THE ROLE OF MEMORY, MUSEUMS AND MEMORIALS IN RECONCILING THE PAST: THE APARTHEID MUSEUM AND RED LOCATION MUSEUM AS CASE STUDIES

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

of

RHODES UNIVERSITY

by

ELIZABETH SIPPEL

December 2010

Abstract

When South Africa became a democracy, many of its cultural institutions were tainted by the stigma of having been tools for the production and propagation of apartheid ideology. This thesis examines two key facets of post-apartheid museums and memorials. Firstly, how they have repositioned themselves as institutions of cultural and social standing. Secondly, their role as tools of nation building, social change, and creators of national collective memory within the new democratic South Africa. Through an analysis of cultural memory theory pertaining to museology, this study elaborates on the methods employed by museums to incorporate memory into their narratives and in turn, transfer collective memory to their viewers.

This thesis provides a comparative study of the architectural, memorial and museological strategies of two post-apartheid museums; the Red Location Museum and the Apartheid Museum. It examines the contributions of both museums to the introduction of new museological strategies for the successful creation and transmission of South African collective memory. Through this analysis, both the invaluable contributions and the drawbacks of post-apartheid museums as tools for the promotion of new democratic ideologies and philosophies are considered.

This thesis does not resolve the arguments and questions which have surfaced regarding cultural institutions as tools for the promotion of reconciliation and the construction of national collective memory within South Africa. As the current climate of memorialisation is one of change and paradox, it is presently impossible to fully quantify post-apartheid museums' roles within South Africa's move toward reconciliation and social change. However, the examination of both the Red Location

Museum and the Apartheid Museum reveals the extraordinary change that South African cultural institutions have undergone in addition to their potential to become institutions which facilitate active reconciliation as well as social and cultural growth.

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations

Acknowledgements

Foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr Ashraf Jamal, for his ongoing support and confidence in me. This thesis would not have been possible without the financial assistance of the Eastern Cape Provincial Arts and Culture Council, the National Arts Council, and the National Research Foundation. I would also like to thank the staff members and curators of the Apartheid Museum and the Red Location Museum for their assistance with my research.

I am deeply grateful for the help, support and encouragement I received from my parents during the course of my Masters. Finally, I would like to thank Waide Tristram, Simone Kerseboom, Michelle Mountain, Irene Bronner and Fritha Hennessy for their unwavering love, support, and friendship during the last two years.

Introduction

A Brief History

In the years between 1948 and 1994, South Africa was a racially segregated state governed by a white minority. The official political system, apartheid, defined in the Oxford English Dictionary (2010) as a "policy or system of segregation or discrimination on the grounds of race", was introduced in 1948 after the election of the National Party government. The museums, memorials, monuments, and other cultural institutions which operated in South Africa during apartheid perpetuated the already prevalent discrimination and racial stereotypes. South African museum professionals constructed a highly subjective national identity through the displays and narratives they presented to their viewers. As these institutions were reserved for the representation and production of white cultural heritage, they propagated notions of white superiority and 'African as other'. The cultural education of most privileged white South Africans was essentially limited to apartheid regime propaganda. All "non-white"[1] history and cultural heritage that did not reinforce the racial stereotypes created by the apartheid government was ignored and pushed aside. The *Bushman Diorama*, a museum exhibition composed of the body casts of Khoisan people living in the Western Cape, was exhibited in Cape Town in the South African Museum between 1912 and 2001 and serves here as an example of the openly discriminatory practices of South African cultural institutions. The body casts in the diorama were displayed to the viewers as "examples of a primitive race" (Davison 1998:144).

[1] During apartheid any person who did not fall into the racial classification of Caucasian was labelled under the broad description of "non-white". This term became accepted as the standard way of referring to the large group of marginalised South Africans during the apartheid years. A number of authors whose research into apartheid I have utilised in my study still employ the term "non-white" as descriptive of the people disenfranchised by the apartheid regime. Throughout my study I use this term to denote the official description given during the apartheid years.

During this time, a large portion of South Africa's rich and diverse cultural heritage was overlooked in favour of the history and culture of a select few.

In 1994, institutionalised apartheid came to an end with the removal of the National Party in favour of a new democratic government. The African National Congress (ANC) was elected as South Africa's new leading political power. The ANC set out to restore unity and freedom to South Africa through the elimination of decades of entrenched segregation and racial discrimination. The restructuring of the country as a democratic nation was a process that began in 1994 and continues to this day. The reconstitution of the cultural heritage which was neglected during apartheid was a key aspect of the ANC's move toward reconciling the nation and emphasising their commitment to democracy, tolerance and human rights. On Heritage Day 1997, Nelson Mandela addressed the public at the opening of the Robben Island Museum regarding the state of South African cultural institutions. Mandela (1997) declared that with the establishment of democracy, museum professionals as well as the government now have the "opportunity to ensure that [cultural] institutions reflect history in a way that respects the heritage of all [South African] citizens". He emphasised the importance of South Africans being fully aware of their past and honouring their heritage. He appealed for a revamping of the country's cultural and memorial landscape through the integration of cultural institutions into a democratic future.

As part of their initiative to encourage an overall change within the cultural sector, the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (1996) issued a White Paper entitled *Arts, Culture and Heritage: All Our Legacies, Our Common Future.* The

White Paper catalogued the government's official position on the need for transformation to extend not only to the economic and social sectors, but also to the arts, culture, and heritage sectors of the country. The aim of the White Paper was the nation-wide promotion of arts and culture as valuable social and human endeavours. Museum professionals and the people responsible for the representations within museums and memorials were challenged to realise the full nation building potential of their institutions.

Museums and memorials sought to reposition themselves within post-apartheid South Africa as invaluable spaces of heritage production. However, due to their long colonial history and negative association with representations of apartheid ideology, the transformation of South African museums was not a simple undertaking. The same institutions that had reinforced the dogmas of the apartheid rulers were now suddenly required to promote the democratic principles and philosophies of the ANC. In the years following the end of apartheid, many institutions that realise the nationalist requirements listed in the White Paper have been erected. Museums, memorials and monuments have since come to be regarded as cultural institutions that are vital to the nation building and reconciliatory efforts of countries such as South Africa, with turbulent political or social pasts.

This thesis examines the responsibility of post-apartheid museums within South Africa as key apparatuses of social change. I investigate their role as significant nation building tools and facilitators of reconciliation within South African communities. My study focuses specifically on two post-apartheid museums: the Apartheid Museum and the Red Location Museum. I consider their position within South African

memorialisation as producers of national collective memory. I discuss the correlation between the increase in interest in cultural memory studies and the rising popularity of museums in the 21st Century. Through an analysis and comparison of the memorial and museological strategies employed by these museums I explore the feasibility of placing such a great emphasis on museums' responsibility as a key source of collective memory.

Memory Theory

In the last few decades the amount of interest in the study of cultural memory theory has risen exponentially. Scholars are applying the concept of memory, a phenomenon that was once seen as purely individual, to social and cultural settings. Cultural memory studies have become vital to the understanding of social models. Institutions such as museums and memorials are utilising memory theory within their displays and narratives. During the course of this study, I utilise the memory theories of a number of different theorists and scholars; the most crucial of which are Pierre Nora (*lieux de mémoire*) and Maurice Halbwachs (*mémoire collective*). It is commonly understood that Halbwachs is responsible for the contemporary notion of memory as a social entity. Halbwachs[2] conceived the idea that memory is created and limited by social interaction: he facilitated the repositioning of the concept within a broader sphere. It is also widely believed that Halbwachs coined the term 'collective memory' in his study entitled *cadres sociaux de la mémoire*[3] (1925).

[2] Halbwachs as quoted in Zehfuss (2007:68)

[3] In my examination of social and collective memory I have largely relied on secondary sources such as Maja Zehfuss (2007), Jeffrey Olick (2008) and Edward Casey (2004) as I was unable to obtain an English copy of *cadres sociaux de la mémoire.*

Collective memory is defined by Edward Casey (2004:23) as the circumstances in which different people, not necessarily known to each other, recall the same event. It is classified as a function of social memory in which memory transcends individual recall and becomes the shared memory and 'knowledge' of a group. Collective memory can be shared between strangers, family, and even a whole nation. This type of memory is nourished by the prevalent ideologies and subjectivities and is thus capable of being manipulated. Cultural institutions utilise this knowledge in order to selectively channel specific narratives into their representations and thus, shape the collective memory of their viewers. As a result of the malleable properties of collective memory, it is often employed by the state to further their own nationalist agendas. The apartheid government did exactly that; the re-appropriation of cultural institutions in order to transmit political ideology. However, as is evident in post-apartheid South Africa, the transmission of philosophies through the subjective manipulation of collective memory through museums is not always harmful. It can instead transmit the positive principles of freedom, democracy and peace.

Nora's (1989) model of *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory) is another theory of memory that pertains to my study of memorialisation as a constructive nation building tool. *Lieux de mémoire* are the physical manifestations of memory specific to a space or a location. They are the physical locations or constructions that, much like museums, transmit and reinforce collective memory. Nora contends that the *lieux de mémoire* present in today's society are the result of a lack of *milieux de mémoire*, real environments of memory. *Milieux de mémoire* can be classified as the physical or social settings in which memory develops naturally. While there are still naturally occurring sites of memory, it is an increasingly rare phenomenon. Nora's *lieux de*

mémoire is thus the notion of memory and memory spaces as constructed history. In the context of this thesis, I apply Nora's theory to site specific museums, as they themselves are the constructed physical manifestations of memory.

A Note on Terminology

The term *mnemohistory*, a term coined by German Egyptologist Jan Assmann (1998), is the study of how history is remembered. *Mnemohistory* is distinct from 'history proper' (but not opposed to it), and restricts itself to the study of cultural memory. It is the study of how stories and histories are turned into memory and how that memory is recalled in the future. This thesis is specifically concerned with *mnemohistory*, rather than a realistic factual representation of certain events and focuses on how these events are translated into memory, more specifically collective memory. I employ the concept of *mnemohistory* in my analysis of museums and memorials throughout this study.

New Museum Work

The motivations behind this study were to investigate the ways in which new post-apartheid museums, specifically the Red Location Museum and the Apartheid Museum utilise new modes of museology and memorialisation. While there is existing research on both of these museums in relation to the innovative memorialisation techniques they employ, there has not been an extensive comparative study of the way each museum contributes to South African post-apartheid collective memory. In my analysis of the museums I utilise the theories of Andreas Huyssen. While his theories are pertinent to memory studies I do not discuss them at length in the earlier chapters as they are not generally applicable to both museums. In his book

Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia, Huyssen (1995) introduces his concept of the "twilight of memory". Huyssen charges that the disconnection between the past and the present is comprised of twilight spaces; spaces between memory and recollection. Noero Wolff Architects, the firm responsible for the construction of the Red Location Museum, applied Huyssen's concept directly to the museum's architectural spaces.

Huyssen's rather progressive view of the importance of memory as well as architecture within modern museums was the starting block for the design and creation of the Red Location Museum. Throughout his writings, Huyssen repeatedly emphasises that museums have gained new significance within our post-modern society. He (1995:254) argues that their value is derived from their evolution from static institutions where knowledge and memories find their last resting place into fluid organisms that have adapted to suit the ever changing needs of their viewers, as well as rapidly changing memories and histories. Huyssen believes that museums fill the dual role of both burial chamber for the obsolete past and contemporary space for the modern memorialisation and cultural mediators. This study considers fluidity within museums to be the ability to adapt to changing social or physical environments, the ability to take into account new audiences and new ideologies. While fluidity within cultural institutions is still a largely utopian notion, I investigate the ways in which South African museums respond to the pressing need to become fluid organisms at the behest of a reconciling post-apartheid nation.

In my investigation of the Apartheid Museum and the Red Location Museum I consider how these post-apartheid museums have repositioned themselves using

museological strategies which utilise memory theory. I investigate the methods employed by museum professionals as well as architects to create more fluid and dynamic institutions that promote ideals of democracy and reconciliation.

Chapter Overview

The body of this thesis has been broken up into four main parts, each consisting of a crucial aspect to the complete understanding of my study. In the first two chapters I analyse the history and theory behind the thesis. They contextualise the study within the broader fields of memory and memorialisation. The final chapters position the study in a South African context, investigating the history of South African museums as well as examining two post-apartheid museums.

The first chapter is a detailed investigation into the different theories of memory which are broadly classified as cultural memory studies. In the construction of a frame of reference for the memorial strategies employed by the case studies, I comprehensively examine the two main theories of memory which inform my analysis; Pierre Nora's (1989) theory of *lieux de mémoire*, and Maurice Halbwachs' (1992) theory of *mémoire collective*. Largely because of the increased fascination with memory, the amount of academic literature concerning cultural memory studies is especially vast. As a result I have limited my analysis of memory theory to only a few specific theories. In the first part of the chapter I provide an overview of the key philosophies; namely social memory, individual memory, collective memory, and traumatic memory. The second part of the chapter delves into a historical overview of memory studies and the circumstances which led to the contemporary notion of

collective memory. Finally, the third chapter investigates the concretisation of history and knowledge into *lieux de mémoire*, spaces of memory.

The second chapter is primarily concerned with the history and character of memorialisation and museums in the modern age. The chapter provides a museological perspective for my investigation into the case studies. In order to gain a better understanding of the reasons behind the recent popularity of museums and memorials, I consider the underlying fascination people have with the act of memorialisation. In addition, the investigation of the methods and techniques these institutions employ in memorialisation creates the foundation for my last chapter. The first part of the chapter elaborates on the methodologies and definitions of memorialisation and museology. The second section elaborates on the political affiliations and social responsibilities of contemporary museums. The final subsection of this chapter considers Nora's (1989) theory of *lieux de mémoire* as memorial institutions, site specific museums.

The third chapter is a museological study specific to cultural institutions in South Africa, both during and post-apartheid. I investigate the museological subjectivities that were present in museums during apartheid as well as examining the manner in which post-apartheid museums have attempted to separate themselves from apartheid doctrine. As a result of the time constraints on this study and the vast amounts of multi-disciplinary literature on the subject, I only provide a brief overview of the circumstances of apartheid in South Africa. Throughout this thesis, it is generally assumed that the reader has a basic knowledge of apartheid. This chapter is divided into two parts, each of which provides the context for and in-depth analysis of the two

distinct periods of the history of South African museums. In keeping with the timeline, the first part of the chapter investigates the history of museums during apartheid. The second section chronicles the change that South African museums underwent once apartheid as a system of governance was over. It investigates the methods employed by museum professionals as well as the government to position museums within the new post-apartheid state.

The fourth and final chapter of this thesis is a comprehensive analysis and comparative study of the Apartheid Museum and the Red Location Museum. My comparative study is underpinned by a few significant questions about the memorial and museological methods they employ in their memorialisation of apartheid history. I investigate how memory has been integrated into both the physical and narrative structures within the museums. I look at the ways in which both museums reconcile the many differing accounts and recollections of South Africa's past. I also uncover the motivations behind the creation of an affective experiential atmosphere through the careful amalgamation of content and architectural features. The first part of this chapter is a deliberation of the practical considerations and potential concerns relating to the positioning of apartheid history and memory within post-apartheid museums. The second section is the thorough analysis of the memorial and museological contributions of the Apartheid Museum to post-apartheid South Africa. The final and most critical part includes both a comprehensive analysis of the Red Location Museum in relation to its reconciliatory and nation building role in South Africa as well as a carefully considered comparative study of the positive and negative aspects of both museums. The final chapter draws on the foundations created by the previous chapters in order to produce a detailed study of both the contributions and

shortcomings of the Red Location Museum and the Apartheid Museum's roles as producers of collective memory within a post-apartheid South Africa.

Chapter 1

Deconstructing the concepts of memory and memorialisation

1.1 Cultural memory studies

Memory is a neurological capacity that all human beings possess, some to a greater degree than others. It can be loosely defined as the cognitive process used to recall and retain past experiences, namely the persistence of the past in the present. Traditionally memory is understood as an individual phenomenon; it is personal experience that has been stored in the subconscious. However, memory can also be described as the way people translate past experiences in order to make sense of the past and justify or understand future occurrences. Psychologist David Berliner (2005:201) classifies memory as a "synonym for cultural storage of the past: it is the reproduction of the past in the present". In the last few decades there has been a significant increase in the interest and theories revolving around memory. The physiological model of memory and remembering has been metaphorically elevated to the level of culture, resulting in the redefinition of memory within a social and cultural context.

Cultural memory studies have assigned new significance to the role of memory within contemporary society. Scholars and theorists in the past two decades have done extensive research and writing on the subject of memory and its uses within society. Sociologists, historians, anthropologists and art historians have all joined the ranks of professionals studying memory and all the aspects of memory. People have many different kinds of memory, short-term and long-term memories are just two more commonly known examples. However, the specific theories of memory I investigate

in this thesis are individual memory, social memory, traumatic memory, and most importantly, collective memory. These different types of memory form an important part of this study as they are the building blocks of cultural memory studies.

The objective of this chapter is an investigation of a few key theories of memory that impact upon the memorialisation of history and heritage in cultural institutions tasked with the promotion of positive ideologies within countries recovering from social or political conflict. I examine and deconstruct the pertinent theories of memory that relate to the social sciences. As the main focus of my investigation is the application and continuance of cultural and collective memory within museums and memorials, I concentrate on the theories put forward by French historian Pierre Nora (*lieux de mémoire* / sites of memory) and French philosopher Maurice Halbwachs (*mémoire collective* / collective memory). These theories play a significant role in the investigation of memorialisation within museums in the latter half of this study. In this chapter I explore these key theories in order to create the foundation for the analysis of my case studies: the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg and the Red Location Museum in Port Elizabeth.

A solid grasp of the distinction between memory and history is vital for a thorough understanding of cultural memory theory. Memory and history, while being two very different concepts, and according to Nora (1989), being at odds in the sociological and anthropological fields, rely on each other to exist. Without memory, history has nothing to base its information on, and without history, memory would have no way of being recorded. Nora (1989:8) maintains that history is a representation of the past, a critical discourse that is suspicious of memory, while memory is in a permanent

state of evolution; open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation. Essentially, memories are the events that we actually experienced and we each remember, albeit in our own ways, while histories are subjective representations of what historians believe is crucial to remember. History is simply representation while memory is more accurately classified by Nora as "life". Historian Gary Baines (2007:168) believes that what we are actually interested in is the role of memory *in* history, the position of the past in history, and even, for that matter, in contemporary politics. Cultural memory theory is in essence the study of the public utilisation of history and memory.

The growing fascination with memory and memory studies is paralleled by an equally rapid increase in interest in memorialisation of the past. Sociologist Jeffrey Prager (Prager quoted in Ray 2006:135) suggests that the past has taken on a kind of iconic, almost sacred status in contemporary society; the act of remembering the past is understood as a valuable activity in and of itself. There has been an upsurge in the emphasis people are putting on the past and on remembering the past. Perhaps Nora (1989:14) is correct in asserting that we are currently in a "memory craze", one where the common mentality is to record as much as possible in the hopes that something will remain. Huyssen (1994, 1995) repeatedly infers that contemporary society is one terminally ill with amnesia brought about by the extreme overload of information and knowledge so readily available. Memory in a post-modern setting has found itself compensating for the increasing speed at which the world is changing. Huyssen (1994:12) believes that the veritable obsession with memorialisation and the past is a way of slowing down the speed of modernisation in an attempt to reconnect with the past and counteract society's tendency toward amnesia.

This fixation with memorialisation is not without its drawbacks; one of the costs of the historical transformation of memory has been a total preoccupation with the psychology of remembering. Cultural memory studies have steadily become increasingly overloaded by terminology. Berliner (2005:198) emphasises the danger of the overextension of the concept of memory and the different theories of memory. He believes that memory is losing its meaning in amongst all the terminology as no single established definition of memory exists today. Memory is dynamic and constantly changing and this results in a certain amount of terminological overflow. The diverse terminology employed by the social, cultural or anthropological studies of memory tends to cause a certain amount of confusion. Berliner (2005:206) adds that "such indiscriminate uses of [...] term[s] to denote such different experiences and processes do indeed breed misunderstanding, and we must make [the] necessary terminological distinctions". The study of memory, or 'memory studies', is a multidisciplinary analysis of the many different types of memory, or the theories of memory in existence. Memory is an important part of life and culture because the way we remember something deeply affects the way we see our present and our futures; the past has a constant influence on our daily lives. There are many different theories of memory and each theorist has a specific point of view on the effect and influence that memory has on humanity.

Some theorists would argue that memory is the way we pass our culture on to future generations; others argue that without memory we would not be able to relate to other human beings. One aspect that virtually all contemporary theories have in common is the belief that the preservation and recollection of memories does not simply happen

on demand. The recollection of memory is understandably an invaluable part of memory studies as Duncan Bell (2006:2) explains that memory is essentially the process or faculty whereby events or impressions from the past are preserved and recollected. Remembering and memory retention is often triggered out of necessity, whether emotional or physical. The needs, emotions, goals and subjectivities of a person have a direct impact on his or her recollections. It is also important to note the difference between remembering and recollecting. Philosopher Siegfried Schmidt (2008:193) maintains that all remembering needs an occasion and that it has to be selective. Remembering is something that is often unintentionally done; the smell of a flower or the sound of a gunshot can trigger certain memories to rise to the surface of our subconscious whether we want them to or not. Recollection is the intentional remembering of something, for example, during an exam a person will actively engage their memory to recall the things that they know. Another important distinction between remembering and recollecting is that while animals are able to remember, human beings are said to be the only species that are able to both remember and recollect.

Memory is a by-product of a neurological response to certain situations that occurs individually to each person; this reaction constitutes personal memory. Despite this fact, memory is a social as well as an individual phenomenon. It is not a solely singular experience as it is largely determined by the social circumstances in which we find ourselves. Social groups and social environments are a big part of what makes us human and no person can exist as a singular entity removed from society. It was French philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs' achievement to show that our memory depends on socialisation and communication and is not *only* determined

by a reaction between neurons in the brain as believed by theorists before the 1920s. Halbwachs (Halbwachs quoted in Zehfuss 2007:68) maintains that memory is a function of social life and that we recall and limit our memories in relation to society. He argues that the recollection of our memories is a response to certain social interactions or settings. Social memory is determined by communication and group interaction within a society. "According to Halbwachs, any memories capable of being formed, retained, or articulated by an individual are always a function of socially constituted forms, narratives, and relations" (Crewe 1999:75). In Halbwachs' theory of *cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (social frameworks of memory) "he articulated the idea that individual memories are inherently shaped and will often be triggered by socio-cultural contexts, or frameworks" (Erll 2008:8). He not only argued that memories are shaped by socialisation but he also believed that memories are specifically triggered by certain social situations.

No memory is without a social context; since almost everything we do is influenced by our social environment, it would make sense that everything we remember is socially determined. Sociologist Barbara Misztal (2007:381) ascertains that memory is social because it exists through its connection to what has been shared with others: "language, symbols, events, and social and cultural contexts". Life does not take place in a vacuum void of any social context and in consequence neither does remembering. We are all members of groups and that has an influence on the way we live, the way we think and the way we remember things. All experiences have the potential to be stored in a person's memory. However, as mentioned above, what is remembered and what is forgotten is dependent on the individual and the circumstances. Social memory functions not only as a living record of a group's history but also as a way

for people to understand the world they live in. Memory and recollection are significantly involved in what Jürgen Straub (2008:222) describes as individuals' "attempts to endow their experiences with sense and meaning that conform to socio-cultural standards (values, rules in the form of norms or conventions, habits, goals, etc.)". Each person's social memory provides them with a template of understanding and knowledge of the correct behaviour, shared opinions, and beliefs that guide their actions.

While memory is constructed within a social sphere, it is as I mentioned earlier, also an individual phenomenon. No two people have identical memories; everyone remembers things in his or her own way. While Misztal (2007:380) does lobby for social memory, she also argues that remembering, while being constructed from cultural forms and constrained by our social context, is an individual mental act; each person has memories that are exclusively his or her own, not shared with anyone. Subsequently, no memory that is purely individual can last forever. Baines (2007:181) contends that personal memory based on a person's individual experience ultimately fades away with the passage of time. For a memory to last it must be passed on, for if it remains an individual memory it will eventually cease to exist.

One of the most frequently used key concepts in cultural memory studies is that of *mémoire collective*[4] (collective memory).The term *mémoire collective*, believed to be

[4] The term 'collective memory' is often likened to the term 'public memory'. There are a number of theorists such as John Bodnar (1994) and Edward Casey (2004) who refer to public memory as a separate entity to collective memory. However, public memory is more often used interchangeably alongside collective memory as many scholars believe the difference between the concepts to be insignificant. For the purpose of this study I do not use the term public memory, rather encompassing the broad meaning under one definition, collective memory.

coined by Halbwachs[5] in the 1920s, was popularised by other scholars, including German Egyptologist Jan Assmann, in the 1980s. As I illustrated earlier in this chapter, Halbwachs theorised memory as a collective, social phenomenon rather than an individual one: "he [...] opened the way to consideration of memory as constructed rather than natural, or, more precisely, he enabled memory to be theorised in its socially constructed dimension as distinct from its neuropsychological one" (Crewe 1999:75). Collective memory is a form of memory that no longer just belongs to one person; it is a memory or series of memories that is shared by a group of people. Collective memory itself is not eternal but can often span over many generations as it is not only contained in the lifespan of one individual. The collective memory extends far beyond the individual memory; it is a kind of mass consciousness shared within the group, transcending individual recall.

There has been a growing interest in the study of collective memory; scholars have been trying to discover exactly how it influences and functions in society. Collective memory translates itself into history, essentially becoming the more widely accepted version of a certain event and consequently embeds itself into the memories of many people. Doron Mendels (2007:12) provides evidence that collective memory is nourished by a canon: "the Hebrew Bible is a text that nourished the collective memory of Jews and Christians for centuries; each generation memorises its stories with the help of its filters and additional experiences". This type of memory is often

[5] Present-day use of the term 'collective memory' is predominantly attributed to French philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs who introduced the term in his work *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire (Social Frameworks of Memory)* in 1925. According to Jeffrey Olick (2008:153), Halbwachs' interest in memory drew heavily on the insights of two prominent 19th Century theorists, philosopher Henri Bergson and sociologist Emile Durkheim.

instilled in a national entity, or in the groups and institutions within this entity; schools, universities, and even churches reinforce the national collective memory.

These memories are as much part of the group's identity as the individual's; they often enable people to share a sense of heritage and commonality with people they have never met. David Manier and William Hirst (2008:253) contend that collective memories are portrayals of the past in the minds of members of a community that contribute to the community's sense of identity. Manier and Hirst add that collective memories cannot simply be memories that are shared across a community; they must also serve a practical purpose for the community. They not only memorialise and document a group's identity, but often actively contribute to it as well. Manier and Hirst (2008:253) allege that if something is not directly applicable to the identity of a group it cannot then be viewed as the group's collective memory. The collective memories of a group are as unique as the personal identities of the people within the group to which they belong. Each collective constructs its own particular collective memory. For example, South African collective memory is vastly different from American collective memory. Each culture has its own history that translates into its own collective memory.

The flexibility of the concept of collective memory has made it very difficult to pin down with one single, simple definition. According to Manier and Hirst (2008:253), "the term has been used to refer to rituals and traditions, myths, long-past historical events commemorated and memorialised in the present, and recent events remembered not just by individuals, but by mnemonic communities". The notion of collective memory is used to denote the memory of groups, the memory of nations,

the memory of historical events, and even the memory of the traumatised. It is the process by which many people, not necessarily known to each other recall the same event. It is a shared response to an event or history; it is a construction of what someone has read, seen or been told about the event.

In a way, collective memory can even be seen as a form of social conditioning. Bell (2006:2) refers to collective memory as widely shared perceptions of the past:

> It shapes the story that groups of people tell about themselves, linking past, present and future in a simplified narrative. It is what keeps the past – or at least a highly selective image of it – alive in the present. This does not, of course, have to be an accurate and verifiable account: memory is *knowledge from the past.* It is not necessarily *knowledge about the past.*

Each collective's collective memory tells a story of who they are; possibly not a historically accurate version of their past, but it is their past as they remember it. Halbwachs (Halbwachs quoted in Winter 2006:57) hypothesised that collective memory is constructed through the actions of groups and individuals. It is reinforced when people enter the public domain and comment on and commemorate the past, whether it is their own past, their family's past, or their nation's past. They each bring with them their own images and gestures and meanings derived from their own social experience. It is a shared framework of individual recollections of the same event. The events that are remembered through the construction of collective memory range from the political to the traumatic.

Another key concept within cultural memory studies is that of traumatic memory. Traumatic memory is a type of collective memory that is shared by the survivors of a traumatic event. This category of memory has only recently been legitimised, along

with the legitimation of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). For war veterans who suffer from PTSD, traumatic memory is something that will forever be part of their life. Usually these memories are totally involuntary, possibly as a syndrome of the trauma, and can often prevent the victim from leading a fully functional life. The violence that precedes the memories leaves a permanent imprint on the victim. Christopher Colvin (2006:158) recognises traumatic memory as emotional memory that is not bound by the burden of proof or rationality. It is often accompanied by a strong political consciousness and is not concerned with maintaining a reasonable distance of the present from the past.

This form of memory typically starts off as personal memory: a memory that is unique to one or two individuals (survivors of a traumatic event). However, the traumatic memory discussed in this study is on a much larger scale. Collective traumatic memory is a memory shared by many people and is the product of a collective trauma; for example, Rwanda's populace share a traumatic collective memory of the genocide in 1994. This memory is deeply ingrained within the history and collective consciousness of the Rwandan people and will, in all likelihood, remain so for many generations to come. Colvin (2006:158) speculates that it is only by exposure to these traumatic memories and the confrontation of past experiences that the "dangerous, injured victim" can become the "reconciled survivor". Only through constructive narratives and discourse around the tragedy will it ever hope to become less of a traumatic memory and more of a collective memory.

Each of the theories of memory discussed thus far place significant emphasis on the need to remember and memorialise the past. While my investigation into the role of

cultural memory theory as an invaluable tool for reconciliation and nation building is predominantly focused on the importance of remembering, it is also necessary to briefly investigate another aspect of cultural memory studies: the importance of forgetting. The use of memory as a way to reconcile the past in countries with turbulent histories is not without its drawbacks. It is not always a good thing to compulsively fixate on the past. Sociologist Tiffany Jenkins (2007:450) asserts that sometimes forgetting and moving on can be necessary as nations' competing over how hurt their people were is not a constructive pastime. Forgetting can sometimes be the more beneficial way to move past trauma. Friedrich Nietzsche is but one of the many scholars who advocate "active forgetting" as essential for the contentment of humanity. In his discussion of the exploitation of memory and history in *On the Genealogy of Morals* (1913), Nietzsche regards forgetting as an affirmation rather than as a denial; a way to provide a "clean slate" to make place for the new, to forget purposefully in order to surmount the trauma of the past.

The capacity to forget[6] is directly proportional to the length of time that has passed and the intensity of the trauma or the memory. A key aspect to being able to reconcile and move beyond a fixation on a traumatic past is time. For example, a rape survivor will not be equipped or prepared to move past the trauma after only a few days. While it is clear that forgetting is a necessary way of handling the events that the human psyche is not always equipped to cope with, it is important to consider the other ways

[6] Forgetting is also a product of necessity; much of what we originally store in our memory is never recalled. Anthropologist Stephan Feuchtwang (2006:178) argues that human consciousness is a very limited faculty in relation to the other senses and feelings the body registers and the brain synthesises. It is also important to take note of the difference between forgetting as sheer erasure and forgetting because of censorship. Self-censorship is the habitual blocking of certain memories where the memories are still there but have been repressed. This is usually caused by the need to repress memories which are deeply at odds with a person's innate knowledge or memories that cause embarrassment or pain. What we remember and what we forget largely depends on the subjective management of our identities, which is steered by our emotions, needs, norms and aims.

that society deals with its traumatic memory and history. In the following chapters I investigate the ways in which museums, memorials, and even governments utilise cultural memory theory in order to facilitate reconciliation on an individual as well as a national level.

1.2 Memory and memorialisation: a historical perspective

Memory has always been passed on through the telling of personal stories and histories; however, it is only in the last thirty years that this has been considered a psychological behaviour worthy of further study. In the late 19th Century, once psychology became a new human science, more and more attention was given to the way human beings reason and make sense of their world. The academic focus on cognition and memory developed exponentially in the latter half of the 20th Century. In the 1970s the term 'metacognition' was coined, contributing a precise label for the study of how people think. This term can be defined as cognition about cognition, or the act of thinking about thinking. The study of memory and memory theory came about as a by-product of this preoccupation with our cognitive processes.

Prior to the Enlightenment, memorialisation had a very different focus and purpose to what it has in later periods of human history. Memorialisation was a purely religious and sacred act, and memories were not thought of as anything more than the personal recollections of an individual. Monuments and other memorial entities were traditionally commissioned by sacred institutions to propagate religious values and attitudes or by wealthy individuals or families in order to portray their own achievements and successes. Indeed in the Medieval and later Renaissance period, the

main producers of archival memory were the church, the state and the great families. Memorialisation a few hundred years ago was frequently an act of self-indulgence; art works, monuments, memorials and even buildings were primarily commissioned by someone to either represent themselves, someone dear to them, or their philosophical or religious views.

It was during the 18th Century that this approach gave way to the Enlightenment; this gave rise to the search for knowledge and the birth of museums as we know them to be in the modern age. John Gillis (1994:7) believes that the social, political, and economic revolutions that took place during this time, and in the years following it, led to a change in the way people thought of memorialisation. The demand for commemoration and memorialisation was taken up by the urban middle and working classes. It was during this time that people began to realise that the 'official' account of history was but only one version of the past. This led to an increased awareness in many individuals of their own unique story and perceptions of the past. People became more and more concerned with their own cultural heritage. What became obvious at this point was that the sudden obsession with memory coincided with a fear of obscurity and forgetting and the aim for legitimacy. Berliner (2005:199) employs the term '*mnemotropisme*', a term coined by French anthropologist Joel Candau to describe humanity's present day obsession with memory. Berliner explains that Candau understood '*mnemotropisme*' to mean "a problem in identity caused by our incapacity to master the anxiety of loss", resulting in a society unable to transmit memory effectively but more obsessed with it than ever before.

This fixation with memory was once again changed with the First and Second World Wars. Before these wars, history was still predominantly about the elite, not the common man. The kind of suffering experienced in the Second World War was such that had never been seen or felt before. It was no longer just the people on the battle field who experienced the war, it was everyone. Gillis (1994:12) suggests that because the Second World War resulted in more civilian than military deaths it was no longer possible to ignore the contributions and sacrifices made at the home front. This resulted in further transformation of the way people saw memorials and monuments, and even to a certain degree, museums. Monuments to the 'everyday' heroes were erected, memorials to citizens were commissioned and museums were no longer the exclusive domain of the elite.

While the current preoccupation with memory and memorialisation started earlier than the Second World War, it was not until the war was long over that the stories of the Holocaust survivors began to surface. Jay Winter (2006:60) proposes that the memory boom of the late 20th Century began gaining momentum and cultural significance when the survivors of the Holocaust began telling their stories. It was only then that the general public was finally, belatedly prepared to see them, honour them and hear what they had to say. Over fifty years since the Holocaust ended, the inevitable death of the survivors has resulted in an increased awareness and fascination in memory within people who were not necessarily interested in memory theory before. Many theorists believe that this impending loss of a valuable memory-fund is one of the key reasons behind the contemporary fascination with memorialisation. Alison Landsberg (1997:64) argues that any possibility of transmitting what she calls the "living memory" of the Holocaust is becoming

increasingly precarious and ultimately impossible with the passing away of the people who lived through the event. There will be no one to tell their stories unless we start paying more attention to and archiving the memories of the survivors: reinforcing an essential collective memory.

The current concern is whether or not the experiences and memories of people who experienced significant historical events, such as the Holocaust, will 'live on' after they are gone. Landsberg (1997:64) concedes that responsible memory transmission becomes problematic once there are no longer survivors left to testify, when the physical bodies that guarantee and anchor the memory no longer exist. The importance of retaining memories, specifically memories of trauma, is essentially didactic. It is vital that society ensures that the memories of the Holocaust and similar major histories and events are secured forever; never to be forgotten. Memories, commemorations and memorials are not only about the past, they have serious implications for the future as well. The fundamental objective of keeping these memories alive in the minds of those who did not necessarily experience them first hand is to ensure that people are fully educated about their past and the horrors that human beings are capable of inflicting upon each other. The preservation of these collective memories is a key facet in creating awareness in the hopes that tragedies like the Holocaust and the Rwandan genocide never happen again.

In the past memories were customarily passed on from the older generations to the younger generations through stories, legends, and myths. Collective memory did exist but it was vastly different from the concept of collective memory as we understand it in contemporary times. Collective memory traditionally relied on oral methods of

conveyance but it was also capable of utilising different "material sites and rituals for its manifestation" (Lieblich 2007:214). The responsibility for the continuation of memory was placed in the hands of a select few who were specifically trained to maintain and transmit the memories of their culture and societies. In modern times, however, the recording of memory is no longer seen as such a sacred act, it has become much more mundane; the interest and focus of ordinary man. Nora (1989:14) acknowledges that in contemporary society there are not many who do not feel "compelled to record [their] feelings, to write [their] memoirs – not only the most minor historical actor but also his witnesses, his spouse, and his doctor. The less extraordinary the testimony, the more aptly it seems to illustrate the average mentality". Nora's illustration of just how ordinary the recording and telling of memory has become in our society is exceedingly accurate. Not only does the average person feel the need to record his average thoughts and memories, but all those around him, his spouse, his doctor, all feel the need to do the same.

The popularisation of memorial culture has largely been facilitated by the availability of modern technology. The technology that is so readily available in our society has had a vast effect on the transmission of collective memory, the shape of collective memory, and even the span of collective memory. Technology has changed the face of memory and memorialisation for ever with the introduction of printing presses, photography, museums, libraries and the internet. The invention of the camera was one of the biggest changes in the history of memorialisation and museums; the camera facilitated a whole new way of concretising moments and memories. According to Nora (1989:14) the "materialisation of memory has been tremendously dilated, multiplied, decentralised, democratised". Largely due to the rapid increase in the

technologies available, the number of museums, memorials and monuments tripled in just a few short years.

A critical factor relating to collective memory is its capacity to transfer "authentic living memory from the body of a survivor to an individual who has no authentic link to this particular historical past" (Landsberg 1997:63). The transferral of individual narratives advances this movement of memories from one person to another. For collective memory to exist in the first place, it needs to be transmitted and passed on by people, usually through the transference of narratives and knowledge. Huyssen (1995:3) emphasises the necessity for the articulation of history and narratives to become memory; the past does not automatically exist within memory. Second-hand knowledge and concretised memories are often the only form of collective memory available to people who did not experience a historical event directly. Some histories like that of the Second World War, which happened more than 50 years ago and any survivors have either aged or passed away, rely almost solely on the transference of these second or third hand memories to keep the knowledge 'alive'. Steven Lubar (2007:397) offers that people who did not experience the events first-hand 'remember' them through family stories, national mythology, history taught in schools, and the narratives and exhibitions in museums.

There are scholars and theorists who doubt that the transference of memory to people through museums is adequate. Nietzsche (1913:16) wrote that for something to remain in a person's memory it must be burnt in; only that which never stops *hurting* will remain in his or her memory. Landsberg (1997:66) extrapolates on the fact that Nietzsche sees memory as a bodily, sensuous phenomenon and that he maintains that

effective memory must be painful. In consideration of Nietzsche's assertion, Landsberg challenges the notion of the Holocaust ever becoming a bodily memory for those who did not experience it first-hand. There are however theorists and scholars who subscribe to the idea of an affective transference of memory through second-hand knowledge in museums or memorials. Maja Zehfuss (2007:12) contends that "war memories [do] not merely concern the generation who experienced the war; rather they are something akin to expert knowledge that has been passed on to succeeding generations". The manner in which war veterans pass on their accounts of the war and their experiences is similar to the formation of collective memory. Their narratives are taken as fact and passed on to the subsequent generations as a type of family 'legend'. Eventually a person who did not experience the war is able to 'recall' a certain event from the war that has become part of their memory trust. Museums and memorials function on a similar principle. They impart the memory onto their viewers through the utilisation of sensory stimuli and other museological strategies. In the following chapter I examine the various memory tools that cultural and memorial institutions employ in order to ensure the continuation of national collective memory through their viewers.

As I discussed earlier in this chapter, the increase in interest in memory studies has been significantly amplified in the last few decades and this has been paralleled by a rise in the number of museums and memorials built to honour and commemorate both the survivors and victims of gross human rights violations and other tragedies. While the circumstances and content of each one is different to the next it is still important to examine the reasons behind this increase and the escalation in the number of claims that are made for memorials and other memorial establishments. What exactly has

caused such a prolific increase in the popularity of these institutions? This line of investigation is one that Mieke Bal explores in *The Discourse of the Museum* (1996). She points out that one of the main reasons for this increase is an anthropological one. Bal's (1996:201) stance is that in the last twenty or so years humanity has developed an increasing awareness of their own limitations and mortality. This preoccupation with death and mortality has led to a fascination with the study of these limitations and boundaries. To fully understand memory would be to understand how something can live on after death. This preoccupation is not necessarily something that should be seen in a negative or morbid light as it has sparked a growth in many psychological and social studies. Scholars in the late 20th Century became rather engrossed with understanding how memory works and how memory is preserved.

The social and cultural motivations behind the growth in memorialisation and cultural memory studies go beyond just the post-modern fascination with immortalising the past as part of the continuous search for a way to overcome mortality and prevent obscurity. Nora (2002:5) is of the opinion that this increase is also related to what he terms "the democratisation of history". This democratisation takes the form of a distinct emancipatory trend present in many ethnic groups and even certain classes of individual in the world today. The emancipation of minority groups is largely responsible for a growing awareness of just how exactly to 'use history'. Nora (2002:5) believes that there has been a developing movement towards "ideological decolonisation", which has facilitated the liberation of groups that have had their cultural memories, identities, and heritage confiscated or manipulated by controlling regimes: as was the case in Eastern Europe, the Balkans, Latin America and Africa.

Over a very short time period there has been a dramatic increase in the amount of cultural memory that has, in a way, been recovered. Barry Schwartz and Horst-Alfred Heinrich (2004:116) write that it was during the 1980s and 1990s that there was this escalating concern for minority dignity and rights. As old forms of religious and class conflicts turn into ethnic, racial, and gender conflicts, disadvantaged groups become increasingly aware of the uses of public discourse and cultural memory. This 'recovered' memory is intricately bound up with the rehabilitation and reaffirmation of the identities and histories of these newly emancipated minority groups. Nora (2002:6) adds that unlike history, which has always been the domain of the public authorities, scholars, specialised peer groups, and the 'elite', memory has acquired new significance and political and social prestige amongst those commonly seen as the 'underdogs' of society. These groups are learning just how powerful the influence of memory and memorialisation is and many use this knowledge to recover or reaffirm their cultural and national identities.

However, this new grasp that a lot of societies seem to have on memory and memorialisation must not be restricted to representations and narratives of only the good and the new. It is imperative that governments and societies address any negative or traumatic histories and memories associated with their countries or groups. Schwartz and Heinrich (2004:118) assert that history cannot be treated as a supermarket where we pick out only what is convenient for us. Democratic societies must confront the negative aspects of their past, especially when the victims of earlier atrocities are still living and still citizens. People who have suffered in the past do not simply forget and move on; there must be a concerted effort to reconcile people and move beyond the suffering that the trauma caused. In search of ways to restore truth

and justice with their countries, many governments have begun constructing collective memories in the form of commemorations and social initiatives that are aimed at reconciling groups and individuals with conflicting agendas.

Post-apartheid South Africa is an example of a country in the process of healing the wounds and social rifts caused by its past through social and political reconciliation and the restoration of justice and equality in all sectors of the country. Once South Africa became a democratic state, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was set up with the mandate of facilitating this reconciliation. It was a way of allowing memories and stories that had previously been buried to come to light. Many people were able to get closure through the TRC hearings. The TRC went to lengths to encourage the idea of forgiveness at their hearings. In the third chapter of this thesis I examine the effectiveness of the cultural and social programmes initiated in South Africa as part of the government's move toward building a reconciled post-apartheid state. I investigate the role of museums, memorials, and other memory based systems like the TRC in reconciling South Africa's turbulent social and political past.

1.3 The concretisation of memory: Pierre Nora's *lieux de mémoire*

Human beings have an innate tendency to try make things last forever. Memory is, of course, no exception and to hold on to memories there must first be a way of preserving them. The memorialisation of events and histories is something that we, as a society, have been doing for many years. Memory itself is a fleeting transcendental entity that exists completely in the mind and is thus impossible to grasp physically. Susan Crane (2000:1) offers that the mental process of memory may take on a

"corporeal form in the brain, but this physical form is invisible to the naked eye". It is impossible to reach into the subconscious and literally solidify a memory to render it permanent. There is however a more symbolic way of immortalising memory. Through an association with tangible objects and imaginative representation and recollection, memory is able to translate itself into a visible form. Memory itself is the act of thinking about or remembering events or objects in their absence; this is often a response to certain triggers that can manifest themselves as physical, tangible objects. The representation of memory through these objects then becomes a stand-in for the original memory. Memorials, monuments, and even to a certain degree, museums, are illustrative of this physical representation of memory.

The collective memory of a nation is very often represented through the memorials and monuments that it chooses to erect. The choice of subject matter memorialised within cultural institutions is as indicative of the national collective memory as the subject matter that is actively left out of these institutions. Many of the memorials or monuments that house this collective memory are what Pierre Nora (1989) refers to as *lieux de mémoire* (sites or realms of memory). *Lieux de mémoire* are spaces that are intricately connected to certain memories. They are the spaces where these memories and histories are inscribed into a building or memorial, or simply just an area of land. Nora (1989:7) describes them as the locations where cultural or collective memory crystallises and secretes itself. Auschwitz, for example, can be classified as a *lieux de mémoire* because of the history associated with the physical location. Monuments and memorials are usually the sites of choice for sites of memory; they are, however, not limited to these kinds of structures. *Lieux de mémoire* can also manifest themselves in specific locations such as, for example, the side of a road or highway where a loved

one was involved in a car accident. These spaces are originally neutral areas that have had specific memories ascribed to them. They can be as important as Auschwitz or as seemingly insignificant as a simple cross on the side of the road or a stone on a prayer wall. If it holds meaning for even one person it can be a site of memory.

Lieux de mémoire can also be defined as public spaces that facilitate the collective expression of a shared knowledge or history that contributes to a group's sense of unity and identity. Each person that visits a site of memory inherits the earlier meanings attached to the site by the previous visitors as well as adding their own meanings to it. Historian Jay Winter (2008:61) holds that this activity is an invaluable aspect of the presentation and preservation of these commemorative sites. Groups are responsible for the continuation of their *lieux de mémoire* and when the groups disappear or disperse, the sites of memory lose their initial force and could even fade away entirely. For these sites to continue existing there needs to be a continuous flow of activity revolving around the act of commemoration and memorialisation.

These sites do not just come into existence by themselves, they need to be created. According to Nora (1989:19) *lieux de mémoire* are brought about by the interplay of memory and history: "an interaction of two factors that result in their reciprocal overdetermination". They build on each other to create the final product, the site of memory. Nora (1989:7) contends that *lieux de mémoire* have emerged at a point in history where there are no longer *milieux de mémoire* (real environments of memory). Many of the *lieux de mémoire* that exist today are sites that were constructed after the original memory or event had long since occurred. These sites often originate with the sense that spontaneous memory no longer exists. People must intentionally "create

archives, maintain anniversaries, organise celebrations, pronounce eulogies and notarise bills because such activities no longer occur naturally" (Nora 1989:12). While original sites of memory like Auschwitz do still exist, there is a definite lack of *milieux de mémoire* in contemporary society. Original memory sites like the Berlin Wall and the Great Wall of China have either been torn down or are in gross disrepair. Much of the original Great Wall of China has been torn down for building material or been rebuilt for tourist purposes. Most sites of memory today are artificial, and deliberately fabricated; their primary reason for being is to help us remember the past. The sites of memory that Nora refers to are the ghosts of the *milieux de mémoire*.

As is evident by the lack of *milieux de mémoire*, memory and memorialisation are not impervious to the passing of time. Memorials, museums, and monuments do face limitations regarding the continuation of memory for an extended period of time. Mendels (2007:12) argues that the physical representations of experience and memory embodied in a society or group of individuals become ineffectual once the generation that created them begins to loosen its grip on the representations. When the memories and knowledge start to fade in the minds of the people who only 'experienced' them through the museums and memorials that kept them alive then they start to become irrelevant. The representations will then gradually fade and disappear altogether from the public domain. Sites of memory and memorials are not necessarily a guarantee that memories will be preserved for ever. No single object lasts forever so it stands to reason that eventually the memories represented and stored within a memorial will ultimately disappear as well.

Lieux de mémoire occur at a moment in history where an immense and intimate fund of memory disappears; the impending loss of those who survived the Holocaust. This memory fund now only survives as a reconstituted object under history and society's critical gaze. What we are left with today are spaces of memory that have been created as, or have been turned into, representations replacing true memory. As spaces that have been created to fulfil a specific purpose, these *lieux de mémoire* often have some form of social or political agenda. Pim den Boer (2008:21) finds that Nora's *lieux de mémoire* are ideological mnemotechnical[7] devices, far from being neutral spaces and filled with nationalist values. These spaces are typically created or reworked to serve a specific nation-state.

However, the important thing about these sites of memory, according to Winter (2008:62), is that they exist as points of reference for those who survived traumatic events as well as for those who were born long after them. They inevitably become sites of second-hand memory where people 'remember' the memories of others. As this is an indirect way of transmitting knowledge and memories there is no way to tell whether or not the knowledge or memories are authentic, unbiased and accurate. Even memories that are passed on directly from the 'source', as such, are not without subjectivity. So it is inevitable that any memory in a memorial or a museum will have acquired even more, likely different, subjectivities. Memory is not a fixed entity; it can often be twisted to suit the needs of the person remembering. This facet of memory is one that curators, governments, nations and creators of memorials and museums often utilise in their memorialisations. In consideration of the use of memory as a social or political tool of the nation-state, Nora (1989:8) reasons that

[7] Mnemotechnical devices are mnemonic tools related to or involved in the process of furthering and transferring memory.

memory typically only accommodates the facts that suit its needs: "it nourishes recollections that may be out of focus or telescopic, global or detached, particular or symbolic". If there are certain memories that do not suit the needs of the institution or state, then they are simply left out of the narrative. Baines (2007:181) emphasises that the memories and voices that do not fit the dominant narrative are silenced and removed from the space of public memory. They are not necessarily forgotten but they most certainly are marginalised.

Typically the academic debate about sites of memory concerns the extent to which they are political tools of the dominant powers in society as memories and the subjectivities that they transfer are easily appropriated for a political agenda. Winter (2008:62) writes that one school of opinion draws attention to the efficacy of public events to political powers in establishing the legitimacy of their rule. Memory is a powerful tool for the state as it can be used to reinforce and affirm their specific beliefs and goals. The events memorialised in state-sanctioned public commemorations are easily and often manipulated to convey the discourses to which the state wishes to draw attention. Baines (2007:169) supports the view of memory as a scapegoat for the political elite. The 'official' memory becomes a tool for the justification of past events on the grounds that it was ordained by history; essentially prescribing the knowledge that forms the national collective memory and legitimising the status quo.

Much of the contemporary literature and research on cultural memory theory reveals a growing fascination with the social and political constructions of memory, more specifically with the efforts of political groups to invent traditions and collective

memories that would serve their interests. It is important to note that while memory can aid in reconciliation and nation building, it is just as possible to be used as a propaganda tool to justify the actions and philosophies put forward by governments and groups with political interests. In the next chapter of this thesis I further examine how curators and governments alike manipulate the use of memory and memorialisation to suit their own agendas. By drawing on the foundation of understanding about cultural memory theory I have established in this chapter, I consider how the inevitable political affiliations of museums and memorials can be utilised in a more constructive manner. I apply the specific cultural memory theories I explored to the study of museums and memorials on a general level as well as to museums in a South African context.

Chapter 2

Museums and memorialisation in the modern age

2.1 Approach and definitions

"The storyteller takes what he tells from experience – his own or that reported by others. And he in turn makes it the experiences of those who are listening to his tale"
Walter Benjamin[8]

Memory in a post-modern age is almost a contradiction in terms; humanity has always bestowed importance on concepts of heritage and history, however, as illustrated in the first chapter of this thesis, in the latter half of the 20th Century and early part of the 21st Century, society appears obsessed with the remembrance and memorialisation of the past and yet, as a whole, is far less capable of retaining memory than ever before. The world is changing at an increasingly rapid speed and the faster it changes, the more people seem to want to hold on to the past. The retaining of possessions has increased so dramatically that people now need to purchase storage space for objects they no longer have use for but remain reluctant to discard. This preoccupation with memory and fear of forgetting have sparked life back into museums, memorials and monuments; cultural institutions that were once thought to be obsolete. German cultural analyst Andreas Huyssen (1995:254) advocates the notion that museums have taken on a "new lease on life" and that these institutions that were repeatedly declared dead have become a vital part of contemporary memorialisation and nation building.

The primary focus of this thesis is the investigation of museums and memorials in a South African setting as well as the exploration of how they influence the symbolic landscape within the country following the end of apartheid in 1994. In this chapter I

[8] Walter Benjamin (1992:87)

examine memorials, museums and memory in a broader context to provide a solid base of understanding for the following chapters. I delve into the history of museums and memorials as well as analysing their position within society as producers of cultural and historical knowledge. I explore the relationship these institutions have with memory in order to establish a comprehensive understanding of the methods employed by museums in the production and reinforcement of collective memory within countries emerging from traumatic pasts. Much like the storyteller in Walter Benjamin's *Illuminations* (1992:87), museums contribute to collective memory through the translation of narratives of others' experiences.

An understanding of the terminology used in this study is vital to further comprehension of the key concepts introduced in this chapter. As such, a brief explanation of the different terms is provided at this point. Museologist George Ellis Burcaw (1997:20) classifies a museum as being "a non-profit organisation, in the service of society, which acquires, conserves, communicates and exhibits, for purpose and study, education and enjoyment, material witnesses of the evolution of nature and man". By his definition, museums are warehouses of information about people and the world people inhabit. Indeed, one of the most essential goals of museums is to educate their viewers about the physical, biological, anthropological or historical world. Museums are sites where artefacts of scientific, historical or artistic value are kept and displayed to the public. According to Alan Radley (1990:47), museums, along with other edifices in the community, like cathedrals, town halls and castles, are "repositories of objects which exist as special artefacts, by reference to which past epochs may be read and understood". Through the documentation and display of history, museums equip their viewers with the necessary resources and information to

make sense of the world around them. The same institutions that have storerooms packed with decommissioned artefacts and antiquated historical knowledge are also responsible for more contemporary concerns like the transmission of cultural knowledge to their viewers. Museums have had to adapt from their traditional role in society as institutions predominantly occupied with the exhibition and collection of historical artefacts to institutions actively involved in the reinforcement of positive ideologies and national reconciliation.

Memorials are another form of cultural institution that provide a platform for the continuation of collective memory. Paul Williams (2007:8) classifies the word *memorial* as "an umbrella term for anything that serves in remembrance of a person or event". Memorials are similar to museums in the sense that they also house knowledge and information. Their purpose, however, is not to educate as museums do; memorials exist to honour 'heroes', 'martyrs' and the 'everyday citizens' who suffered or died during conflict. James Young (1993:12) describes the main objective of memorials as the preservation of the past without detracting attention from it with their own presence. Museums and memorials often have similar subject matter or information within their exhibits, however, a museum's goal is essentially didactic whereas memorials serve to honour memories and act as a space of remembrance. Judy Barsalou and Victoria Baxter (2007:1) hold that both museums and memorials function as a means to examine the past and address contemporary issues. They have the ability to either promote social recovery and nation building after a violent conflict or to cultivate a sense of victimisation, discrimination, and the desire for revenge.

Both museums and memorials play a very important role in today's society by keeping people aware of their history. It is imperative that the past is never forgotten and especially important for museums to "show us the brutal past – because it happened and we need to understand it" (Jenkins 2007:451). Walter Benjamin (1992:248) asserts that "there is no document of civilisation which is not at the same time a monument to barbarism". No museum therefore can be an accurate depiction of humanity without demonstrating humanity's inherent cruelty. However, as Tiffany Jenkins cautions, a careful balance should be maintained between creating memorials to human suffering and paying homage to the power of the human spirit. A truly successful museum needs to represent rational and constructive narratives about the past rather than sensationalist depictions of trauma and brutality. It is imperative that museums and memorials built to memorialise tragedies do not become side shows for the atrocities that occurred. When the motives and repercussions of tragedies are overlooked in favour of representations of ghastly events, museums run the risk of falling into the trap of becoming mere horror rides in a theme park. In the course of my investigation into museums and memorialisation I examine the methods employed by museum professionals to maintain a steady balance between illustrating the past in a manner that accurately depicts the traumatic experiences of the victims of violent conflict and ensuring a responsible educational component within their institutions.

Memorial museums, the kind of institution investigated in this study, are a combination of both museums as well as memorials. Williams (2007:8) describes the term *memorial museum* as a way to "identify a specific kind of museum dedicated to a historic event commemorating mass suffering of some kind". Museums like the Apartheid Museum, the Red Location Museum and the Washington Holocaust

Memorial Museum fall under Williams' description of memorial museums. These museums exist for the specific purpose of educating their viewers about the specific historic events that they commemorate, as well as being places where the memories of individuals or groups become national collective memory. While the term *memorial museum* does not necessarily apply to all institutions that promote nation building and reconciliation, I apply it to the museums I investigate in the course of this study as a term denoting a museum that commemorates and memorialises the suffering of a nation as a result of a specific historic event, such as apartheid.

A key part of the success of memorials and museums is their access to the memories of individuals within the community. These institutions utilise this memory fund through museological tactics that embed the memory into the structure and displays within the museums. Memory, as mentioned in the previous chapter, is a non-physical entity: something that cannot be touched, moved or stockpiled. However, humanity has found ways to imprint memory into the physical realm. Memory itself will never have tangible properties, although representations of memory can be fixed onto physical objects in order to evoke recollections from viewers faced with the object. Museums and memorials function on a similar principle; they are themselves not specifically sites of memory or even memory objects but they have become places where memory resides, places where people are able to access their own memories or even the memories of others. They have been tasked with the responsibility of ensuring the transmission of knowledge and memories to the future generations.

While memory is still an integral part of contemporary society it is no longer as deeply embedded in our communities and day to day lives as it was in the past;

modern forms of memory are vastly different to memory practices in archaic societies. There is no longer such an acute culture of remembrance in that memories are no longer passed on from previous generations by people whose specific task it is to ensure the survival of memory. In earlier cultures the most prominent way of transmitting memory was through legends, myths and stories. More common in contemporary society is the transference of memory through memorials and museums. It is a more concrete way of ensuring the passage of memory to future generations. Edward Casey (2004:39) contends that "without such concrete emplacements, memories would have no referent in reality; or, rather, they [would be] their own referent: pure, exclusively self-referential signs". Casey's argument emphasises the need for memories to have a strong base or point of reference in reality or they will inevitably become their own point of reference and fade. Society is no longer capable of ensuring the transmission of memory through narratives and myths; the amount of memory data that needs to be preserved has become too vast.

Humanity's increasing interest in the study and preservation of memory has influenced the efficacy of memorialisation in institutions like museums, memorials and monuments. Memories and memorial establishments have always had a symbiotic relationship in the sense that museums need objects of memory in their collections to continue to function successfully and memory needs museums and memorials to ensure its own survival. As a result of this, the increase in growth in the field of memory studies has resulted in an increasing interest in museum studies. Susan Crane (2000:1) writes that the considerable increase in interest of the history and duties of museums in the 1980s led to a new body of research and discussion that has yielded a far richer understanding of the social, cultural, and institutional significance of this

history than had previously existed. Not only do memory and museum studies parallel each other in terms of their timelines, but each one has a direct effect on the other. This mutually beneficial relationship has resulted in there being a much greater understanding of the cultural and social benefits of the successful utilisation of memory studies within museums and memorials.

Museums preserve memory and history through the collection and display of physical manifestations of the past. Crane (2000:9) points out that "museums deliberately forge memories in physical form to prevent the natural erosion of memory". Through the symbolic endowment of memory onto objects, people have learned to preserve memories in a time where society changes so rapidly that myths, legends and storytelling are no longer adequate as the sole preservers of memory. Radley (1990:47) suggests that through a study of people's personal possessions it can be ascertained that objects are often used to create a link with the past, helping to construct a sense of meaning and identity. On a seemingly basic level, people's possessions are all tied up with their memories, and as Pierre Nora (1989:13) observes, "modern memory is above all, archival. It relies entirely on the materiality of the trace, the immediacy of the recording, the visibility of the image". However, the connection to representative objects extends beyond that of personal possessions: items that hold cultural meaning and associations with certain memories can be significant to larger groups within society, perhaps even society as a whole.

The objects within a museum do not necessarily have to be objects that are specific to the viewer to trigger his or her memory. Museums and memorials use iconic imagery and symbols instead of specifically personal objects as memory triggers. The outcome

is the same because these images also trigger specific memories and knowledge that is particular to a certain culture or society. Radley (1990:52) maintains that the emotions and memories triggered by the sight of a gas-mask owned by a family member during the Second World War, or knowledge about English history triggered at the sight of the block and executioner's axe at the Tower of London are all products of myths and ideologies in which these specific objects are iconic images. The images of a gas-mask or an executioner's axe are ones that contain histories and memories from generations past; these memories are then contained within the image and then become inherently associated with those objects. These iconic images and objects can also be universally understood, for example the image of a gas chamber or piles of clothes, hair and shoes in a particular type of setting can conjure up 'memories' of the Holocaust. In these circumstances, the use of 'memories' implies more a type of 'knowledge about' rather than actual memories of said event. In these cases, "people do not remember a series of personal events which touched their own lives but enjoy 'a sense of the past' through the understanding of a history which other people appear to have created" (Radley 1990:47). There are certain events that are so well known by most people that they do not have to have experienced the event for themselves to remember details about it. An example of such an event could be the destruction of the World Trade Centre in 2001, or stories about the Second World War concentration camps, or apartheid in South Africa. Many young adults in South Africa today, myself included, were born in the last few years of apartheid and are too young to remember any of it, but because of stories they have heard and videos they have seen on the news and images of apartheid that are well known to all, they have a sense of what apartheid was and a kind of 'memory' created by exposure to information about the

event. These are the kinds of 'memories' that museums draw on to have an effect on their viewers.

Most museums aim to influence their viewers by relating directly to individuals through their emotions. This is a technique that relies heavily on visual, auditory and sensory stimulus. Young (1993:132) asserts that when confronted with traumatic imagery such as the sight of concentration camp artefacts, viewers respond with a range of strong emotions like revulsion, grief, pity, and fear. Visitors generally respond more powerfully to physical objects and visual stimuli than to verbalised or written concepts. These objects evoke a sense of horror at the reality of a situation because it makes the event more real by presenting the viewer with visual proof of the violence done in the past. It creates an awareness of the absence of the victims. "Armless sleeves, eyeless lenses, headless caps, footless shoes: victims are known only by their absence, by the moment of their destruction. In great loose piles, these remnants remind us not of the lives that once animated them, so much as of the brokenness of lives" (Young 1993:132). What we are left with are the ghosts that remain within these empty objects. Museums all over the world are filled with these kinds of ownerless objects that provoke a tremendous sense of loss in their viewers. The use of objects to highlight the lives, achievements and tribulations of people long dead is a commonly used tool in memorialisation. It allows for a strong sense of personal connection within the museum experience and exhibitions. People are more likely to be able to relate to the 'critical actors' than to the actual event. It is an effective memory tool that many museums employ.

The current fascination with memory studies has meant that museum professionals have gained a greater understanding of the key concepts as well as the social and cultural significance of memory, enabling them to take a more critical look at the methods they employ to affect their visitors and the role that memory plays in this. Memorials also benefit from this link to memory studies as it enables them to take a step back and have an increasingly objective view of how their techniques and methods can be improved. The curators and architects of museums and memorials have started to use this knowledge to improve the way they use their collections or spaces to reach people. They are aware of their responsibilities in creating an intelligent balance between information and emotion. Through the use of memory tools like sensory deprivation and images of trauma, these institutions are able to evoke specific reactions and emotions in people thereby enabling them to have similar experiences, in a safer environment, to the survivors of the trauma.

The interior space of the Washington Holocaust Memorial Museum is illustrative of a memorial museum that attempts to evoke certain emotions in its viewers by curatorially and architecturally creating a space similar to that of the original event. "The entrance to the permanent exhibition reminds people of a concentration camp: the elevators are claustrophobic, with stark lighting, exposed metal, and low ceilings" (Jenkins 2007:450). By forcing their viewers to experience these conditions they are trying to provoke a physical reaction from them. Jenkins (2007:450) argues that museums, and spaces like the example above, treat their audience as if their empathy and emotions can only be triggered by exposing them to similar conditions and turning their own experience into a version of what happened to the victims. She believes that museum spaces that mimic these terrible traumatic events often achieve

their goal of being harsh and unpleasant but are a far cry from the spaces they represent. Both the Apartheid Museum and the Red Location Museum employ methods similar to those described by Jenkins; evocative spaces and displays become a stand-in for the original experience, adding a performative element to traditional static museum space. Jenkins (2007:450) ascertains that this could be seen as a trivialisation of what actually happened and reduce the understanding of the conflict to a bad 'reality museum' experience. Museums seem to be at a crossroads with regards to Jenkins' accusation of them becoming "bad reality museums" or theme parks. Through an analysis of the methods employed by the case studies in the final chapter, I investigate whether Jenkins' argument against this performative aspect is substantiated.

Many modern cultural institutions are utilising their increasingly comprehensive awareness of the role memory plays in successful memorialisation in order to gain a better understanding of how to cater for a wider range of viewers. It is crucial for museums to ensure that they remain relevant to their current viewer base as well as attempting to increase it, for museums cannot exist autonomously from their viewers; the viewers are as much a part of the museums as the displays are. For without viewers, museums have no purpose. Society's response to a museum's exhibits and the way its members interpret the narratives and content determines the success and impact thereof. According to Barsalou and Baxter (2007:17) the internal meanings of museums and memorials often shift over time and are largely dependant on the life experiences of their viewers. A person who has very little general knowledge and grasp of basic history will be able to glean much less out of a museum than a history scholar. It could also be affected by the opinions and emotions of a viewer. A

memorial that helps a victim of a tragedy regain his or her sense of national and self pride could also be seen by someone on the other side of the conflict as a provocation. Outsiders to the conflict will also have a very different interpretation of the memorial. Every single museum or memorial has a specific target group to which it caters. However, it must be careful not to be too exclusive about the message it portrays to its viewers. These institutions must be willing to evolve to cater for changing demographics and accommodate social transformations.

2.2 Museums and memorials: political affiliations and responsibilities

Over the last decade the popularity of museums has increased at an exponential rate, attracting more visitors than ever before. Nora (2002:8) suggests that the previous decade may have marked the high point of what he terms the "age of commemoration". Jay Winter (2006:69) points out that the increase in attendance at museums like the Imperial War Museum, the British Museum, and Madame Tussauds has been greater than the increase in attendance at rock concerts or even sporting events. Museums today have become less of a place of quiet reverence and education and have placed more emphasis on keeping their viewers enthralled and entertained, taking on an almost 'amusement theme park' role. The change within museums, while being individually implemented by each institution, is not an active decision on their part; it is rather a reaction to the changing needs and wishes of their viewers.

Many factors have had a direct impact on museums' need to adapt to the needs of their viewers. Information is no longer something obtained at a slow pace; technology has resulted in the almost instantaneous accessibility of knowledge and entertainment.

Viewers expect the information they receive from museums and memorials to be equally effortless and attention grabbing. Their expectations influence the significance of the museums as "new generations visit [...] under new circumstances and invest them with new meanings. The result is an evolution in the [institution's] significance, generated in the new times and company in which it finds itself" (Young 1993:3). For museums to remain relevant in contemporary society they need to adapt their methods of production. Adaptation and evolution is the natural progression for all organisations within a changing society and the people responsible for museums are becoming more aware of this. For without evolving to suit the needs of their audience, museums will soon become obsolete institutions representing/ displaying irrelevant history.

Museums have sought to find a happy medium between maintaining their educational and memorial value while continuing to appeal to their viewers. These institutions, more specifically history and memorial museums, are spaces designed to educate and enlighten people about their histories and heritage. Their goal is to combine the content of their exhibitions with the pre-existing knowledge that the viewers bring into the space and leave the viewer with a "more complex, problematised, and nuanced view of the past. Exhibits should not be limited to reminiscence or commemoration; they should add perspective by aspiring to a greater critical distance and by putting the artefacts in context" (Lubar 2007:398). It is the duty of the museum to ensure that its viewers have the opportunity to gain new experiences and increase upon their own knowledge base. Gary Baines (2007:178) asserts that museums must not only be "repositories of artefacts but active producers of knowledge". They have an obligation to be more than just passive storage for historical objects. In modern

society museums have "changed from temples into forums" (Dubin 2006:8). They have become spaces of escalating significance that facilitate the active exchange of information between viewers and museums.

The reconstruction of museums' purpose and value in modern society has bestowed upon them a much greater responsibility. Museums must be fully aware of the effect they have on their viewers and the possible consequences thereof. Engaging with the emotions of individuals is never a simple, easy task; nothing about interactions with people is ever straightforward or predictable, much like memory itself. Museologist Gaynor Kavanagh (2002:111) asserts that it is impossible to separate memory from emotion and that when museums deal with emotive or memorial subject matter it tests the limits and potential of their responsibility; it forces difficult questions and exposes the dangers of surface-level memory work. There are many ways that emotions and memories can be exploited and misused in situations where people are influenced. This is especially true of memories of trauma and the emotional baggage that follows. People do not like dealing with difficult questions and when a museum or memorial poses them it needs to be done in a correct and careful manner. Museums are subjected to intense critical and media scrutiny and when their exhibits are mere exercises in window dressing and when deeper issues are neglected, they could well lose their reputability. If they choose to neglect their responsibility to provide a balanced and thorough account, they essentially fail at their goal, to make people aware of the complex and crucial issues and meanings within history.

When museums and memorials work with memory within their institutions, it needs to be done in an ethical and responsible manner. Museum professionals must be aware

of their responsibilities and have a comprehensive "understanding [of] what is required in the creation of a space for permitted and supported remembering" (Kavanagh 2002:118). They need to understand just how vital their task is and they must not take that lightly. However, this should not be considered an irksome responsibility but rather an exciting challenge as Kavanagh (2002:120) believes that "through working with both the memories *and* the people to whom they truly belong, museums can bear witness to the best and worst, the extraordinary and mundane, the innovative and the traditional". Working with museums, memory and people can be an enlightening experience and if done correctly can be something that affects thousands of lives, especially when considering the drastic increase in the amount of visitors museums receive every year.

The growing potential for positive social and cultural influence that museums have is however paralleled by an awareness of their shortcomings. While being institutions that have the ability to affect many lives in a constructive manner, there is also the argument that museums are not always beneficial to their viewers. Young (1993:5) highlights that the validity of museums in contemporary society is challenged with the accusation that rather than effectively embodying memory, museums displace it, thereby effectively supplanting a community's memory-work with its own representations and material form and becoming storage spaces for the memories and histories that people want to have 'put away'. They operate under the illusion that they exist to house memories and historical knowledge and provide spaces where viewers can revisit their memories at leisure. Young (1993:5) adds that once we assign some sort of monumental form to memory, we partly release ourselves from any obligation to remember as monuments seem to shoulder the burden of our

memory work for us, essentially becoming filing cabinets of memory. Human beings are inherently lazy creatures and when an institution claims to do some form of work for them most will not object to or question this. The result is that we are all living under the "illusion that our memorial edifices will always be there to remind us, [and that] we take leave of them and return only at our convenience" (Young 1993:5). When museums deal with recent conflicts or controversial issues there is the danger of them fostering a sense of apathy in their viewers; why confront controversial issues yourself when you could just go to the relevant museum and face the subject matter for a few hours then return to the comfort and safety of a place with no complicated issues. Young's argument highlights the ease with which museums can fall into the trap of becoming more damaging than helpful to the memorialisation of significant knowledge and memory.

In museums that lack a proper grasp of contemporary as well as historical concerns and a thorough awareness of their social responsibilities, memories and history face the possibility of becoming fossilised within an outdated institution. Far too often do museums assume what Young (1993:14) terms the "finished veneer of a death mask, unreflective of current memory, unresponsive to contemporary issues". In a similar line of inquiry about the relevance of museums in contemporary society, Tony Bennett (2005:42) asks whether these establishments merely objectify history, or are they valuable institutions of learning and preservation; is history lost in its very conservation? Is it possible for a museums to preserve the past completely un-maimed or are they forever destined to strip the artefacts of any living history that they might have had in the past and replace it with static scholarly history? He describes these unmoving, empty objects as "corpses in an ossuary", void of any actual experiential

content; leaving museums to become hollow containers for artefacts without any history or meaning behind them, "mere vessels of dead knowledge, of alienated contemplation" (Bennett 2005:42). However, not all museums are the petrifying graveyards to which Bennett likens them. With a well rounded knowledge of memory studies, human behaviour and history, museums can instead become institutions that hold objects of historical value and ensure the survival of their living memories and meanings.

Museums are not only responsible for the continuation of memory within their narratives; they are also responsible for the legitimisation of memory. Museums were traditionally spaces reserved for the informative pleasure of the upper class[9] and the exhibits were generally limited to the representation of history in the form of physical artefacts; this bestowed them with an uncontested air of truth that remains to this day. The authenticity of objects within museums is typically not challenged and the viewers rarely contemplate the curatorial process employed to create the exhibit. However, personal memory is a supremely subjective entity; each person has his or her own memories and versions of what was experienced or seen. Memory that has become physical memory, for example in the memorialisation of objects and creation of memorials, is equally subjective. It is almost impossible to create a museum display that is purely objective, as even a space void of objects is not without subjectivities or preconceptions. It is essential to remember that "everything one sees

[9] Museums were traditionally institutions of exclusion; catering almost solely to the upper classes and consequently ensuring that "few collections were accessible to the popular classes" (Bennett 1995:27). Museums were categorised by their exclusiveness, strict codes of behaviour, and steep entrance costs, positioning themselves and institutions of social control and propriety. Museums became democratised at the end of the 19th Century. However, this simply furthered the reach of their social control and extended the strict codes of behaviour to new classes. This democratisation, while serving to educate the wider public, also served to extend the scope of the values and ideals transmitted within these institutions.

in a museum is a production by somebody" (Patraka 2001:153). All the objects and spaces within a museum were created by an individual with their own biases and agendas and therefore nothing is completely free of subjectivity. David Flemming (2002:15) points out that what is collected cannot be separated from who did the collecting. Collections within museums reflect not only the constitution of society at large, but the constitution of the collectors and curators as well. Although, if, as I mentioned earlier, museum professionals are fully aware of their responsibilities and act accordingly, then their subjectivities will be kept in check. If museum curators are sensitive to their own biases then it is easier for them to be aware of what they pass on to their viewers.

Museums that specifically choose to exploit their perceived legitimacy by purposefully ignoring certain facts and perspectives and highlighting others are essentially giving standing to specific perspectives and ideologies. Many state-funded museums that operated during apartheid in South Africa often did just that; they publicised one train of thought while marginalising another, allowing certain subjectivities to become the subjectivities of the masses. The South African Museum in Cape Town had an ethnographic exhibition consisting of body casts depicting a group of KhoiSan people in what the museum termed to be their "natural environment" (Davison 1998:144). The exhibition, entitled the *Bushman Diorama*, was presented in an ethnographic display much like the type of display used to exhibit wildlife. The intention for the diorama was originally to be an ethnographic study of different races. However, after the establishment of apartheid in the mid 20th Century, this view of the KhoiSan people became less about scientific inquiry and much more obviously about racial stereotyping. This exhibition went a long way towards

legitimising the label of 'lesser species' that apartheid had attached to black people. In the next chapter I examine the subjectivities behind the *Bushman Diorama* as well as the role it played in South African museology. I investigate the reasoning behind the obvious subjectivity present in museums such as the South African Museum during apartheid.

It is not uncommon for museums in troubled or divided countries to side with the dominant power at the time as most museums and memorials are institutions funded by the state. They are then often used as instruments for the furthering of dominant propaganda and in effect denying the identities and heritage of groups that are already marginalised. Young argues (1993:2) that the monuments themselves are of little value and are "mere stones in the landscape". However once they become part of the country's heritage and history they are imbued with the power to claim their own truths and histories: legitimising "new distributional policies (affirmative action, including racial and gender quotas and preferences), new civil demeanour and discourse (political correctness), new interpretations of minority contributions to history, new heroes, new villains, new insights into [...] history" (Schwartz & Heinrich 2004:116). This exploitation of cultural institutions is not a new concept as controlling powers have often used museums as tools in what Huyssen (1995:16) refers to as a kind of "nationalist self-aggrandizement". They reinforce the status quo by providing people with just enough information and knowledge to sate their curiosity while at the same time ensuring that their social control remains uncontested.

In situations where this form of social control is being practiced there is often a group of marginalised people in the background who continue to be part of the undermined demographic. As explained above, governments utilise museums and memorials to ensure that the dominant powers and majority groups within their society are elevated and made out to be on the right side of the conflict. However, not all governments and political groups use these institutions to maintain their control. More recently there has been an influx in the awareness of the power and uses of these establishments to have a more positive influence over communities, such as the promotion of social inclusion. Mark O'Neill (2002:37) holds that "if social inclusion means anything, it means actively seeking out and removing barriers [and] acknowledging that people who have been left out for generations need additional support". The increase in social awareness caused by contemporary museums is a positive side effect of the constructive use of these institutions in all political and cultural aspects of society.

Today, in our overly politicised society, it is almost impossible to separate culture from politics and politics from culture. In Richard Sandell's (2002:8) view, museums and memorials are undeniably implicated in the fluctuation of inequality and power between different groups within a society through their role in the construction and circulation of the dominant ideologies. It follows then that the cultural and heritage sectors of a country will reflect any radical changes in the state ideologies and power dynamics. In such cases the heritage production and historical narratives are adjusted to correspond with the new power relations, popular aspirations and values. Gregory Ashworth's (2004:99) interpretation of this is that "a new past needs to be explicitly created to reflect and support the new present, whilst the old becomes at best irrelevant and at worst contradictory". The political facet of museums and memorials

is therefore highly influential as humanity places significance on the representations of these institutions.

Within these national cultural and memorial institutions, memory can be employed in the exploitation and control of key actors within local as well as international politics. It is acknowledged that the utilisation of memory within museological representations aimed at nation building in struggling countries must be done in a responsible manner. Memories can be easily appropriated to further political aims and strategies and "it is recognised that the way in which memories are exploited can be crucial in the construction of nationhood and in cultures of nationalism" (Edkins 2006:102). Museums and the memories within the museums can be used in both negative and positive lights. Steven Dubin (2006:33) asserts that the representations within museums transmit as well as validate the dominant state ideologies and that the people responsible for these representations are largely responsible for determining how society perceives its own identity and the way it's presented to the international community. It is therefore crucial that the players within this circle, and not only the curators but the people responsible for the transmission of certain ideologies within a society, must be aware of their responsibilities. In emerging economies like South Africa where the current ideologies emphasised by the government promote notions of justice, reconciliation, acceptance and peace, museums' role as conveyer of state principles is invaluable to the continuing construction of nationhood.

The beneficial influence of museums as tools of nation building and national reconciliation extends further than simply the government and the country's economic sector; museums have the potential to benefit the victims and survivors of traumatic

events and turbulent pasts. Museums that depict these tragic events must be aware of their potential for positive as well as negative change. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2006:40) is of the opinion that the "challenge for museums of the aggrieved is to set the record straight, convey the fullness of a people's historical experience and understanding, [and] deal with the degradation and dehumanisation to which they were subjected". When there are still living survivors museums must do this without perpetuating the pain, hardships and psychological damage that the victims have already endured. It must be done sensitively, succinctly and without prolonging any unnecessary suffering on the part of the survivor. Most importantly it must be done without inadvertently becoming a monument to the oppressor.

Museums of the aggrieved must ensure that their displays and narratives do not foster a culture of self-pity and victimology. A museum must be a place that allows for mourning and contemplation but must encourage growth away from this in the form of learning lessons from the past. In countries where the conflict occurred fairly recently there are often still issues with representations of the event, museums must ensure that their displays are accurate and conciliatory. Avishai Margalit (2002:5) writes that "memory breathes revenge as often as it breathes reconciliation". When an institution chooses to depict the trauma and violence in a certain light they should be careful that they do not depict negative imagery that is aimed at any particular group involved in the conflict. It is vital at this point to watch the subjectivities at play in a museum like this because often while the "state is ready and willing to express regret for past wrongs; the [...] citizen is decidedly unwilling to do so" (Schwartz & Heinrich 2004:117). Museums need to ensure that they do not only focus on certain groups involved in the conflict, to the exclusion of others. A successful museum of

trauma is one that ensures their subjectivities are in check and that all aspects of the event are dealt with clearly and fairly.

It is vital that museums that depict narratives of recent traumatic events are aware of the political aspects of the trauma and whether or not the key issues have been fully resolved. Cultural institutions must reflect contemporary as well as historical concerns as the events of the past still influence the present. Colvin (2006:164) emphasises that one of the major critiques about museums that depict traumatic histories is that they carry with them the implication that the suffering is over and that the narrator and the viewers are in a position to reflect on it. Unless the museum makes it clear that there are unresolved issued around the situation, viewers will often assume that it is in the past. South African museums that depict apartheid history must be especially careful not to create the sense that apartheid no longer affects the daily life of the South African population. In my study of the Apartheid Museum and the Red Location Museum I examine whether the narratives they convey to their viewers underscore the current political, economic, and social struggles of people living in South Africa.

2.3 *Lieux de Mémoire*: positioning the past in the present

Following the realisation that no space is without meaning or subjectivity, architects and curators have endeavoured to harness the meanings and subjectivities for the purpose of communicating them to their viewers. As mentioned in the first chapter of this thesis, Pierre Nora's theory of *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory) plays an important role in the study of museums and memorials. Nora's theory concentrates largely on museums and memorials that are site specific to certain major events in

history. However, it can also be applied to institutions that utilise their architecture and locations as memory triggers and key points in their exhibits. Many modern museums use their physical structures as part of their display in order to boost the effectiveness of the complete museum experience. Memory has always been associated with "spaces and places, whether material or merely symbolic" (Bartelson 2006:37), and by utilising space more efficiently and evocatively museum professionals have been able to communicate memory in new, more successful ways.

Landscape has always been a powerful memory trigger and Larry Ray (2006:143) charges that memorials, museums or monuments situate the imagined or remembered past into the current landscape, recreating scenes from the original space in order to evoke the feelings and memories that one would usually only feel at the original site of memory. These recreations have effectively replaced the original sites of memory as they are often the only remaining connection to spaces that no longer exist. Nora (1989:7) attests that these *milieux de mémoire* (real environments of memory) are an increasingly rare phenomenon in contemporary society. Museums and memorials have effectively replaced the *milieux de mémoire* by being able to produce an artificial *lieux de mémoire* within their structures. These constructed memorial spaces function in an almost identical way to the *milieux de mémoire*. As illustrated earlier in this chapter, museum spaces generate a type of knowledge about historical events that leaves their viewers with 'memories' of an event they never experienced and as a result, the museums and memorials become the viewers' original *lieux de mémoire*.

Just as museums and memorials are invaluable to reconciliation and nation building, so too are the prominent spaces, locations and other sites of memory within a country.

Societies often form strong attachments to the *lieux de mémoire* that form part of their country's memorial landscape as they help define national and cultural identity: "memory is linked to places, ruins, landscapes, monuments and urban architecture, which – as they are overlain with symbolic associations to past events – play an important role in helping to preserve group memory" (Misztal 2007:385). These sites are traditionally original sites of memory such as ancient churches and monuments; however it is also possible for museums and memorials to become central figures in a group's identity. This is especially true for previously disadvantaged or minority groups as they often do not have their own *lieux de mémoire* in their country.

These groups are not necessarily always ethnic or cultural groups; for example, veteran soldiers returning from Vietnam in the 1970s felt like outcasts and strangers in their own country. They experienced the distinct lack of any memorial outlet as abandonment by their country: "they had been betrayed, lied to, and abandoned. They had no chance to be Hollywood heroes; instead they had fought an ugly war, survived, and lost" (Hass 1998:7). In 1982, with the construction of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, DC, the survivors were given their own *lieux de mémoire*, a site where they were able to articulate their experiences into memory contained in a physical space. Kristin Hass (1998:10) described the site as a national memorial built to help the survivors reclaim a modicum of social standing and recognition within their country. The memories inscribed into the space have become valued by more than just the veterans; it is an important part of American collective memory. The memorial is a prominent memory site dedicated to the formal recognition of a minority group within society and the strengthening of national unity.

For countries and groups of individuals emerging from a traumatic period of social conflict or war, cultural institutions and sites of memory are an advantageous way to institute and strengthen new narratives and policies. They allow for the individuals within a group to feel part of something greater; they also allow for individual voices and personal narratives to be heard within the group. Marc Ross (2005:12) elaborates on the role of these institutions within recovering countries as spaces that draw attention to the experiences and narratives that have previously been silenced in an attempt to help other people make sense of their own experiences or loss, shame, and guilt. They serve as spaces for their viewers to grieve and mourn as well as to build upon their individual and group identity within the post-conflict period. They provide a way for people to make sense of what occurred during the conflict by rebuilding and reinforcing the post-conflict identity of the nation.

The identities of individuals as well as the identities of groups are constantly changing and fluid; no one person goes through life with a single static identity as our surroundings, culture and societies define who we are. The same can be said for memories. John Gillis (1994:3) argues that we are constantly changing our memories to fit in with and suit our current identities. Memories help us make sense of the world we live in and therefore they help us make more sense of our identities. National identity is something that is also dependant on changing circumstances and current events. In countries that are rebuilding their economy and sense of national identity after a major social or political conflict it is vital that the cultural and memorial landscape reinforce the positive state ideologies.

Typically when there is significant political change within a country, such as what happened in South Africa after apartheid ended, the cultural landscape shifts to mirror the new political values. When a regime changes the transition that occurs within the country's cultural and memorial landscape is not always an easy and peaceful one. Institutions can undergo dramatic change when there is a profound shift in ideology. Ross (2005:2) illustrates that the previously important sites of memory and group identity are transformed, appropriated, moved, ignored, or in a more extreme case, destroyed. Popularly known examples include the decapitation of statues after the French Revolution and the toppling and mutilation of monuments to Lenin and Stalin after the fall of the Soviet Union. The destruction of memorials that glorify the previous regime is however not the norm in all countries that undergo a change in their ideologies; South Africa is quite a striking exception to the rule. After apartheid there was no dramatic rush to disassemble monuments to the previous ruling power. Most monuments and memorials have either been imbued with new meanings or kept as a historical reminder of the atrocities that must never happen again.

The Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria exemplifies South Africa's decision to imbue many of the existing cultural institutions with new meanings, ideologies, and symbolism rather than destroy sites that had been part of the country's heritage for many years. The Voortrekker Monument [fig. 1] was an iconic Afrikaner heritage site both before and during apartheid. The construction of the monument coincided with the years leading up to Afrikaner nationalism gaining political power and growing in popularity, culminating in the election of the first apartheid government in 1948. Andrew Crampton (2001:224) charges that the monument, which is representative of the "heroic" Voortrekker journey into South Africa in the 1840s, became symbolic of

the apartheid government's ideals and values; it was "fundamental to the growth and mass popularity of the nationalist movement". Once South Africa became a democracy it was imperative that the cultural landscape reflected the political and social landscape.

The new government chose not to start anew but rather to embrace the existing history within South Africa. They did, however, make sure to give this history a spin in a more positive direction. Henriette Zaaiman (2007:3) remarks that the sustainability and reconciliatory role of the Voortrekker Monument was challenged. The inclusion of a heritage model that was based on ideals and notions of racial superiority and separation seemed impossible. However, Crampton (2001:244) asserts that for South Africa to be "properly post-apartheid", the past must be addressed through the democratic logic of inclusion. Zaaiman (2007:4) concludes that in the restructuring of a cultural heritage site it is most important not to isolate minority groups. The heritage portrayed within the monument represents a sector of South African history and culture that did not just disappear with the induction of the ANC. Through the urging of the Heritage Foundation,[10] the monument's curators changed certain aspects of the museum's content, adopted an a-political approach to memorialisation, introduced new ideals, and investigated the monument in a new light, transforming a building that once was a beacon for the apartheid government into an important part of South Africa's 'new' heritage. It is examples like these that show how imperative it is for

[10] The Heritage Foundation was established in September 2002 as the result of a growing awareness about the importance of the role of Afrikaner cultural heritage within the wider scale of South Africa's history and heritage. The foundation's role is to ensure that the conservation of Afrikaans culture occurs in a "planned, orderly, co-ordinated as well as a cost-effective way" (Zaaiman 2007:2). The Heritage Foundation is largely responsible for the shift in public perception and ideological change within the Voortrekker Monument.

memorial institutions and governments to work towards a common goal of unifying a country and its people.

Museums all over the world and, more specifically to this study, in South Africa, are at a crucial point in their history where they are becoming more aware of their pivotal role in society as tools for political and social change. Largely due to the increased interest in areas of study like memory theory and museological representation, the influence that museums and memorials have over their viewers has extended to areas beyond the realm of viewers simply being fascinated by the exhibits. These institutions are tackling increasingly relevant social issues like racism, poor health care, crime, unemployment and other forms of discrimination. They have a lot more responsibility with regards to ensuring that their content is representative of positive values and ideals and that they maintain a high level of social awareness. Museums must understand their own methods as well as the internal workings of the societies they find themselves in. They must at all times be self aware and self-reflexive of everything that is exhibited within their establishment, for if museums are to have any kind of social consciousness, they must first have a high degree of self-consciousness. When observing museums and memorials, it becomes apparent that the most successful ones are those which have succeeded in increasing their general knowledge base as well as their knowledge on the methodologies and techniques involved in the process of memorialisation.

Due to their intimate connection with memory and memory studies, museums and memorials are realising ways to become increasingly effective in their position as the major source of preservation and creation of collective memory. In many countries

with unstable political backgrounds, museums and memorials have played a prominent role, whether as active co-conspirators, reluctant bystanders or even just as daily reminders of the traumatic past. Largely because of the turbulent cultural history in the country, South African museums have had to make a concerted movement towards shedding their reputation as transmitters of propaganda and regain their status as nation building tools. In the next chapter of this thesis I investigate the history of South African museums and memorials and the roles they play in reinforcing national identity and collective memory in both the past and present. By utilising the solid foundation for the understanding of how and why museums function within society that this chapter provides, I examine the way these institutions operate within a South African context, both during and after apartheid.

Figure 1: Gross, E. 2007. Voortrekker Monument. [Electronic Print] http://www.fredericksburg.com/blogs/view?blogger_id=25&p=1180697190 [19 November 2010].

Chapter 3

Memorialisation in South Africa

3.1 A historical perspective on South African memorialisation

Despite the fact that South Africa is approaching twenty years of democracy and freedom, the country's current climate of memorialisation is still one of turmoil, distrust and discrimination. Museums have found that it is not easy to shed the legacy of the past. Cultural institutions like museums were so ingrained within the apartheid regime that not only have they struggled to reinvent their image, but the populace still vividly remembers the previous indiscretions museums committed at the behest of the National Party government. Today, while most museums have managed to overcome almost all of the preconceived ideas about their role in society, there are still underlying issues which threaten to undermine and disrupt the delicate harmony that museums and the memorial culture in South Africa is currently resting upon. So far, the previous chapters of this thesis have dealt specifically with museums and memorialisation on a broader level, creating a foundation of understanding for the in-depth study of memorialisation in South African Museums. In this chapter I investigate the history and role of cultural institutions in a South African context.

Memorialisation in South Africa has become a prevalent issue in scholarly debate in the last two decades. Since the end of apartheid South African citizens as well as museum professionals have been re-evaluating what they know about the responsibilities of museums in society as well as the link between memory and trauma and their role in reconciliation. Many of these preconceptions have had to be re-examined after the fall of the apartheid regime. Marc Ross (2005:1) contends that

during apartheid, "whites, and especially Afrikaners, dominated the country's symbolic space as much as it dominated the politics". As the subject matter exhibited by the majority of the museums was dictated by the dominant parties, museum spaces soon became prominent tools of apartheid propaganda. As institutions of standing within the community, their methodologies were not questioned until the cracks within the apartheid regime started to form. Patricia Davison (1998:149) notes that "until the 1980s, little criticism of museums emerged from local sources". However, the content of these museums as well as their methods of display and curatorial processes only came under real scrutiny for the first time in the early nineties. Many scholars and artists in South Africa began publishing papers on the misuse and apparent subjectivities within museums in the country. Pippa Skotnes, creator and curator of the Iziko South African National Gallery exhibition entitled *Miscast: Negotiating Khoisan History and Material Culture* (1996), and Charisse Levitz, author of "Transformation of Museums in South Africa" (1996), are just two examples of scholars who questioned the credibility of South African museums shortly after the end of apartheid.

Once freed from the confines of an oppressive government, museum professionals sought to change the reputation that museums had acquired by increasing social and community awareness within their institutions. During apartheid the modus operandi of most museums was a kind of 'out of sight, out of mindedness'. While officially it was the government putting restrictions on the cultural sector of South Africa, the museums and other cultural institutions did not challenge it. One of the aims of this investigation is to gain a clearer understanding of the social/ socio-political history behind museums in South Africa. Through scrutinising how museums operated during

apartheid and the political rules and social restrictions placed on them, I provide a foundation for the investigation of museums in the post-apartheid years. I explore the methods employed to aid in the implementation of change in museums in the years immediately following the installation of the ANC as the democratic government in South Africa. This study also focuses on the way in which museums have not only managed to change their own public image, but are also helping South Africans to regain their pride in their cultural heritage. Museums have managed to reposition themselves from the static, totalitarian institutions they were perceived as during apartheid, to cultural institutions that involve themselves in all facets of the cultural heritage of this country.

The history of museums and cultural institutions in South Africa is a turbulent one, and has always been intimately linked to the political climate at the time. The cultural capital of a country is typically an accurate representation of the deeper social and political conflicts at play. Christopher Saunders (2007:185) asserts that the names of public places and the content of the museums and memorials are true reflections of the power dynamics within any society, and in South Africa, they were products of a colonial past ruled by a settler elite. Museums and memorials are a Western and European construct and as such were introduced to Africa only after the settlers arrived. Most, if not all, of the early museums and monuments were tributes to colonisation. The mindset of the majority of white people living in South Africa was one of 'Africans as other', and the cultural capital of the country reinforced this idea as well. The political climate of this time was one of separation, colonial values and supremacy. While the museums of the time were never directly involved in politics, they were hugely influenced by the ideologies and subjectivities of the governing

powers. The curators and museum professionals exhibited the truth as they perceived it, which at that point in time was one of white superiority and domination.

Due to the sway museums had in the community, they easily became effective propaganda tools for the apartheid government. Steven Dubin (2006:33) demonstrates how, specifically in regard to Africa, colonial exhibitions and anthropology museums and other institutions created specifically for 19th Century British audiences were complicit in the imperialist programme of establishing one group's superiority at the expense of others. More distinctly in South Africa, certain cultures were portrayed as being superior to others. Black culture, according to Levitz (1996), was only dealt with in ethnographic or anthropology museums; history museums were reserved as the domain of white history and culture. The tactics employed regarding the selection of objects for display and the manner in which they were displayed reflected the paternalistic and patronising behaviour of the ruling elite. Museums chose to single out the primitive aspects of African history, ignoring modern history, thereby reinforcing racial stereotypes. Museums were affirming the falsehoods that the government was trying to pass off as the truth, that white people were superior to every other race.

Natural history, cultural history, natural science, and art museums were the major culprits of transmitting apartheid ideology. The colonial legacy was felt most acutely in the art galleries and museums because of the traditionally colonial subject matter that most of the displayed artworks and objects portrayed. Art that strayed off the pre-approved path and challenged the accepted dogma was not allowed into official institutions and in extreme cases, banned. The apartheid legacy was most apparent in

the natural history, cultural history, and natural science museums. The content in these kinds of institutions is predominantly accepted as truth and this allowed for easy transfer of the official version of history to the masses. The curators wove the approved subjectivities into the narratives that were then transmitted to the predominantly white audiences.

During apartheid any museum that did not accord to government standards and traditions was not allowed to continue operating as a public forum. Museums that were primarily or entirely funded by the government ran the risk of losing their funding if they did not follow the imposed standards and restrictions to the letter. Privately funded museums were shut down if they attempted to depict anything that was not according to government criterion. The level of control did not stop at the content of a museum, monument or other cultural institution; the workers inside a museum were predominantly white, with the exception of the service staff. During apartheid the responsibilities of the decision making fell almost exclusively into the domain of white people. "Non-white" people were not employed in positions that held any responsibility towards the museum or exhibitions: "the past constraints on who could work in museums helped guarantee that only certain perspectives would be aired" (Dubin 2006:6). However, the lack of any influence beyond that of the white museum workers was not only because of the restrictions on where people of "non-white" races could work, there was a serious deficit in the education provided for people the government deemed to be lesser. Dubin (2006:6) emphasises that "few non-whites had the relevant information, interest, leisure time, or cultural capital to facilitate crossing those portals". Museums were the realms of the educated, and in apartheid South Africa, that typically meant white people.

After apartheid ended museums made a concerted effort to include people from all the different cultures and races within South Africa. In order to move on from a troubled past and towards a future of freedom and inclusion, museums needed to become relevant to all the different communities in the country. To the credit of the museums, many of them drastically changed any policies or content that had been influenced in any way by apartheid ideologies. However, Dubin (2006:48) highlights the fact that black people continue to use adjectives like alien, irrelevant, unfamiliar and peripheral to describe the relationship their communities have with these institutions. It was never just going to be a case of opening the doors one morning and allowing people of all races to enter. David Flemming (2002:213) charges that museums are not typically positioned to contribute to social inclusion for four reasons: "who has run them; what they contain; the way they have been run; and what they have been perceived to be for – to put this last reason another way, for whom they have been run". Because of this age old typecasting of museums, especially in countries with a difficult political background, when they make an attempt at social inclusion and reconciliation it often takes many years before they can shed the stigma of being political tools of negative propaganda.

On the day that the Robben Island Museum opened in 1997, Nelson Mandela delivered the inaugural speech, addressing the public about the state of the country's museums. This speech is remembered as Mandela's criticism of South African museum culture: "he spoke about how unrepresentative such South African places had been in the past, labelling them 'alien spaces' where people had been narrowly stereotyped, and history had been edited with a heavy hand" (Dubin 2006:156).

Mandela (1997) openly flogged the museums of the old South Africa; he demanded that museums catch up with the times, reflect democratic ideals and the experiences of the bulk of the population, and not simply focus on a privileged few. Mandela argued that it was not surprising that the country's museums and national monuments are often seen as alien spaces as only three percent of them did not represent the kind of heritage that glorified white colonial history and even within the three percent that did represent black history, that history was laden with racist stereotypes, essentially contributing to the exclusion and marginalisation of the majority of South Africans for many years. It is a widely held belief that the strategies employed by many South African museums and memorials contributed greatly to the subjugation, marginalisation and negative stereotyping of "non-white" people in this country.

In April of 1996 the exhibition titled *Miscast: Negotiating Khoisan History and Material Culture* opened in the Iziko South African National Gallery. It is to this day still considered to be one of the most controversial comments on the representation of African history in a museum. It was one of the first major moves towards creating awareness about the need to address the exclusionary practices of South African museums. The exhibition, curated by Pippa Skotnes, was a thorough investigation and harsh comment on the representation of the African body in South African ethnographic museums, more specifically the *Bushman Diorama* [fig. 2] in the South African Museum in Cape Town. In the years between 1908 and 1912, James Drury, the museum's modeller, caster and taxidermist, created a series of body casts from impoverished farm workers and prisoners in the Western Cape. It was done with the intention "of studying 'pure' racial types" (Rostron 2001). The figures were incredibly lifelike because they were not just sculptures but instead actual casts from

the bodies of the subjects. It is museological faux pas like the casting of Khoisan bodies that still haunt the histories of many South African museums today. [11]

While James Drury's intentions for the body casts might have been those of an anthropological nature, it was not always the way the casts were understood. In 1960 the body casts were repurposed for use in one of the museum's natural history exhibitions. The *Bushman Diorama* was very well received by the South African Museum's visitors and remained part of the permanent collection for over forty years as one of the most popular exhibits. The exhibition consisted of a selection of thirteen of the realistically painted body casts posed in a setting that evoked "memories of a past way of life, of bush craft and survival skills" (Davison 1998:144). They were positioned as if just going about their normal business, some even in hunting poses [fig. 3]. The diorama was cast in an imaginary idealised desert-like scene. When the casts were made the Khoisan people in South Africa no longer lived in the circumstances depicted by the diorama many years later. The diorama chose to depict the figures mostly naked with just their traditional animal skin aprons and loin-coverings, "as examples of a primitive race" (Davison 1998:144). This stereotyped scene gave credence to the already ingrained ideas of African people almost being a different species, specifically bush people. Educators that brought young children to

[11] The representation of African bodies in museums does not stop at casts; South African museums have been known to house the human remains of Khoisan people in their collections. Bryan Rostron (2001) argues that the revelation that many of these museums have hundred of San skeletons buried away in back rooms is one of the greatest embarrassments to contemporary memorialisation practices. Occasionally in the 1900s, science was used as a justification for the exhumation of bodies within weeks of burial. However, the acquisition and preservation of human remains is not a phenomenon unique to South African museums. The British Museum of Natural History has a collection of dried 'bushmen' heads. Skotnes (1996:19) explains that "the flesh of each head has been preserved, the skin of the neck cut and wrapped under the jaw, the hair disguising at the back the stitched scalp which was cut apart to remove and clean the skull". The museum has never exhibited these heads to the public before, and they do not allow any form of documentation of the heads, photographic or drawn. While being reluctant to draw too much attention to the dried heads in their possession the museum is insistent that they were and still are in the collection for purely anthropological and ethnographic reasons.

the museum used this diorama to emphasise racial differences. The exhibition reinforced the otherness that the government relied on to maintain its policies of racial segregation.

The museum was chiefly concerned with natural history, palaeontology, entomology, ornithology and marine biology, but it also had important archaeological and ethnological departments. However, the biggest problem in terms of the cultural sensitivity of the museum was in the 1960s when the South African Museum's European collection was relocated to the Cultural History Museum. The problem with the relocation was that the *Bushman Diorama* remained behind with the rest of the natural history collection, "alongside exhibits of stuffed animals and birds" (Rostron 2001). The dilemma was not that a display containing images of human beings was grouped alongside natural history and animals in the museum; it was that only the display containing images of the stereotyped otherness was left behind in amongst the natural history displays, suggesting that the San were being portrayed as a form of wildlife. In spite of all the evidence to the contrary the South African Museum and many other state-funded museums in South Africa continued to assert that "they occupied a neutral zone where knowledge was generated and communicated to the public" (Davison 1998:149). Despite the fact that the diorama was the South African Museum's most popular exhibit, in 2001, long after institutionalised apartheid had come to an end, the body casts were removed from public display for what Leslie Witz (2006:121) termed, "reasons of political correctness".

In 1996 when Pippa Skotnes unveiled her *Miscast* exhibition to the public at the Iziko South African National Gallery; it drew enormous amounts of international as well as

local attention to the *Bushman Diorama* that was still on display in the adjacent museum. According to Davison (1998:145), Skotnes' intentions were to "interrogate, in visual form, the historical relationships that gave rise to the misconceptions surrounding the people that outsiders had collectively labelled 'Bushmen'". The exhibition provided a public forum for the investigation and discussion of the volatile politics of display and official representations of African bodies in South African museums. The exhibition employed similar imagery to that of the diorama but by changing the context, Skotnes drew focus away from the images as representations of 'primitive natives', and instead highlighted the act of viewing. Sidney Kasfir (1997:6) is of the opinion that one of the most shocking tactics that Skotnes employed was that of placing a montage of photographs and news articles on the floor of one room in the gallery [fig. 4]. The audience was forced to walk over the images, immediately setting them on edge and making them complicit in the literal 'walking all over' of the Khoisan people. Many of the exhibition's critics felt that this was a particularly poor curatorial decision on Skotnes' part.

People of Khoisan heritage felt that the exhibition was perhaps even worse than the diorama because of the way Skotnes depicted the Khoisan people as victims. One critic compared the exhibition to the *Bushman Diorama* very negatively, stating that the diorama did not degrade the Khoisan people, whereas the exhibition did exactly that. Kasfir (1997:8) comments on the diorama's treatment of the Khoisan figures:

> The Bushman is not depicted as a Victim – not hung, starved, emasculated, or decapitated. Although the figures in the diorama are scantily clad compared with Boer standards of dress at the time, they are not nude and do not violate San norms of representation. Instead they are dressed traditionally, transfixed in a timeless past in which one hunter raises his arrow to the sky, and a mature woman stands near a cooking fire.

Many people viewing Skotnes' exhibition were of the distinct opinion that the *Bushman Diorama* was not at all derogatory to the Khoisan people. Many of the same viewers were vehemently opposed to Skotnes' treatment of the images of the Khoisan and the representation of the body casts as objects on the wall of the gallery. They also felt that the exhibition reaffirmed the Khoisan's place in history as a conquered people, the "archetypal victims" (Lane 1996:9). The exhibition was envisioned as a critical analysis of the South African Museum's treatment of Khoisan representation in museums. Skotnes' unconventional approach was however not well received by a South African audience. The public's response to *Miscast* was and to a large degree is still indicative of the acute disconnection between ideology and reality in South Africa's cultural and heritage sectors. Marilyn Martin (2006:33), the director of the Iziko South African National Gallery at the time of the *Miscast* exhibition, argues that the exhibition should be seen in context with the transformation of the institutions. The gallery was in the process of reassessing every little detail of its function and displays against the needs and requirements of a changing South Africa. The exhibition served as a reminder of the need to recognise and preserve San rock art as an important part of South Africa's heritage, while raising awareness of the conditions, aspirations and interests of the Khoisan descendants currently living in Southern Africa. A re-evaluation of the country's representational politics was necessary at the time of *Miscast's* opening.

While Skotnes' exhibition sparked intense debate in the local and international communities about the success of attempting to create a representation of a representation, the motives behind it were that of instigating social change within

museums in South Africa. Through the urging of the ANC government, many of the existing cultural institutions spent vast amounts of time and money on re-evaluating and remaking their image as well as the contents of their establishments to conform to the new governmental mandate of inclusion and heritage production. The task of becoming institutions devoted to the accurate and fair representation of South African history and heritage was a difficult but not impossible one. The methods of heritage production and the ingrained ideologies that had been left behind by apartheid needed to be addressed and replaced with a new way of seeing the role of museums in the country's cultural and memorial landscape. Dubin (2006:209) sums up the country's cultural dilemma with his argument that "museums of every sort, size, and location in South Africa are themselves engaged in a momentous struggle these days, to redefine and reposition themselves so that they can adapt to and thrive within a changing social and political environment". The arguments and examples I make use of in this chapter illustrate the methods employed by museums as well as by the government in their goal to "redefine and reposition" South Africa's cultural sector in a more inclusive, free and democratic 21st Century.

3.2 South Africa's 'new' heritage

In the mid 1990s when South Africa became a democracy there was a pressing need for a re-evaluation of the heritage and cultural facets of the country. The country was in the midst of dealing with the atrocious legacies left behind by both apartheid and colonialism and the people that had previously been disregarded, marginalised and silenced by apartheid felt that they deserved an equal share in the history and heritage of South Africa. The cultural institutions operating under the rule of the apartheid

government neither acknowledged nor gave any credence to the cultures of the marginalised peoples living in the country as part of South Africa's rich heritage. Once the reality of the discrimination within these institutions was accepted and brought to light, the museums and memorials started to change for the better. There was an acute sense of urgency with regard to the revamping of museums in order to ensure the successful recovery of lost memories as well as the transferral of heritage and history to the new generations. It was vital that the truth about the events of apartheid as well as the reasons behind it became widely known. It was less a case of assigning blame and more a case of guaranteeing that no one was left out of the official record of the country's history. The new goals for museums were to focus on social inclusion, present a fair and broad account of the country's heritage and history, and to attempt to reconcile the many different accounts of what had happened during apartheid. Museums were also tasked with the role of ensuring that the representations of history during apartheid were reconciled with the representations of post-apartheid South Africa.

The country's political move from apartheid into the new democratic South Africa was remarkably peaceful and without incident. This manifested itself in the treatment of the monuments to the old regime. After 1994, South Africa was left with an assortment of museums, memorials and monuments that glorified apartheid and chronicled a traumatic and restrictive past. This history had to be dealt with in some way; it could not just be swept aside and ignored as it was still an important part of the country's past. As illustrated in the second chapter, many countries that emerge from a difficult political past often demolish monuments to the old government. This however was not the case in South Africa. Admittedly in the more recent years, the

government has been undertaking the renaming of towns, streets and important buildings in the country, but none of the statues or buildings were ever toppled in violence or retaliation when the old government collapsed. Dubin (2006:169) observes that while the monument itself was not dismantled, its ideological foundations have been profoundly deconstructed through a thorough interrogation and examination of the subjectivities and knowledge left behind by the apartheid administration. Curators and other museum professionals employed museological and curatorial strategies that highlight the importance of tolerance and social and racial equality. In effect, academics have succeeded where demolition crews were held at bay. It was vital that these institutions were repositioned in ways that emphasised them as part of South Africa's heritage and downplayed the apartheid legacy they contained. Much like the remarkable change in the Voortrekker Monument described in the previous chapter, many of South Africa's museums underwent a profound ideological shift and are now places of inclusion and education about the rich cultural heritage of this country.

The same institutions that once encouraged racial segregation and the promotion of one race above another are now examples of what the ANC encouraged in all sectors of South Africa after apartheid ended – social change. Dubin (2006:3) observes that scholars as well as politicians have all urged museum professionals to transform their institutions into instruments of social change. Most of the museums in South Africa have succeeded in changing their own image as well as, to a large degree, the reception of cultural heritage within the country. By focusing on the potential for good in the country and not only emphasising the negative and traumatic memories, museums have become institutions that encourage constructive change and growth.

Largely due to many of these institutions refusing to resort to finger pointing and negative commentary of the country's past, South Africa was propelled into the future through healthy debate and settlements, not revolution.

In 1996 the government – more specifically, the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology – issued a White Paper entitled *Arts, Culture and Heritage: All Our Legacies, Our Common Future* that catalogued the official position on the intended change in South Africa's cultural and heritage sectors. State-funded museums were encouraged "to redirect their outputs to new activities which reflect the overall goals of the Government" (Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology 1996), reinforcing the new state ideologies. The document highlights the need to correct the long standing racial and gender imbalances and to aid in "the emergence of shared cultural identity constituted by diversity" (DACST 1996). It is made overtly clear in the White Paper that arts, heritage and culture were also affected by the maldistribution of resources and skills and cannot be an exception in the transformation process. "In fact, given that the arts are premised on freedom of expression and critical thought, transformation in this area is crucial to empowering creative voices throughout the country, and is thus integral to the success of the democratic project" (DACST 1996). The government encouraged a sense of pride and knowledge of the diverse heritage and cultures that are prevalent throughout the country. There was also an underlying economic reason for the drive to depict a unified South Africa in the narratives presented to the rest of the world. The increase in tourism not only has the potential to help stabilise the economic situation, but also potentially contributes to the development of the poorer communities and locations in

the country. This was the message that the White Paper reiterated throughout all of its chapters.

As part of the requisite change outlined by the ANC in their White Paper on arts and culture, the Legacy Project was initiated. The project was a governmentally funded enterprise that was started with the express purpose of ensuring adequate change in cultural institutions and places of heritage production. Dubin (2006:3) illustrates that the Legacy Project was envisioned as an enterprise devoted to broadening the scope of cultural representation through the endowment of national funds to new museums, memorials, and monuments in South Africa. The ANC put together a handful of different initiatives like the Legacy Project to help the cultural sector become more inclusive, comprehensive and socially aware. With the encouragement of the new leadership behind them many of the museums sought to create a new all-encompassing South African history, one that was not fraught with racial stereotypes and boundaries. However, the process of transformation was not as simple as merely changing what they displayed on their walls; museums had to completely change the way they looked at history and the ingrained ideologies that the apartheid regime had left them with. They were "challenged to actively confront past iniquities, increase their standards of museology and conduct research programmes that are closely related to educational programmes" (Levitz 1996). Anthropologist Lynn Meskell (2006:158) argues that because of South Africa's turbulent relationship with its colonial past, the inherent changes that needed to be actualised had to involve the reconsideration and rewriting of the prediscursive linkage between memory, trauma and empowerment. For there to be any real change all the stale conclusions and ideas had to undergo exhaustive reinvestigation and scrutiny. The notions about what

museums are as well as their place in society, specifically the heritage sector, had to be interrogated and approached from an entirely different angle. Arguably, any transformation would have to start with intense critical reflection, from within as well as outside of the museum profession.

As a result of this critical reinvestigation, the face of cultural institutions and memorialisation in South Africa was fundamentally changed. Museums and memorials were actively facilitating the unearthing of the rich cultural legacy that had been marginalised during apartheid. They were becoming conscientious institutions that addressed the issues that the "older establishments either ignored in the past, or presented through a narrowly focused lens" (Dubin 2006:183). New job openings, more comprehensive educational prospects, and equal opportunities for all South African citizens in the cultural sector suddenly started presenting themselves. The change in museums and memorials did not only benefit the country in terms of ensuring that memorialisation and historical representations were accurate and non-discriminate, it also benefited the everyday person living in South Africa. The new constitution and the new government represent freedom and equality for all, and as a direct result, the cultural, memorial, and historical institutions are striving to ensure that these ideals are mirrored through their establishments.

Although this investigation is centred on the post-apartheid transformation in South Africa specifically in relation to museums and memorials, it is necessary to remember that the cultural changes that needed to be facilitated were not the main focus of the government at the time. While heritage was an important aspect of creating the 'New South Africa', there were much more pressing issues that took preference to the

cultural aspect. The change in museums, whether they were private or governmentally funded institutions, required immense financial backing. The heritage promotion initiatives put in place by the government provided some funds for this move but they were severely limited. Through the promise of financial aid, museums were presented with the incentive to become successful post-apartheid establishments and as Davison (1998:149) points out "funding is a powerful agent of change, and it [was] made clear that financial support [would] be awarded to those heritage projects that contributed to transforming national consciousness". To overcome the funding problems many museums were forced to collaborate with other government initiatives and even other cultural projects like art exhibitions that would bring in other sources of funding. Because of the inadequate resources available due to the economic state of the country both now and in the years directly after apartheid ended, "the cultural sector is [often] forced to piggyback upon larger animals that devour substantial portions of the national budget" (Dubin 2006:228). While funding was certainly a large part of the motivation for museums to change, it was certainly not the only part, nor the biggest.

The need to reconcile the previously disenfranchised with the cultural legacy that they had been denied was one of the main driving factors in the early years of post-apartheid South Africa. Nelson Mandela (1997) strongly believes that through constant interaction and exposure to the diverse heritage of this country that museums and memorials reinforce within their walls, the attachment to human rights, mutual respect and democracy strengthens. With the strengthening of these values the possibility of their being violated again diminishes. One of the most distinct moves that museums have made towards the inclusion of people from all the different

cultural backgrounds is the targeting of new audiences. Practical steps have been taken to include people from previously ignored demographics into their cultural programmes and hopefully as regular visitors to museums. According to Davison (1998:151), "a number of museums targeted new audiences among previously disadvantaged communities and employed black education officers in their outreach programmes". Many museums not only reached out to a different viewer group but also employed people classified as "previously disadvantaged". Much of this often comes across as a superficial attempt at social inclusion, as simply giving someone a job does not lend itself to serious transformation. However, for change to be permanent it has to be gradual. Suddenly exposing a community of underprivileged people who have never been inside a cultural institution before to a museum will most likely do nothing more than confuse or patronise them. Largely due to apartheid's racial segregation and exclusion of non-white people from these typically Western establishments, the most common visitors to museums in the years after apartheid were still upper middle class white people.

The addition of previously disadvantaged people to the permanent staff of a museum in positions of responsibility went a long way towards opening museums up to a broader spectrum of South Africans. After Robben Island Museum opened, the museum hired ex-prisoners who had served time at Robben Island to be tour guides for the public. The reasoning behind this was to allow for a more authentic experience when visiting the site, instead of being told about the museum by someone who had read about it in a book. It was generally believed that it provided a more solid connection to the community as well, encouraging interest in those who would normally not visit museums or heritage sites. Many of these museums also facilitated

outreach and education programmes, reaching out to the impoverished. These both required and allowed museum staff to "examine previously overlooked sources, sound out sectors of the population whose voices have not been heard, and gain experience in fields beyond their original training" (Dubin 2006:233). By expanding the focus and horizons of their museums, museum professionals were developing the cultural experience and knowledge of the communities they interacted with. These new museums were working towards "broaden[ing] their narrow focus by reflecting more than European history and experience, and to envision the future, rather than merely chronicle a partial past" (Dubin 2006:3). Through the inclusion of the diverse and rich heritage within the country, museums and memorials are cultivating a memorial culture unique to South Africa.

South African memorialisation and museum practices became a heated issue in scholarly debate after the establishment of democracy. Many argue that there are some things better left forgotten, such as the brutality committed against South African citizens in the name of the government. Largely because of arguments like this, memorialisation is a sensitive issue in this country, as is the case with most places that have just emerged from violent social and political conflict. Meskell (2006:158) suggests that "at this unique juncture, the category of memory is being reworded in South Africa, as many of the political and cultural elite urge their fellow citizens to forget the past and look forward to a new future". Essentially, she contends that there is often a state-sanctioned readiness to suspend disbelief at the atrocities committed and instead try and concentrate on moving forward and healing the nation. However, forgetting the past is not always the encouraged path. Some would argue that the memorialisation of tragedy and suffering helps promote a culture of self-pity,

while others argue that it is a celebration of the struggle to overcome the past and the institution of freedom and equality. Nelson Mandela (1997) urged South African citizens to remember the past and honour their heritage. The TRC in South Africa was founded in 1995 with the intention of uncovering the truth of what happened during apartheid and using this knowledge as a healing mechanism to help people move past the trauma and reconcile.

The representation of trauma in a country with a turbulent political history is often marked by forgetting and disassociation and as a result this puts "pressure on conventional forms of documentation, representation and commemoration, giving rise to new genres of expression, such as testimony and new forms of monuments, rituals and performances" (Meskell 2006:161). When South Africa actively started dealing with the aftermath of apartheid there was a need for new modes of memorialisation to accurately depict and document the truth of what had happened. The TRC was the very successful solution to this dilemma and it was the necessary next step towards the continuing stability of the nation. The TRC sought to create a new shared memory by gathering individual memory and storing it in the archives of national memory. It was set up to investigate the gross human rights violations that took place during apartheid and to produce and reinforce a common national history, one that was agreed upon by the majority of the population. It took on the difficult task of giving official recognition to a very ugly past and helping people use the knowledge and truths to reconcile and move forward. The methods that the TRC employed were exercised for the precise purpose of what Christopher Colvin (2006:155) describes as "open[ing] the wounds [...] in order to cleanse them, to deal with the past effectively, and close the door on that dark and horrendous past forever". It is popularly believed

that only by facing the horrors that lie in the past will people be able to move on. Larry Ray (2006:146) believes that this kind of open and reflexive discourse allows people to confront the complexities and ambiguities of the past in a way that diffuses violent emotions and enables reconciliation between antagonists. This was the goal behind the formation of the TRC and the tenets that it strove to uphold.

While the memorialisation of apartheid is encouraged on a larger national scale, personal traumatic memory is often something that needs to be confronted and reconciled. The TRC's motivations were that of enabling personal memory to be absorbed into the collective memory through the public confrontation of the personal traumas left behind by apartheid. The collective memory that has formed in the minds of all South Africans is reinforced by museums and memorials in the hopes of preventing a tragedy like apartheid from ever happening again.[12] Many of the new museums, memorial or otherwise, emerging from the hypothetical ashes of apartheid, encourage people to be fully aware of the turbulent history of this country and use it as a stepping stone into the new democratic future. For many of these institutions, their raison d'être is to educate people about the truth of what happened in South Africa between 1948 and 1994 and keep this memory alive in the population long afterward. In doing so, they hope to prevent any further discrimination on the grounds of racial superiority or any other kind of narrow-minded behaviour. While fulfilling the directive of educating the public and preserving the past, they also become a

[12] South Africa had the first televised Truth and Reconciliation Commission in history; the hearings were broadcasted across the country to anyone with a television. One of the greatest after-effects of the TRC having such a broad reach was that it affected more than just the people directly involved in the process. Many people believe that the TRC aided in social reconciliation by connecting people. Allowing people to discover a new bond of shared experience they would not normally reveal to just anyone. It also added a substantial amount of history and knowledge to the country's collective memory banks. The information gathered at the hearings and the documentary collections are openly available to anyone to look through. The main objective was that the reconciliation would not just be surface level and that it would be aimed at the everyday person living in South Africa.

warning for future generations, 'look at what we did, and this is what happened'. By doing this, they reinforce memorial museums' unofficial mandate of 'never again'.

Memory and memorialisation has played a key role in the reconstitution of South Africa, specifically with regard to the restoration of harmony and the reconciliation necessary for people to move forward. Memory is what keeps history alive; it allows us to revisit personal moments in time or larger influential events that shaped our world, like wars and genocide. Karin Fierke (2006:130) argues that in denying the pastness of objects, memory insists on their continuing presence. It keeps society from losing touch with their history and their heritage. Memory is also an integral part of the strategy that museums and other institutions of cultural significance employ to present their content to the public. It provides the platform for museums to interact with their viewers through the use of memory triggers and historic imagery.

In history museums the 'critical actors' are usually deceased, and it is then the museum's responsibility to "perform acts of reinterpretation to make meaning and memory. To some degree, then, the usual museum situation [...] is exploited to underscore the absence to be read in the presence of objects that stand for the violent loss of which they are only the remains" (Patraka 2001:153). Objects and images become representational of past events and people, becoming tools that reinforce collective memory. Without collective memory museums would have little to no common ground in which to communicate their narratives without resorting to giving every single piece of information about the subject matter and resulting in what is commonly termed a 'book on the wall' situation. With regards to the memorialisation of the atrocities of apartheid, collective memory ensures that the images and text on

the walls of the museums have a heart wrenching effect on the South Africans that view it. The museums that act as the storehouses, or rather the triggers, of the collective memory are ensuring that it will not be easily forgotten and will keep the horrors of what happened in South Africa only a few years ago alive in the minds of anyone who enters the museums. The ANC has always promoted a very public memorial culture around apartheid in South Africa. Ever since the demise of institutionalised apartheid, prominent political and social figureheads have encouraged people to remember the past, the good as well as the bad. Memorialisation and memory played a key role in the peaceful transition from totalitarian state to democracy.

Memory is a subjective entity that can be appropriated to suit the needs of those who know how to use it. In the years following the end of apartheid it has been put to the task of aiding in reconciliation and the restoration of justice. Judy Barsalou and Victoria Baxter (2007:4) hold that through selective representations and memorialisation, "the past can be reinterpreted to address a wide range of political or social needs; recasting 'subversives' as martyrs or innocent victims, or consolidating a new national identity, such as the transformation of South Africa from apartheid state to 'Rainbow Nation'". South Africa utilises memory to reinvent itself through the rewriting and reinterpretation of its history. However, during apartheid, memory was often employed as a way to reinforce the apartheid government's political agenda. The government censored the open depiction of certain memories and knowledge, only allowing people access to selected information. Only certain collective memory was encouraged while the rest was actively repressed or downplayed. As a result of this misuse of public representation there needed to be a careful balance between

which histories and memories were brought forward to the public eye and what was to be given less emphasis in the 'new' version of South Africa's history; there has been a large emphasis placed on ensuring the objective portrayal of South Africa's past.

In relation to the representation of apartheid in museums in post-apartheid South Africa, Marc Ross (2005:1) expresses concern about the 'new' version of history told in museums. He questions the validity of the emerging narratives that support the construction of a new nation and the confrontation of the collective trauma of apartheid. After over fifteen years of being a democratic country, South Africa still finds itself struggling with issues of accurate and objective representation and inclusion in its institutions. While museums have mostly managed to change their image into a positive one within the country, there are still issues and challenges that need to be faced every single day. Museum professionals as well as academic scholars in South Africa have mostly succeeded in collecting numerous accounts of what happened during apartheid from the different communities within the country's populace. Incorporating these varying accounts into the narratives within museums around the country has ensured that the current version of history remains predominantly objective throughout the process of reconciliation. Objectivity within museums is important not only in keeping history free of prejudice but also in ensuring that the country's collective memory does not transfer any inherent bias to the next generation. Museums like the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg and the Red Location Museum in Port Elizabeth have taken on the challenge of keeping the accurate history and collective memories of apartheid alive in the minds of those who experienced it and passing on the collective memory to the generations that did not experience apartheid first hand.

In an interview with Christopher Till,[13] the curator of the Apartheid Museum, he compared the museum to a mirror that we hold up to ourselves and to other people. The 'mirror' shows us what happened in the past as well the miraculous change that took place. It also allows us to see ourselves as part of something bigger, creating a much more personal connection. Till believes that one of the most important aspects of the museum is to keep people educated about their history as it informs the present. Apartheid still plays a big role in most sectors of South Africa, whether through the continuing process of healing and reconciliation or through the less positive aspect of the aftermath that is still visible in the country. Most new museums in South Africa today present a united front about the type of memory and knowledge they convey to the public about apartheid, differing only in the details that they choose to highlight.

As discussed in the earlier chapters of this thesis, museums give credence and material form to the authorised versions of the past, thus eventually turning the 'official memory' into collective memory. Post-apartheid museums challenge the "apartheid-era narratives and offer new ones through popular accessible images" (Ross 2005:13), thus once again reinforcing a specific version of the past. However in the case of the current ideologies that are portrayed in museums, there is now a very solid and comprehensive constitution that underscores them. The specific version of the past that the government endorses is one that does not purposefully marginalise, discriminate against or specifically ignore any one race or group of people. While nothing is ever truly objective, the awareness of subjectivity within their institutions allows museums to consider and analyse potential bias more carefully.

[13] Personal communication with Christopher Till in Johannesburg on the 3rd of February 2010.

Museums are tasked with the responsibility of presenting the approved imagery and narratives to the general public. To the general public, this is not always seen as a valid use of the limited funding available in South Africa, especially with the current fragile state of the economy. Dubin (2006:227) explains that in South Africa museums are typically valued more for what they can do rather than for what they are: "traditional rationales such as being repositories of knowledge, treasures, and creative activity do not carry much weight in a society that is under pressure to refashion itself. All too often, action trumps theory, practical concerns trump symbolic ones". However, the symbolic concerns that are so often seen as unnecessary have played a pivotal role in South Africa's recovery and, as I have discussed at length in this chapter, a certain amount of symbolic concern is required for the rebuilding of a nation state. This is not always immediately apparent to people residing in countries that have just emerged from a trauma; considerations like ensuring proper housing and other basic human needs take preference to any cultural endeavours. Many people living in recovering countries, specifically in Africa, would rather their government spend money on the installation of appropriate housing, adequate health care and running water than funding more ventures that memorialise the past and house history. Culture and memorialisation often takes a back seat to these necessities in order to get the economy on track again.

The relevance of these cultural endeavours and memorialisation projects has been questioned not only by the people living in the struggling countries but also by the people that were directly influenced by the traumatic event – the survivors. In South Africa, after 1994, many memorials and museums were erected to honour and

memorialise the people who died and the people who survived. The Red Location Museum in Port Elizabeth is an example of one such project, a brand new memorial museum situated in the centre of the Red Location township. Many of these so called survivor based museums often have little to no actual influence or effect on the survivors themselves. They are lavish buildings built in poor locations where many people still struggle to survive comfortably. Survivors sometimes do welcome this kind of memorialisation of their hardships but usually only if it provides some kind of personal benefit for them from the revenue generated. In the final chapter of this thesis I investigate the role of site specific museums such as the Red Location Museum in South Africa's poorer communities. I examine the way these museums facilitate constructive economic development through the promotion of tourism in townships.

Tourism is another big influence on the country's perception of these institutions as well as the motivations of museums. Much of the revenue that is generated from museums and other cultural institutions within South Africa comes in the form of international tourism. Many state-funded as well as privately funded museums are required to become commercial ventures with tourism as their main focus. This has sparked a debate about whether museums need to cater specifically for tourist needs or if this mode of income should be seen as purely a side effect of the effective memorialisation set up to benefit and aid in the healing process. Witz (2006:109) alleges that in post-colonial societies like South Africa, "where demands for social transformation are high on the agenda, the situating of museums primarily as sites of international tourism has major implications for how new museums develop and older ones are reconstituted". The reason for the guarded response to tourism is that parts of

the South African tourist industry still play on ideas of colonialism and the otherness of Africa. The notion of the 'extravagant safari' was one that hooked the tourist market long before apartheid and to a certain degree still entices people to visit the more accessible parts of Africa.

There is still a faction within South Africa's tourist market that capitalises on describing the country's heritage and history as one of 'European influences' and 'African tribes'. It is these kinds of representations that cause conflict between the nationalist goals of local museums and the economic drive to bring revenue into the country. Tourism and museums often find themselves at odds with each other in regard to the new narratives and ideologies that museums offer the public. Museums are torn between conflicting goals and conflicting demographics, facing the temptation of catering to the international tourist market rather than the local communities. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2006:39) draws attention to the immense pressure that South African museums are currently under. They are expected to serve as both agents of social transformation as well as agents of economic development in the post-apartheid state. The reality of South Africa's economic situation is in stark contrast to the social and cultural ideals outlined in the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology's White Paper.

Certain aspects of the tourist rhetoric in post-apartheid South Africa have however shifted away from 'Africa as other' and more towards an emphasis on the apartheid struggle and the subsequent change in the country. Apartheid memory has been integrated into South Africa's tourism discourse and has become a marketable commodity ready for consumption by tourists. Many museums and memorials are

utilising the images and narratives of trauma from apartheid to appeal to humanity's perverse fascination with horror and atrocity. Gregory Ashworth (2004:97) explains that society's attraction to atrocity is an exaggerated form of the normal curiosity present in all people and that tourism which caters for this aspect of human nature is not a new concept, Roman gladiator spectacles and Madame Tussauds' 'Chamber of Horrors' being two examples of the commodification of horror and atrocity. By catering to the tourist's curiosity, museums and memorials "effectively objectif[y] apartheid, thereby making it more easily consumable" (Bremner 2007:102). Is the situation that South African tourism finds itself in today, with the objectification of apartheid memory, really any different from the depictions of Africa as wild and savage? Are museums only perpetuating different stereotypes by catering to a tourist market?

Contemporary South African museums find themselves torn between contradictory imperatives and constituencies. Witz (2006:130) believes that within museums, especially the newer museums, the connection between tourism and community needs to become a careful balancing act. For museums that "aim to give a version of South African history that talks to and about community, the struggle is to ensure that they do not alienate their local communities and, at the same time become part of [the] tourist economy". Through careful planning and proper management there are a number of museums that successfully manage to combine these two different aspects and stimulate the necessary transformation within their institutions. The most powerful and visible change currently taking place in South Africa is the emergence of many new memorial projects aimed at educating the public about apartheid. These new museums and memorials are key players in the narration of the struggle against

the apartheid regime and are actively seeking to keep South Africans aware of their past and the sacrifices made in order for South Africa to become a democracy. Much of what the ANC strove to achieve in the cultural sector of South Africa has been very successful; there has been a vast change in the public perception of museums because of the concrete change that museums have managed to institute. There are however other issues that still lurk behind the positive aspects and continue to haunt South African memorialisation.

Marilyn Martin, who was herself deeply involved in the transformation process of museums in the early nineties, feels that there is still a long way to go in terms of a fully successful change. Compensation can only truly take place once individuals and groups within the country are empowered enough to effectively represent themselves and unfortunately there are still many issues of empowerment that are yet to be resolved. Martin (2006:33) believes that "South Africa still lacks the black researchers, art historians and curators who can fulfil the task of reclaiming and representing history and art history. The changes in museums are painfully slow". There is a huge rift between the promises of change made by the government and the reality of the situation. In the next chapter of this thesis I investigate two of the more successful post-apartheid museums in relation to some of the more pressing issues that South African museums are still trying to resolve. I explore the Apartheid Museum and the Red Location Museum's memorial and museological tactics in order to ascertain if these museums are in fact enriching South Africa's diverse cultural heritage production. In examining the methods that both these museums employ as key parts of South Africa's tourist route I investigate whether South African museums still effectively contribute to national reconciliation and collective memory.

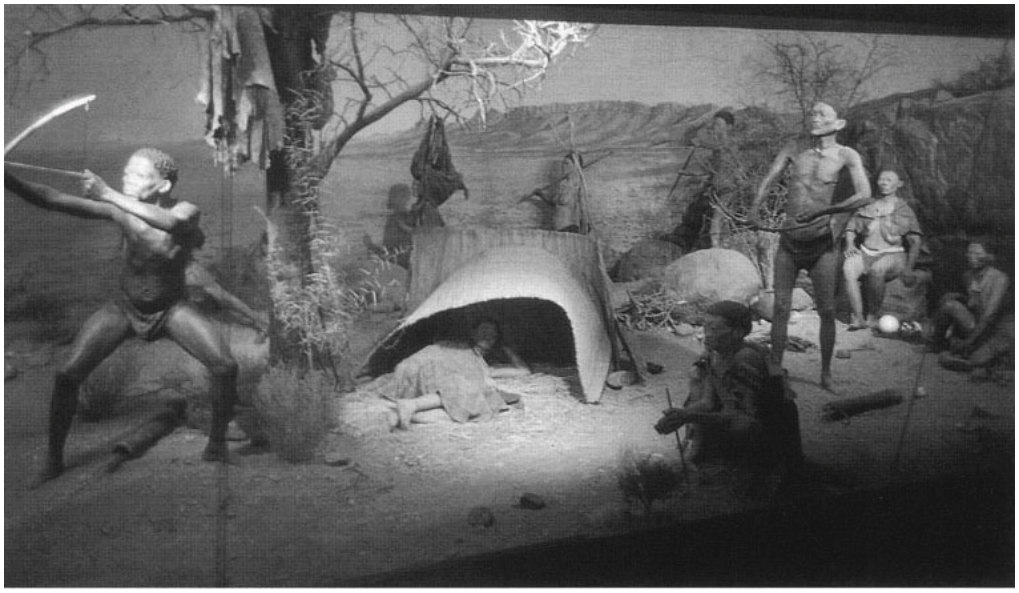

Figure 2: Ross, D.H. 1997. Diorama in the South African Museum. [Electronic Print] Reproduced from: *Cast, Miscast: The Curator's Dilemma* (Kasfir, S.L.) [19 November 2010].

Figure 3: Mendel, G. (n.d). Bushman exhibit in museum. [Electronic Print] http://www.corbis.co.in/searchresults.php?s=Dioramas&rm=&rf=&mr=&loc=&col=&listRF=&orient=&view=&people=&pht=&max=1000&p=1 [19 November 2010].

Figure 4: Lane, P. 1996. Visitors examine the gruesome details underfoot at the *Miscast* exhibition. [Electronic Print] Reproduced from: *Breaking the Mould: Exhibiting Khoisan in Southern African Museums* (Lane, P.) [19 November 2010].

Chapter 4

Museological representations of apartheid in post-apartheid South Africa

4.1 Post-apartheid memorialisation: positioning apartheid history

Post-apartheid South African museums find themselves in a unique position to identify and introduce new forms of memorialisation that position apartheid history within the national collective memory. The permanent installation of the country's turbulent history in the nation's collective memory is a prerequisite in South Africa's journey toward a successful reconciliation. It is crucial that this knowledge endures in the minds of all South Africans, even those who are too young to remember apartheid: for in such memorialisation lies the hope that the atrocities will never be repeated. In this chapter I interrogate two museums that are both deeply involved in keeping South Africa's past alive in the minds of its people. While there have been many new post-apartheid museums and memorials dedicated to the celebration and remembrance of freedom, change and struggle, this study concentrates specifically on the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg and the Red Location Museum in Port Elizabeth. Both these museums are exceptional representations of the rapidly strengthening memorial and heritage culture in South Africa and they play key roles in the memorialisation of apartheid history. Through a careful analysis of each museum and an in-depth comparison of the two, I examine their diverse approaches to memorialisation as well as the ways in which each museum contributes to nation building, reinforces the national collective memory, and facilitates reconciliation within South African communities.

Museums have become invaluable sites for the active management and fortification of South Africa's recently reclaimed diverse cultural heritage and the reinforcement of collective memory after apartheid. Architect Lisa Findley (2005:122) contends that the cultural institutions that take on the task of depicting South Africa's history are faced with numerous challenges: "the complexities of the era, along with the history that unfolded before and after, make[s] memorialising apartheid a complicated and controversial challenge". One of the main responsibilities that these institutions have is to ensure that their content and narratives are accurate and fair to all people and discourages any further discrimination. In the objective representation of apartheid history, museums and memorials facilitate the creation of a new South African identity; one that is free of racism, hatred and bigotry. My study of the methodologies employed by both case studies examines the extent to which they successfully contribute to the democratic spirit of the post-apartheid South African identity as well as some of the issues these institutions face with regard to being tools of the state.

The necessity of increasing the country's already expanding cultural sector with the construction of additional museums is often challenged in light of the fact that many South Africans live without running water or other basic amenities. The Red Location Museum was built at the centre of one such community where the promise of new housing is yet to be actualised. I investigate the motivations behind the unconventional location of this museum as well as the ramifications thereof. I also examine the various philosophies and incentives underpinning the establishment of both the Apartheid and Red Location Museums. The inspirations behind the construction of both case studies are entirely different; the seemingly incongruous setting of the Red Location Museum was the leading motivation behind its creation

while the location of the Apartheid Museum was not a deciding factor of its foundation. The museum's proximity to the Gold Reef City Theme Park is however a constant reminder of its controversial beginnings. The Apartheid Museum is often challenged by its critics because of its connection to the Gold Reef City Casino. Authors and scholars like Findley (2005) who have published works that are openly critical of the Apartheid Museum often argue that the apparently questionable origin of the museum's funding decreases its museological and cultural value. In the investigation of the museum I scrutinise its ties to the casino as well as the alleged link to Abe and Solly Krok in order to discover if the accusations of the critics are substantiated.

The increase in memorialisation within South Africa has had an undeniably positive effect on the country, both socially and economically. Many of the post-apartheid museums allow for the diffusion of new socio-political principals and realities to South Africans of all races as well as to international tourists. The representations in these institutions are of the turbulent history, the violence and the hardships of apartheid, as well as more positive representations of the people's struggle to overcome their situation. The subject matter present within the museums and memorials created to honour or remember aspects of apartheid history is of a sensitive nature and still burns vividly within the memories of those who survived apartheid. The Apartheid Museum was opened to the public in 2001, a mere seven years after the installation of democracy and the end of institutionalised apartheid. It was the first museum of its kind that attempted to provide a complete timeline of apartheid, from its roots all the way up to the 1994 elections. Its establishment sparked critical debate

about whether or not South Africans were ready to memorialise apartheid: essentially relegating it to the realm of museums.

In an ideal situation the role of a museum is to reflect on the past without closing it off to critical thought or debate, this is however not always the reality. In many cases, once something has been put in a museum it ceases to exist in the present and is consigned to the past. Lindsay Bremner (2007:102) draws attention to one of the biggest problems with museological apartheid: it obscures the fact that apartheid is not dead. It is still etched into the minds and bodies of those that lived through it, and there are still people that are subject to the entrenched racialised inequality that persists in South Africa. Bremner (2007:93) argues that "the term 'Apartheid Museum' implies that the multiple sets of institutional practices known as apartheid are sufficiently divorced from the now to be able to be remade in a museum and subjected to an exhibitionary gaze". Museological apartheid creates the impression that it has deemed apartheid to be over and is now available for detached, impersonal reflection. In consideration of this, Bremner concedes that it was perhaps premature to erect a building that houses the history of apartheid with the museological intention of facilitating reconciliation. However, this rather narrow view of museums presupposes that they are entirely the domain of what Steven Dubin (2006:199) terms the "defunct and the antiquated", thereby implying that they are unable to stimulate dialogue and initiate debate around issues that relate to past as well as contemporary concerns. Many of the more modern institutions have combined new representational techniques with the architecture of their building in an attempt to move away from the notion of museums as tombs, useful only in the mummification of the past. Both case studies are illustrative of how South African museum professionals and architects have

created new museums that challenge stale notions of museology and memorialisation. I investigate how they avoid becoming static representations of the past and how they each encourage the active contemplation of the current issues South Africans are facing with regard to racial discrimination.

Many of the recent post-apartheid memorial sites have become part of the new heritage production strategy encouraged by the government. They find themselves on par with other nation building initiatives such as the new national anthem, the new flag, the TRC, and the various new national holidays. Museums' roles as generators of collective memory have made them a pivotal part of the creation of a successful post-apartheid South Africa. Collective memory is often cultivated through the shared experiences of a group of people and is passed on to the next generation through the recounting of these experiences. Cultural institutions find themselves in the position to be able to effectively pass on the recollections and histories of the survivors to the next generation and to those who were not directly involved in the original historical event. Most museums consist of the overlapping testimonies of survivors, and/or sometimes even the perpetrators of events that shape the collective and public memory of a group of people. Each of the testimonies contributes to the public record and will eventually become the official version of what happened, instilling itself into the collective memory of the nation. Bremner (2007:85) considers museum space a synecdoche for the "process of new memory work, where antagonistic, competing, conflicting, non-compatible histories are brought together and rewritten. These are not only sites of memorialisation, but also instruments for the invention of a new political identity, the post-apartheid nation". The development of a new national identity and heritage through common memory and tradition is a valuable aspect of nation

building and reconciliation within countries like South Africa. The ANC is keenly aware of the power that lies within these cultural institutions and in the years following apartheid the ANC has encouraged the construction of many new heritage production sites such as the Red Location Museum and the Apartheid Museum.

The memorialisation of trauma and the successful use of memory and history within a museum is not an easy task. Historian Edward Linenthal (1995:53) maintains that despite their key role as producers of collective memory, memorials and museums do not necessarily heal wounds or solve problems. The more volatile the memory, the harder it is to successfully translate it into a constructive expression of the past that is viable for public display. The volatility of traumatic memory is not necessarily a disadvantage to spaces that memorialise troubled histories. Friedrich Nietzsche's (1913:16) notion that memory can only be eternal if it has been burnt into a person's subconscious is a philosophy that has been used by many institutions tasked with the representations and memorialisation of tragedy and trauma. Curators draw on Nietzsche's theories to generate spaces that require viewers to struggle with similar issues and gain a better understanding of what others have endured. The museums evoke the experiences and emotions of the victims in a safer museum-space, quintessentially burning these memories into their minds.

This form of emotional manipulation, prevalent in contemporary museums, is a strategy employed by the architects and curators of the Apartheid Museum and the Red Location Museum. I examine how the design and content of both museums in this study influence people's perceptions. Both museums create spaces that draw strong emotional responses from their viewers through the creative union of

architecture, space and representation. They provide spaces of contemplation that reinforce South Africa's collective memory and encourage the visitor to re-examine his or her own perceptions and subjectivities.

4.2 The Apartheid Museum

Situated in Johannesburg's mining landscape is the Apartheid Museum, South Africa's first comprehensive representation of its apartheid history. The promise and establishment of the museum incited a great deal of controversy within academic and cultural circles regarding a number of issues, namely whether South Africa was ready to memorialise apartheid, whether the museum was not perhaps being built too early, and other issues stemming from the museum's association with and proximity to the Gold Reef City Casino and Theme Park. However, despite this critical reception, the museum has proved its worth as a valuable addition to South Africa's cultural capital. One of the key aspects contributing to the success of the museum is that the structure of the museum appeals to both experienced museum-goers and people who have had no previous experience with museums. By appealing to a wider range of viewers within local communities, the memories and knowledge contained within the museum extends far beyond the traditional scope of South African museums. Christopher Till,[14] the primary curator of the museum, envisions the Apartheid Museum as a network of understanding about what apartheid was, what it still is, and what it should never be again. It provides a solid linear progression of apartheid; from how it began up to how it ended, creating a foundation for an in-depth understanding of this grotesque socio-political system. Till believes that the narratives created within the

[14] Personal communication with Christopher Till in Johannesburg on the 3rd of February 2010.

museum act as the backbone of knowledge for what is represented in other memorial sites around the country. The creation of a museum that dealt with the complete timeline of apartheid was the necessary next step in the progression of the memorialisation of South Africa's past.

The goal of the curators and architects involved in the development and design of the museum was to create a space that allowed visitors to work their way from the beginning of apartheid through to its end. The linear model of history builds on the viewers understanding of the factors that led to institutionalised apartheid as well as the way South Africa managed to free itself through understanding and tolerance rather than violence. Georgi Verbeeck (2007:220) defines the aim of the Apartheid Museum as endeavouring to create a space free of prejudice that provides a historically accurate reconstruction of 20th Century South Africa; a reconstruction that provided a way for people who did not experience apartheid to gain an understanding of what it was like as well as a better grasp on the history. The generations of people born after apartheid, and to a large degree even those who were born in the final years, have little to no conception of what apartheid meant for all those living in South Africa during that time. Till (2010) considers the Apartheid Museum to be a way for these younger generations to gain deeper insights into the orchestrated discrimination and cruelty perpetrated against the majority of people in this country. He believes that a comprehensive grasp of the past is essential in a country where the past still has a direct impact on the present and the future.

Certainly, the individuals responsible for the conceptualisation and development of this museum consider its role to be indispensable in the establishment of a new

national collective memory. There are however those who argue that the circumstances leading to its creation bring the museum into disrepute. The museum came about as a prerequisite for the awarding of a gambling license for a casino in Gold Reef City. The National Gambling Board agreed to grant the license to Akani Egoli, the company responsible for the casino, on condition that they fund a project that would 'give something back' to the community. The requirements for the project were job creation, community outreach and involvement, and finally that it had to involve tourism. Once Akani Egoli accepted these conditions, a number of proposals were put forward. The idea of an apartheid museum was accepted and Christopher Till was approached concerning a position as the primary curator and facilitator for the team responsible for the construction of displays and narratives within the museum. Due to Till's concerns about the association with the theme park and the casino, one of the conditions of his involvement was the creation of an independent board of trustees and a Section 21 Company that would operate autonomously. The museum is still financially backed by the shareholders of the casino but the decision making remains solely with the museum's board of trustees who have no connection to or vested interest in Akani Egoli. During my interview with Till, he made it explicitly clear that Akani Egoli's shareholders have no involvement or influence over the narratives that the museum presents to its viewers.

Akani Egoli is an empowerment group that was created by its shareholders, which include the infamous Abe and Solly Krok. The Krok brothers made their fortune selling "skin-lightening creams to black housemaids until their products were banned as toxic" (Hall 2006:98). While today they are involved in less contentious ventures, the horrifying memory of their skin-lightening cream still sticks in the minds of many

South Africans. The unfortunate connection to a company comprising of businessmen who profited from apartheid leads many people to question the value and moral standing of the Apartheid Museum. The adjacent carnivalesque Gold Reef City Theme Park, whose Ferris wheel dwarfs the museum, is a constant reminder of the museum's origins as a moral spin-off of a commercial venture. The context from which it stemmed is questionable at best. However, it would be somewhat short-sighted to condemn an institution merely on the basis of its beginnings. Critics and detractors elect to ignore the museum's managerial independence and fail to judge it on its own merits, choosing to only see the negative history.

When Till first became involved with the Apartheid Museum he visited many other museums that dealt with sensitive subjects, both locally and internationally. The most famous of these was the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC. The architects and curators of the Holocaust Memorial Museum designed the exterior as well as interior of the building using experiential architecture. Till (2010) explained that the people involved in the curation process wanted to understand how to effectively deal with sensitive subject matter in a public space. A small group travelled to Washington, DC to experience firsthand a museum that had successfully managed to create a space that dealt with an extensive amount of traumatic memory in a way that was tactful, poignant and powerful.

Experiential architecture can be classified as a method of creating a space which evokes the emotions and experiences associated with another site or actual event. For instance, the Holocaust Memorial Museum draws on the experiences of the people in Nazi concentration camps in the Second World War. The use of this type of

architectural design in museums has increased exponentially since the realisation that traditional artefact and object-based displays do not have the same effect on the contemporary viewers that they might have had in museums of yesteryear. Modern museums now aim to create an evocative experience that blazes into the memories of those who encounter it. Greig Crysler (2006:20) charges that the most distinctive facet of the connection between the Apartheid Museum and the Holocaust Memorial Museum is the correlation between memory and effect created by both museums through the exhibition of emotional and traumatic experiences of others.

Both museums create environments that mirror the original traumatic events and leave viewers feeling victimised, harrowed and on edge; all sensations not easily forgotten. The use of emotional triggers has an essentially didactic purpose within these museums, as knowledge is imparted to the viewer through the simulated experience of suffering. In the second chapter I introduced Tiffany Jenkins' (2007:450) argument that by adding this performative aspect to their exhibits, museums are at risk of becoming "bad reality museums" or theme parks. The architectural and museological strategies employed by both case studies facilitate the creation of 'new' spaces that cater for contemporary society's changing needs and interests. As illustrated earlier in this study, it is vitally important for museums to remain relevant to their viewer base. The Apartheid Museum and the Red Location Museum utilise innovative new models of museum design in order to not only remain relevant but to extend their viewer base.

Another curatorial strategy that is present in both the Holocaust Memorial Museum and the Apartheid Museum is the introduction of an initial experience that is evocative of the original circumstances and sets the tone for the rest of the museum

experience. On the first floor of the Holocaust Memorial Museum all arriving visitors are issued mock passports representing a victim of the Holocaust. The viewers' experiences in the museum from that moment onward are underscored by the unimaginable traumatic experiences of the person who once belonged to the name on the card they each hold. The Apartheid Museum employs a similar, if somewhat less personal, strategy. At the entrance [fig. 5] to the first part of the museum each visitor is assigned either a "white" or a "non-white" card[15] that determines which entrance they will use. Lynn Meskell (2006:171) maintains that the "shock of being arbitrarily assigned a racial classification at the museum's entrance gives you the first taste of what it meant to live under state-sanctioned racism". Once in their designated areas, the viewers find themselves confronted by rows upon rows of large photographs of the mandatory passbooks [fig. 6] with racial classifications inscribed on them. The photographs are mounted behind thick metal cages through which both entrances and walkways are visible, once again reinforcing the mandatory separation. In an interview with Dubin (2006:198), Till explained that he believed that the average museum-goer only remembers a handful of things experienced during his or her visit. In consideration of this, he wanted the impact of the initial forced division to be powerful enough to remain in the viewer's memory and shape his or her response to the rest of the museum experience, effectively setting the tone for the narratives and imagery within the rest of the museum.

The hall of reception [fig. 7 section 3], lined with steel cages and industrial type metal fixtures [fig. 6], makes it unmistakably apparent that this is not a museum filled with warm welcoming signs and friendly instructions about where to go next. Instead, one

[15] The assignment of the 'race cards' is completely random and not determined by the actual race of the viewer.

finds oneself left feeling uncomfortable and out of place, surrounded by images suffused with violence and tragedy. The ensuing section of the museum is even less reminiscent of traditional museum space as the hall of reception leads the viewer outside onto a steep ramp heading to the top of the museum. The pathway[16] is dotted with an assortment of freestanding full-length mirrors [fig. 8]. The viewer's journey through the history in the museum is literally reflected in the mirrors. Interspersed between the mirrors containing images are empty mirrors that confront the viewers with reflections of themselves as part of the story told by the museum. Beginning with the racially segregated entrances and continuing throughout the museum, the curators combine the architecture and design of the building to produce museological techniques which immerse the viewers into the storyline and content rather than reinforcing the separation. Meskell (2006:171) describes the museum's overall design as "redolent of apartheid's brutality; concrete, red brick, rusted and galvanised steel". The architecture of the building provides an environment that manipulates the mindset of the viewers, making them more susceptible to the memories and narratives within the museum. This environment thereby ensures that the information contained in the displays has much greater relevance than it would have if one were experiencing it though posters and images displayed on the walls of a white cube.

The incline leads up to the highest point of the museum, overlooking the Johannesburg skyline. The viewer's observations of Johannesburg are carefully manipulated as the wall blocks any view of Gold Reef City, once again not permitting

[16] This pathway marks the beginning of two journeys. The journey of people moving to Johannesburg in the years following 1886 is represented on the mirrors by the images of the children, grandchildren and great grandchildren of a few of the people that migrated to Johannesburg. All face away from the viewer, engaged in the passage toward their destinations. These images are representational of the beginning of the narrative journey through South Africa's turbulent past. The pathway is also indicative of the viewer's personal journey through the museum and apartheid history.

the Theme Park any part in the overall museum experience. The undisguised red and beige brick walls which constitute the structure of the museum as well as the surrounding structures are especially noticeable from this viewpoint. The incline is flanked by one side of the museum, a tall red brick wall, and a looming metal cage-like structure filled with rough stones [fig. 8]. Mashabane Rose, the architectural firm responsible for the design of the Apartheid Museum, "confirms that the creation of 'hard, dark spaces' with grey walls and galvanised metal poles and concrete floors was meant to suggest incarceration" (Dubin 2006:196). The purposely carceral quality of the architecture is apparent both on the inside and the outside of the museum. Through the extensive use of high walls void of any decorative aspect, the exterior of the museum evokes feelings of confinement and internment.

This prison-like quality is not only visible once inside the museum, it starts well before even entering the museum. Arrival at the museum's parking lot involves a series of guard structures, visitor's forms and large spikes preventing unauthorised vehicles from entering. In the parking lot, the museum's expansive walls block all external gaze [fig. 9] and fill the imaginations of those on the outside with images of imprisonment and strict regulations, and the museum itself does not do much to dispel these ideas. The aim of the architects was to create a setting that reconstructs the conditions and motifs of life during apartheid, making rather obvious connections to internment. The result of careful planning and a complete lack of any traditional museum embellishments is a building that could be easily mistaken for a correctional facility. The interior design of the museum evokes similar feelings of discomfort and confinement to that of the exterior.

Inside the museum there are no wooden or tiled floors, no suspended ceilings, no polished museum finishes. Visitors find only the intentionally rough and unfinished concrete floors, rusted iron cages and high windowless brick walls. In the process of obtaining narrative content for the displays in the museum, Till and the team involved in this project created a storyline that would ultimately be positioned within the context of the structure and subjectivities of the building. Till (2010) revealed that the curators and architects used the force of the building as the starting point for the construction of the exhibition. The storyline and narratives do not only draw on the emotions and subjectivities of the architectural space inside the museum, they also utilise the physical space and boundaries of the structure to add to the overall experience.

The displays have been mounted onto the raw unfinished surfaces and other available space within the building. A myriad of large-scale images are mounted onto the rough red brick walls [fig. 10] as well as onto the free-standing metal cages [fig. 11] which form the dividing lines within the vast museum space. The museum is filled with numerous television monitors that are installed high up on pillars [fig. 12], in the metal cages [fig. 13], and even secured onto metal brackets that protrude from the walls or the floor. The footage that loops repeatedly on each screen ranges from media footage, interviews with the key players, material that was banned during apartheid, South African archival videos, as well as some footage shot by the police. In certain places of the museum these monitors are displayed close together, each with their own speakers and authentic soundtracks. The overwhelming amount of visual and auditory information available, the continuous sound of all the videos, and the sharp fluorescent lights that eliminate any real sense of time, all combine to create an

overload of sensory and emotive experience. Bremner (2007:89) describes this experience succinctly in a passage that perfectly captures the sensory overload:

> Natural lighting is kept to a minimum, often through openings located in positions that make it impossible to see out. The passage of time is obscured. Its acoustics are similarly deadened. Audio material is transmitted through overhead speakers that one has to stand directly beneath to hear. Outside of this space, sound is muted and multivalent – a dull, disturbing buzzing and bleeping permeates everywhere.

The quality of the sound, sound effects, lighting, and visual presentation within the building all enhance the impact the content has on the viewers. Constructing the exhibition within such an evocative space substantially adds to the gravitas of the final presentation.

The Apartheid Museum has no traditional museological controlling mechanisms like explanatory signs or lines drawn on the floor cordoning off the displays from the audience and influencing directionality. However even without these more traditional methods of crowd control the entire space still emanates structure, control and regulations. The architecture of internment that was so vividly and extensively used in the overall design of the museum structure is also employed in the creation of devices put in place by the curators and architects to regulate movement within the museum. Small "no entry" signs are visible on exhibit information boards [fig. 14] that are located in parts of the museum where sections of the content overlap. The flow of movement is also limited in a more structural manner through the dual use of the large metal cages. The cages that double as both make-shift walls and maze-like passageways [fig. 11] bear a disconcerting resemblance to a cattle press, or in continuance with the theme of incarceration, prison hallways. In the same way the design of the building evokes feelings of control and internment, the layout and

structure of the museum elicits reactions of self-control and self-regulation from most people making their way through the museum. Once again the Apartheid Museum draws parallels between the content and design of its display and the structure, control, and strict regulations of life during apartheid.

The systematised, linear layout of the museum is echoed in the progression of the themes and the narratives. Verbeeck (2007:220) contends that the "museum's message is linear; the simple principal of racial segregation itself undoubtedly leads to chaos, misery and destruction". While institutionalised apartheid was in no way a straightforward linear set of events, Till chose to structure the content and history in a way that would be understandable to anyone visiting the Apartheid Museum. The storylines embodies nineteen themes, each of which represents a specific time in South Africa's history. They are carefully structured from the early history of South Africa and the circumstances which led to apartheid through to the inauguration of the new government and freedom.[17]

The strategies for the displays depicting the more violent parts of apartheid history are of an experiential nature. The displays include authentic objects such as a large yellow Casspir[18] [fig. 15] that viewers can climb into and watch footage recorded from inside a patrolling Casspir during apartheid. Being able to climb inside the vehicle adds another perspective to the viewer's experience of the violence of apartheid. It forces them to interact with the narratives from the point of view of the policemen who used

[17] The themes range from racial segregation, one of the earlier themes represented by the separate entrances and race classification cards, to later themes like political violence and executions.
[18] During the later years of apartheid the South African Police Force used Casspirs, bright yellow armoured vehicles used to patrol through areas labelled dangerous and hostile. The section of the museum that deals with the history of these violent years contains a large yellow and blue Casspir. A ladder extends down the back of the vehicle allowing people to climb into it. Once inside there is a video that plays footage taken from inside a Casspir driving through a township.

these vehicles. While the museum does name the architects of apartheid, it avoids creating a good guy vs. bad guy mentality. Wayde Davy, a manager at the museum, clarified that the museum "tries to be as inclusive as possible, to show how many different individuals, groups and communities shaped our history" (Davy quoted in Meldrum 2006). By showing more than just the perspectives and experiences of those who were victimised during apartheid, the museum forces the viewers to confront the humanity of the perpetrators as well as their own humanity and the implications thereof.

Other tactics used in the museum to represent the extensive violence during the later years of apartheid include the display of brutally honest imagery and artefacts representative of the degree and amount of suffering inflicted upon people. Suspended from the roof of the museum are 131 nooses [fig. 16], one for each person that was killed for political reasons during apartheid. The pathway to the next part of the museum passes directly underneath the nooses, compelling the viewers to confront the immense amount of needless death. The names of all those who were executed are written on a wall near the nooses; the long list of names is in itself representational of all the other names which are not found on any wall or in any museum. The images that confront the viewers are no less horrific; visual documentation of what life was like for South Africans during apartheid spans throughout the entire museum. Photographic imagery dominates the space within the museum and large prints of Ernest Cole's[19] documentary photographs [fig. 17] line the walls of the museum, refusing to be ignored.

[19] All of Ernest Cole's photographs used in the museum's displays are sourced from Cole's book *House of Bondage* (1968)

Throughout the museum photography is used as a way to denote the passage of time and the change in the country's political and social climate. At the start of the museum the images alternate between monochrome and colour but as the display moves toward the start of apartheid, the colour is slowly reduced and the photographs become predominantly more monochromatic. The visual documentation and representations of early apartheid and of the hardships and struggle of life during apartheid consist largely of black and white or sepia photographs; representative of the almost complete lack of any hope. Dubin (2006:194) writes that as the final stage in the linear progression of the history, "the Apartheid Museum [...] depicts the birth of the ANC, the rise of the Black Consciousness Movement, the End Conscription Campaign, and the first democratic elections in 1994". Colour is slowly reintroduced with the start of the anti-apartheid resistance [fig. 18] as the images and displays become steadily more colourful up until the representation of the elections, which contains a row of life size colour photographs of South Africans waiting in line to vote [fig. 19]. In light of the fact that photographic documentation of the realities of apartheid is not readily available, the decision to limit the colour of certain displays was a carefully designed and successfully executed curatorial strategy.

The combined effects of the visual, auditory, and sensory triggers in the museum create a space that educates people about apartheid history as well as contributing to the collective memory of the nation. The imagery and the narratives impress upon the viewer the excessive and senseless pain and suffering that people are capable of inflicting upon one another. By providing a platform for the viewers to gain different perspectives they are compelled to confront their own culpability as part of the human race. And while a journey through the history of the violence inflicted and hatred

incited is an incredibly harrowing and negative experience, the museum also illustrates the amazing strength and capacity that people have to endure such hardships. The linear progression results in the viewers literally emerging on the other side of the violence after seeing the miraculous transformation that South Africa underwent.

At the end of the long journey through the history of institutionalised apartheid, the museum reminds the viewer that everything that was achieved with regard to the struggle, resistance and the new constitution, was done so that one day all South Africans, regardless of skin colour, class or gender would be able to look back at the history in a museum and then, as the Apartheid Museum's informal brochure promises, "walk away free".[20] The museum's optimistic premise of freedom on the other side of the exhibition is one that not everyone automatically buys into. Dubin (2006:200) is of the opinion that the assertion that visitors gain an understanding of the events that led to the country's current circumstances and are set 'free' after completing their tour is a seriously exaggerated claim that the museum could never fulfil. It is just as likely that the museum will leave viewers with feelings of distress, guilt, anger, or bitterness. While there are undoubtedly many benefits to the memorialisation of a traumatic history, museums will never be able to simply 'fix' the issues that a recovering nation faces. The void between reality and intention is still insurmountable in countries such as South Africa.

A more critical look at the public and academic reception of the museum reveals dissatisfaction with many aspects of the Apartheid Museum. Findley (2005:125) finds

[20] Apartheid Museum's informal brochure as quoted in Dubin (2006:200).

the museum's claims of being a comprehensive apartheid museum to be unfounded. Condensing sixty years of traumatic history into one museum is a near impossible task: one that could not be achieved without some degree of oversight. The museum has often been slated by its critics for putting too much of the emphasis on the ANC's role in the struggle and only including "a handful of the thousands and thousands of white members of the ANC and other anti-apartheid groups, many of whom were imprisoned, banned, or killed for their stance and actions" (Findley 2005:125). However, the argument against this criticism can be found in Findley's use of the phrase "thousands and thousands". Admittedly the museum does not include every single person who had a key role in the struggle against apartheid as this would require a much larger museum and more funding than they were allocated. In reaction to the critical views about the museum's alleged emphasis on the ANC, Till (2010) repeatedly reiterates that the museum is a work in progress and that the cast of characters used to illustrate the apartheid narrative is not limited to a specific race or political affiliation. The museum emphasises the importance of the process and illustrates the political background in relation to specific events rather than a complete chronology of each political group involved in the struggle. Despite the criticism, the museum's broader approach to the apartheid history ensures that no one group of people is singled out or marginalised; contributing to a wider South African collective memory as opposed to that of one specific group.

Dissatisfaction with the museum lies not only in the criticism of the content but also in the use of space within the museum. Findley (2005:123) investigates the role of space within the Apartheid Museum in juxtaposition to the spatial politics of the Red Location Museum. She contends that the curatorial strategy employed in the

Apartheid Museum is predictable and lacks subtlety. Findley's analysis of both museums leans heavily in favour of the Red Location Museum's design, content and nuanced utilisation of its exhibition space. In my exploration into the different museological approaches of both museums, I consider Findley's critical attitude to the positive or negative aspects of each museum. Through my own careful analysis of the methodologies employed in the creation of the Red Location Museum and a comparison to those of the Apartheid Museum I draw attention to their individual and overlapping approaches toward heritage production and the promotion of reconciliation in the new South Africa.

4.3 The Red Location Museum

In 2006 the Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality opened what would soon become one of the most distinguished and innovative site specific museums in South Africa. The Red Location Museum was built in the centre of New Brighton,[21] a hundred year old township located on the outskirts of Port Elizabeth. The museum has already received international acclaim[22] for its ground-breaking architecture and inventive use of memory theory in its interior and exterior design. The museum was designed as a confrontation of traditional notions of museum architecture and spatial politics. The location of the museum was the starting point for the envisioned community-based museum project and as a result the architecture and exhibition content is vividly inspired by the history and physical appearance of the surrounding township.

[21] New Brighton is a large township located on the outskirts of Port Elizabeth. New Brighton was established in 1877 and consists of a number of smaller locations, namely Red Location, White Location, McNamee, Boastville, Elundini and KwaFord.

[22] The Red Location Museum was awarded the World Leadership award in the categories of civil engineering and architecture in December 2005, the Lubetkin award from the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) in June 2006, and the Dedalo Minosse International Prize in June 2006.

In an interview with Christopher du Preez,[23] the museum's curator, he explained that the Red Location Museum was conceived as an architectural competition aimed at the creation of a non-commercial urban renewal and development project. The contract to design and build the museum was awarded to Cape Town based architectural firm Noero Wolff, who had previous experience in sustainable development and industrial aesthetics. Noero Wolff's submission was largely inspired by Andreas Huyssen's theory of the "twilight of memory" as well as by his progressive view of the successful integration of architecture as a key part of the memorial process. Huyssen (1995:4) argues that "architecture itself has become more interested in site-memory and in inscribing temporal dimensions in spatial structures". The walls of the museum are no longer only there as barriers against the outside world but rather as active participants in the memorialisation of history.

Much like the experiential architecture of the Apartheid Museum, the interior design of the Red Location Museum has a key role in the overall effect the exhibition has on its viewers. The exhibition space was designed to represent the experiences of South African citizens living in the New Brighton township during apartheid. Jeanne Wright (2006:11), a reporter for the *Sunday Independent*, describes the intention of the curators and architects as providing a museum space to record the history of the Red Location citizens and to house memorabilia and documentation about the repercussions of living under institutionalised apartheid. The museum presents the viewer with a historical perspective while the location of the museum draws the viewer's attention back to the present. The situating of the museum in the middle of a

[23] Personal communication with Christopher du Preez in Grahamstown on the 25th of October 2010.

large township allows the viewer to experience the narratives within the museum in a context that extends beyond the barriers of apartheid, broadening the scope of the collective memory.

The municipality intended to erect a cultural precinct in the centre of Red Location in an attempt to revive the township and facilitate community involvement.[24] Noero Wolff's winning model included a plan for a central museum space, "a library, art centre, gallery, and market hall" (Findley 2005:138). Before their involvement with the Red Location Museum project, Jo Noero and Heinrich Wolff were already familiar with sustainable structural design within township settings. Traditionally South African townships are associated with structures consisting of plain brick, corrugated iron and other readily accessible material. The Red Location Museum stylistically mirrors the surrounding houses in its application of similar building materials. Noero Wolff saw this parallel as a "celebration of the ordinary materials that the local people have scrounged over the years to keep out the rain and hold the Red Location shacks together" (Findley 2005:141), essentially elevating the humble materials that the residents made do with to the building materials of choice in a recognised cultural institution.

The building was designed to wholly integrate itself into the surrounding neighbourhood; constructed out of materials that would not seem out of place in a township. Andrew Meldrum (2006) describes the architecture as a symbiotic part of the community:

[24] According to Christopher du Preez (2010), the museum's outreach programme consists of feeding schemes, art programmes, building vegetable gardens in the community and HIV/Aids awareness programmes.

> Every aspect of the museum's architecture has roots deeply embedded in local history. The distinctive "saw-tooth" design of the roof is intended to echo the design of the factories that surround Red Location. Inside, the architects have used the rusting steel familiar from the township to create huge containers that house exhibits on various aspects of the struggle.

The exterior façade of the building does not conform to the more traditional Western museum norms. The pillars on the patio are made out of wooden poles [fig. 20], the roof and awnings are corrugated iron [fig. 21], and the walls are a combination of grey brick and highly reflective glass [fig. 22]. The colours are limited to neutral tones combined with scattered areas of red and silver. The integration of the building into the visual harmony of the township was achieved through Noero Wolff's resourceful use of unconventional construction materials. The commonality of structural resources is one aspect of the Red Location Museum's initiative to incorporate itself into the daily lives of the people living in the community.

Another approach employed by the museum is a far more literal one; the museum is positioned in the centre of the township. The design also included plans for the construction of a bus shelter, areas for informal trading, and houses only a few steps away from the museum [fig. 23]. My first visit to the Red Location Museum was prefaced by a group of school children playing on the museum's patio [fig. 22]. The space around the museum is completely open, void of any fences or high walls, fully accessible to all members of the surrounding community. The rationale behind installing a museum in the centre of a large community was not to confine their history within the walls of an institution but rather to honour the struggle of those who lived in New Brighton during apartheid. The aim of those who conceptualised the museum was to create a space that memorialises not only past events but more recent history: "the history that is being created daily in the nation" (Findley 2005:144).

Unlike the linear progression present in the Apartheid Museum, the history and memory in the Red Location does not follow a single story line. The building is a box-like structure which contains a series of twelve smaller box-like rooms, referred to as memory boxes.[25] Noero Wolff's interior design challenges the more traditional linear approach to representations of history and memory in museums. The larger space is representative of a broader perspective of apartheid history while the selection of smaller individual spaces is each representative of an individual narrative or a collection of personal memories. The physical structure of the museum mirrors the narrative structure within: each individual set of memories represented within the memory boxes is bound together by the overall themes present in the larger museum space.

The contents of the memory boxes are not fixed; each box is open to individual interpretation and avoids prescriptive narratives, allowing the viewers to draw their own conclusions. Findley (2005:146) describes the content[26] of the memory boxes as stories about specific events told from different perspectives, they are not official histories. Each box is a freestanding six metre by six metre rusted iron structure with a single entrance [fig. 24], the contents of each box is only revealed upon entry. The narratives and themes within the memory boxes are independent of one another and

[25] The memory boxes are inspired by the boxes used by migrant workers to store their prized possessions when they were separated from their families. The boxes represent objects of incredible value to the people to whom they belonged (Red Location Museum 2006).

[26] The content of the memory boxes ranges from a 'music box' which contained a selection of instruments, sheet music and images of musicians to a representation of a tin shack, complete with a bedroom, washing line and a paraffin lamp. Some of the boxes are small white-cube type exhibition spaces, displaying photographs and portraits, others contain personal stories and objects. The displays within the boxes are subject to change. The museum's curator, Christopher du Preez, is responsible for the final decision on the content. However, in the course of my interview, he explained that the museum held workshops involving the shareholders and the community to involve them in the process of brainstorming the displays.

each offers a complete experience in its own right. The boxes are unmarked and evenly spaced, each identical to the next [fig. 25 section 6]. The only way to differentiate between the boxes is by their contents. The spaces between the boxes have only recently been filled with large visual representations of key political events and players [fig. 26]. On my first visit to the museum in 2009, the red iron exteriors of the boxes were empty of any additional imagery. Regardless of this, they were still a powerful aspect of the overall display; red rusted walls looming above the viewers, loaded with symbolism and history.

For Jo Noero and Heinrich Wolff, the space between the boxes is just as important to the final museum experience as the interior spaces. The seemingly nondescript empty space is representative of the "bland, normal world that hid the secrets and atrocities of apartheid" (Findley 2005:147). During apartheid there was a carefully constructed sense of normalcy which covered the surface of the horror and impending terror that could be revealed at any point. Findley (2005:148) describes these spaces as evocative of the "half-light of trying to remember", the moment when the memory is still out of focus and just out of reach. Noero[27] refers to the spaces as twilight zones, the literal spaces between each box, between the memories: spaces of reflection. Huyssen's (1995) theories refer to such spaces as the "twilight of memory", the intervals between living the event and remembering it: "the nexus between the past and its recollection" (Leibowitz 2007:2). Huyssen (1995:3) argues that memory is constituted by the shaky fissure between the past and the present and that the twilight of memory occurs within these fissures. Noero Wolff translates Huyssen's model into a physical manifestation of the fissure between memories and recollection by constructing the

[27] Jo Noero quoted in an interview with Lisa Findley (2005:148).

transitional spaces between the memory boxes as vacant, contemplative corridors. The museum acts not only as space for the manifestation of memory but also as a representation of the act of remembering.

The museum offers guided tours of the exhibit to visitors, however, the tour only provides the viewers with a framework of history and an explanation of parts of the exhibition located in the larger space around the boxes.[28] Noero Wolff purposefully created the unmarked, ambiguous space to allow each person experiencing the museum to create their own sense of order out of the information provided by the exhibits. The viewers are not treated like consumers, or what Huyssen (1995:17) terms "manipulated and reified culture cattle" herded through a cattle press. The structure of the museum compels the viewers to become active participants; they are challenged to make their own decisions about which boxes to enter at which time, each deciding their own individual method and order of exploration. This forces the viewers to confront their own subjectivities and understanding of the information provided. Findley (2005:145) contends that the architects were acutely aware of the ways in which the present and the past can be manipulated in order to reframe memory. By encouraging each viewer to navigate his or her own way through the memory boxes, both literally and figuratively, memory and knowledge is transferred to each viewer differently. The collective memories that become fixed in the minds of

[28] The memory boxes are situated near the back of the L-shaped Red Location Museum. Upon entering the museum, the viewer is confronted by the reception area with space for temporary displays and a hall of memorial columns which honour those who gave their lives in the struggle against apartheid. Each pillar is accompanied by a touch screen computer display that provides more in-depth information about each person represented on the columns. The extensive use of digital visual imagery features prominently in both the Apartheid Museum and the Red Location Museum; monitors screening interviews, live footage and documentaries are located at key points in both museums. In the Apartheid Museum the assortment of monitors produce the sounds that merge to create the museum's evocative soundtrack.

people experiencing the museum are never identical; each person's unique experience reframes the history in a different way.

The lack of any prescribed order or directionality of movement within the museum draws parallels to the subjective and selective nature of the apartheid knowledge available to people. Each viewer walks out of the Red Location Museum with a different story and a different version of what is essentially the same truth. When presented with the opportunity to choose their own path through the museum, some go into certain memory boxes, some even skip boxes. In recalling my own experiences of the museum, it is impossible to be completely sure that I have seen the contents of every single memory box. This reinforces the certainty of each viewer experiencing the museum in his or her own way. Noero Wolff utilise the interior space within the museum as an interactive part of the overall experience. The interior space of the Apartheid Museum functions in a similar way, influencing the perceptions of its viewers by altering the environment. However, unlike the Apartheid Museum, the Red Location Museum's layout draws its inspiration from freedom rather than restriction of movement.

One of apartheid's most well-known legacies was the introduction of the Pass Laws Act of 1952.[29] This law restricted the movement of certain people around the majority of the country, reinforcing the already entrenched racial divides. This separation was so deeply ingrained into the everyday lives of South African citizens that it became etched into the environment. Findley (2005:133) describes the aerial view of the

[29] The Pass Laws Act was a system of movement control that stated that "non-white" individuals over the age of sixteen had to carry a pass with them at all times. The law, which was passed in 1952, served to "strengthen the hold of white property owners over non-white workers by controlling and directing the movement of non-whites generally and of non-white workers in particular" (Johnstone 1976:36).

South African landscape as the physical manifestation of the spatial legacies left behind by apartheid; literally written onto the countryside. Despite the fact that apartheid officially ended in 1994 and a new comprehensive constitution was put in place by the ANC, apartheid's policies continue to have an effect on South Africans; socially, economically and spatially. The separation that was so deeply ingrained in the country during apartheid is a continuing hurdle in the creation of a successful new nation. The architecture and interior design of the Red Location Museum present a unique way of drawing attention to the residue of apartheid's spatial politics through its lack of predetermined directionality and its evocation of labyrinth-like space between the memory boxes.

The spatial dynamics within the Red Location Museum are in sharp contrast to those present in the Apartheid Museum. Noero Wolff's design reinvestigates the accepted role of museums as creators of 'truth' and cultural authority, effectively transforming the function of the viewer with a museum. In contrast, the Apartheid Museum is dominated by reconstructions of state-sanctioned violence and brutality told from an authoritative position that determines the viewer's experience through the museums. In her comparison of the Apartheid Museum and the Red Location Museum, Findley (2005:146) argues that in considering the new spatial freedoms that were opened up to South Africans after apartheid, museums like the Apartheid Museum disadvantage themselves by ignoring the possibilities for symbolic representations of the new found freedom of movement.

Findley's reasoning does not take into account the museum's use of restrictive space as a strategy to evoke an emotional response from its viewers. The Apartheid

Museum's parody of the spatial restrictions and structure enforced during the apartheid years is an intentional tactic employed to add to the effectiveness of the experiential architecture of the museum. Elizabeth Rankin and Leoni Schmidt (2009:94) describe the clinical simplicity, sparseness and limited dimensions of the museum interior as evocative of the claustrophobic confinement experienced by thousands of people during apartheid. The emotional response elicited by the Red Location Museum's utilisation of uncontrolled space is no less affective: the museum employs a more organic way of experiencing memory and memorialisation. By allowing the viewer to find his or her own path through the exhibition space, the Red Location Museum creates a spatial freedom that is a relatively new museological tactic in the predetermined prescriptive layout that is often the norm in museum design.

The Red Location township got its name from the red colour of the rusted corrugated iron used to build the shacks that once made up the majority of the community's homes. While presently only a few of these shacks remain, the name and the association with the rusted iron continue. The walls of the memory boxes symbolise the iron used in the shacks which was originally sourced from the building materials of British barracks and concentration camps in Uitenhage during the Anglo Boer War from 1899 to 1902.[30] The iron was moved to Red Location after 1902 as housing material for British Soldiers. Red Location's political associations continued long after the Boer War ended; it became a political hotspot during apartheid. Host to numerous uprisings and anti-apartheid resistance groups, Red Location featured prominently as part of the people's struggle during apartheid. Due to its noteworthy

[30] History of the Red Location township on the Red Location Museum website (2006).

setting and its documentation of the area's history, the Red Location Museum is classified as a site specific museum, or a *lieux de mémoire*. The historical context of the museum's location adds gravitas to the narratives within the museum; contextualising the content. The viewers are confronted by the history both inside and outside of the museum.

Both museums examined in this study translate aspects of South African history into museological strategies and content which reinforce the collective memories of their viewers. The biggest distinction between these two museums is the difference in the significance of their locations. The Red Location Museum is a site specific institution, while the Apartheid Museum's narrative focus has no inherent historical connection to its exact location. However, both locations are paralleled in their relevance to the content of each museum. The Red Location Museum deals specifically with the history of the community it is situated in while the Apartheid Museum's broader narratives are echoed in the 'broader' relevance of Johannesburg. Red Location was a fundamental part of the anti-apartheid struggle and Johannesburg is a central setting in South Africa's economic, social and apartheid history. The key focus of each museum is accentuated by its physical site, or in the case of the Apartheid Museum, by the larger context of the city in which it is situated. Sean O'Toole (2002) contributes that Johannesburg was at the centre of the chain of events which started apartheid, beginning with the discovery of gold and the mass migration to the city. The Apartheid Museum was South Africa's first comprehensive memorialisation of apartheid history, so it is fitting that it is located in the city that could arguably be seen as the manifestation of the economic driving force behind the apartheid machine. Till (2010) explains that the Apartheid Museum was built on the rubble of an old mine,

which in addition to Johannesburg's history adds a significant economic and social context to the site. This context, while adding significance to the narratives, is not site specific to the location of the museum. Within the framework of this study and the definition put forward by Pierre Nora (1989), the Apartheid Museum is not a *lieux de mémoire.*

The Apartheid Museum's link to the underlying social and economic context within Johannesburg is not immediately evident to its viewers. However, Noero Wolff followed a far less subtle route with regards to the Red Location Museum's connection to its surroundings. As I have already emphasised, the museum is deeply embedded into the community that surrounds it. The only route to the museum navigated through New Brighton and Red Location, parts of which are primarily gravel roads without sign posts or other indication that you are travelling in the right direction. The museum is hardly separated from the surrounding houses; there is only a low wall that forms the barrier between the plots of land and the parking lot [fig. 27]. The houses conceal the museum from the approaching visitors, screening all but the zigzagged roof from view [fig. 28]. The location exposes potential visitors to the realities of life in post-apartheid South Africa, forcing them to confront the aftermath of the apartheid legacy before even entering the museum. In this way, the Red Location Museum does not create an ideological space for itself that reinforces its separation from its audience, South African communities.

Both the Red Location Museum and the Apartheid Museum target local as well as international audiences as part of their viewer-base. However, the Red Location Museum places a lot more emphasis on local tourism; most of the content and

narratives on display are aimed at the reinforcement of South African collective memory and the celebration of heritage. Du Preez (2010) affirms that the majority of the museum's audience consists of South Africans, even people from the surrounding townships. The tourism facet of the Red Location Museum is a positive source of job creation[31] within the township as "ninety percent of the museum's staff members live in the surrounding community" (Du Preez 2010). The museum is a non-profit governmentally funded initiative and as a result, any revenue created is channelled back into the municipality. There is very little financial incentive for the museum to shift its focus away from community outreach. Through the construction of a museum that specifically targets local heritage production, the Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality has created a valuable cultural institution that promises to significantly contribute to South African collective memory.

The Apartheid Museum is frequented by a large number of local as well as international tourists; it is a key destination for South Africans as well as foreigners. Verbeeck (2007:225) questions if the museum's image of a popular 'go-to cultural destination' is however, not a source of contention. Is it viable for private initiatives such as the Apartheid Museum to aim for public goals like nation building and reconciliation? While the curators and architects of the museum have employed numerous methods to isolate the museum and its narratives from the capitalist context from which it originates, it is still impossible to ignore the ever present fracture between reality and ideology. The paradox between the intentions of South African

[31] Job creation is one of the many positive outcomes of the creation of the museum. Du Preez (2010) elaborated that during the construction process, unskilled workers from the neighbourhood were hired and trained for construction labour, providing training and employment while integrating the community into the project.

cultural institutions and the actual economic and social situations they find themselves in is at present, irreconcilable.

In 1996 when the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology released their White Paper, cultural institutions within South Africa were just beginning to change the legacy that apartheid and colonialism had left them with. This re-evaluation of the importance and relevance of museums and memorials was intensified by the growing awareness of the use of memory as an important tool in social renewal. These institutions were discovering the benefit of successfully utilising memory as part of their exhibits. Over ten years after the ANC officially sanctioned the reconstitution of South African heritage production, the Apartheid Museum and the Red Location Museum have become key parts of the country's cultural landscape. As I have discussed in this chapter, both museums utilise innovative museological and architectural methods to transmit South African history and collective memory to their viewers. By creating a framework of understanding about the functions and importance of museums, I have situated the study of the Apartheid Museum and the Red Location Museum within a broader understanding of the relevance of these cultural institutions, specifically within a South African context. Each of the museums has its own distinct strategies for the representation of apartheid history and the creation of a uniquely South African collective memory. Whether privately-funded like the Apartheid Museum, or governmentally-funded, like the Red Location Museum, cultural institutions are recognising the dire need for the creation and institution of a commonly accepted cultural heritage which promotes the positive ideologies of the new democratic South Africa.

Figure 5: Sippel, E. 2010. Racial classification entrance to the Apartheid Museum. [Photograph] (Reproduced with permission from the Apartheid Museum).

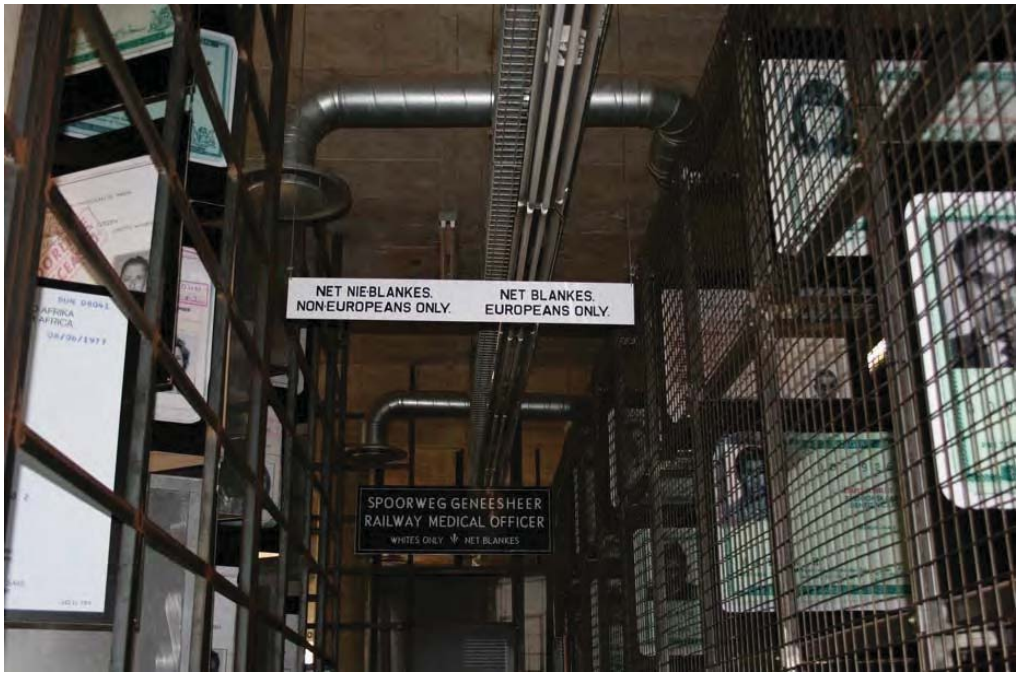

Figure 6: Sippel, E. 2010. Passbooks displayed behind wire frames. [Photograph] (Reproduced with permission from the Apartheid Museum).

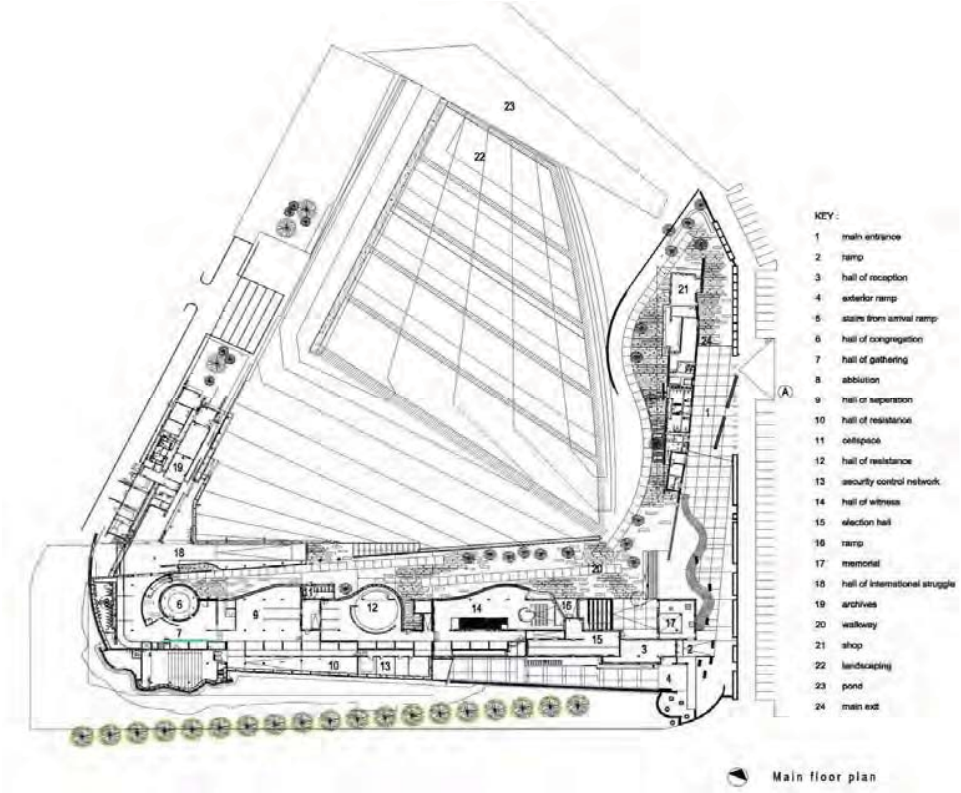

Figure 7: Apartheid Museum. 2001. Floorplan. [Electronic Print] (Reproduced with permission from Mashabane Rose Architects).

Figure 8: Sippel, E. 2010. Exterior ramp of the Apartheid Museum. [Photograph] (Reproduced with permission from the Apartheid Museum).

Figure 9: Sippel, E. 2010. View from the parking lot of the Apartheid Museum. [Photograph] (Reproduced with permission from the Apartheid Museum).

Figure 10: Sippel, E. 2010. Photographic display. [Photograph] (Reproduced with permission from the Apartheid Museum).

Figure 11: Sippel, E. 2010. Interior metal cage-like structures. [Photograph] (Reproduced with permission from the Apartheid Museum).

Figure 12: Sippel, E. 2010. Digital video displays mounted onto pillars. [Photograph] (Reproduced with permission from the Apartheid Museum).

Figure 13: Sippel, E. 2010. Monitors mounted onto the metal cages. [Photograph] (Reproduced with permission from the Apartheid Museum).

Figure 14: Sippel, E. 2010. A "no entry" sign. [Photograph] (Reproduced with permission from the Apartheid Museum).

Figure 15: Sippel, E. 2010. Yellow Casspir. [Photograph] (Reproduced with permission from the Apartheid Museum).

Figure 16: Sippel, E. 2010. 131 political execution nooses. [Photograph] (Reproduced with permission from the Apartheid Museum).

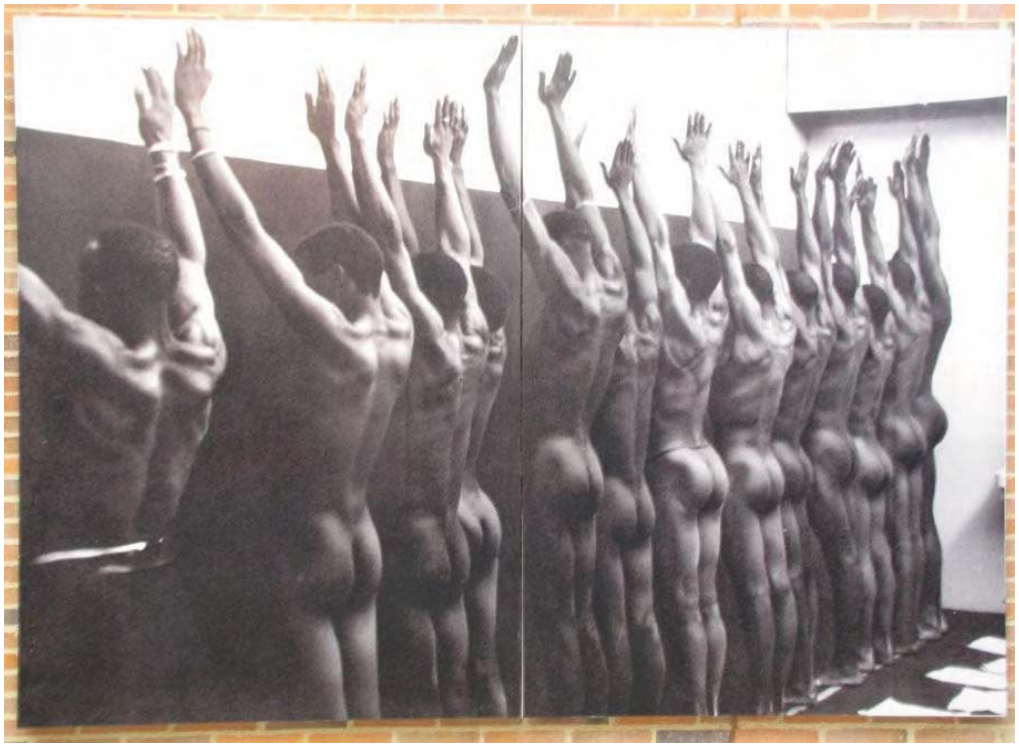

Figure 17: Sippel, E. 2010. Large-scale Ernest Cole photograph. [Photograph] (Reproduced with permission from the Apartheid Museum).

Figure 18: Sippel, E. 2010. Photograph of the resistance movement. [Photograph] (Reproduced with permission from the Apartheid Museum).

Figure 19: Sippel, E. 2010. Photographs of citizens on voting day. [Photograph] (Reproduced with permission from the Apartheid Museum).

Figure 20: Sippel, E. 2010. Red Location Museum patio. [Photograph] (Reproduced with permission from the Red Location Museum).

Figure 21: Sippel, E. 2010. Red Location Museum façade. [Photograph] (Reproduced with permission from the Red Location Museum).

Figure 22: Sippel, E. 2009. Reflective glass on the Red Location Museum patio. [Photograph] (Reproduced with permission from the Red Location Museum).

Figure 23: Sippel, E. 2010. Adjacent houses. [Photograph] (Reproduced with permission from the Red Location Museum).

Figure 24: Sippel, E. 2009. Memory boxes. [Photograph] (Reproduced with permission from the Red Location Museum).

Figure 25: Red Location Museum. 2006. Floorplan. [Electronic Print] (Reproduced with permission from the Red Location Museum).

Figure 26: Sippel, E. 2010. Displays on the outside of the memory boxes. [Photograph] (Reproduced with permission from the Red Location Museum).

Figure 27: Sippel, E. 2010. The houses alongside the museum. [Photograph] (Reproduced with permission from the Red Location Museum).

Figure 28: Sippel, E. 2010. View of the Red Location Museum's roof through the adjacent houses. [Photograph] (Reproduced with permission from the Red Location Museum).

Conclusion

Contextualising Post-Apartheid Museums

In considering the current role of post-apartheid South African museums, I have revealed two distinct points of view. The first being the increasingly positive position that museums have managed to triumph over an unsettling past as propagators of negative apartheid values and philosophies. The constructive change that has occurred in museums in the last few years has positioned them as the leading contributors to national collective memory and principles of forgiveness and peace. The second prominent opinion that has surfaced is one that emphasises the importance of considering the vast difference between intentions and reality. In my investigation into the function of museums in post-apartheid South Africa, I do not deny that there has been remarkable social and ideological change within these cultural institutions since the installation of democracy. It is however short-sighted to focus only on the positive aspects of this contemporary fascination with museums.

In the last few decades museums have increased in popularity as prominent cultural institutions, both internationally as well as locally in South Africa. The old adage that with great power, or in the case of museums – greater influence – comes a much larger degree of responsibility is especially fitting in the case of post-apartheid museums. It is vital that these cultural institutions are aware of the extent of their responsibilities within social, cultural and political contexts. Throughout this discussion, it becomes clear that in South Africa, both the government and museum professionals are striving to ensure that museums and memorials continue to responsibly communicate positive ideologies. Paul Williams (2007:111) argues that

cultural institutions are only able to facilitate reconciliation if they operate under conditions that lend themselves to understanding and peace. As illustrated by the investigation into the history of South African museums and the brief examination of South Africa's move away from a segregated state, the current political climate is one which reinforces positive ideals and democratic values.

The ANC are especially aware of the importance and value of cultural and memorial institutions. The Department of Arts, Culture, Science, and Technology (1996) issued an official report listing their goals for the reconstitution of post-apartheid cultural institutions. The aim was to generate museums and memorials which promoted reconciliation and consequently supported healing and nation building. The White Paper defined culture as an "important component of national life which enhances [...] freedom" and endorses social inclusion. In an analysis of a selection of the goals listed in the White Paper I considered whether these museums have achieved the objectives set out by ANC. This discussion also takes into account the inherent paradoxes which are built into the White Paper.

After constructing the frame of reference for the analysis of new South African museums, the thesis leads onto an analysis of the case studies, the Red Location Museum and the Apartheid Museum. Both of these relatively young museums have managed to effectively position themselves in the centre of South Africa's growing tourism and cultural sectors. The Apartheid Museum's narratives and display provide a broad account of South Africa's apartheid history while the Red Location falls under the classification of a site specific museum, selecting to represent a focused account of the histories and memories of the surrounding community. Despite the

difference in the scope of their emphasis, both museums employ new innovative models of museum design and memorialisation.

In my comparative study of the Apartheid Museum and the Red Location Museum, it has become clear just how central the role of architecture and museum design is in the successful transference of collective memory and historical knowledge to museum-goers. South African architectural firms like Noero Wolff and Mashabane Rose artfully combine innovative use of space and narrative to stress the importance of preserving cultural heritage, undoing the spatial legacy of apartheid, and transmitting collective memory to the nation through the repositioning of museums within contemporary society. The study has also shown that the exploration into a new type of museological spatial politics is not the only beneficial contribution architecture offers contemporary museums. Both the Red Location Museum and the Apartheid Museum innovatively utilise the architecture of their buildings in order to influence the emotional states of their viewers; making them more susceptible to the philosophies and subjectivities present in the displays. Charlotte Bauer (2001:24) expands on this by arguing that that the success of a museum lies in the ability of its very structure to express and excite feelings in its audience. The emphasis both museums place on architecture allows for the subtle communication of the many different opinions and perspectives of those who experienced apartheid, keeping the construction of collective memory from becoming static.

Summary of Contributions

This thesis contributes to the analysis of new South African museums as strategic tools for the furthering of democratic doctrine within post-apartheid South Africa. The

first two chapters of this study contextualise the theory related to memory, memorialisation and museums. They deconstruct the significant concepts behind the view of museums and memorials as crucial to the social and cultural reconstructions of developing and recovering countries. The last two chapters allow for a comprehensive investigation into South African museums, emphasising the role of post-apartheid museums in the 16 years following the end of institutionalised apartheid.

Through an inclusive study of the underlying philosophies of the key memory concepts employed in this thesis, the first chapter deconstructs cultural memory theory. This chapter introduces the main theories utilised in the understanding of memorialisation and the role of memory within these institutions. The primary focus of the chapter was the introduction of collective memory and *lieux de mémoire.* Collective memory is positioned as distinct from memory as an individual concept; a form of memory that surpasses the memory of only one person, the shared recollections and 'knowledge' of a group. *Lieux de mémoire* is introduced and comprehensively examined in the first chapter as the expression of memory within concrete emplacements. The analysis in the first chapter effectively sets the tone for the understanding of the terms and ideas employed in the rest of the study.

The second chapter contributes an in-depth study of the ways in which memory manifests itself in memorial institutions. It introduces the model of museums and memorials as cultural institutions and provides insights into the post-modern fascination with documentation and memorialisation. By examining the role of memorialisation within contemporary society, I consider how memory, specifically

collective memory, can be utilised to reinforce national identity. The second chapter is similar to the first chapter in that it provides the framework for the second half of the thesis. Through the examination of museums, memorials and monuments on a broader scale, it creates a solid structure of understanding about the underlying assumptions of my exploration into post-apartheid museums. It also elaborates on the museological terminology used in the thesis.

The specific national context of the thesis is introduced and examined in the third chapter. The broader framework created in the earlier chapters situates the study of memorialisation and museums within a South African setting. The third chapter is a predominantly historical enquiry; I consider the history of museums in South Africa during apartheid. This consideration allows for the examination of post-apartheid museums and the methods employed by curators and architects to restore these institutions to a position of social standing within South African communities. The chapter does not resolve the current social and economic issues regarding these new museums or the paradox of the ideologies present in the White Paper versus the prevailing prejudices.

The crux of the thesis is explored in the fourth chapter; the comprehensive and comparative study of two post-apartheid museum, the Red Location Museum and the Apartheid Museum. Once again, this chapter is not a resolution of the ideas presented in the study, but rather an intensive discussion on the factors pertaining to new South African museums, specifically the case studies. I break down the different curatorial and architectural elements of both museums in order to ascertain the feasibility of their function as creators of a new post-apartheid South African identity.

Conclusions

This investigation considers both the positive and negative aspects to museum work and memory creation within cultural institutions. It does not make any fixed conclusions but rather opens up the matter for further thought. The study of memory and memorialisation extends a lot further than the few pertinent issues discussed in this thesis. This study has limited its scope to the specific study of two post-apartheid museums as contributors to South African collective memory.

It can be concluded that South Africa's current cultural landscape still has visible fissures between ideology and reality. While the ANC and the cultural institutions are attempting to reconcile this gap, it has not happened yet. As shown by the investigation into the tourism facets of both case studies, South African museums are still at odds with conflicting goals and demographics. The economic motivations of the tourist industry are increasingly relevant within a recovering economy such as South Africa. However, museum professionals are aware of the dangers of alienating the local communities by placing too much emphasis on the role of international tourism. The Red Location Museum does however place a much greater emphasis on community involvement and the specific targeting of local audiences than the Apartheid Museum. The difference in this emphasis is visible in their individual places on South Africa's heritage and tourism 'map'. The Red Location Museum, while being an internationally recognised institution, is the more locally centred of the two.

In the course of the study, it is made clear that the representation of memory and the memorialisation of the past within cultural institutions must be conscientiously done as memory is not without its drawbacks. Memory and memorialisation can be effective modes of heritage production and nation building. They can also however, be employed in ways that result in the fossilisation of the past. An obsession with memory often results in a certain reluctance to look forward and to move on from the past. Andreas Huyssen (1995:260) ascertains that "in frozen memory, the past is nothing but the past". 'Freezing' the past at a certain event is a very dangerous habit to fall into. It becomes a kind of comfort zone onto which all accountability and blame can be shifted. It is much easier to simply dwell in the past than deal with the present or the future. Georgi Verbeeck (2007:222) contends that the political message of the Apartheid Museum, which reads "Racial discrimination is now where it belongs, in the museum", shows naïve optimism on the part of the museum. The constructive use of memory and history and nation building tools requires more than just placing the past within a museum and "concluding history".

While this drawback is present within most museums, there are however ways in which to lessen its effect. The Apartheid Museum does indeed place a large emphasis on the past but the linear structure of the museum results in the movement of the viewer from the past into the present, through the history of apartheid up until the installation of democracy. The Red Location Museum places its narratives firmly in the present through its construction in the centre of a South African township. It avoids becoming a filing cabinet of memory where viewers can simply place their memories and return at their leisure.

As is evident in my analysis of the social, cultural, and political relevance of museums, specifically post-apartheid museums, it is crucial that museums continue to evolve in a constructive direction. Huyssen (1995:35) urges that museums continue to work with such change, refine their methods of representations and offer their spaces as sites of cultural contestation and negotiation. Post-apartheid museums and other cultural institutions are invaluable to the furthering of positive ideologies within South Africa because, as Mandela (1997) contends, "these ideals must have concrete content if they are to have real meaning". Museums must essentially become the physical representations of the change that the ANC is promoting. It is vital that cultural institutions concentrate their efforts and resources on contributing to a new South African identity as well as a reconciled nation through the constant reinforcement of national collective memory.

Bibliography

AFROL. 2007. 'Role of African memorial museums discussed'. *Afrol News*. http://www.afrol.com/articles/16028 [03 May 2009].

Apartheid Museum. (n.d). 'The Apartheid Museum: A History Forgotten is a Future Lost'. http://www.apartheidmuseum.org/ [21 September 2010].

Ashworth, G.J. 2004. 'Tourism and the Heritage of Atrocity: Managing the Heritage of South African Apartheid for Entertainment', in T.V. Singh (*ed.*) *New horizons in tourism: strange experiences and stranger practices.* Cambridge, MA: CABI Publishing, pp. 95-108.

Assmann, A. 2008. 'Canon and Archive', in A. Erll and A. Nünning (*ed.*) *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook.* New York: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 97-107.

Assmann, J. 1995. 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity', *New German Critique,* 65: 125-133.

Assmann, J. 1998. *Moses the Egyptian: the memory of Egypt in western monotheism.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Assmann, J. 2008. 'Communicative and Cultural Memory', in A. Erll and A. Nünning (*ed.*) *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook.* New York: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 109-118.

Baines, G. 2007. 'The politics of public history in post-apartheid South Africa', in H.E. Stolten (*ed.*) *History Making and Present Day Politics: The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa.* Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, pp. 167-182.

Bal, M. 1996. 'The discourse of the museum', in R. Greenberg, B.W. Ferguson, and S. Nairne (*ed.*) *Thinking about exhibitions.* London: Routledge, pp. 201-215.

Bal, M. 1999a. 'Introduction', in M. Bal, J. Crewe, and L. Spitzer (*ed.*) *Acts of memory: cultural recall in the present.* Hanover: University Press of New England, pp. *vii-xvii.*

Bal, M. 1999b. 'Memories in the Museum: Preposterous Histories for Today', in M. Bal, J. Crewe, and L. Spitzer (*ed.*) *Acts of memory: cultural recall in the present.* Hanover: University Press of New England, pp. 171-190.

Barsalou, J.M. Baxter, V. & United States Institute of Peace. 2007. *The Urge to Remember: the role of memorials in social reconstruction and transitional justice,* Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace. http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS77844 [21 May 2010].

Bartelson, J. 2006. 'We Could Remember It for You Wholesale: Myths, Monuments and the Constitution of National Memories', in D. Bell (*ed.*) *Memory,*

Trauma and World Politics: Reflections on the Relationship between Past and Present. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 33-53.

Bauer, C. 2001. 'Speaking for itself, and for all of us'. *Sunday Times*, 02 December, pp. 24.

Baxandall, M. 1991. 'Exhibiting Intention: Some Preconditions of the Visual Display of Culturally Purposeful Objects', in S.D. Lavine and I. Karp (*ed.*) *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display.* Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, pp. 33-41.

Beaver, T. 2008. 'Respect is the key to prevent atrocities'. *Star*, 29 January, pp. 7.

Bell, D. 2006. 'Introduction: Memory, Trauma and World Politics', in D. Bell (*ed.*) *Memory, Trauma and World Politics: Reflections on the Relationship between Past and Present.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1-29.

Benjamin, W. 1992. *Illuminations.* Translated by H. Zohn. London: Fontana.

Bennett, T. 1995. *The birth of the museum: history, theory, politics.* London: Routledge.

Bennett, T. 2005. 'Stored Virtue: Memory, the body and the evolutionary museum', in S. Radstone and K. Hodgkin (*ed.*) *Memory cultures: memory, subjectivity and recognition.* New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, pp. 40-54.

Berliner, D. 2005. 'Social Thought and Commentary: The Abuses of Memory: Reflections on the Memory Boom in Anthropology', *Anthropological Quarterly*, 78 (1): 197-211.

Bertman, S. 2000. *Cultural amnesia: America's future and the crisis of memory.* Westport, Conn.: Praeger.

Bleiker, R. & Hoang, Y. 2006. 'Remembering and Forgetting the Korean War: From Trauma to Reconciliation', in D. Bell (*ed.*) *Memory, Trauma and World Politics: Reflections on the Relationship between Past and Present.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 195-212.

Bodnar, J. 1994. 'Public Memory in an American City: Commemoration in Cleveland', in J.R. Gillis (*ed.*) *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 74-89.

Bohlin, A. 2007. 'Claiming land and making memory: Engaging with the past in land restitution', in H.E. Stolten (*ed.*) *History Making and Present Day Politics: The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa.* Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, pp. 114-128.

Bregin, E. 2000. 'Representing the Bushmen: Through the Colonial Lens', *English in Africa*, 27 (1): 37-54.

Bremner, L.J. 2007. 'Memory, Nation Building and the Post-apartheid City: The Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg', in N. Murray, N. Shepherd and M. Hall (*ed.*) *Desire Lines: Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-apartheid City*. London: Routledge, pp. 85-103.

Brewer, J.D. 2006. 'Memory, truth and victimhood in post-trauma societies'. http://www.abdn.ac.uk/socsci/staff/details.php?id=j.brewer [01 July 2010].

Brink, A. 1998. 'Stories of history: reimagining the past in post-apartheid narrative', in S. Nuttall and C. Coetzee (*ed.*) *Negotiating the past: the making of memory in South Africa*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, pp. 29-42.

Brison, S.J. 1999. 'Trauma Narratives and the Remaking of the Self', in M. Bal, J. Crewe, and L. Spitzer (*ed.*) *Acts of memory: cultural recall in the present*. Hanover: University Press of New England, pp. 39-49.

Burcaw, G.E. 1997. *Introduction to Museum Work*. Walnut Creek, California: Altamira Press.

Butler, L. 2009a. 'Removals haunt museum upgrade'. *The Herald*, 01 June, pp. 4.

Butler, L. 2009b. 'Stalemate on Red Location Museum project'. *The Herald*, 03 June, pp. 10.

Capazorio, B. 2006. 'Struggle era brought to vibrant life'. *The Herald*, 13 November, pp. 8.

Carrier, D. 2001. 'Art Museums, Old Paintings, and Our Knowledge of the Past', *History and Theory*, 40 (2): 170-189.

Carrier, P. 2000. 'Places, Politics and the Archiving of Contemporary Memory in Pierre Nora's *Les Lieux de mémoire*', in S. Radstone (*ed.*) *Memory and Methodology*. Oxford: Berg, pp. 37-57.

Casey, E.S. 2004. 'Public Memory in Place and Time', in K. Phillips (*ed.*) *Framing Public Memory*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, pp. 17-43.

Cobban, H. 2006. 'From Amnesty after Atrocity: Healing Nations after Genocide and War Crimes'. http://www.archipelago.org/vol10-34/cobban.htm [15 April 2010].

Coombes, A.E. 2003. *History after apartheid: visual culture and public memory in a democratic South Africa*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Colvin, C.J. 2006. 'Brothers and sisters do not be afraid of me: trauma, history and the therapeutic imagination in the new South Africa', in K. Hodgkin and S. Radstone (*ed.*) *Memory, History, Nation: Contested Pasts*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, pp. 153-167.

Crampton, A. 2001. 'The Voortrekker Monument, the birth of apartheid, and beyond', *Political Geography*, 20 (2): 221-246.

Crane, S.A. 2000. 'Introduction: Of Museums and Memory', in S.A. Crane (*ed.*) *Museums and Memory.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 1-13.

Crewe, J. 1999. 'Recalling Adamastor: Literature as Cultural Memory in "White" South Africa', in M. Bal, J. Crewe, and L. Spitzer (*ed.*) *Acts of memory: cultural recall in the present.* Hanover: University Press of New England, pp. 75-85.

Crysler, C.G. 2006. 'Violence and Empathy: National Museums and the Spectacle of Society', *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, 27 (11): 19-38.

Davie, L. 2003. 'The powerful Apartheid Museum'. http://www.joburg.org.za/content/view/249/51/ [08 April 2009].

Davie, L. 2008. 'Lessons from the past'. *Business Day*, 09 May, pp. 4.

Davis, E. 1994. 'The Museum and the Politics of Social Control in Modern Iraq', in J.R. Gillis (*ed.*) *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 90-104.

Davison, P. 1998. 'Museums and the reshaping of memory', in S. Nuttall and C. Coetzee (*ed.*) *Negotiating the past: the making of memory in South Africa.* Cape Town: Oxford University Press, pp. 143-160.

Deacon, H. 1998. 'Remembering tragedy, constructing modernity: Robben Island as a national monument', in S. Nuttall and C. Coetzee (*ed.*) *Negotiating the past: the making of memory in South Africa.* Cape Town: Oxford University Press, pp. 161-179.

De Kok, I. 1998. 'Cracked heirlooms: memory on exhibition', in S. Nuttall and C. Coetzee (*ed.*) *Negotiating the past: the making of memory in South Africa.* Cape Town: Oxford University Press, pp. 57-71.

Den Boer, P. 2008. '*Loci memoriae – Lieux de memoire*', in A. Erll and A. Nünning (*ed.*) *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook.* New York: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 19-25.

Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST). 1996. *White paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage: All Our Legacies, Our Common Future.* Pretoria: Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology. http://www.dac.gov.za/white_paper.htm [31 July 2010].

De Vries, F. 2008. 'Apartheid unpacked and laid bare'. *The Weekender*, 22 March, pp. 4.

Diner, D. 2007. 'From Society to Memory: Reflections on a Paradigm Shift', in D. Mendels (*ed.*) *On Memory: An Interdisciplinary Approach.* New York: Peter Lang, pp. 149-163.

Dubin, S. 2006. *Transforming Museums: Mounting Queen Victoria in a Democratic South Africa.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Du Preez, C. 2006. 'Curator's Statement'. http://www.freewebs.com/redlocationmuseumarchives/curator.htm [05 August 2010].

Du Preez, C. 2010. *Discussion with the Curator of the Red Location Museum regarding memorialisation, apartheid and the history of the Museum.* [Telephonic Conversation] Personal communication, 25 October 2010.

Eber, D.E. & Neal, A.G. 2001a. 'Memory, Constructed Reality, and Artistic Truth', in D.E. Eber and A.G. Neal (*ed.*) *Memory and Representation: Constructed Truths and Competing Realities.* Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, pp. 3-18.

Eber, D.E. & Neal, A.G. 2001b. 'The Individual and Collective Search for Identity', in D.E. Eber and A.G. Neal (*ed.*) *Memory and Representation: Constructed Truths and Competing Realities.* Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, pp. 169-182.

Edkins, J. 2006. 'Remembering Relationality: Trauma Time and Politics', in D. Bell (*ed.*) *Memory, Trauma and World Politics: Reflections on the Relationship between Past and Present.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 99-115.

Erll, A. 2008. 'Cultural Memory Studies: An Introduction', in A. Erll and A. Nünning (*ed.*) *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook.* New York: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 1-15.

Ernst, W. 2000. 'Archi(ve)textures of Museology', in S.A. Crane (*ed.*) *Museums and Memory.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 17-34.

Feuchtwang, S. 2006. 'Memorials to Injustice', in D. Bell (*ed.*) *Memory, Trauma and World Politics: Reflections on the Relationship between Past and Present.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 176-194.

Fierke, K.M. 2006. 'Bewitched by the Past: Social Memory, Trauma and International Relations', in D. Bell (*ed.*) *Memory, Trauma and World Politics: Reflections on the Relationship between Past and Present.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 116-134.

Findley, L. 2005. *Building Change: Architecture, Politics and Cultural Agency.* London: Routledge.

Flemming, D. 2002. 'Positioning the museum for social inclusion' in R. Sandell (*ed.*) *Museums, Society, Inequality.* London: Routledge, pp. 213-224.

Fortunati, V. & Lamberti, E. 2008. 'Cultural Memory: A European Perspective', in A. Erll and A. Nünning (*ed.*) *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook.* New York: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 127-137.

Fyfe, G. & Ross, M. 1996. 'Decoding the Visitor's Gaze: Rethinking Museum Visiting', in S. Macdonald and G. Fyfe (*ed.*) *Theorizing Museums.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, pp. 127-150.

Gable, E. 1996. 'Maintaining Boundaries, or 'Mainstreaming' Black History in a White Museum', in S. Macdonald and G. Fyfe (*ed.*) *Theorizing Museums.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, pp. 177-202.

Galloway, A. 2006. 'Collective remembering and the importance of forgetting: a critical design challenge'. http://www.purselipsquarejaw.org/papers/galloway_chi2006.pdf [13 November 2010].

Geldenhuys, H. 2005. 'A long trek to one prize'. *Sunday Times*, 06 November, pp. 2.

Gillis, J.R. 1994. 'Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship', in J.R. Gillis (*ed.*) *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 3-27.

Goldberg, A. 2001. 'Trail Of The Unexpected: Johannesburg's new apartheid museum charts decades of violence and repression'. http://www.independent.co.uk/travel/africa/trail-of-the-unexpected-johannesburgs-new-apartheid-museum-charts-decades-fo-violence-and-repression-649112.html [08 April 2009].

Gordon, R. Rassool, C. & Witz, L. 1996. 'Fashioning the Bushman in Van Riebeeck's Cape town, 1952 and 1993', in P. Skotnes (*ed.*) *Miscast: negotiating the presence of the Bushmen.* Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, pp. 257-269.

Grant-Marshall, S. 2009. 'Show Man'. *Financial Mail*, 04 September, pp. 82.

Green, R.L. 2001. 'Ancestral Dreams: Re-living the Past, Re-creating the Future', in D.E. Eber and A.G. Neal (*ed.*) *Memory and Representation: Constructed Truths and Competing Realities.* Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, pp. 21-54.

Grundlingh, A. 2007. 'Reframing remembrance: The politics of the centenary commemoration of the South African War of 1899-1902', in H.E. Stolten (*ed.*) *History Making and Present Day Politics: The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa.* Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, pp. 196-216.

Halbwachs, M. 1992. *On Collective Memory.* Translated by Lewis A. Coser. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hall, M. 2006. 'The Reappearance of the Authentic', in I. Karp, C.A. Kratz, L. Szwaja and T. Ybarra-Frausto (*ed.*) *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures / Global Transformations*. Durham: Duke University Press, pp. 70-101.

Hass, K.A. 1998. *Carried to the Wall: American Memory and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hayward, B. 2006a. 'Joy for residents of New Brighton as museum opens'. *Weekend Post*, 11 November, pp. 2.

Hayward, B. 2006b. 'Red Location Museum'. *Weekend Post*, 25 November, pp. 7.

Hodges, J.D. 1978. 'Museums, Anthropology, and Minorities: In Search of a New Relevance for Old Artifacts', *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 9 (2): 148-157.

Holiday, A. 1998. 'Forgiving and forgetting: the Truth and Reconciliation Commission', in S. Nuttall and C. Coetzee (*ed.*) *Negotiating the past: the making of memory in South Africa*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, pp. 43-56.

Hooper-Greenhill, E. 1992. *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*. New York: Routledge.

Hughes, H. 2003. 'What is remembered and what forgotten: a decade of redefining culture and heritage for tourism in South Africa'. http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/ttri/pdf/conference/Heather%20Hughes.pdf [01 May 2009].

Huyssen, A. 1994. 'Monument and Memory in a Postmodern Age', in J.E. Young (*ed.*) *The Art of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History*. New York: Prestel, pp. 9-17.

Huyssen, A. 1995. *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia*. New York: Routledge.

Huyssen, A. 1999. 'Monumental Seduction', in M. Bal, J. Crewe, and L. Spitzer (*ed.*) *Acts of memory: cultural recall in the present*. Hanover: University Press of New England, pp. 191-207.

Huyssen, A. 2003. *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Jack, M. 2005. 'Red Location Museum will highlight the struggle'. *The Herald*, 15 February, pp. 7.

Jack, M. 2006. 'Local museum gains international acclaim'. *The Herald*, 03 July, pp. 5.

Jansen, J.D. 2009. *Knowledge in the blood: confronting race and the apartheid past*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Jenkins, T. 2007. 'Victims Remembered', in S. Watson (*ed.*) *Museums and their communities*. New York: Routledge, pp. 448-451.

Johnstone, F.A. 1976. *Class, race and gold: a study of class relations and racial discrimination in South Africa*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Jones, A.L. 1993. 'Exploding Canons: The Anthropology of Museums', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 22: 201-220.

Kansteiner, W. 2002. 'Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies'. *History and Theory* 41 (2): 179-197.

Kaplan, F. 2003. 'Toppled: National styles of pulling down statues'. http://www.slate.com/id/2081309 [11 July 2010].

Karp, I. 1991. 'How Museums Define Other Cultures', *American Art*, 5 (1/2): 10-15.

Karp, I. 1992. 'On civil society and social identity', in I. Karp, C. Kreamer and S. Lavine (*ed.*) *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Kasfir, S.L. 1997. 'Cast, Miscast: The Curator's Dilemma', *African Arts*, 30 (1): 1,4,6,8-9,93.

Kasfir, S.L. 2002. 'Museums and Contemporary African Art: Some Questions for Curators', *African Arts*, 35 (4): 9-87.

Katz, M. 2004. 'A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum: The Redefinition of the Modern Museum'. http://www.arts.monash.edu.au/publications/eras/edition-6/katzarticle.php [01 May 2009].

Kavanagh, G. 2002. 'Remembering ourselves in the work of museums: trauma and the place of the personal in the public' in R. Sandell (*ed.*) *Museums, Society, Inequality*. London: Routledge, pp. 110-122.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. 1991. 'Objects in Ethnography', in S.D. Lavine and I. Karp (*ed.*) *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, pp. 386-443.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. 2006. 'Exhibitionary Complexes', in I. Karp, C.A. Kratz, L. Szwaja and T. Ybarra-Frausto (*ed.*) *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures / Global Transformations*. Durham: Duke University Press, pp. 35-45.

Kolstrup, S. 1999. 'Wings of Desire: Space, Memory and Identity'. http://pov.imv.au.dk/Issue_08/section_2/artc5B.html [22 February 2010].

Koonz, C. 1994. 'Between Memory and Oblivion: Concentration camps in German Memory', in J.R. Gillis (*ed.*) *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 258-280.

Landsberg, A. 1997. 'America, the Holocaust, and the Mass Culture of Memory: Toward a Radical Politics of Empathy', *New German Critique,* 71: 63-86.

Lane, P. 1996. 'Breaking the Mould: Exhibiting Khoisan in Southern African Museums', *Anthropology Today*, 12 (5): 3-10.

Langenohl, A. 2008. 'Memory in Post-Authoritarian Societies', in A. Erll and A. Nünning (*ed.*) *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook.* New York: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 163-172.

Laqueur, T.W. 1994. 'Memory and Naming in the Great War', in J.R. Gillis (*ed.*) *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 150-167.

Lavine, S.D. & Karp, I. 1991. 'Introduction: Museums and Multiculturalism', in S.D. Lavine and I. Karp (*ed.*) *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display.* Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, pp. 1-9.

Leibowitz, V. 2007. 'New Visions of the Past: Technology and the Creation of Memory space in South African Museums', *4th International Conference of the Association of Architecture Schools of Australasia*, Sydney, 05 October.

Levitz, C. 1996. 'The Transformation of Museums in South Africa'. http://cidoc.mediahost.org/content/archive/cidoc_site_2006_12_31/arte031.html [03 July 2010].

Lieblich, A. 2007. 'The Second Generation of Kfar Etzion: A Study of Collective Memory', in D. Mendels (*ed.*) *On Memory: An Interdisciplinary Approach.* New York: Peter Lang, pp. 213-230.

Linenthal, E.T. 1995. *Preserving Memory: The struggle to create America's Holocaust museum.* New York: Penguin Books.

Liss, A. 2004. 'The Identity Card Project and the Tower of Faces at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum', in D. Preziosi and C. Farago (*ed.*) *Grasping the world: the idea of the museum.* Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 735-755.

Lubar, S. 2007. 'Exhibiting Memories', in S. Watson (*ed.*) *Museums and their communities*. New York: Routledge, pp. 397-405.

Manier, D. & Hirst, W. 2008. 'A Cognitive Taxonomy of Collective Memories', in A. Erll and A. Nünning (*ed.*) *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook.* New York: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 254-262.

Mandela, N. 1997. *Address on Heritage Day*, 24 September, Robben Island. http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/mandela/1997/sp0924a.html [10 May 2009].

Margalit, A. 2002. *The ethics of memory*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Markman, I. 2010. 'Hopes for Red Location Art Gallery by World Cup'. *The Herald*, 19 January, pp. 5.

Martin, M. 2006. 'The Miscast Exhibition at the South African National Gallery', in J. Lohman and K.J. Goodnow (*ed.*) *Human Remains and Museum Practice*. Barcelona: Berghahn Books, pp. 33-41.

Matavire, M. 2006a. 'Red Location Museum 'must' open next month'. *The Herald*, 15 September, pp. 4.

Matavire, M. 2006b. 'Controversial Red Location Museum finally ready to open'. *The Herald*, 08 November, pp. 6.

Matomela, D. 2006. 'ANC denies Red Location Museum jobs claims'. *The Herald*, 19 May, pp. 8.

Matshikiza, J. 2001. 'History in the making'. *Mail and Guardian*, 06 December, pp. 19.

McCormack, J. 2007. *Collective memory: France and the Algerian war (1954-1962)*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

McGreal, C. 2001. 'We have children here who don't believe apartheid happened'. http://www.guardian.co.uk/g2/story/0,3604,617231,00.html [27 April 2009].

Meersman, B. 2009. 'Beyond the Red Location'. *Mail and Guardian*, 12 November, pp. 4.

Meldrum, A. 2006. 'Remaking history'. http://www.newstatesman.com/200610230029 [04 August 2010].

Mendels, D. 2007. 'Introduction', in D. Mendels (*ed.*) *On Memory: An Interdisciplinary Approach*. New York: Peter Lang, pp. 9-18.

Meskell, L. 2006. 'Trauma Culture: Remembering and Forgetting in the New South Africa', in D. Bell (*ed.*) *Memory, Trauma and World Politics: Reflections on the Relationship between Past and Present*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 157-175.

Middleton, D. & Edwards, D. 1990. 'Introduction', in D. Middleton and D. Edwards (*ed.*) *Collective Remembering*. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage, pp. 1-22.

Minkley, G. & Rassool, C. 1998. 'Orality, memory, and social history in South Africa', in S. Nuttall and C. Coetzee (*ed.*) *Negotiating the past: the making of memory in South Africa.* Cape Town: Oxford University Press, pp. 89-99.

Misztal, B. 2007. 'Memory Experience: the forms and functions of memory', in S. Watson (*ed.*) *Museums and their communities.* New York: Routledge, pp. 379-394.

Moaisi, G. 2010. 'Things you can't Google'. *City Press*, 09 May, pp. 30.

Morris, A.G. 2007. 'Documentation, History and the source of skeletons in collections', in V. Cassman (*ed.*) *Human Remains: Guide for Museums and Academic Institutions.* Berkeley, California: Altamira Press, pp. 151-161.

Mpumlwana, K. et al. 2002. 'Inclusion and the power or representation: South African museums and the cultural politics of social transformation', in R. Sandell (*ed.*) *Museums, Society, Inequality.* London: Routledge, pp. 244-261.

Murray, N. 2007. 'Remaking Modernism: South African Architecture In and Out of Time', in N. Murray, N. Shepherd and M. Hall (*ed.*) *Desire Lines: Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-apartheid City.* London: Routledge, pp. 43-66.

Nanda, S. 2004. 'South African Museums and the Creation of a New National Identity', *American Anthropologist,* 106 (2): 379-385.

Ndebele, N. 1998. 'Memory, metaphor, and the triumph of narrative', in S. Nuttall and C. Coetzee (*ed.*) *Negotiating the past: the making of memory in South Africa.* Cape Town: Oxford University Press, pp. 19-28.

Ndoni, M. 2009. 'Red Location: two-week deadline'. *The Herald,* 14 July, pp. 6.

Newbury, D. 2005. 'Lest we forget: photography and the presentation of history at the Apartheid Museum, Gold Reef City, and the Hector Pieterson Museum, Soweto', *Visual Communication,* 4 (3): 259-295.

Newman, A. & McLean, F. 2002. 'Architecture of inclusion: museums, galleries and inclusive communities', in R. Sandell (*ed.*) *Museums, Society, Inequality.* London: Routledge, pp. 56-68.

Nietzsche, F. 1913. *The Genealogy of Morals.* Translated by Horace B. Samuel. Edinburgh: T. N. Foulis.

Nieves, A.D. 2009. 'Places of pain as tools for social justice in the 'new' South Africa: Black heritage preservation in the 'rainbow' nation's townships', in W. Logan and K. Reeves (*ed.*) *Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing with 'Difficult Heritage'.* New York: Routledge, pp. 198-214.

Nora, P. 1989. 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations,* 26: 7-24.

Nora, P. 2002. 'Reasons for the Current Upsurge in Memory'. http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2002-04-19-nora-en.html [01 May 2009].

Nuttall, S. 1998. 'Telling 'free' stories? Memory and democracy in South African autobiography since 1994', in S. Nuttall and C. Coetzee (*ed.*) *Negotiating the past: the making of memory in South Africa.* Cape Town: Oxford University Press, pp. 75-88.

O'Keeffe, T. 2007. 'Landscape and Memory: Historiography, Theory, Methodology' in N. Moore and Y. Whelan (*ed.*) *Heritage, Memory and the Politics of Identity: New Perspectives on the Cultural Landscape.* Aldershot, England: Ashgate, pp. 3-18.

Olick, J.K. & Robbins, J. 1998. 'Social Memory Studies: From "Collective Memory" to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices', *Annual Review of Sociology,* 24: 105-140.

Olick, J.K. 2008. 'From Collective Memory to the Sociology of Mnemonic Practices and Products', in A. Erll and A. Nünning (*ed.*) *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook.* New York: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 151-161.

O'Neill, M. 2002. 'The good enough visitor' in R. Sandell (*ed.*) *Museums, Society, Inequality.* London: Routledge, pp. 24-40.

O'Toole, S. 2002. 'The structure of memory: Johannesburg's Apartheid Museum'. http://www.artthrob.co.za/02mar/reviews/apartheid.html [27 April 2009].

Oxford Dictionaries. 2010. 'Definition of Apartheid'. http://oxforddictionaries.com/view/entry/m_en_gb0033500#m_en_gb0033500 [24 November 2010].

Patraka, V. 2001. 'Spectacular suffering: Performing Presence, Absence, and Witness at U.S. Holocaust Museums', in D.E. Eber and A.G. Neal (*ed.*) *Memory and Representation: Constructed Truths and Competing Realities.* Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, pp. 139-166.

Pearce, C. 2005. 'Struggle heroes immortalised'. *City Press*, 20 November, pp. 28.

Philp, R. 2006. 'Container museum wins designer prize'. *Sunday Times*, 02 July, pp. 10.

Piehler, G.K. 1994. 'The War Dead and The Gold Star: American Commemoration of the First World War', in J.R. Gillis (*ed.*) *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 168-185.

Pitman, B. 1999. 'Muses, Museums, and Memories', *America's Museums.* 128 (3): 1-31.

Preziosi, D. & Farago, C. 2004. 'General Introduction: What are museums for?' in D. Preziosi and C. Farago (*ed.*) *Grasping the World: The idea of the museum.* England: Ashgate, pp. 1-9.

Rabkin, F. 2009. 'Museum dispute returns to court'. *Business Day*, 01 June, pp. 4.

Radley, A. 1990. 'Artefacts, Memory and a Sense of the Past', in D. Middleton and D. Edwards (*ed.*) *Collective Remembering.* Newbury Park, California: Sage, pp. 46-59.

Rankin, E. & Schmidt, L. 2009. 'The Apartheid Museum: Performing a Spatial Dialectics', *Journal of Visual Culture*, 8 (1): 76-102.

Rassool, C. 2006. 'Community Museums, Memory Politics, and Social Transformation in South Africa: Histories, Possibilities, and Limits' in I. Karp, C.A. Kratz, L. Szwaja and T. Ybarra-Frausto (*ed.*) *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures / Global Transformations.* Durham: Duke University Press, pp. 286-321.

Rassool, C. 2007. 'Memory and the Politics of History in the District Six Museum', in N. Murray, N. Shepherd and M. Hall (*ed.*) *Desire Lines: Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-apartheid City.* London: Routledge, pp. 113-127.

Ray, L. 2006. 'Mourning, Melancholia and Violence', in D. Bell (*ed.*) *Memory, Trauma and World Politics: Reflections on the Relationship between Past and Present.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 135-154.

Red Location Museum. 2006. 'Red Location Museum: A symbol of our freedom'. http://redlocationmuseum.webs.com [01 August 2010].

Richards, J. 2007. 'Classical and Early Modern Ideas of Memory', in M. Rossington, and A. Whitehead (*ed.*) *Theories of memory: a reader.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 20-27.

Riegel, H. 1996. 'Into the heart of irony: ethnographic exhibitions and the politics of difference', in S. Macdonald and G. Fyfe (*ed.*) *Theorizing Museums.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, pp. 83-104.

Rigney, A. 2008. 'The Dynamics of Remembrance: Texts Between Monumentality and Morphing', in A. Erll and A. Nünning (*ed.*) *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook.* New York: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 345-353.

Roberts, R.M. 2005. 'Walking backwards into the future: Māori views on genetically modified organisms'. www.win-hec.org/docs/pdfs/Journal/Mere%20Roberts.pdf [11 May 2009].

Robertson, I. & Hall, T. 2007. 'Memory, Identity and the Memorialisation of Conflict in the Scottish Highlands' in N. Moore and Y. Whelan (*ed.*) *Heritage,*

Memory and the Politics of Identity: New Perspectives on the Cultural Landscape. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, pp. 19-36.

Robins, S. 1998. 'Silence in my father's house: memory, nationalism, and the narratives of the body', in S. Nuttall and C. Coetzee (*ed.*) *Negotiating the past: the making of memory in South Africa.* Cape Town: Oxford University Press, pp. 120-140.

Robinson, J. 2003. 'Johannesburg's 1936 Empire Exhibition: Interaction, Segregation and Modernity in a South African City', *Journal of South African Studies*, 29 (3): 759-789.

Rogoff, I. 2002. 'Hit and Run: Museums and Cultural Difference', *Art Journal*, 61 (3): 63-73.

Rohde, R. 2000. 'Review: Rich Pickings and Missed Opportunities', *The Journal of African History*, 41 (1): 146-148.

Ross, D.H. 1994. 'On Art and Museums in South Africa before the Elections', *African Arts*, 27 (1): 1-13.

Ross, M.H. 2005. 'Museums, Monuments Memorials and the Politics of Memory in Post-Apartheid South Africa', Conference Papers -- International Studies Association, pp. 1-24.

Ross, M.H. 2007. *Cultural Contestation in Ethnic Conflict.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rostron, B. 2001. 'Real skeletons in the closet'. http://www.newstatesman.com/200104230021 [31 July 2010].

Sandell, R. 2002. 'Museums and the combating of social inequality: roles, responsibilities, resistance', in R. Sandell (*ed.*) *Museums, Society, Inequality.* London: Routledge, pp. 3-23.

Saunders, C. 2007. 'The transformation of heritage in the new South Africa', in H.E. Stolten (*ed.*) *History Making and Present Day Politics: The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa.* Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, pp. 183-195.

Schmidt, S.J. 2008. 'Memory and Remembrance: A Constructivist Approach', in A. Erll and A. Nünning (*ed.*) *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook.* New York: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 191-201.

Scott, C.E. 2004. 'The Appearance of Public Memory', in K. Phillips (*ed.*) *Framing Public Memory.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, pp. 147-181.

Schwartz, B. & Heinrich, H. 2004. 'Shadings of Regret: America and Germany', in K. Phillips (*ed.*) *Framing Public Memory.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, pp. 115-140.

Shearing, C. & Kempa, M. 2004. 'A Museum of Hope: A Story of Robben Island', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 592: 62-78.

Shepherd, N. & Murray, N. 2007. 'Introduction: Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-apartheid City', in N. Murray, N. Shepherd and M. Hall (*ed.*) *Desire Lines: Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-apartheid City*. London: Routledge, pp. 1-18.

Sherman, D.J. 1994. 'Art, commerce, and the Production of Memory in France after World War I', in J.R. Gillis (*ed.*) *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 186-211.

Sibanyoni, M. 2010. 'Opening doors to our past'. *City Press*, 30 May, pp. 3.

Sichel, A. 2008. 'Cultural legacy alive and well'. *Star*, 12 August, pp. 6.

Skotnes, P. 1996. 'Introduction', in P. Skotnes (*ed.*) *Miscast: negotiating the presence of the Bushmen.* Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, pp. 15-23.

South Africa Info. 2007. 'Museum that bridges past, future'. http://www.southafrica.info/travel/cultural/redlocation-museum.htm [01 August 2010].

Steward, D. 2008. 'Apartheid Museum does little for reconciliation'. *Pretoria News*, 09 September, pp. 7.

Straub, J. 2008. 'Psychology, Narrative, and Cultural Memory: Past and Present', in A. Erll and A. Nünning (*ed.*) *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook.* New York: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 215-228.

Sturken, M. 1997. *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the Aids epidemic and the politics of remembering.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Sturken, M. 1999. 'Narratives of Recovery: Repressed Memory as Cultural Memory', in M. Bal, J. Crewe, and L. Spitzer (*ed.*) *Acts of memory: cultural recall in the present.* Hanover: University Press of New England, pp. 231-245.

Tayob, A.I. 2007. 'On a Knife-edge or in the Fray: Managing Heritage sites in a Vibrant Democracy', in N. Murray, N. Shepherd and M. Hall (*ed.*) *Desire Lines: Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-apartheid City*. London: Routledge, pp. 183-194.

Thelen, D. 1990. 'Introduction', in D. Thelen (*ed.*) *Memory and American History*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, pp. *vii-xix.*

Till, C. 2010. *Discussion with the Curator of the Apartheid Museum regarding memorialisation, apartheid and the history of the Museum.* [Conversation] Personal communication, 3 February 2010.

Timse, T. 2007. 'Struggle artifacts sought for museum exhibition'. *The Herald*, 14 March, pp. 3.

Unknown. 2007. 'Apartheid Museum: A tribute to South Africa's new democracy'. http://www.countryroads.co.za/content/appartheid-museum.html [08 April 2009].

Urry, J. 1996. 'How societies remember the past', in S. Macdonald and G. Fyfe (*ed.*) *Theorizing Museums.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, pp. 45-65.

Verbeeck, G. 2007. 'Structure of memory: Apartheid in the museum', in H.E. Stolten (*ed.*) *History Making and Present Day Politics: The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa.* Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, pp. 217-226.

Wertsch, J.V. 2002. *Voices of collective remembering.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Williams, P. 2007. *Memorial Museums: The Global Rush to Commemorate Atrocities.* New York: Berg.

Winter, J. 2000. 'The Generation of Memory. Reflections on the Memory Boom in Contemporary Historical Studies'. http://www.ghi-dc.org/publications/ghipubs/bu/027/b27winterframe.html [16 January 2010].

Winter, J. 2006. 'Notes on the Memory Boom: War, Remembrance and the Uses of the Past', in D. Bell (*ed.*) *Memory, Trauma and World Politics: Reflections on the Relationship between Past and Present.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 54-73.

Winter, J. 2008. 'Sites of Memory and the Shadow of War', in A. Erll and A. Nünning (*ed.*) *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook.* New York: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 61-74.

Witz, L. 2006. 'Transforming Museums on Postapartheid Tourist Routes', in I. Karp, C.A. Kratz, L. Szwaja and T. Ybarra-Frausto (*ed.*) *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures / Global Transformations.* Durham: Duke University Press, pp. 107-134.

Wright, J. 2006. 'Place of struggle now a repository of memory'. *Sunday Independent*, 15 October, pp. 11.

Young, J.E. 1993. *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Memory.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Zaaiman, H. 2007. 'Cultural Heritage Conservation in a Multicultural Society'. https://lib.tut.ac.za/ifla/documents/riettezaaiman.pdf [12 November 2010].

Zehfuss, M. 2006. 'Remembering to Forget/Forgetting to Remember', in D. Bell (*ed.*) *Memory, Trauma and World Politics: Reflections on the Relationship between Past and Present.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 213-230.

Zehfuss, M. 2007. *Wounds of memory: the politics of war in Germany*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Zolberg, V.L. 1996. 'Museums as contested sites of remembrance: the Enola Gay affair' in S. Macdonald and G. Fyfe (*ed.*) *Theorizing Museums.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, pp. 69-82.