of place, Nora (1989) notes that, 'memory attaches itself to sites, whereas history attaches itself to events' (Nora, 1989: 22). Nora, sees a group's memory as being linked to places, which – as they are overlain with symbolic associations to past events - play an important role in helping to preserve group memory (Landorf, 2011). It is the active engagement with place, that makes us the sort of "thinking, remembering, experiencing creatures that we are" and, as a result, "our identities are . . . intricately and essentially place-bound" (Landorf, 2011: 3).

Dovey's second determinate for spatial democracy is to respond to social issues through spatial planning and participation. As such conflict theorists and practitioners have identified several specific strategies for promoting reconciliation; uncovering the past, promoting dialogue, promoting understanding through media, developing grass-roots structures for peace and collaborative activities (Kumar, 1999). Architecture has the opportunity to engage both 'structure' (planned space/ political influence) and 'agent'

(human action) in responding to these by using both history and memory to provide a space for remembrance, communication, interaction and collaboration. Kumar believes that "through collaboration (participation), one will eventually come to see each other as human beings, not as enemies" (Kumar, 1999:5). He adds that this strategy often involves a secondary objective of promoting development within underprivileged communities.

Through memorialisation and participation, both parties are able to build an understanding or at least inter-group tolerance of the other's perspective. By facilitating encounters within these spaces, channels of communication are re-established. As a result, engagement and participation with others will promote empathy. Kumar suggests that the process of reconciliation is "a process that begins with the adversaries acceptance of each other's right to coexist in war-torn societies (Kumar, 1999: 1). Furthering this idea, a research report written as a part of the Southern Africa Reconciliation Project, puts forward the following question: "Can memorialisation lead to reconciliation, in a setting that continues to be characterised by underdevelopment and mass poverty co-existing with minority affluence?" (Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2005:1). This question gives rise to the notion of inbetweenness and suggests that, despite the willingness of conflicting parties to reconcile and the methods in place to do so, reconciliation needs to take place somewhere between the extremes of affluence and poverty or alternatively the response needs to stimulate development in underdeveloped areas.

The origin of the word re-conciliation extends from the Latin expression, 'conciliatus', which means, "coming together." As such, reconciliation implies a process of rehabilitating fragmentation between two parties. Integration can be achieved by narrowing the physical and psychological space-between, or by utilizing the in-between to create places of community. In-between space acts like a boundary line that is a neutral place that "denotes a meeting of differences (physical, political, social, economic) which infer a mediation and consensus of inherent limits" (Doherty, 2013: 147).

5.2.2 Public Space as the Place Between

A state of in-betweenness is both a social and spatial condition. It can be described as psychological (being in the process of healing from trauma or between reality and memory), physical (the economic disparity between the city and the slum) and spatial (spaces between buildings, objects and people). In terms of reconciliation, inbetweenness describes a state that is neither at the beginning nor at the end of a process but a place between two extremes that facilitates mediation. Architecture can interpret these states of in-betweenness by responding to both social and spatial conditions in the built environment.

In Christopher Alexander's seminal work entitled, *The City is Not a Tree*, he develops a convincing argument for why zoning land and separating functions have come to dominate the world of urban planning, and why this is an unhealthy and destructive way to live (Alexander, 1966). He describes two types of cities; a natural city (having arisen spontaneously over many years) and artificial cities (those that have been deliberately created by designers and planners). Through a series of intricate diagrams and examples, the author likens the artificial city structure to that of a tree, with a limited number of connections and the natural city to something much more complex, a semi lattice, which has immeasurably more. Urban design is most successful when it establishes enough connections between nodes. These connections, or in-between spaces occur between

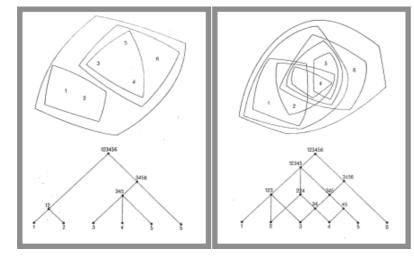


Figure 2: Diagrams showing the tree and semi-lattice structure. Places where there is overlap provides vibrant spaces within our urban fabric (Source: Alexander, 1965: 60)

overlapping parts. As a result, there are many more spaces that can be created than if they are all separate from each other. He proposes that cities planned according to an artificial or tree structure will lack the overlap that is so important to the survival of a city. On an urban planning level, a city's planned and unplanned in-between spaces have become a part of civic space. These public spaces are flexible and are able to adapt to an evolving society. They provide a neutral space for engaging with others. Similarly, in peri-urban or rural areas, in-between spaces are vibrant places of activity. Unfortunately, the similarities of both urban conditions have not yet resulted in reconciling the divide between the city and the informal settlement. In architecture, in-between spaces are also places of activity. Interaction occurs in corridors and office kitchen's where communication is encouraged through chance encounters with others.



Plates 20, 21, 22 and 23: In-between spaces occur between buildings and serve as natural meetings places for interaction, and communication (Source: www.pps.org, hardystevenson.wordpress.com, www.dave-cushman.net, www.inc.com, accessed 24 May, 2013)

Henri Lefebvre posits that space is experienced as a social product and that it is activated by people intersecting and interacting with each other. This is what Lefebvre calls "social space." It is the defined as "both the interaction and what is created by the interaction" and "is reciprocal – it is created by but also helps to create social interaction" (Lefebvre, 1991:454). This reiterates the value of 'agent' and 'structure' in constructing space. As previously discussed, the act of protest is such an example where social space

is used to unite a group and facilitate an action. In this way, social space becomes a palimpsest, layered with meaning and it therefore assists in placemaking. In a similar way, the complexity created by mixed-use planning assists in creating lively thresholds and also allows for a layering of activities and encounters with unlikely groups.

To reiterate the importance of social space, Sztulwark proposes, In *Architecture and Memory*, that memory and the city are continually changing and being updated and are both, "practiced spaces" (Sztulwark, 2009). I.e. He sees the city as a series of experienced places and not merely significant points: the route I used to take to school or the corner where I met my partner. These are one's personal memories. But events experienced in public space by a group (e.g. strike action, celebrations and rituals), form a collective memory. Collective memory is therefore, not only about recalling and remembering the past but it is also about the formation of place.

Throughout history, in-between spaces i.e. the streets of a city or the open spaces of rural areas have been the stage for and the witness to persecutions, protests and celebrations and bear the scars and desire lines of those events. "Narratives, ritual enactments, and symbolic landscapes are three central mechanisms in the development, reinforcement and transmission of collective memories" (Ross, 2010). Public life is inherently important in the formation and experience of collective memory and public space is thus a shared spatial experience that embodies and shapes the values of the community, promoting equality in the public realm and facilitating meaning in placemaking. In this way, public space is an example of built form that embodies collective memory. Collective memory, according to Halbwachs is a more authentic source of information, as it has not been tainted or manipulated by authority. It values and appreciates the role of the person or 'agent' in its construction. As such, collective memory contains is the crux of consciousness in design.

5.3 CONCLUSION

The discussed methods of achieving a consciousness in built form are attained when the building is viewed as a social unifier. Bearing this in mind, the selection of site, spirit of place, construction materials and spatial planning all contribute to lessen the negative effects of in-betweenness and promote reconciliation. 'Architecture of conscience' is architecture that prompts us to see with our heart and not with our eyes and to approach

design with a sensitivity and empathy for new and existing communities. This discussion attempts to identify a new typology that acknowledges the value of 'structure' (planned space) but embraces 'agency' (human participation) as equally responsible and valuable in the process of construction. Conscious architecture utilizes collective memory in creating a socio-spatial response to the dystopian consequences related to over-urbanisation and migration. It aims to unite a community and while commemorating, encourages participation, communication and reconciliation. In this way, conscious architecture provides opportunity for growth and the regeneration of new and existing communities. Conscious architecture acts as a catalyst for meaningful urban development, which therefore establishes a connection to place and a sense of community that sustains the spiritual growth of its members.

6

CHAPTER SIX | COLLECTIVE MEMORY AS A TOOL FOR SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY

6.1 PRECEDENT STUDY: KIMISAGARA COMMUNITY CENTRE, KIGALI, RWANDA. KD I AP (KILLIAN DOHERTY ARCHITECTURAL PRACTICE)

6.1.1 Introduction

Situated in one of the world's poorest countries, where the ethnic groups of Rwanda still struggle with the traumatic memory and legacy of the genocide of 1994, is a community centre that uses football as a tool for reconciliation. In addition to providing football facilities for the community, the centre also facilitates skills training and education for the Rwandan youth. Espérance, a local football team and sports association in Kigali, was closely involved with the construction of the centre and aims to narrow the ethnic divide of the Rwandan population through education; promoting justice and peaceful co-existence. They view football as a 'social common denominator' and use it as a means of uniting the youth and encouraging debate and communication about issues of division and conflict that are taboo in Rwanda (Doherty, 2013).

6.1.2 Justification Of The Study

Rwanda is characterised by contradiction where physical and non-physical boundaries of class, land ownership and power overlap. "High-rise buildings atop hilltops are the visible, physical representations of power and authority. Hillsides and valleys are the less visible living conditions of the subservient majority" (Doherty, 2013:134). The community centre in Kimisagara, designed by KD | AP (Killian Doherty Architectural Practice) and funded by Architecture for Humanity attempts to uncover an architecture that attempts to reconcile the divisiveness of socio-spatial borders.



Figure 3: Locality Map of Kigali and Kimisagara showing the situation of the community centre and the disparity between the informal settlements in the West, the city in the centre and the suburbs in the East (Source: Google Maps, Accessed 21 April 2013).

Rwanda is bordered by Uganda, Burundi, Tanzania and the DRC, and thus finds itself geographically and, after the 1994 Genocide, psychologically landlocked. Prior to colonial invasion in Rwanda, the nation existed in peace as a result of shared values, a single language and a culture that extended beyond the country's borders. Post colonialism, a distorted social structure had created ethnic division with disastrous consequences (Rwanda Vision 2020, 2000). The city's 2020 vision proposes to transform Rwanda into a 'middle-income country' but Doherty disagrees, saying that the "stark boundaries define the delineation between Rwanda's neoliberal visions of its master plan and its realities; the formally planned vision for the city is for those who can afford it, while those who cannot remain in their informal settlements (83% majority) under threat of expropriation" (Doherty, 2013:132).

6.1.4 Building As Social Unifier

Public space in Rwanda is largely controlled by those with decision-making power and has served to exclude the majority of the population. "Recent social science literature emphasises that the way in which public space is defined and controlled has significant consequences for democratic operations within a city" (Ploeg, 2006: 1). According to Doherty, the public domain in Rwanda is ineffective for the common good and functions only to advertise for telecommunication multinationals (Doherty, 2013). Prior to construction of the Community Centre, Doherty asks the question, "How does architectural practice mold to, navigate and mediate between such a multitude of blurred

physical and nuanced psychological boundaries in a country scarred by ethnic division, where the profession itself is relatively unrecognised (less than 15 architects are registered in Rwanda) and administrative boundaries of the built environment are only evident to the government?" (Doherty, 2013:132). There are no building codes, no planning laws and a widespread lack of professional capacity. As a result the community centre was unable to secure a piece of land for the construction and Espérance were forced to negotiate a site within the boundaries of the existing primary school in Kimisagara. The Centre is located on the edges of the formal and informal city and within the most densely populated and disadvantaged area in central Kigali. The segregation of rich and poor is evident in the urban fabric and the community centre aims to inspire those at grass-root level to aspire towards a better future.



Figure 4: Kigali's urban context. The built environment is defined, and can be read, by it's topography. The Community centre is located at the bottom of the Kimisagara Valley amidst informal housing. The commercial centre representing those in power, sits on top of the hill whilst upper-class housing is located to the east (Source: Doherty, 2013).

Kimisagara is the largest informal settlement in Kigali with high unemployment, inadequate sanitation and excessive school dropout rates that are evident of the few opportunities available to the youth. The hillsides of Kimisagara are densely populated

with houses where in-between spaces are used for access or shared activities like washing or cooking.



Figure 5: Kigali's greater urban context showing the urban fabric of the city on a hill and the plethora of informal settlements surrounding it. The Kigali Community Centre is located at the bottom of the Kigali Valley (Source: Doherty, 2013).

The brief called for a "half sized football pitch, and a community centre with changing rooms, educational spaces and a multi-functional gathering space" (ArchDaily, 2012). The site is found adjacent to a re-engineered water canal that provides the community access to water. The **design** aims to activate the pedestrian walkway along the canal and differentiate the outdoor play areas.

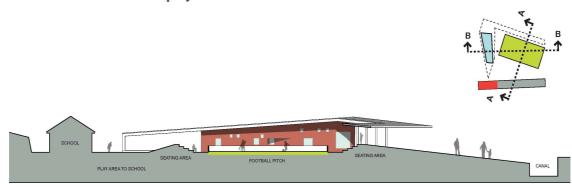


Figure 5: East Section showing the canal in relation to the new community centre (Source: www.archdaily.com/267440, Accessed 21 Apr 2013)

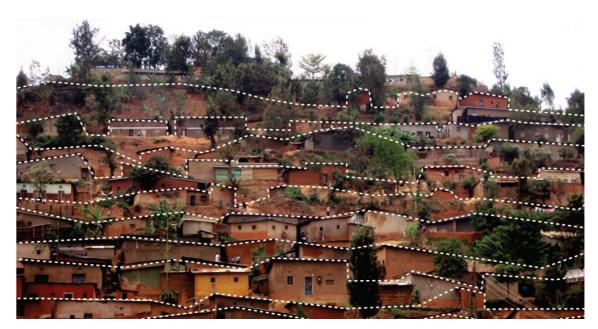


Plate 24: The Kimisagara Football for Hope centre is situated in the densely developed land and steep hills of Kigali central. The contours of the fragmented landscape of Kigali inspired the design programme and aesthetics (Source: www.archdaily.com/267440, Accessed 21 Apr 2013)

The design for the centre emerged as a response to the haphazard characteristics of the context, housing various functions under a single roof. The prominent, mono-pitch roof structure locates the building in its context and gives significance to its role as a place that promotes justice and reconciliation through sport. The building acts as a gathering space, bringing together locals and uniting the youth through sport. Simple planning and sincere construction methods allow the principal building functions to be contained within a single block while the liberal roof overhangs, despite providing passive cooing, allows semi-private spaces for both planned and unplanned activities, activating the edges and facilitating social encounters. "The design of the centre is as much about notions of context and placemaking as it is an interrogation into the boundaries of what is informal or formal" (Doherty, 2013:134).

The existing canal acts as an informal pedestrian route and connects the centre with existing public facilities and residential development in the area. Despite the obvious usage of this route, it also provides access to a water source and creates informal and 'invited' spaces for trading (ArchDaily, 2013). This canal and its banks operate as a "social-infrastructure corridor" and connect the area to a central transport hub and market (Doherty, 2013:134). The centre is thus open to the public and allows movement in and around the building.



Plate 25: The Building has become a part of the community where those who engage with it feel a sense of ownership and belonging. Spaces to gather are found around, through and within the building (Source: www.archdaily.com/267440, Accessed 21 April 2013)

6.1.5 Preliminary Conclusion

In the 2011 August issue of Domus, Andres Lepik suggests that "Architecture is a powerful profession that can have a lasting impact on societies" and asked the question whether this impact can be utilised to the advantage of the world's poorest (Lepik, 2011). The Kimisagara Community Centre does just that by benefitting the lives of children and the greater community through participation in sports and uniting a community through a shared activity. The importance of public space is highlighted in the process of achieving democracy and the design of the community centre promotes the notion that community participation improves the chances of strengthening reconciliation between and within communities. The Kimisagara Community Centre functions as a frame for spatial practices, actions and events and offers a refreshing example of the way in which architecture needs to be conscious of its context and its users and find a place in-between power and poverty.

6.2 PRECEDENT STUDY: LINE OF LODE VISITORS CENTRE AND MINERS MEMORIAL, BROKEN HILL, NEW SOUTH WALES, AUSTRALIA I CHRIS LANDORF AND THE UNIVERSITY OF AUSTRALIA

6.2.1 Introduction

Since the mid-nineteenth century, industrial areas, including areas associated with mining activity, have selectively used their history to promote themselves (Pendlebury, 2009:110). The practice has intensified since the 1980's largely as a result of the widespread de-industrialisation of Europe and North America (Hospers, 2002). In the same way, the City of Broken Hill is in the process of redefining its identity and strategy for survival in the wake of the mining operations that dominated the economic and political stability of the city.

6.2.2 Justification of the Study

The city of Broken Hill is sustained economically solely by the mining industry. The city is dominated by the images and consequences of those mining activities. But the city has realised the limits of the economic and symbolic resource and is in the process of redefining its identity as a tourist destination in the search for a sustainable method of survival.

6.2.3 Historic and Social Context

Since 1883, Broken Hill has been associated with the silver-lead-zinc industry in Australia. The city is the birthplace of the Broken Hill Proprietary Company Limited (BHP Billiton), a major international natural resources company and significant contributor to economic development and industrialisation in Australia (Landorf, 2011).

Broken Hill is a small and isolated city located in the desert of far western New South Wales. It is several hundred kilometers from any major centre and is surrounded by desert. Caught between south Australia and New South Wales geographically and suspended between past, present and future metaphorically, broken hill demonstrates the notion of in-betweenness both physically in the landscape and psychologically in the minds of the local population.



Figure 6: Map showing the location of the Miners Memorial and Visitors centre in the context of the City of Broken Hill (Source: Google Maps, 27 May 2013).

Broken Hill's longitudinal urban grid follows the 7.3km 'line of lode' that cuts the town in two. The 'Line of Lode' is the ore body which bisects the city of Broken Hill and is the residue of the reason for the town's creation – mining. This 'wall' dominates the city physically, just as the mines dominated it economically and politically (Landorf, 2011). In an attempt to attract tourists and locals to the city, the municipality has overseen the establishment of a number of art galleries, studios, museum and national parks dedicated to the city's mining heritage. By incorporating collective memory and culture into the urban fabric, it is important to note the value of the role of government in the support of the city's vision. As such, Landorf suggests "the fact that development needs to be balanced with the management of heritage value as part of a long-term strategic planning process is critical to the success of the sustainable heritage management model as it is applied to Broken Hill.

6.2.4 Collective Memory and the Regeneration of Broken Hill

A Miners Memorial, Broken Earth Cafe and Visitors Centre has been established as a part of the city's vision for the future where the visitors centre is intended to act as a gateway to the Broken Hill Living Museum, Exhibition Centre and the historic Line of Lode mining precinct. The project is part of a much larger site leased back to the community for development as an educational and tourism centre.



Plate 26: The line of lode is a dominant reminder of the scars of the mining industry on the city of Broken Hill (Source: www.architectureau.com, Accessed 27 May, 2013)

In speaking about the proposed new Silver City mining museum, Glenn Murcutt suggests that "a museum devoted entirely to mining and mineralogy would provide an explanation to tourists and a reminder to inhabitants of the force of the industry in the development of Broken Hill" (Murcutt, 1992:175). As such, collective memory is reinforced through built form and assists in creating an identity for the city and the people of Broken Hill.

Located at the highest point on the line of lode and 54 metres above the City of Broken Hill, is the miners memorial and a visitors centre that commemorates the many miners who have died as a result of mining in the town since 1883. Accessible from only a single road, the buildings sit on a mullock heap that has bisected the city in one form or another since its foundation in 1883. The constricted journey through the two structures is designed as a metaphor, based on oral accounts, from the miner's experiences. The presence of water flowing beside the pathway exemplifies the arid conditions surrounding the buildings (Wigg, 2001)(*Plates 28, 29 and 30*).

The design of the Miners Memorial reinforces the existing block and street pattern of the city. Its prominent position on the mullock heap overlooks the city and reflects its role as a gateway to the history of the community (Landorf, 2011). The Memorial, which records the deaths of over 816 miners, faces its long axis directly north-south in

reference to the two residential halves of the city. The short axis faces east-west addressing the rising and setting of the sun in memoriam to those who have died working on the Line of Lode.



Plate 27, 28 and 29: The procession from the Visitors Centre to the Miners Memorial (Source: www.architectureau.com, Accessed 27 May 2013)

The Visitors Centre is integrated with but subservient to the adjacent Miners Memorial but like the Memorial, it seeks to express the powerful industrial nature of the mining industry while being sensitive to the tenuous nature of the domestic environment. This is evident in the constricted entrance, strong central core and concrete wing walls that are in contrast to the jagged roof forms and glazed restaurant space that overlooks the city (Wigg, 2001). The building makes reference to the experiences and processes of mining in the longitudinal form and procession to the memorial that is reminiscent of the decent into a vertical mine shaft. Elements consistent with the Memorial, such as fractured roof plates and a strong sense of orchestrated journey are evident as people move down through the building on an increasingly narrow pathway to the edge of the mullock heap which gives glimpses toward the Memorial. As such, the Visitors Centre reflects the Memorial in materials and form and acts as a gateway to other attractions along the line of lode.

The steel walkway that connects the visitors centre to the memorial is exposed to the elements which engages the visitor on a "journey of human frailty" (Wigg, 2001). The axial progression of the pathway passes through the cathedral-like space of the memorial and, finally, out onto a viewing platform perched over the edge and confronting the city, to remind the visitor of the diminishing role of mining in the community (Wigg, 2001).

Speaking about the spirit of place in Broken Hill, Murcutt believes that "the natural stresses on an environment and the responses of the land are key to the incredible emotional power of a place" (Murcutt, 1992:175). Both the memorial and the Visitors Centre evoke the 'genius loci' of Broken Hill where the rich desert tones are recalled in the building fabric (Wigg, 2001).



Plate 30 and 31: The Visitors Centre is situated in the arid context of the mining town and is constructed on the 'line of lode' (Source: www.architectureau.com, Accessed 27 May 2013)

6.2.5 Preliminary Conclusion

The Line of Lode project has minimised the condition of in-betweenness in the construction of a public space. Situated in the in-between space of the dystopian mining landscape, the memorial and Visitors centre has established "a metaphysical relationship between it and the town/people that seems tangibly in the air" "It has established a relationship with the town akin to that of Sydney with its Opera House" (Architecture Australia, 2001) where the architecture has contributed to refining the identity of the city and its inhabitants by incorporating the role of collective memory in strategies that utilise the historic environment as a vehicle for economic and social regeneration (Landorf, 2011). The visitor's centre, museum and miners memorial has served to "show Broken Hill to itself, to pull together and codify the reasons for the city's existence and to celebrate the very mining operations that seem so ordinary in the minds of the local people" (Murcutt, 1992:175). In addition to this, a consciousness in the construction is evident in the process of community consultation and historic research that informed the design's theoretical framework (Landorf, 2011). This said, the act of memorialisation and the future of Broken Hill as a tourist destination fails to engage the existing community or encourage their participation and ownership of the city.

6.3 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The precedent studies discussed embody one or both of the principles of Kim Dovey's determinates for spatial democracy; participation and meaning through a connection to place. In this way, the Community Centre in Kimisagara and the Miners memorial and Visitors Centre in Australia, show a consciousness in design that explores collective memory, which it rooted in a sense of place, that engages the community and their needs and that promotes regeneration of the area. Both studies use the concept of collective memory differently. The Kimisagara Community Centre is used as a way to unite a community through sports, subtly forming relationships that are built on commonalities. The Line of Lode Project evokes collective memory by showcasing collected memories and revealing a connection to place. In doing so, the memorial facilitates an education and awareness of the past.

The Miners Memorial is situated in a harsh landscape where public space serves as a reminder of the miners contributions to the establishment of Broken hill. Similarly the Kimisagara Community Centre, despite its situation in amongst a dystopian environment, provides a public space that can be seen to be a neutral platform for reconciliation and where access to good architecture is "not a privilege, but rather a right" (Findley, 2011). Public space allows one to interact with 'the other' and in this way becomes an altruistic and neutral space. Many authors of public space literature share similar concerns about what and who constitutes public spaces that have resulted from regenerative efforts of the past. In Ploeg's work, his summation suggests "most attempts to develop or redevelop public spaces have been characterised by attempts by the middle/upper classes, business owners, government and planners (those with decision making powers) to promote biased views of who the "public" is and how public spaces should function." (Ploeg, 2006: 2) As a result, many public spaces exclude certain groups from using the space. This exclusion extends to the community of Broken Hill where the function of the Visitors Centre fails to engage the community or encourage participation in securing its future. In contrast, this is not the case in the Kimisagara Community Centre. The centre is built in the community and for the community and there is a sense of it belonging to the people. In addition to this and despite the Line of Lode project's failures, both the buildings creation and situation provides an advantage as a catalyst for the regeneration of the area.

CHAPTER SEVEN | TOWARDS CONSCIOUSNESS THROUGH COLLABORATION

7.1 CASE STUDY: WALTER SISULU SQUARE OF DEDICATION, SOWETO, JOHANNESBURG | StudioMAS Architects and Urban Designers

7.1.1 Introduction

Kliptown was established in 1903 and is one of the oldest urban settlements within the greater Johannesburg region. Like many other informal area's of displacement in South Africa, such as District Six and Sophiatown, Kliptown attracted people from diverse racial group (Noble, 2008). In 1955, Kliptown was chosen as a place, where a non-racial assembly could take place in order to sign the Freedom Charter. Kliptown did not fall under the Johannesburg municipal jurisdiction and therefore typified a neutral space for those oppressed by apartheid as it gave refuge to freedom fighters and the homeless. It was chosen as the meeting place for the Congress of the People because of the "large open space, access to the train station and the absence of municipal administration" (Kuljian, 2007/2008: 86). It had also previously functioned many times before as a civic site for gatherings, meetings, protests and cultural and sporting events.

7.1.2 Justification of the Study

Walter Sisulu Square, previously known as Freedom Square, reflects an attempt at creating a consciousness through architecture. Intended as a revitalisation project, Walter Sisulu Square is now a historical reminder of freedom in our country but it is also, ironically, a daily reminder to the community of the once vibrant Kliptown and the disparity between the wealthy and the poor. The new square was intended to be catalyst for urban regeneration of the area and aimed to formalise and 'better' the available space for trade. Unfortunately, today the space is used by only very few tourists and obstructs daily activities. As Noble point out, "This project frames crucial questions of economic empowerment, of participation and ownership of the scheme" (Noble, 2008:16)

7.1.3 Location

The site for the New Square is situated 20 kilometres south-west of Johannesburg in the heart of the greater Kliptown area in Soweto. It is one of the earliest urban settlements within the Johannesburg area (Noble, 2008) and also one of the most historically significant and vibrant. Kliptown's identity is grounded in intense commercial activity and has always been the "heart and economic engine of Soweto" despite its neglect over the years. (Low, 2006/2007:21).



Figure 7: The new Walter Sisulu Square dominates the urban context and the fully realised urban proposal has yet to be achieved (Source: Google Maps, Accessed 27 May 2013)

7.1.4 The Old and New Square

Owing to its potential, a competition invited architects to submit proposals to revitalise the area and commemorate the 50th anniversary of the signing of the Freedom Charter. The site chosen for the development is in the heart of Kliptown in Soweto and is significant in its vibrancy and heritage. The competition was won by studioMAS who envisioned an "urban renewal intervention that would create a cohesive physical identity for the area" and that would sustain development for the future generations of Soweto by "stimulate retail and commercial activity and tourism" (Low, 2006/2007:18).

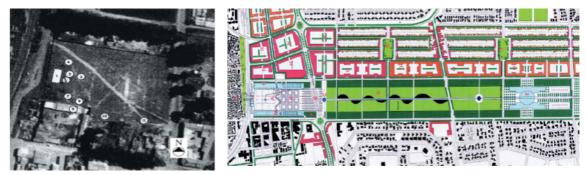


Plate 32 and 33: The Old Freedom Square prior to renovation shows the desire lines of well-used space (Source: Rodd, 1998: 69) and the proposal for the precinct by studioMAS shows the extend of the revitalisation project.

The golf course, which was formerly used as a buffer between white and non-white racial groups was intended to be redesigned as urban parkland. Unfortunately, this and many other good intentions have not been realised.

In an article written by Christa Kuljian, she recollects her first visit to the vibrant Kilptown area prior to the 'revitalisation' and her more recent visit in 2006. The new concrete Freedom Charter columns that create a threshold to the square overlook the "vast expanse of white concrete where Freedom Square used to be" (Kuljian, 2007/2008: 86). Two elongated building border the site on the North and South sides of the square. Kuljian recounts that "Union Road was overshadowed by the colonnaded building" and "a set of metal-panelled doors served as a barrier between the market and Union Road. On the Union Road side, the street was teeming with hawkers...but the square was deserted" (Kuljian, 2007/2008: 86). Upon arrival at the square on March 16 2013, things remain the same.



Figure 8: Floor plan of the Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication showing the old square on the western side of the site and the new square on the eastern side (Source: Low, 1006/2007:21).

The building on the Northern side accommodates a number of functions including a multi-purpose venue, banking facilities, an auditorium, restaurants and retail and office space. The South structure consists of a covered market, tourist centre and a four-star hotel. Despite the market creating space for 700 small business owners, Kuljian says that "the market stalls were empty" and that the locals had complained that the Metro Police had confiscated their stock and they were not permitted to sell on the street. The locals now have to register to sell in the square and must pay R60 per month for a stall.

(Kuljian, 2007/2008: 87). According to Eva Mokoka "when they thought they were improving things, they made it worse" and "that Sisulu business, it's not ours... they built that white elephant on the road so that tourists can step on and off the bus without seeing Kliptown," (Kuljian, 2007/2008: 87). Thus, in an attempt to encourage tourists to explore the vibrancy of Kliptown and the heritage of the area, the development is insensitive to the context and has had the opposite effect, upsetting many of the locals. In Kuljian's article, she recounts an American visitors comment; "I wont take tourists there. What are they going to see but a huge field of concrete" (Kuljian, 2007/2008: 86).



Figure 9: North and South Elevations show the scale of the buildings (Source: Low, 2006/2007: 21)



Plate 34 and 35: The scale of the building in relation to its surroundings clarifies the importance of the value of freedom and the significance of the place in which it is situated (Source: Low, 2006/2007:18 and Author's own, March 2013)

The Square "is one of the few public spaces with any sense of urban scale" (Bremner and Low, 2001:43) within the context of the township fabric. Despite the building's good intentions, the large elongated shed-like structures respond little to the surroundings but Low argues that the "architectural expression is given to the ideals of the Freedom Charter" and the modular forms enable the architecture to "adapt and grow with the changing needs of the local community"(Low, 2007:19-20). Regardless of it's scale and situation, the Square is a landmark and public gathering space and provides a platform for public interaction and expression.

The large conical monument, reminiscent of African pottery and basket-weaving, is found in the centre of the square and joins the 'old' freedom square with it's new addition. (Meyer 2005) It serves as a clear point of reference within the expanse of the space between the North and South structures. Inside the brick monument is a place where one can reflection on the clauses of the Freedom Charter (Rambhoros, 2008)



Plate 36 and 37: The conical structure contains the principles of the Freedom Charter. It is prominent in the landscape that further exemplifies the Charter's importance (Source: www.mashabanerose.co.za, accessed 23 April 2013 and Author's own, March 2013)

An attempt to evoke memory and signify the importance of the site's heritage sees the inclusion of the symbol 'x' which represents each individual's vote and their right to freedom. The Old Square is maintained as the site of the meeting of the Congress of the People and is paved with a white grid on black stone, representing the apartheid and the struggle for equality. The New Square is subdivided into nine squares that represent the nine provinces of South Africa.



Plate 38 and 39: The 'x' symbol can be seen from overhead and on the facades of the surrounding buildings. (Source: Low, 2006/2007:21 and Author's own, March 2013)

This site, renamed after the social activist, Walter Sisulu, is intended to represent a place of peace where the outcome of the Congress of the People was a "visionary

document that became the beacon of hope for the liberation struggle against apartheid" (Low, 2006/2007:18). The initial sense of belonging and connection to place has been forgotten in the commemoration of that event. The needs of the people were increasingly ignored and tourism was promoted as the primary objective. The once bustling and commercial hub of Kliptown has been replaced, ironically, by a 'transition space' representing the transition period between apartheid and democracy and between poverty and wealth.



Plate 40 and 41: the robust concrete columns symbolise the principles of the Freedom Charter and form the threshold of the Square (Source: Authors own, March 2013)

7.1.5 Summary

In chapter two, Kim Dovey suggested that in contemporary times architecture has been reduced to representation alone and that it is separated from everyday life. The Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication is an example where those in places of power have failed to capture the spirit or place of the past and carry it through to the present. Informal places that are naturally formed by the community need to be recognized and a sensitive approach must be taken to engage the past, present and future of a community. The building acknowledges the importance of trade in Soweto but the massive provision of formal stalls has been destructive in the vibrancy, sense of ownership, spirit and sense of belonging of place. The precinct proposal and the people of Kliptown remain stuck in-between the past and what was intended for the future. In response to Dovey's analysis, the space has succeeded in constructing meaning but the intention of revitalisation has not been achieved.

7.2 CASE STUDY: THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT, JOHANNESBURG | OMM DESIGN WORKSHOP & URBAN SOLUTIONS ARCHITECTS AND URBAN DESIGNERS.

7.2.1 Introduction

The process to construct the Constitutional Court building began in 1997 with the launch of an open international competition that challenged entries to provide an outstanding Court building that would "acknowledge local human needs and social values" (Japha and Japha, 1998:26) and that "reflected the new democratic institution and profound changes in society and culture" (Peters, 2004:2). The brief also required that entrants consider the surrounding context and the preservation of existing buildings on site.

The winning entry was selected in 1998 and construction began in 2001 (Law-Viljoen 2006). The design proposal by OMM Design Workshop was clearly "to preserve painful memories evoked by the prison and to counterpoint them with the new developments that symbolised democracy" (Deckler et al, 2006: 19). The building sets out to convey the values of the new South African Constitution; freedom, democracy, equal opportunity, diversity, responsibility, reconciliation and respect (Deckler et al, 2006).

7.2.2 Justification of the Study



Plate 42: The site of the old Prison at Block Four is a Palimpsest, layered with memory and meaning (Source: Johannesburg Development Agency, 2006: 116

Selected for its accessibility, prominent position and symbolism, the site had potential to address both the local and national aspects of reconciliation by becoming both a "site of national memory and a place of daily public activity that could help to revitalise its immediate neighbourhood" (Japha and Japha, 1998:26). The history attached to the site contributes to the palimpsest that is the Constitutional Court and emphasises the importance of history in the future of democracy. The chosen site was that of the Old Fort in Braamfontein that was previously used as a place for the detention and punishment of political activists under the apartheid regime. The Constitutional Court and Constitutional Hill is located between the vibrant Johannesburg city centre and the high density residential 'slum' of Hillbrow. The site functions as a sort of "urban acupuncture" as it aims to undo the spatial order of the dysfunctional, fragmented and segregated city structure that resulted from apartheid. The project, conceived as a public precinct, is integrated into its surrounding context by establishing connections through and beyond the site. The precinct endeavours to "heal parts of the city so as to render them accessible, safe, amenable and dignified environments designed for the benefit of all people" (Deckler et al, 2006: 19).

"This is not a single building, but a collection of individual components making up a bigger entity. The building mirrors the South African story where the population, the languages, the provinces and different identities come together to be one" – Janina Masojada, Andrew Makin and Paul Wygers, architects (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2006:201)

7.2.3 Location



Figure 10: The location of the Constitutional Court is central to the city of Johannesburg and serves as a point to unite four segregated parts of the city; Hillbrow extends to the East, the affluent suburbs of Parktown in the North, Johannesburg city centre in the south and Braamfontein in the West (Source: Google Maps, Accessed 27 May 2013)

The site of Constitutional Hill covers the Northern face of the Braamfontein ridge with Hillbrow extending to the east, Braamfontein to the West and the South side has been earmarked for regeneration and renewal as a medical precinct. In this way, the Constitutional precinct connects the surrounding areas, reconciling them and narrowing the space between the have's and the have not's while the Constitutional Court aims "to respond primarily to the values expressed in the Constitution, taking cognisance of the social and political history of the country" (Meyer, 2005: 22).

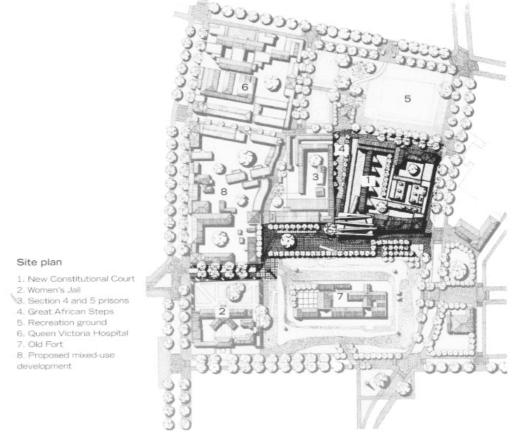


Figure 11: The Constitutional Court is central to the Constitutional precinct and sits withing the ruins of the City Jail (Deckler et al, 2006:21)



Plate 44: The Great African Steps ascending to the Court constructed from reused bricks of The Awaiting Trial Block Building (Source: Avern-Taplin, 2005:24)

The Court building is positioned at the summit of the precinct and is accessed by the Great African Steps that were constructed from the old bricks of the Awaiting Trail Block Building that was demolished as part of the construction process. The steps serve as "a pathway between what was and what is hoped for" (Deckler et al, 2006: 21). The journey to the Court building is intersected by a number of routes, reconnecting the building to its surroundings and providing space in which people can "mediate between past and present" (Rambhoros, 2008:132). "The fragmentation of the complex is symbolic of South Africa's disjointed past," while the in-between spaces, symbolic of the journey towards reconciliation, connect the precinct into a unified whole (Rambhoros, 2008:131).

7.2.4 Spatial Reconciliation

The Constitutional Court exists as the primary landmark within the precinct, a building "of empowering architectural form" (Deckler et al, 2006: 21). The building's pronounced vertical elements signal its presence in the landscape and are supposedly a representative of an open and democratic society. "In its structure and expression, it reflects the freedom and equality being built in South Africa" which makes clear its aim to reunite a segregated city (Deckler et al, 2006: 21). This notion of reconciliation is evident in the begin stages of the planning when Andrew Makin points out that the design of the court building aimed to remove the in-between space of the typical procession from public to private space and instead place the most important function in the most public space, thus demonstrating the importance of democracy by situating the court in amongst the people (Maclever, 2011). As such, the two most public functions of the building are the most visible and serve as anchors for structuring the building plan. The public foyer and the court chamber are located on the South wing of the building and are both easily accessible for the public from Constitution Square.

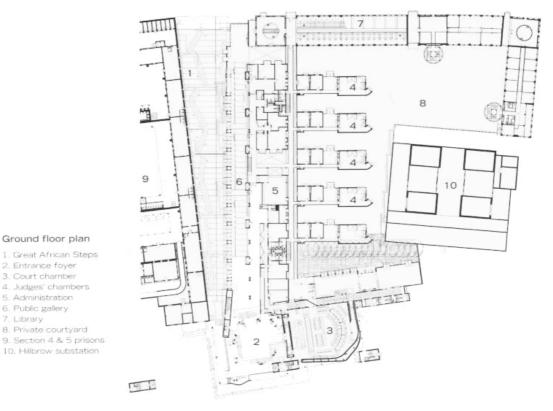


Figure 8: A plan showing the internal configuration of the Court (Source: Deckler et al, 2006: 21)

Unfortunately and despite the buildings central placement on site, the vision for a public court building was limited by security concerns that saw the placement of a single entry point to the court building where security screenings are conducted. However, the court building remains accessible to the public where the people can attend and listen to judgments and comments. This clearly contradicts the inaccessible buildings and attitudes of the apartheid regime (Deckler et al, 2006:19).

Public circulation occurs along the western internal stairs, which connect the public parts of the building and functions as a gallery, showcasing the work of local artists in the Constitutional Arts Trust. On the opposite side of the foyer on the north wing, the library is partially accessible to the public where its form and prominence, reflects the importance of knowledge and education as key values within the constitution. The administration wing functions as the link between the library, the foyer and the chamber across all three levels, and provide access for staff between the two buildings. The Judge's chambers are the most private components of the building and are arranged in a series of office suits, over 3 levels. The chambers are north facing, overlooking a garden and are reached via a private walkway that connects the library and the courtroom.

"It is nice to work here. At the old building, we never used to see each other. Here, we can see each other through the windows because they are all open. It has brought us together in new ways and brought an interaction between us...we are now able to communicate much more easily" (Elizabeth Moloto cited in Johannesburg Development Agency, 2006:210).

The design of the Court foyer was inspired by the emblem of 'justice under a tree' and was translated into physical form through supporting pillars that lean at angles, mimicking the trunks of trees under which visitors can sit. In an interview with Betty Mubangizi, she emphasised the importance of the 'tree' in African culture as a place of gathering where communication is promoted and understanding encouraged (Mubangizi, 2013). In addition to the leaning trunks, qualities of dappled light contribute to the experience of sitting or gathering under a tree for rest, contemplation or work.

Natural light is an essential element in the construction of the building and serves to connect the interior to the exterior, evoking a spiritual and emotional feeling within the

building. The entire construction makes use of a very limited palette of materials; concrete, timber, steel, stone and glass. The materials and lighting as well as the planning, reflect an honest and sensible construction and arrangement of space that is both modest and coherent (Noble, 2004).



Plates 44 and 45: The image of a tree served as the inspiration for the design of the Court foyer and was interpreted into the architecture (Source: Johannesburg Development Agency, 2006: 203)

The architecture of the Constitutional Court is a composition of "grand voids, rather than Eurocentric grand solids, not grand form but grand space." As a result "the potency of the Court's design lies in its fragmentation of the architectural languages of power" and despite the typical prominent location of the state structure, its forms aim to empower the people (Hannah le Roux in The Penguin Group, 2006: 201). Its transparent demeanor reflects the hope within a society for change, democracy and reconciliation and "it is a building to be physically experienced and not seen from a distance; a building carefully made, people-friendly, culturally respectful and responsive; a beacon on the hill" (Deckler et al, 2006: 21).

7.2.5 Preliminary Conclusion

The Constitutional Court was built to reflect the values of the new South African constitution. Through a deep connection to place that evokes the spirit of place, the Court building and surrounding urban plan, reflect a consciousness to reconcile through communication and empathy for others. "In a democratic society, civic buildings can either gain their symbolic value by expressing the openness they represent or they can be alienating monuments" (Japha and Japha, 1998: 31). As such, the design of the Constitutional Court re-establishes the values of African culture where the fragmentation of the past and the reconciliation of the present and future are evident in the planning and aesthetics of the building. The building responds to the public realm, communicating to the public and contributing to the regeneration of the surrounding context. "The building embodies the victory of idealism and human rights over cruelty and despair, and reflects the openness and transparency called for in the Constitution" (Deckler et al, 2006: 21). In this way, like the existential crisis of trauma, the building becomes a catalyst for change and regeneration.

7.3 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The intention of creating The Constitutional Court and Walter Sisulu Square were to revitalise and regenerate the selected sites. In doing so, the urban designs strategies aimed to create a ripple effect that would contribute to the underdeveloped areas of Soweto and Hillbrow and function as a catalyst for social and economic change.

In selecting the site for The Constitutional Court, there was, despite its good intentions, the chance that it may further amplify the dissonance between the minority affluence and those living in poverty. Its dominating form on a hill might have exemplified, not the power of the people but the power of the state and it might have served as merely a tourist attraction, benefiting only a minority. It may be argued that the Constitutional Court building, although conceived as a public building, remains a partially isolated destination point with a single controlled access point.

However, the public space surrounding the Constitutional Court is not a part of the destination but is rather a thoroughfare or transition space. The urban design for the site was derived from observations of what makes cities work. "Democratic cities offer people choices – which, in turn, relates to freedom of movement, freedom of access,

and appropriate, mixed land use that meets the needs of the people and offers them a range of amenities and opportunities" (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2006:112). The precinct is a "place of thoroughfare and encounter – ongoing, mobile, fluid, moving – for people coming past" (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2006: 112). It, unlike Walter Sisulu Square, is seen as part of the landscape and as belonging to the people. The transition space of the Constitutional Court precinct connects the Court to its surroundings and connects the precinct to the greater Johannesburg context. The 'transition' space that is Walter Sisulu Square, fails to connect the building or its precinct into the Soweto context but is rather a space devoid of movement or participation where, despite its good intentions, the notion of 'power over' has not succeeded to empower the people of Kliptown. The design, although recognising the genius loci of the place, fails to integrate this spirit of place into any usable and sustainable future for the community of Soweto.

In contrast, the Constitutional Court established a 'place', where communication between the have's and the have-not's is encouraged through an engagement between the building and the public realm. In doing so, the community of Hillbrow and surrounds was engaged at all levels of design and construction of The Constitutional Court precinct and despite the Court building being visibly a place of power it also represents a place of democracy. The engagement of the public, the urban planning and public space has manifested in the empowerment of the people and provided a symbol of democracy for the previously oppressed. It provides a clear example of the way in which 'structure' (planned space) and 'agency' (human action and participation) are able to result in social cohesion and a consciousness in built form.

A parallel exists in the success of the Constitutional Court and the failure of Walter Sisulu Square. This parallel is the attempt to achieve an urban acupuncture and active public space, which connects the greater context and serves as a catalyst for future revitalization of the area. This demonstrates the value and necessity of public space in the regeneration and growth of an urban context. But in hindsight, perhaps, both Walter Sisulu Square and the Constitutional Court could have, not only served the function of providing amenities to the poor but also encouraged visitors to explore the greater context of Soweto and Hillbrow and in this way, add to the regenerative efforts of the greater area.

CHAPTER EIGHT | CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The research carried out in the literature review, precedent studies and case studies aims to address the problem by answering the following questions: *Why is collective memory necessary to achieve a consciousness in the built environment and how can collective memory be manifested in society and in architecture? In what way can the built environment respond to facilitate reconciliation and what is a meant by 'consciousness' in architecture and why is it important in the built environment?*

The arguments that have been formulated throughout this dissertation serve as a means of concluding and compiling recommendations that are relevant to the research problem and thus testing the hypothesis that: *Architecture which is sensitive to social context and which aims to encompass collective memory and instill meaning, will provide an effective platform for restoration, development and unity within the community by overcoming trauma and creating the opportunity for reflection, communication and participation. Therefore, architecture is a tool with which to facilitate reconciliation, encourage reflection and promote an appreciation and consciousness for humanity. The conclusions and recommendations aim to generate practical design guidelines for the proposed architectural intervention of a collaborative place of remembrance and reconciliation in the mining community of Marikana, South Africa.*

8.2 CONCLUSIONS

The research undertaken in this dissertation is ambitious as it is subject to numerous other influences, which, owing to the nature of this document, are difficult to articulate. Therefore in an attempt to establish boundaries for the research, the scope delimitations were set to include research that pertains only to that of a socio-spatial nature. As such, conflict and collective memory were addressed in so far as they embodied a collective consciousness and have fostered the creation of a spirit of place within a community.

The research indicates that a collective experience, gives each member of the group a

common 'membership' or 'purpose' to the community by establishing a collective memory. But the research also revealed that without the involvement of authority in continually negotiating collective memory and "without direct engagement with and ownership of that negotiation process", collective memory loses its power to bind communities. (Landorf, 2011:14). Historically, collective memory projects have been managed by professionals and have a tendency to "represent non-experts as passive recipients of, rather than active participants in, the heritage process" (Landorf, 2011: 6). As such, this professional hegemony can result in "communities losing ownership and responsibility for their own heritage" (Landorf, 2011: 6).

A lack of community engagement is evident in the social structure of many mining towns where the fragile and unstable infrastructure associated with past mining activities, gradually decays and community engagement within disused mine sites, declines (Landorf, 2011). As such, heritage-led regeneration and memorialisation is not enough to mobilise a community and encourage revitalisation. In order for collective memory to contribute to the makings of a sustainable community, it needs to remain relevant and not only celebrate the genius loci by providing a geographical anchor but also allow for "social identity and cultural belonging to be continuously negotiated" (Landorf, 2011: 6).

In acknowledging the value of heritage-led projects, it can be suggested that collective memory is embodied in built form and that the built environment simultaneously impacts on a community. As such a sense of community and the makings of public space was investigated in so far as to establish a platform for remembrance and reconciliation. This paper has advocated the importance of promoting reconciliation in the wake of conflict and, based on Dovey's key determinates for democracy, the research suggested that both participation and remembrance are essential in overcoming conflict and promoting reconciliation. The research has concluded that public space is a physical manifestation of collective memory. As such it provides the opportunity to combine notions of collective memory while creating a platform for participation where, according to Dovey, power is evenly distributed. In this way both 'structure' and 'agent' collaborate to achieve social cohesion and a sense of community.

Reconciliation is to understand both sides; to go to one side and describe the suffering being endured by the other side, and then go to the other side and describe the suffering being endured by the first side (Thich Nhat Hanh, n.d).

The precedent studies and the case studies suggest that architecture, despite having the means to engage the public both on a commemorative and participative basis, choose to limit their focus to either commemoration or participation. As such, instead of creating opportunity for poorer communities to engage in or with the building, (e.g. through trade) the building becomes a destination for tourists instead of a living and functioning organ that is seamlessly integrated into its context. This, despite its merits, creates a very 'outside looking in' approach, which could increase the concept of in-betweenenss and lead to further segregating the rich from the poor. It is therefore suggested that the combination of remembrance and participation (ie. National and local engagement), results in a better chance of promoting communication and thus achieving reconciliation. As such, architecture, as the mental median between the world and our consciousness and as a container of activity, provides a suitable platform for this combination.

Consciousness in the built environment is thus achieved by acknowledging the value of people in the process of design and by negotiating the process of remembering. This will provide a place for collaboration between both 'structure' and 'agent'. In addition to this, the authenticity of collective memory provides a source of information that, unlike history, is not tainted by authority and if incorporated into the built environment, can contribute to informing a meaningful place.

8.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the outcomes of the research and with particular reference to the case studies and precedent studies, and as an attempt to instill a consciousness in the field of architecture, the following recommendations and guidelines are made for site selection and design.

8.3.1 SITE SELECTION CRITERIA

- The site for the proposed solution is vitally important, as it needs to address the current and future situation of an existing community. In so doing, the site would benefit from possessing a 'spirit of place' that has formed in response to the layering of memory, meaning or activity as a result of a prior event or social condition. I.e. Space + meaning = place (Harrison and Dourish, 1996). It is important to note, that a 'spirit of place' is not an essential pre-requisite for an architecture of consciousness but it will assist in establishing a sense of community by forming a collective memory and collective purpose.
- The research suggests that the site needs to facilitate narrowing the condition of in-betweenness between city and slum or any other juxtaposing or contradicting conditions (e.g. Wealth and poverty, past and future, unconscious and conscious) and will thus be best positioned in a community that is segregated or excluded by some means (ie. Access to transport, economic situation or resource shortage). As such, it is suggested that the site selection, like reconciliation needs to take place somewhere between the extremes of affluence and poverty or alternatively the site needs to enable stimulating development in underdeveloped areas.
- Although the site is likely to be an intervention in an existing community (local), the selection criteria must not exclude the possibility of a national presence or influence (i.e. national memory/ tourism/ economic participation).
- The site must serve as an 'urban acupuncture' for the community and thereby encourage movement through it and participation with it.

8.3.2 SUGGESTED DESIGN GUIDELINES

- In the same way that an existential crisis is a catalyst for positive change, the building needs to stimulate present and future regeneration and revitalisation of the area. Facilitating trade is thus an important element in the design. In doing so, the building needs not only to be a destination but also to give a sense of ownership to the people and create a sense of belonging.
- A consciousness in architecture suggests that the building needs to be flexible and adapt to the future changes and needs of a community. This is important in creating a sense of ownership and belonging. A mixed-use schedule of accommodation will assist in achieving this where the land use will meet the needs of the people and offers a range of amenities and opportunities.
- As well as being conscious of the community, the building must also be conscious of the current and future urban planning framework for the area.
- The research suggests that liberation occurs in informal/invented spaces, open plans and fractured geometries. As such, the building must exhibit qualities, symbols and forms that reflect the power of the people and that embody collective memory and a collective purpose.
- Dovey requires that architecture serve the dual purpose of constructing meaning and responding to social issues through spatial planning and participation. As such, the building must encourage a sense of community and "involve architecture in framing spatial practices, actions and events through its social programmes" (Dovey, 2010:45). As such the building must facilitate the best methods of spatial-planning to encourage encounters and communication between unlikely groups, naturally.
- The building must reflect a sense of democracy and transparency and in so doing must provide a public place for memorialisation and participation. This can be achieved in the creation of spaces of remembrance and places for activity

and community engagement. The selection of honest materials for construction is party to the notion of promoting reconciliation through architecture.

In the wake of the Marikana Massacre, the intention of the architectural intervention is to provide a site of national memory and a place of daily activity that will assist in providing the community of Marikana with a stable future. The built environment will acknowledge the contributions of the mining industry and value the 'agent' (people and human activity). As such, the built environment will assist in encouraging reconciliation between the 'controlled' and the 'controlling'. By utilising collective memory to foster a strong sense of community, the notion of in-betweenness is seen, not as a limitation to progress, but as a space for development and an opportunity for positive change.

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Interview conducted by Researcher at the Nkathalo Wellness offices in the Wonderkop Township in Marikana, South Africa

Ms. Dakile Ndiwalana:	A community worker in Marikana and a psychologist, and		
	former employee of Lonmin Plc mines who started the		
	Nkathalo Traders initiative		

Mrs. Elizabeth Boikanyo: A community worker and member in Marikana

The questions asked acted merely as a guideline in order to prompt responses in relation to the topic. Below is a sample list of topics covered and questions asked in the interviews:

- 1. If there was a building or structure that you would like built in the community, what would it be?
- 2. What are the conditions like in the township and in the town of Marikana?
- 3. Are there other job opportunities here for those that are not miners?
- 4. Why is 'the mountain' important for the people of Marikana?
- 5. Do you think it is important that people remember this event? Or similar events?
- 6. What do you foresee happening to the community when all mining is depleted or if the mine was to close down?

NB: Participation in this interview is voluntary. Participants are informed of the nature and purpose of the research and institution with which the research is associated. All information gathered from the interview is solely for the purpose of this research study. Participants are free to withdraw from the research at any time should they wish to do so.

Interview conducted by Researcher at the Nkathalo Wellness offices in the Wonderkop Township in Marikana, South Africa

Professor Philip Frankel: The former head of the Department of Political Studies at of the the University Witwatersrand, and an organisational and community development consultant whose company, Agency for Social Reconstruction (ASR) works extensively with government, the mining industry and the private sector in South Africa. He is also the Author of four published books including, "An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre" and more recently, "Marikana: Between the rainbows and the rain"

The questions asked acted merely as a guideline in order to prompt responses in relation to the topic. Below is a sample list of topics covered and questions asked in the interviews:

- **1.** What do you believe are the underlying causes of violent protest of late? (I.e. resources/communication/need for transparency)
- 2. How much do you think the protest/violence has to do with communication between leadership and workers? If so, how do you imagine this being improved?
- 3. How much do you think police brutality had to do with the Marikana event and what in your opinion are the long-term consequences of police brutality on society?
- 4. Are there any similar international situations of protest that you can relate to Marikana? I.e. Sharpeville massacre?
- 5. How important do you think the Marikana Massacre is in the bigger scheme of things? (i.e. is it representative of bigger problems in South Africa?)
- 6. What do you think could have been done to prevent this protest?
- 7. Do you think the trauma has sparked a need for renewal or uniting? I.e. has it united the community or further fragmented it?
- 8. As far as you know, do the mining companies offer trauma counseling?
- 9. Do you think that mining, in general is given enough recognition in South Africa.

- 10. What do you foresee happening to the community when all mining is depleted or if the mine was to close down?
- 11. In your opinion, what architectural intervention do you think would be most beneficial to the people of Marikana and surrounds? Or for people who are frustrated to the point of protest? (I.e. a public place for protest, or more basic approach housing/education etc.)

NB: Participation in this interview is voluntary. Participants are informed of the nature and purpose of the research and institution with which the research is associated with. All information gathered from the interview is solely for the purpose of this research study. Participants are free to withdraw from the research at any time should they wish to do so.

Interview conducted by Researcher at the Nkathalo Wellness offices in the Wonderkop Township in Marikana, South Africa

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Dr. Tara Polzer-Ngwato: An executive in the Research and Knowledge
Management Department for the Royal Bafokeng Nation
in Phokeng.
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The questions asked acted merely as a guideline in order to prompt responses in relation to the topic. Below is a sample list of topics covered and questions asked in the interviews:

- 1. Have the people of the Royal Bafokeng Nation considered the future of the community in relation to limitations of mining?
- 2. Please can you explain the strategies that The Royal Bafokeng Nation has put in place to counteract the dire conditions when the mines close?
- 3. Why do you think it important to involve the community in decision-making?
- 4. What benefits have you seen in the community as a result of a consciousness in planning for their future?

NB: Participation in this interview is voluntary. Participants are informed of the nature and purpose of the research and institution with which the research is associated. All information gathered from the interview is solely for the purpose of this research study. Participants are free to withdraw from the research at any time should they wish to do so.

Interview conducted by Researcher at the Nkathalo Wellness offices in the Wonderkop Township in Marikana, South Africa

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Professor Betty Mubangizi:
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An associate professor in the School of Management, Information Technology and Governance at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal.

The questions asked acted merely as a guideline in order to prompt responses in relation to the topic. Below is a sample list of topics covered and questions asked in the interviews:

- 1. What do you believe are the underlying causes of violent protest of late?
- 2. How much do you think the protest/violence has to do with communication between leadership and workers? If so, how do you imagine this being improved?
- 3. How important do you think community participation is in integrated **Development planning?** How would you encourage community participation?
- 4. How much do you think police brutality had to do with the Marikana event and what in your opinion are the long-term consequences of police brutality?
- 5. Do you think that a public place for protest (i.e. in the city) might have resulted in a more peaceful resolution?
- 6. What do you think could have been done to prevent this protest?
- 7. Do you think that mining, in general is given enough recognition in South Africa?
- 8. In your opinion, what architectural intervention do you think would be most beneficial to the people of Marikana and surrounds? (i.e. a public place for protest, or more basic approach – housing/education etc.)

NB: Participation in this interview is voluntary. Participants are informed of the nature and purpose of the research and institution with which the research is associated. All information gathered from the interview is solely for the purpose of this research study. Participants are free to withdraw from the research at any time should they wish to do so.

<u>PART 2</u>

DESIGN REPORT

CHAPTER NINE | JUSTIFICATION OF THE BUILDING TYPOLOGY

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The key finding in the research is that collective memory is embodied in public space and establishes a sense of community. As such, the selected building typology needs to encourage interaction by combining the elements of participation, communication and commemoration through the processes of collaboration and reconciliation. The typology, in order to achieve these outcomes, must also reflect the theoretical discourse set up in Part 1 of this dissertation. It therefore, requires that, using the notions of 'structure' and 'agency', space is created that will exist somewhere between these two extremes and that this 'in-between' space will provide opportunity for the people of Marikana in an attempt to balance the inequality currently experienced in the community. In doing so, consciousness is perceived in the built environment, which increases the likelihood of reconciliation. Through the analysis of local and international examples, interview and a literature review, certain criteria have found based on the aforementioned research. These criteria will be applied to the selection of the site and the building typology and will inform the design development. Therefore, based on the research findings and theoretical discourse, the objective of this chapter is to select a suitable building typology and to formulate a design brief based on the client and their requirements.

9.2 PROJECT DESCRIPTION

The case studies carried out at Walter Sisulu Square and The Constitutional Court, as well as the international example of the Kimisagara Community Centre and the Miners Memorial at Broken Hill, managed to respond to the hypothesis and address the issues and key questions that were formulated in Chapter 1 of this dissertation. Taking this into consideration, it is suggested that the typology is a series of buildings that meet the needs of the people in the area. 'A place of reconciliation' encapsulates the typology where each building (and the space inbetween) is focused on stimulating communication, commemoration and interaction amongst all parties. The typology consists of the a precious metals workshop and training college /community centre/ office space for Lonmin Plc, a clinic and community kitchen, a multi-purpose hall and

public forum space. It is a community based, mixed-use typology that integrates the needs of the community with the necessity of skills training in mining and precious metals industry. In doing so, the typology combines elements of participation, communication and commemoration. This mixed-use, community-orientated typology will celebrate precious metal artisanal craft in amongst the harsh, mechanized machinery of the mining industry. The typology will provide 'invited space' for much-needed community gatherings and at the same time, enable the mining community to be involved in the process from extraction to export.

The aim of the proposed typology is to demonstrate a consciousness in the built environment that is informed by collective memory. Collective memory of the mining industry has formed part of the identity of the people who live in Marikana. As such, the incorporation of both community functions and mining activities under one roof allows collective memory to inform the design resolution. Similarly, the collective memory of the Marikana Massacre generates a typology that addresses the underlying cause of the strike and thus attempts to narrow the economic divide between the rich and the poor. In the same way, by combining a precious metals workshop, community centre and marketplace, it balances the notions of 'structure' (management) and 'agency' (people), where the building represents the relationship of mutual necessity between management and the workforce. In this way, the typology requires involvement from both local and national parties.

The opportunities of the precious metals industry and jewellery manufacturing, exist in recapturing local market share and accessing global markets. This coupled with stimulating market demand in platinum jewellery will assist the local industry in growing both local skills and job creation and promote the beneficiation (value-added processing) of the country's natural resources. Mining is therefore considered as a catalyst for economic diversification. Therefore, the typology is well suited to respond to the issues identified in the research as well as to the demand of platinum in the current precious metals market. In doing so, it can embody the theoretical discourse to achieve a place of collaboration and reconciliation.

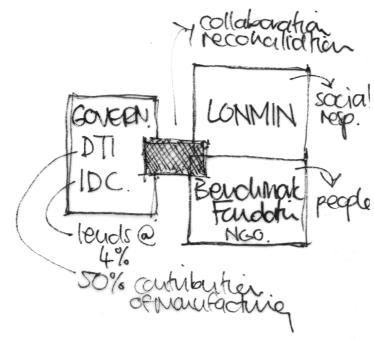
The research identifies the need for a place of collaboration and reconciliation for the community of Marikana as a means of addressing the issues that sparked the Marikana

Massacre. In doing so, it is important to understand what is meant by 'collaboration' and 'reconciliation'. 'Collaboration' involves the participation of two or more people, working together, to achieve a common goal. 'Reconciliation' implies the process of improving relations or remedying an unfortunate situation. In the context of Marikana, collaboration and reconciliation are achieved by recognizing the underlying issues of the violence related to the massacre and being conscious of the needs 'the other'. In providing a place for interaction, skills development, commemoration and community gathering, the people of Marikana are valued and acknowledged as an important part of the process of mining. Furthermore, this enabling environment will empower the people of Marikana, establish a sense of ownership and belonging for the community and thus foster reconciliation between Lonmin management and the Lonmin miners.

9.3 BRIEF DERIVATION

The following section aims to outline general parameters for the design by introducing the notional client, the primary functions and users of the building and the overall design objectives. As such, these parameters and objectives help with the formation of a schedule of accommodation.

9.3.1 The Notional Client





Affordable Living Solutions Africa (ALSA) has identified the greater Marikana area as a major growth point in future and has purchased 233ha of land to the North of Marikana. ALSA has appointed а team of professionals to undertake the preparation of a revised Development Spatial Framework for Marikana New Town, a precinct plan

and township application for Marikana. ALSA, in collaboration with the Department of

Trade and Industry (DTI), Lonmin Plc and The Bench Marks Foundation, aim to integrate the proposed typology, (an Artisan Exchange) at the heart of the town centre, which will serve as a catalyst for the revitalization of the greater spatial development framework.

ALSA is a socially engaged development company for integrated urban area development that must be: environmentally sustainable, economically viable and socially responsible.

Lonmin Plc is a major producer of platinum group metals operating in the North West province of South Africa and occupies large portions of land around Marikana. Lonmin rose to international attention following the Marikana Miner's strike in August, 2012, in which over 100 striking Lonmin employees were shot (36 killed, 78 wounded) by South African Police Service officers. As such, the opportunity for Lonmin to reconcile themselves by contributing to the regeneration of Marikana and in turn providing opportunities within the existing community will result in bolstering company reputation and share price. Lonmin understands that "our business can only succeed through and with the success of our people" and that "By investing in our people, and living by our values – we are committed to achieving the common goal of sustainable business success that continues to create value for all into the future" (www.lonmin.com, accessed 30 July 2013). Mining companies, in particular, are required to contribute to economic transformation and social delivery in line with the Broad-Based Socio-Economic Empowerment Charter for the South African Mining and Minerals Industry (amended Mining Charter). Lonmin is committed to long-term social, economic and infrastructural development and the company's commitment to provide 1% of its pretax profits a year to corporate social investment programmes is evident of their dedication to educating and improving the skills of the local population affected by mining.

Bench Marks Foundation is a non-profit, faith-based organisation owned by the churches in South Africa. It is a unique organisation in the area of corporate social responsibility (CSR) that monitors multinational corporations operating in Southern Africa and the rest of the African continent to ensure that they meet minimum social, environmental and economic standards. The Bench Marks Foundation is committed to

providing leadership and advocacy on issues regarding benchmarking of good corporate governance, ethical and socially responsible investment as well as linking people and institutions committed to these ideals. The vision of the Bench Marks Foundation is to promote an ethical and critical voice on what constitutes corporate social responsibility.

The DTI's objective is to promote structural transformation, towards a dynamic industrial and globally competitive economy and provide a predictable, competitive and socially responsible environment, conducive to investment, trade and enterprise development. The Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) works in conjunction with the DTI to provide finance for industrial development projects, playing a catalytic role in promoting partnerships across industries within and outside our borders, promoting regional economic growth. In conjunction with this, the Minister of Higher Education and Training in South Africa that "present production rate of qualified artisans in South Africa falls far short of the required targets" (http://www.sanews.gov.za/). The National Development Plan -- which aims to ensure that all South Africans attain a decent standard of living through the elimination of poverty and reduction of inequality by 2030 – states that South Africa should produce more than 30 000 qualified artisans a year if the labour demand were to be met. In squaring up to this challenge, government had identified Further Education and Training (FET) colleges as part of the solution. These include declaring 2013 the Year of the Artisan.

9.3.2 The Client's Brief

In response to the Marikana massacre that sparked a public concern and interest in the conditions of mine workers, the team appointed has proposed that they (cognizant of ALSA's plan for the revitalization of the Marikana area) respond to the needs of the community by addressing the skills shortage in the area. By doing so, they propose to establish a place of reconciliation that will sustain the economic growth of the community and the beneficiation of the mining industry in South Africa through the production and manufacture of precious metals.

9.3.2.1 The Detailed Client's Brief

The following is a summary of the information gathered in order to provide strict parameters and guidelines for the design of a Place of Reconciliation.

- Select an appropriate site for the community and industry based typology that can serve as a catalyst for the regeneration of the greater ALSA development plan.
- The building must aim to serve the people of Marikana, empowering them and acknowledging their contribution to the mining industry.
- The building must reflect the identity of the people and the nature of the mining area while at the same time encourage interaction, participation and communication between unlikely groups.
- The functions of the building must accommodate artisanal skills development and portable skills training for the miners and the other community members.
- The building must be sensitive to recent mine violence and must provide a space for reflection and commemoration for those affected by the Marikana massacre.
- The site and structure must be sensitive to existing community needs and natural meeting/ transition spaces.
- The building must incorporate sustainable design elements where possible so as to sustain the longevity of the building and the community.

9.3.3 Building Function/Users

The primary function of this building is to reconcile parties that were affected or involved in the Marikana Massacre and to provide a place where communication and interaction can lead to understanding of 'the other' and will, in the future, prevent violence. The building program is categorized into private, semi private and public functions. Having suggested that collective memory is manifested and established in public space, it is important that the site embodies this by proving spaces that are primarily public in nature.

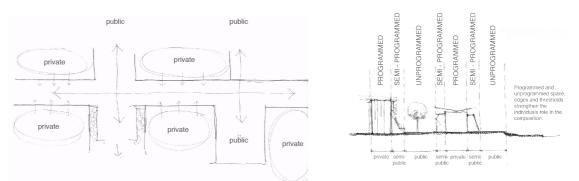


Figure 13 and 14: private/public spatial arrangements and distribution. Programmed, un-programmed and semiprogrammed space and the in-between spaces between them, strengthen the individual's role in the composition

9.3.4 Design Objectives

In the wake of the Marikana Massacre, the intention of the architectural intervention is to provide a site of national memory and a place of daily activity that will act as a catalyst in reconciling members of the community of Marikana. The built environment will acknowledge the contributions of the mining industry and place value on the 'agent' (people and human activity) in an attempt to bring about equality. As such, the built environment will assist in encouraging reconciliation between the 'controlled' and the 'controlling'. By utilising collective memory to foster a strong sense of community, the notion of in-betweenness is seen, not as a limitation to progress, but as a space for development and an opportunity for positive change.

9.3.5 Suggested Design Guidelines

- In the same way that an existential crisis is a catalyst for positive change, the building needs to stimulate present and future regeneration and revitalisation of the area. Facilitating trade is thus an important element in the design. In doing so, the building needs not only to be a destination but also to give a sense of ownership to the people and create a sense of belonging.
- A consciousness in architecture suggests that the building needs to be flexible and adapt to the future changes and needs of a community. This is important in creating a sense of ownership and belonging. A mixed-use schedule of accommodation will assist in achieving this where the land use will meet the needs of the people and offers a range of amenities and opportunities.
- As well as being conscious of the community, the building must also be conscious of the current and future urban planning framework for the area.
- The research suggests that liberation occurs in informal/invented spaces, open plans and fractured geometries. As such, the building must exhibit qualities; symbols and forms, that reflect the power of the people and that embody collective memory and a collective purpose.

- Dovey requires that architecture serve the dual purpose of constructing meaning and responding to social issues through spatial planning and participation. As such, the building must encourage a sense of community and "involve architecture in framing spatial practices, actions and events through its social programmes" (Dovey, 2010:45). As such the building must facilitate the best methods of spatial-planning to encourage encounters and communication between unlikely groups, naturally.
- The building must reflect a sense of democracy and transparency and in so doing must provide a public place for memorialisation and participation. This can be achieved in the creation of spaces of remembrance and places for activity and community engagement. The selection of honest materials for construction is party to the notion of promoting reconciliation through architecture.
- The site and building arrangement must encourage interaction in, through and around the building and allow it to be seamlessly integrated into its surroundings.

9.3.6 Schedule of Accommodation and Area Schedule

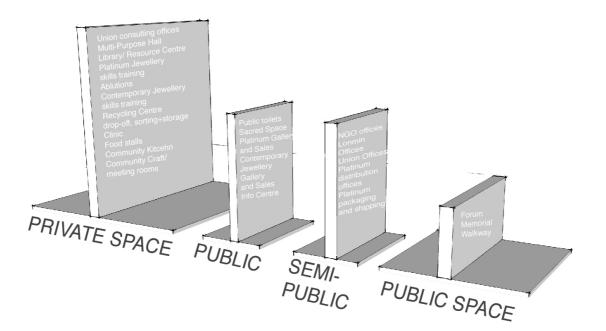


Figure 15: Diagram showing the distribution of public, semi-public and private space

Public Areas:	
Public toilets	_
Commemorative Space	
Platinum Gallery and Sales	
Contemporary Jewellery Gallery and Sales	
Visitors/ Info Centre	
SUB TOTAL:	560
	ł
Public Space:	
Forum	
Memorial Walkway	
SUB TOTAL:	1720
Semi-Public Areas:	
Union consulting offices	
Multi-Purpose Hall	
Library/ Resource Centre	
Platinum Jewellery skills training	
Ablutions	
Contemporary Jewellery skills training	
Recycling Centre drop-off, sorting and storage	
Clinic	
Food stalls	
Community Kitcehn	
Community Craft/meeting rooms	
SUB TOTAL:	3570
Private Areas:	
NGO offices	
Lonmin Offices	

Lonmin Offices	
Union Offices	
Platinum distribution offices	
Platinum packaging and shipping	
SUB TOTAL:	540
TOTAL AREA	6548

9.4 CONCLUSION

The discussion above has illustrated the importance of selecting a suitable site if the typology is to be appropriately designed in accordance with the stipulated brief and functions it intends to provide. The site selection would benefit by embodying a spirit of place but also needs to relate to the theories of structuration, collective memory and inbetweenness. The social characteristics and opportunities of the chosen site are also relevant in its need to be situated within an existing community in need of such a facility. Bearing in mind the theoretical discourse, development of the brief and site selection criteria determined, the following chapter addresses possible sites to be selected and analysed.

10

CHAPTER TEN | CONTEXT, SITE ANALYSIS AND SITE SELECTION

10.1 INTRODUCTION

Marikana has been selected as the focused area of the research and thus forms an appropriate location for the proposed development. The area embodies the theories of structuration, collective memory, in-betweeneness and has the opportunity to create a conscious approach to social issues that can be addressed through the built environment.

10.2 URBAN ANALYSIS OF MARIKANA

Rustenburg, in the North West province of South Africa is considered the epicentre of the platinum region. It is reportedly the fastest-growing city on the continent with mining activities contributing to 75% of its growth (Steyn, 2012). On its outskirts is the small town of Marikana. Also known as Rooikoppies, Marikana finds itself the embodiment of irony where a dystopian landscape of poverty, joblessness and violence is buried in the abundance of wealth in the earth below. Marikana, is a town in the Rustenburg local municipality, Bojanal Platinum District Municipality district in the North West province of South Africa. Traditionally a farming community that grew in the 1960s, the town owes its formation to lucrative tabaco farming and other diversified farming practices which include cattle, maize, chillies, paprika, soya, lusern and sunflowers. In more recent years (since 1970's) mining was introduced and grew to the number one industry in the region. The main mining activities are Platinum Group Metals (PGM's) and chrome. Since the introduction of mining activities the informal and formal population had exceeded growth expectation and is experiencing the effects of over-urbanisation, typical to many mining towns.

10.2.2 Geographical Location

Marikana is situated inland about 75km north-east of Johannesburg, 75km from Pretoria and 55km from the tourist hub of Sun City. It forms part of the Rustenburg municipality and is surrounded by a number of infomral settlements and small towns, including mooinooi, Wonderkop and Brits.

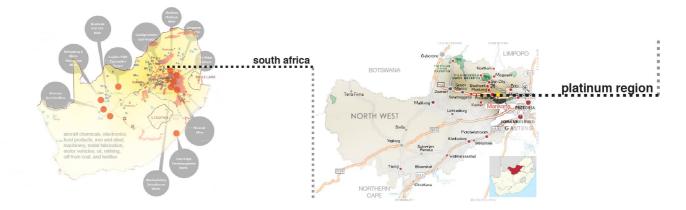
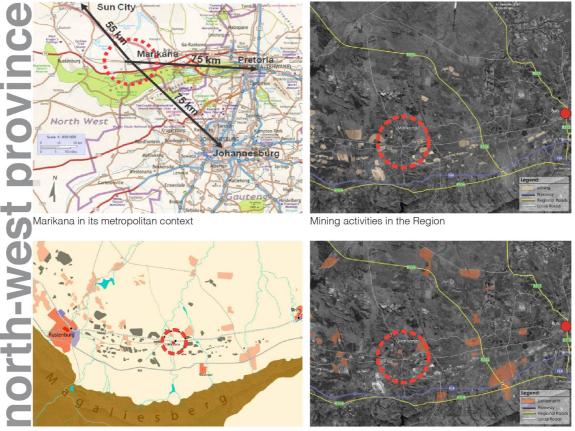


Figure 16 and 17: Macro analysis of the area showing the location of Marikana and the surrounding mining activities



Marikana in its regional context

Formal and informal settlements in the region

Figure 18: Marikana in its metropolitan and regional context. The area is surrounded by mining activity and informal settlements

Marikana is situated equidistant from the major cities of Johannesburg and Rustenburg and is connected via a cargo train line that transports platinum group metals to the city for export and distribution. As such, the town itself, embodies the notion of inbetweenness and is well suited as a region for the project. During apartheid Marikana, and similar areas, were set up and labeled by government as "black homelands" and starved of resources to force the population to migrate as temporary workers to the mines, farm and factories, including the platinum mines of Marikana which were first established in 1971 (Lichtenstein, 2012). Since the abolition of apartheid, not much has changed as the mines continue to rely heavily of migrant labour and enlist the services of labour brokers to source labour in an attempt to keep wage bills low. This, according to Professor Philip Frankel, is "little better than human trafficking" (Frankel, 2013). Typically, workers employed through labour brokers earn less than 'permanent' workers and are excluded from additional benefits such as healthcare and pension funds (Frankel, 2013).

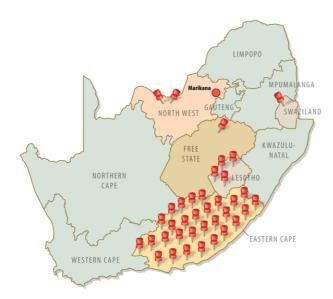


Figure 19: Mapping where the victims of the Marikana massacre came from is a concise reflection of the migrant labour system in Southern Africa. The majority of the miners who died in Marikana came from the Eastern Cape, which, because of spatial and economic marginalisation through colonialism and the creation of Bantu homelands during apartheid, has, historically, been a source of cheap black labour.

of mining The temporality employment sees the establishment of short-lived inflormal settlements. This fly-in/fly-out (FIFO) method of recruitment sees employees given work for the duration of the lifespan of the mine (Landorf, 2011:1). "The FIFO lifestyle can be accompanied by a range of damaging consequences for participants such as relationship and breakdown, excessive stress alcohol and drug use, depression and violence" (The Parliament for the of Commonwealth Australia. 2013:89). In this way, communities

are constantly reminder of the temporarlity of their situation which contributes to the condition of inbetweenness and the absense of a sense of belonging to a stable community.

10.2.3 Historical background of the area

Marikana typifies the conditions of over-urbanisation where the undesirable conditions it manifests are evident in the poverty in the settlements on the mines in Marikana. Poor living conditions are one of the many things that have led to frustration amongst workers. The hope that the mining industry once represented for its miners is lost in extreme poverty and poor living conditions on the mines. The disparity between the wealth below ground and the poverty above ground is manifested in built form where the superiority of those in power is clearly evident in the lack of concern or provision of basic amenities for the majority of the workforce and their dependents. Poor communication and a lack of integration between workers and leadership and the misrepresentation of workers by unions, leads to frustration and anger that is endemic amongst the majority of exploited workers. All these factors contributed to the miners strike at Marikana. The mining industry fails to acknowledge the value of the miner or respond to their psychological and physical needs.

On August 16 2012, 34 people, mostly employed by Lonmin platinum mines, were killed after police opened fire on striking miners. The strike, which had begun on August 9 over a wage dispute, was marred by intimidation and violence. Ten people, including two policemen and two security guards had been killed.

The event marks a turning point in the life of many South Africans when the affluent minority can no longer turn a blind eye to the injustice and exploitation of the majority in South Africa and that their luxury is burdened with the poverty on the mines. The Miners strike exposed the downfalls in our democracy and how little things have changed for previously disadvantaged South Africans since 1994. "Marikana has made it impossible for us to claim to the next generation that we were unaware that the majority was being repressed" (Stupart, 2012).

The lack of interest shown by the government officials tasked with attending to the dead miners' families highlighted the vulnerability of these people and their communities. It is important to understand the consequences of the Marikana killings on families and communities that were already marginalised and impoverished. Marikana has changed families and communities across South Africa. It has certainly changed how they see their relationship with their democratically elected government and large mining corporations.

A koppie, near the Nkaneng informal settlement, previously a place of gathering, is now a place of solitude.

10.2.4 Site Selection Criteria

- The site for the proposed solution is vitally important, as it needs to address the current and future situation of an existing community. In so doing, the site would benefit from possessing a 'spirit of place' that has formed in response to the layering of memory, meaning or activity as a result of a prior event or social condition. I.e. Space + meaning = place (Harrison and Dourish, 1996). It is important to note, that a 'spirit of place' is not an essential pre-requisite for an architecture of consciousness but it will assist in establishing a sense of community by forming a collective memory and collective purpose.
- The research suggests that the site needs to facilitate narrowing the condition of in-betweenness between city and slum or any other juxtaposing or contradicting conditions (e.g. Wealth and poverty, past and future, unconscious and conscious) and will thus be best positioned in a community that is segregated or excluded by some means (ie. Access to transport, economic situation or resource shortage). As such, it is suggested that the site selection, like reconciliation needs to take place somewhere between the extremes of affluence and poverty or alternatively the site needs to enable stimulating development in underdeveloped areas.
- Although the site is likely to be an intervention in an existing community (local), the selection criteria must not exclude the possibility of a national presence or influence (i.e. national memory/ tourism/ economic participation).
- The site must serve as an 'urban acupuncture' for the community and thereby encourage movement through it and participation with it.

10.3 SITE SELECTION

10.3.1 Site Option 1



Figure 20: Macro locality map showing the location of site option 1

Strengths and Opportunities:

- The site typifies the condition of 'in-betweenness'. Inetween is defined as enclosed by, centrally located, in the midst of, midway, surrounded by.
- The site is well integrated into the community and surrounded by amenities such as shops, schools, taxi stops and housing.
- The site makes use of a direct connection and views of "the mountain", which allows the site to embody a spirit of place.
- The site terminates a number of desire lines, therefore a natural meeting point and node of activity.
- The site embodies both 'structure' (Lonmin/mining industry) and agency

(human activity), both of which are necessary in reconciliation (ie. The theory of Structuration)

- The site has the potential for both commemoration and participation (ie. Collective memory and a sense of community)
- The site is able to make use of the possible route to sun city and can provide opportunity for economic stability for the people and public awareness of the mining industry
- Residential areas overlook the site, improving surveillance and safety
- The site is situated on a railway line, which could potentially serve the people as well as the transportation of cargo. It is also situated on the corner of two main roads that service the mining industry and the informal settlements.
- The site is north facing, which will allow to maximum natural lighting.

Weaknesses and threats:

• The site could potentially be a little too far from 'the mountain' – losing the connection to this place of significance





Figure 21: Macro locality map showing the location of site option 2



Figure 22: Micro locality plan showing site option 2 and its connection to surrounding amenities

Strengths and Opportunities:

- The site embodies the condition of 'in-betweenness' where it is found between Lonmin mining operations and the township of Wonderkop.
- The site is in close proximity to "the mountain" and therefore possesses a 'spirit of place'.
- The site has potential to create a sense of ownership for the people as it empowers and acknowledges the work force and thus relates to the theory of structuration.
- The site is in close proximity to other community amenities (sports field/ housing/ hospitals etc.)
- The site is positioned off the main road and can make use of the intersection between the main road and the secondary road into the Wonderkop township

Weaknesses and threats:

- The site will not benefit from public use as it may become a 'destination' and is a little isolated from main vehicular movement patterns.
- The visual links to "the mountain" is limited
- The site is isolated and may exclude employers and management, and perhaps further segregate feuding parties.



10.3.3 Site Option 3

Figure 23: Locality map showing the location of site option 3

Strengths and Opportunities:

- The site is central to the mining and jewellery operations of Johannesburg and can serve as a conscious reminder of the situation and the people in Marikana (ie. The theory of consciousness).
- The site embodies a subconscious spirit of place.
- There is potential for economic growth in the midst of the jewellery and mining industry that could indirectly benefit the people of Marikana, if managed correctly.

Weaknesses and threats:

- Limited space and location will constrain the site use and experience.
- There is the potential that the site and building will have little tangible benefit for the people of Marikana.

Summary of site Options

Site selection criteria	Site Option 1	Site Option 2	Site Option 3
The site embodies a spirit of place	3	3	2
The site facilitates narrowing the condition of in-betweenness			
between city and slum or any other juxtaposing or contradicting			
conditions (e.g. Wealth and poverty, past and future, unconscious	4		
and conscious)		3	2
The site enables opportunity for local and national influence	4	1	2
The site encourages movement through it and participation with it	4	3	1
TOTAL	15	10	7

(4-excellent 3-good 2-fair 1-poor)

After applying the site selection criteria, site 1 received the highest rating overall and has therefore been selected as the preferred site. The major advantage of the site is that it is situated in a position that is equally influenced by the mining industry and the community. It is also a natural meeting place that has existing movement paths and routes through the site.

10.4 Selected Site

By analyzing each site according to the criteria set out in this chapter, the research has shown that Site option 1 in Marikana is the most suitable for the development of a place of Reconciliation; this is owning to the satisfactory location with regards to the theories of collective memory, structuration and in-betweenenss.

10.4.1 Site Analysis

The selected site is positioned at the heart of Marikana and serves to connect the mining industry with the community and informal trade and settlements in the surrounding area. The following site analysis diagrams indicate the major features and design constraints on the site:



Figure 24: Pedestrian movement diagram

Figure 25: Railway movement diagram

The site benefits from a number of natural pedestrian routes. The site is surrounded by a number of informal settlements and the 'desire' lines culminate at the railway/road crossing. 'Desire lines' are physical manifestations of the memory of the land and the desired movement patterns of the community. As such, the opportunity to utilise these patterns will allow the building to function as a catalyst for future regeneration of the area.

The railway line is symbolic of the dominant mining industry and functions only as a cargo line. From above, the railway line graphically separates the commercial sector of Marikana town and the informal residential shacks surrounding the area. But on the ground, the railway line crossing is an active transition space.



Figure 26: Vehicular movement diagram

Heavy mining vehicles utilise the main roads surrounding the site. Taxi's and private vehicles also make use of these main arteries which serve the mining facilities as well as routes to sun city and local informal housing and primary schools.



Figure 27: Land-use diagram

Retail and commercial functions dominate the main street in Marikana town. The commercial sector extends to the south and with the main road meeting up with the N4 freeway. Lonmin cargo loading and industry facilities lie south of the railway line and informal housing and shacks are scattered in the surrounding area.

The general landscape consists of very little natural vegetation but large trees and greenery can be seen towards the west.

Figure 28: Existing vegetation diagram

The selected site is North-facing, allowing maximum natural daylighting. The prevailing winds in Marikana are Northerly winds, which will assist in ventilating the building naturally. The site is positioned to take advantage of visual and physical connection to 'the mountain' and the surrounding settlements, as well as the town centre of Marikana.

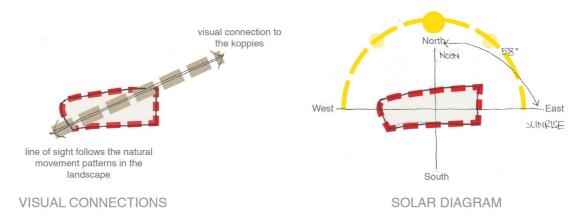


Figure 29: Site analysis diagrams showing the sun position and visual connections of the site

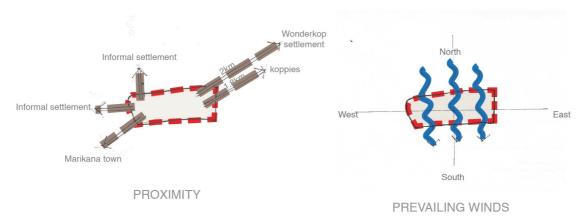


Figure 30: Site analysis diagrams showing the proximity of the site to surrounding amenities and towns and prevailing wind directions

The following site photographs show the site conditions and usage:



Plates 46-49: site photographs showing site conditions (Source: Authors own)

10.5 CONCLUSION

The theoretical study of relevant literature, its application in international and local building examples, as well as the analysis and conclusions of the site selection study, has provided a suitable point of departure for the establishment of a project description and design brief.

The selected site will provide the best opportunity to establish a place of reconciliation that is seamlessly integrated into its context and that will encourage movement through it and participation with the spaces. In this way, the site and the building will encourage interaction and communication between the users of the site.

11

CHAPTER ELEVEN | CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENT

11.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter serves to illustrate how the theoretical discourse development, project brief and the study the surrounding environment and context has informed the design of a Place of Reconciliation for the people of Marikana. By understanding the concepts and theories in the research, they are able to be applied to the built form and inform an architecture of consciousness. The following chapter illustrates the conceptual development, the urban design proposal, the technical resolution and realization of the building typology.

11.2 CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS

In the wake of the Marikana Massacre, the intention of the architectural intervention is to provide a place of encounter. The design aims to construct meaning through architecture and a connection to place, responding to social issues through spatial planning and participation. The built environment will acknowledge the contributions of the mining industry and place value on the 'agent' (people and human activity) in an attempt to bring about equality. As such, the built environment will assist in encouraging reconciliation between the 'controlled' and the 'controlling'. By utilising collective memory to foster a strong sense of community, the notion of in-betweenness is seen, not as a limitation to progress, but as a space for development and an opportunity for positive change.

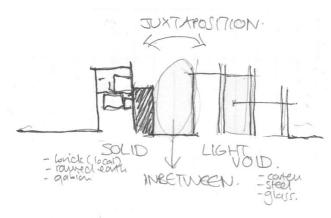


Figure 31: conceptual sketches showing the theoretical framework and how it can be applied to architecture

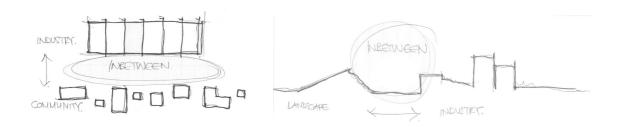


Figure 32: conceptual sketches showing the theoretical framework and how it can be applied to architecture

The concept for the building is taken from the theoretical study of 'structuration' in architecture and the opportunity that a space in 'inbetweenness' presents. Structuration is embodied in the Marikana area and is expressed as the contrast and juxtaposition of the wealth of the mining industry and the poverty of the workforce. In doing so, the building aims to use the in-between spaces between buildings to encourage a consciousness in architecture that will encourage communication and interaction between people in the space.

The materials used are able to reflect this juxtaposition. By using materials of an industrial nature (steel, glass, and corten steel) and materials that are locally sourced and more natural (ie. Rammed earth, brickwork), the building will reflect the disparity between the wealth below ground and the poverty above ground.

11.3 CONCLUSION

The design development is strongly rooted in the theoretical framework and using the framework, aims to use Kim Dovey's key determinates for spatial democracy; instill meaning and a sense of place and to respond to social issues through spatial planning. The design aims to bring together people in an atmosphere of remembrance with the aim to reconcile through improving communication and encouraging interaction.

11.4 FINAL DESIGN DRAWINGS

The design development and resolution drawings can be found following this discussion and includes technical resolution and design realization.

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