GENERATIONS OF MEANING:

Memory, technology and the South African audio archival context.

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature _____ Date: 15/10/2008

Signed by candidate

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Chapter 1

BOUNDARIES AND FRAMEWORKS

A. INTRODUCTION

B. CENTRAL CONCEPTS

1. Archive
2. Audio-visual archive
3. Custody/Audio-visual archivist
4. Record/Trace
5. Collection
6. Oral history recordings
7. Access

C. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF ARCHIVES

1. Archives of power: state and society
2. Technology and archival records
3. Availability of material
4. Archiving within an African context
5. Changing contexts

D. PRECIS OF CENTRAL ARGUMENT

E. CHAPTER OUTLINE

A. INTRODUCTION

> Like it or not, the past infects the world we live in, the decisions we make, the very choices we see to lie before us. If we ignore its influence, we do not escape its power. All we do is remain to some extent its prisoners without really knowing that, that is what we are. If however, we acknowledge it, learn to recognize its workings, come to greet it on familiar terms then we can put it to excellent use.[1]

The late 20th and early 21st centuries have witnessed an excess of information generation and dissemination. These huge advances in computing, portable media and communication technology sit side by side with massive movements in global economies, migration patterns and identity generations. In this big world picture, the archive (or archive) comes to represent one of many microcosmic views of a changing world. While there is still a perception of archives merely holding documents of the past or providing research possibilities for academics and genealogists, the field (namely the theory and practice of archiving) has opened up considerably over the last 70 years. This has occurred for a number of reasons and in multiple ways.

In this time period the concurrent development of mass media and a rapidly changing global world, has meant that we have become witness too much more than that which exists only in our local

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[1] A.Kransdorrf *Corporate Amnesia: Keeping know how in the company.* (Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann. 1998) 7

environment. Hence images of wars, voices of state leaders and moving images from fact to fantasy, consistently invade and infiltrate our living environments. This link between the physical and virtual, the local and the global are also evident in archival developments. Two of the most telling, for the purpose of this analysis, have been the development of audio-visual archiving and the effect of post modern and post-colonial theory within the practice of archiving. A third crucial development has been the growth of oral history internationally and in South Africa.

The central focus of this thesis then asks, how oral history recording and their constructions of individual and collective memories intersect within an audio-visual archival setting. With this type of framing, further questions emerge, such as: What types of spaces exist (locally, nationally, globally) for archiving oral narratives and how do researchers construct collective memories when using oral history collections? What (where) are the margins of the archive and how do those boundaries (or lack of) affect the reading of such an archive? It continues further to explore the uncanny relationship present in archive - where description and transformation exist in the same place, yet by its very nature is "haunted by failure".[2] In a sense this uncanny relationship underlies the work of this thesis, which ultimately questions the space/place of archive, with a desire to explore its constative and performative elements. Neither of these elements (nor their combination) constitutes a finite definition of archive. They cannot, as the archive is neither static nor contained. As Derrida suggests, within the archive "unity is made up of division, coherence from traces".[3]

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[2] N.Royle, *The Uncanny* (New York: Routledge, 2003) 28
[3] N.Royle, *The Uncanny*, 26

Foucault conceptualizes the relationship slightly differently, yet with a similar angle. For him, "archive is a system of the formation and transformation of statements".[4] Thus we have the form (that which holds) and trans-form (what happens after formation). While it seems there is a linear structure in that process, I am reminded of Carter's suggestion that what is of importance is the space between, not just the movement from A to B. So often the need to arrive at a finite definition and contained summation, makes something static, which has the possibility of being dynamic.

In terms of archival traces, the desire then is around managing oral history narratives within the archival setting, as dynamic constructions rather than static products (i.e. having a beginning and an end). So the premise is that archive and what it holds (or doesn't hold), is both contained and not contained by the interaction between traces and collections. This in itself suggests action/movement as opposed to stasis, and in that interaction narratives are both described and transformed. What is apparent is within the archive, traces and collections are all inanimate. For them to be placed in any relationship to each other requires a person to perform such a task. It is these layers of interactions and spaces, which I find fascinating.

To understand what that space is, requires an exploration of the terrain of audio-visual archiving in the current context (description) and an exploration of possibilities of how and why that terrain is transformed. For clarity sake though, this exploration will concentrate quite specifically on the analysis of oral history narratives in a South African audio-visual archival setting. The

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[4] G.Agamben, *Remnants of Auschwitz* (New York: Zonebooks,1999) 143

discussion definitely extends beyond this, just as archive is beyond saturation, so too is this thesis. So while the focus is on oral narratives in archival collections, it builds its foundation on mapping the surrounding terrains. These include theoretical developments in archiving practice,[5] a deeper understanding of terms and conditions that define, to some degree, the field of audio-visual archiving, as well as related fields which inform the theory and practice of archiving.

As archivist, Barbara Craig reminds us, compared to a long history of inquiry into memory, "discussions of its specific manifestations in archives are recent, and much of the discussion is by people with no-first hand experience with archival work".[6] It is then this combination that interests me, an application of conceptual and theoretical discussions onto the practice of archiving, from the vantage point of being within an audio-visual archival environment.[7]

It is worth noting that while there has been significant theoretical discussion around the need for archives to transform and some practical examples of the changing nature of archives- there is very little around the combination of the two - namely the influence of

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[5]Informed by post structualists such as Jacques Derrida's seminal work *Archive fever: A Freudian impression* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1996)

[6] B.Craig, 'Review essay: Selected themes in the Literature on Memory and their Pertinence to Archives', *American Archivist,* 65, 2 (Fall/Winter 2002)

[7] For the period 2001-2006, I was employed as a senior audio-visual archivist at the Centre for Popular Memory (CPM, at the University of Cape Town (UCT) - this gave me both the space and time to develop and explore ways in which such theory can inform archival practice and the difficulties or shortfalls, due to varying circumstances of political, institutional and funding perspectives. Yet it is worth noting, that as Craig mentioned, I too do not have a background in formal archival science. My under graduate degree was in Fine Arts and post graduate diploma in Curatorship and Museum studies. Most of my training was on the job and through extensive reading around the field, both on a theoretical and technical level.

changing theories of archiving within archives. Many conferences approach the topic of the need for archive to refigure,[8] with a strong call to government and civic organizations and critical thinkers to engage in the sphere. Yet theory and practice are still broadly out of sync.

But these words and the material they represent, cut across heterogeneous global societies and constructions of collective memory in a range of ways. Not only does the archive refer to materials or records that reference the past, but it has also come to represent an accumulated constructed history of the past. In many ways, archives of the 21st century represent cross sectors of societies from parastatals to national, to civil society sectors. They often intersect around issues rather than institutions, around the visceral[9] rather than just the physical. Even though that is the case, Craig reminds us that all archives originate in the conscious act of memorializing something by the giving and receiving and keeping of documentary records.[10]

This memorialization is both a formation and a transformation; it both informs and transforms. If, as she suggests, all archives begin with this conscious act, then there is an active participation on the part of archivists or institutional directors in the choice of what to memorialize. Of course in that choice there is the direct correlation to what is not deemed 'valuable' in that construction of archive.

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[8] In the South African setting the most significant have been the conference in 2001 and subsequent book *Refiguring the archive*, and more recently the development of 'The archival platform' as a notion for transformation within archives as introduced at the 2008 conference in Johannesburg, South Africa.

[9] Such as museums of conscience- for more around this topic see the International Coalition of Historic Site Museums of Conscience http://www.sitesofconscience.org/eng/index.htm (last accessed 12/12/2007)

[10] B.Craig, 'Review essay', 5.

Historian Michael Ignatieff reminds us, that there is a shortcoming within collective memory concerning who is included[11]- and by implication, those that are excluded. Terry Cook also notes that many examples are now coming to light of how archives collected, then later weeded, reconstructed and even destroyed, not to keep the best judicial evidence of legal and business transactions, but to serve historical and symbolic purposes, but only for those figure heads and events judged worthy of memorializing at that time.[12]

While archival practices can be traced to before the Common Era, such artifacts show development of state and legal process (Posner, Muller). During that period, and to a degree throughout the history of state archiving, records have been used as evidence and archival rooms/ holdings housed such verification of public and private interfaces. One can gain access (albeit limited) to records in national archives to source confirmation of trade agreements, title deeds, births and so forth. These individual records (records of individuals) also become markers of group trends.[13] For instance birth and death certificates can trace how many children were born and died during a specific period, thereby plotting correlations between disease and living conditions. Yet such records can also be used to trace genealogical trees (the individual and the group/family) or even to document one person's lived experience.

This interaction between groups/collections and the individual/single record is particularly apparent in the oral history archive. Life

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[11] M.Ignatieff, 'Articles of faith' *Index on censorship*, 5(1996) 110-22

[12] T.Cook, 'Archival Science and Postmodernism: new formulations for old concepts', *Archival Science*, 1.1, (2000) 6

[13] This is discussed in more detail by Inge Bundsgaard, in her paper 'The selection of Case Files: the right to social memory versus the right to social oblivion' *Comma*, 1.2, (2002) 173-175

histories strongly show the relation of the person to the group and the group to the person- yet it also shows the constant dynamism between shifting group correlations and individual preferences. As Paul Connerton[14] points out, the individual can and does simultaneously belong to a range of groupings and these are not necessarily homogenous or static.

This dynamism is subjected to a structured act of archiving, which requires rigid categorization and placement within a set archival system. As such, my interest lies in mapping how such living dynamic histories are placed in the archival setting. More specifically oral history, then, is an example of the possibility of establishing a vital link between, what Fogerty describes as "perception and performance",[15] while also beckoning to the paradox of memorializing living memories.

This inter-subjectivity between memory and remembrance, individual and collective, is fertile ground within the audio-visual archive. It is in that inter-subjective and inter-relational process that narratives and collections are not only described but also transformed. Halbwachs suggests "if we call collective memory that totality of traditions pertaining to the body of functionaries we conclude that there are at least as many collective memories found in each group-but it is outside the work sphere that the most important collective remembrances are maintained".[16] For him there

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[14] P.Connerton, *How societies remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

[15] J.Fogerty, 'Oral history as a tool in archival development', *Comma*, 1.2 (2002) 209

[16] M.Halbwachs, *On collective memory*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992) 141

is no memory without perception.[17] Recollections reproduce collective perception; it is then impossible for the individual to remember outside of a group/exterior. He suggests that if we examine a person outside the collectivity, then our observations are looking only at the material aspects - the most important is what that person understands.[18] In such an analysis, personal recollections belong to a larger group, but the coherence remains within the person.

Jonathan Boyarin fleshes out this idea of personal history being shaped by a group. In his article, *Space, time and the politics of memory*,[19] he uses the example of markings of the body as being about inclusion and exclusion. So with an example such as circumcision, the act and ritual allows inclusion into a group and yet also has an effect on one's generation of personal history. For instance, in the South African context, by being an isixhosa boy of a certain age, one has access to a traditional coming of age process, which culminates in circumcision. After this process, which includes a period (between 14 days to 3 months) the youth is then reintroduced into society or more importantly the immediate community as a man. Significant in such rituals is the development not only of personal knowledge and character, but also a unity not only with ones immediate group of fellow initiates but also with the community that holds that ritual in reverence. In this way, memory is seen as the creative collaboration between present consciousness and expressions of the past.

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[17] Halbwachs, *On collective*, 169

[18] *Ibid*, 170

[19] J.Boyarin, 'Space, Time, and the Politics of Memory', in J. Boyarin (ed.) *Remapping Memory: The Politics of Time/Space* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994) 1-37

While the building and interplay between personal and group imaginaries then rely on inclusion (and exclusion), it is also enhanced by physical spaces. Examples could include groups creating ritualized spaces in churches, mosques or under a specific tree, or even oral narratives using physical sites as mnemonic devices. Historian, Pierre Nora's volumous study on French National (sites of) memory[20] is only one example of a large body of work in this interaction between site and memory.

This use of demarcated space to enhance or bind groups, is played out similarly in the virtual world, where individuals create personal blogs and join common spaces[21] of interaction such as mediated forums, listserves and professional user groups. These 'spaces' seem to offer commonality in some ways, yet they do not require adherence to a homogeneous set of values, although there are of course always rules of appropriate interaction dependant on the group. For instance when joining a scholarly forum such as ARSCLIST - the Association for Recorded Sound Collections Discussion List (www.arsc-audio.org/arsclist.html) there is an understanding of engagement on a professional level around issues of sound and audio-visual archiving. Although unmoderated when subscribing to this list a section called "the fine print" includes a list of in/appropriate behavior. This would be significantly different for a

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[20] P.Nora, *Les Lieux de mémoire* (seven volumes), (Paris: Edition Gallimard, 1984–1992)

[21] The role of space seems to be particularly important in the definition of these groups. The virtual space social formations (groups) use is also the *reason* for their existence. Without the possibility of actually having a place (even if this is only electronic) in which to meet one another, interaction between individuals would be impossible. For more on this notion of virtual space see
L. Mascio 'Signs.texts.cultures.Conviviality from a semiotic point of view'
In J.Bernard.(ed) *The unifying aspects of culture.*
Available at www.inst.at/trans/15Nr/01_2/mascio15.htm

social networking utility such as Facebook (www.facebook.com) that encourages personal and informal interaction.

Yet the relation between histories and memory is varied in the virtual world. For one, memory is spacialized (for instance in technical terms - Drive C on your computer contains 120 GB of memory). Boyarin suggests that mnemonic schemas precede this structure where people learned to fix memory in imaginary space.[22] But in today's world, information generation is so large that mnemonic schemas are overtaken by compartmentalized virtual memory. It becomes a place to store information externally so that we do not have to retain it in our minds. Rather it can be extracted from the appropriate drive with the click of a mouse. Derrida too, reminds one that when you write something it's so you can forget it. "I can find it while having forgotten it".[23] While storing of information is not really the memory I am speaking of, such spacialized virtual/externalized structures are examples of the split of technology from consciousness. These splits and fissures have a large impact on how memory is received, archived and accessed.

Yet as mentioned the 21st century has heralded a number of new technologies and conceptual devices that affect such static readings not only of the past, but also of the trace as being fixed and physical. The effect of technological advances on the trace is one of the more easily identifiable shifts.

Another significant shift is that with audio-visual archiving, technology is embedded in the product. i.e. the content of the trace

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[22] J.Boyarin 'Remapping Memory'
[23] J.Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 54

(the interview) is housed on a cassette that requires a playback machine to access the content. On the other hand, for instance, a physical diary is immediately recognizable and can be read without the intervention of technology. Of course this distinction is rapidly closing with huge digitization projects seeking to create digital versions of paper based fragile material.[24] Hence the distinction might not be between text based and audio-visual material, but rather between the archiving of material in a traditional (preservation/paper/original) and digital realm.

There is therefore a concentration, in this thesis, on the effects of methodology and technology in the 21st century. It does not plan to compare traditional and digital archiving practice. Nor does it aim to analyze library science naming systems. Rather I seek to explore alternative access points and interplay to narratives/texts within the audio-visual archival setting, both on a conceptual and practical level.

Within this framework, it aims to explore a number of themes including; the increasing availability of 'resource material' to the general public through a variety of means; the changing role of the audio archive over the last century and the interplay between the audio-visual archive as a physical space and virtual reality. Within that context, it explores archival collections as existing and gaining meaning both from within and beyond the archival walls. In these and many other ways it seeks to consider what the audio-visual archive consists of and to engage with the ways in which this

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[24] Amongst others see UNESCO's 'Memory of the world programme' that seeks to guard against collective amnesia through the preservation of valuable archival holdings around the world. http://portal.unesco.org/ci/en/ev.php last accessed 25 September 2008

happens. Embedded in this exploration is a desire to connect with theoretical debates around constructions of individual and collective imagination and memory, and how such constructions affect and play themselves out within the audio-visual archival setting.

Despite shifts around of what archiving entails and how it is undertaken (Harris, Hatang, Derrida), there seems to still be a robust perception within certain sectors, that archival practice is the implementation of a number of procedures and standards onto received material – an authentication of records, within an archival life cycle, which preserves the original as an objective 'receptacle' representing some fact or 'truth'.[25] This is highlighted in the history of archives being an intrinsic part of state procedure and evidence of such process (in the storage and ability to recall documents of personal and state relevance). Such desire for a linear truth and evidence encapsulated in a physical document, seems to extend through to the current epoch. The authenticity of the original still holds considerable weight for historians.

In 1993, I visited an open-air museum near Diesdorf, Germany. This reconstructed village was complete with more than 20 dwellings and working quarters furnished in the historical style of that period. It was presented as a living history museum showing the culture, working conditions and way of life from the 17th century onwards. One could explore the interiors of what would have been private rooms, walk through shop quarters and listen to stories told by museum employees dressed in costumes that replicated the outfits of that time. A signboard, in front of a large building, stated

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[25] See Burton's *Archive Stories: facts, fictions and the writing of history*, for a more comprehensive analysis of the (lack) of objectivity within archival practice and the constructions of meaning and process within archival fields.

that the structure had been reconstructed from the original stone as it was in the 17th century. Why is it important that those stones were the original stones (and would it be of significance if we as visitors didn't know that 'fact')?

While this thesis is neither about tangible culture nor the commercialization of the heritage industry. It does concentrate on the importance placed on original 'artifacts', the meaning imbued in such records and the process of reinterpretation of archival traces. The example mentioned above reminds me that, to build on the current context of audio-visual archiving, one needs to understand the foundations on which it is built. To do so, I have outlined a number of terms and concepts below, on which to build the structure of the following chapters. It is outside the parameter of this thesis to provide countless (re) definitions of accepted terminology and basic understanding of issues. It therefore broadly accepts UNESCO's white paper *A Philosophy of Archiving*[26] to provide initial definitions around audio-visual archiving and archives (broadcast, thematic, local etc) and guiding principles around audio-visual media, selection, cataloguing and ethics.[27]

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[26] R.Edmondson (ed), *A philosophy of audiovisual archiving* (Paris: UNESCO, 1997)
[27] For more on archival terms see www.archive-skills.com

B. CENTRAL CONCEPTS

B.1 Archive

(This is just a beginning point for the discussion, which is explored more comprehensively in Chapter 2)

In the first edition of Emmison's *Introduction to archives* the archive is described as " a document [] drawn up or used in the course of an administrative or executive transaction (whether public or private) of which it itself formed a part; and subsequently preserved in their own custody for their own information by the person (s) responsible for that transaction and their legitimate successors".[28] The quote already lays the foundation for the archive being not only the trace and where that trace is housed, but also involving a responsible custodian. The word archive[29], in this context, comes to encompass both the sum of its parts (the structure that houses it) and the part (the record or trace).

Other possibilities include the word archive, derived from the Greek, which is explained as meaning a magisterial residence or public office "a place in which public records or other historical documents

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[28] F.Emmison, *Introduction to archives* (Essex: BBC, 1964) 2

[29] www.archiveskills.com

1.A place or collection containing records, documents, or other materials of historical interest. Often used in the plural: old land deeds in the municipal archives.
2. Computer Science.
3. A long-term storage area, often on magnetic tape, for backup copies of files or for files that are no longer in active use.
4. A file containing one or more files in compressed format for more efficient storage and transfer.
5. A repository for stored memories or information: the archive of the mind.

are kept and preserved"[30]. In this version the structure takes hierarchical topology over the record and the notion of custody becomes central to the archive.

In his classic text *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*[31] Derrida suggests its etymological development from *arkhe* - which marks a coming together of principle of nature and principle of law and *arkheion*- the home or office of superior magistrates. This combination sees the archive as engaging a public and personal sphere, namely the public record housed in the private residence of the archivist.

Historically such physical and relational attributes have been synonymous with archives, which are most often[32] understood to have an institutional affiliation and a physical place to house and preserve vulnerable/valuable information. As Craig reminds us, the idea that archives are a physical space for memory and a site in which it is recalled, or made, in the social construction sense, has the potential to profoundly affect our services and users. This potential for archive to engage and interact or transform relations, is enhanced by the reminder that it is "not a thing, just as race and class are not, it is a porous set of relations". [33]

By that token, engagement in archive requires an understanding or even acceptance that 'it' is a dynamic space for interaction between

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[30] H.Jenkinson, *A Manual of archive administration* (London: Humphries & Co, 1965) 3

[31] J.Derrida, *Archive Fever*,28

[32] B.Craig, 'Review essay' 9

[33] A.Stoler, 'Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance on the content in the Form', in C.Hamilton, (et al) *Refiguring the archive* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2002) 93

and through the trace/ collective and institution/ user. This space can then have a physical or virtual container. But what makes or separates archive from other such spaces of interaction?

Essentially it requires records, which build up cohesive collections managed by a responsible custodian who actively engages with preservation and access to archival records. Hopefully, this will happen in a manner that builds meaning across records and collections, both inside and outside the archive. There is also agreement with Hamilton's description of archive as a conceptual term, which "refers to the circumscribed body of knowledge of the past that is historically determined as that which is available to us to draw on when thinking about the past".[34]

While the Director of the Austrian audiovisual research archive, Phonogrammarchiv,[35] Dietrich Schuller suggests that all audio-visual documents are representations of static and physical phenomenon, [36] the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) defines an audiovisual work as one:

> Which appeals at the same time to the ear and the eye and consists of a series of related images and accompanying sounds recorded on suitable material.

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[34] C.Hamilton, 'Archives at the Crossroads 2007', *Conference Report*. (Johannesburg: Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2007) 3

[35] The Phonogrammarchiv, based in Vienna Austria was founded in 1899 and is the oldest audiovisual research archive in the world. For more see http://www.pha.oeaw.ac.at/home_e.htm (last accessed 10 /12/2007)

[36] D.Schüller, 'Sound recordings: problems of preservation' J.Feather (ed.) *Managing Preservation for Libraries and Archives*. (Aldershot:Gowen, 2004) 113-131

Such audio-visual material[37] can take a variety of forms, encompassing analogue cassette tape, film, photographs, digital recordings and so on.[38]

B.2. Audio-visual archive

The development of archive as briefly described above, is also relevant to the audio-visual archive. In this context, the AV archive contains a more specific collections focus. For the purpose of having a starting point SEAPAVAA; Edmondson[39] and Harrison,[40] use the following definition of the audio-visual archive:

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[37] Audiovisual media records

According to SEAPAVAA's constitution audio-visual refers to: (Edmondson. *Philosophy of*,13)

> Moving images and/or recorded sounds registered on film, magnetic tape, disc, or any other medium now known or to be invented .
>
> In her chapter on 'Appraisal and selection of audio-visual collections', Harrison accepts Kofler's definition that:
>
> > Audio-visual materials are to understood as visual recordings (with or without soundtrack) and sound recordings irrespective of their physical base and recording process used. (Harrison, *Audio-visual archives*,144)
>
> Building on these and other definitions, AVAPIN members put forward what they term a 'professional definition of audio visual media', which reads as follows:
>
> > Audiovisual media are works comprising reproducible images and/or sounds embodied in a carrier whose:
> > -Recording, transmission, perception and comprehension usually requires a technological device
> > -Visual or sonic content has linear duration
> > -Purpose is the communication of that content, rather than the use of the technology for other purposes.

[38] As mentioned, this thesis focuses predominantly on the exploration of oral history recordings within an audio-visual archival setting. This distinction is one of methodology as oppose to form- the oral history recordings dealt with through the case study of the Centre for Popular Memory archive, come in a variety of formats- from cassette to minidisk to digital recordings transferred from solid state recorders.

[39] R.Edmondson (ed), *A philosophy of audiovisual archiving*, (Paris:UNESCO 1997)

> An audiovisual archive is an organization or department of an organization that is focused on collecting, managing, preserving and providing access to a collection of audiovisual media and the audiovisual heritage.

With that in mind, audiovisual archives occupy multiple institutional models. For instance one finds institutional archives, broadcast archives, academic archives, thematic or specialized archives, city /provincial archives etc. Each of these types of archives contains audiovisual material guided in its approach by a number of factors. Some of these include institutional status, funding sources, specialized media, access and user application and regional affiliation. Within this topology, audiovisual archives then have a specific relation to their audio-visual collections - which are also affected by a number of processes such as selection,[41] preservation[42] and migration.[43]

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[40] H.Harrison (ed) *Audio Visual archives: a practical reader* (Paris: UNESCO, 1997) 145

[41] *Selection:* According to Harrison, "the first principle of selection is to produce a collection of relevance and manageable proportion within the institution". (Harrison,'Audio visual archives'149) She lays out that the "basic purpose of selection is to ensure preservation of material relevant to the subject matter of the archive. Different archives will have different selection policies according to the intended uses of the archive" (Harrison, 'Audio visual archives'133)

[42] *Preservation:* In classical archival terms preservation will refer to the archival management. Preservation is different to conservation. The International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA) describes it in the following way " Preservation includes all the managerial and financial considerations, including storage and accommodation provisions, levels policies, techniques and methods involved in preserving library and archival material and the information contained in them. (Adcock, 5)

[43] *Migration*; Refers to a digital process of moving Audio Visual archival material from one digital carrier and format to another in the interest of archival longevity.

B.3. Custody/ Audio- Visual Archivist

Christopher defines custody as one of the most 'important things in the archive world'.[44] In his definition a document that has been in 'official custody' throughout its existence is accepted as a 'true' record. This refers back to Emmison's 'responsible person' who controls access to the collections. In this understanding the archivist and collection seem to be on a lateral continuum, held by the structure of the archive.

There is no agreed upon definition of what an audio-visual archivist is (Edmondson, Harrison). According to working groups within the area, (AVAPINN, IASA, AMIA) it is more a reference to a series of tasks and areas of performance than a professional title. Unlike related professions such as library or archival science, there is no formal training within South Africa as an audiovisual archivist.[45] Internationally such formal training is only beginning to emerge and there is still no internationally accepted academic qualification as an audio-visual archivist.[46] Yet Edmondson does suggest a working definition that reads as follows:

> An audio visual archivist is a person occupied at a professional level in an audiovisual archive, in the building, refining, control, management or preservation of its collection; or in the provision of access to it, or the serving of its clientele.[47]

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[44] H.Christopher, *Paleography and archives* (London: Grafton & co, 1938) 55
[45] For more on archival education within the country see K.Murray, 'Preservation Education and Training for SA library and archive professionals and students', m.bibl thesis UCT 2002
[46] R.Edmondson, *Philosophy of*, 8
[47] R.Edmondson, *Philosophy of*, 9

Yet records, collections and the archival custodian are not static within that archival structure. Furthermore the record, collection and archivist are not just interacting within an internal continuum- they also engage beyond the archive as structure (physical or virtual). Or as Menne-Haritz states "the use of archives is the only reason for their existence."[48]

B.4. Record/Trace

Within this (un) contained system are a number of building blocks, which inform and direct the concept of archive. A record is the primary (smallest) part of this system. In simplistic terms, a number of records make up a collection and a number of collections make up an archive.

The International Council on Archives, classifies records in the following way:

> A record is recorded information produced or received in the initiation, conduct or completion of an institutional or individual activity and that comprises content, context and structure sufficient to provide evidence of the activity. [49]

The inherent complexity in many of the definitions, is that in trying to encompass all the element's attributes, it becomes difficult to recognize the physical/virtual attributes. For instance according to the International Organization for Standardization:

> [A] Record [is] information created, received, and maintained as evidence and information by an organization or person, in

[48] Menne-Haritz. "Access – the reformulation of an archival paradigm", 62.
[49] Committee on Electronic Records. 'Guide for Managing Electronic Records from an Archival Perspective', *International Council on Archives*, (1997) 22

pursuance of legal obligations or in the transaction of business.[50]

While these definitions, and many others, amplify the legal and evidential value of the record, it is important to take into account that archival records are also evocative. They hold more information than is contained in their textual (aural) content. Placed within the archival structure they also become traces of larger collections.

Jacques Derrida, speaks of archive as a "trace or process inscribed on a external substrate".[51] This lays a different framework for understanding the nature of the record. Derrida speaks of such traces in the archive[52]. They encompass any form of archival material, including journal entries, tattoos, visual images or even psychic remembrances.[53] In post-structualist terms the trace can refer to any medium, format or moment- it does not necessarily have a physical base and might not be fixed in terms of structure or meaning. The archival trace then is not simply a recording or image of an event. It shapes the event; it produces as much as it records the event.

B.5. Collection

Collections can be understood to be logical groupings of records. Such groupings can take a number of forms. The collection may, for instance, be organised thematically (See Appendix 1:2 Centre for Popular Memory Audio Catalogue – where one can see a logical

[50]International Organization for Standardization. ISO 15489-1 Information and Document Management – Records Management (Part 1: General). (2001) 3
[51] J.Derrida, *Archive Fever* ,47
[52] This interaction between trace and archive is discussed in more depth in Chapter 2
[53] J.Derrida, *Archive Fever*

order of Holding Collections through to sub collection level e.g. Communities / Western Cape/ Cape Town/ Blouvlei); by lodging details or even by date (accessioned 1988). Within archival management, different approaches to such collections management have been suggested. One of the issues is the splitting and completeness of such collections. Muller speaks of the desirability of not splitting collections between repositories and if they are then to emulate their completeness.[54] This ideal, set out in 1940, seems to have changed in a number of ways over the past sixty-five years. Within the current climate, collections are affected by a host of things including institutional priorities, selection procedures, life cycles, migration and funding. Within an African context, colonialist practice of the early 20th century also saw artifacts and archival collections being split not only between repositories, but also across continents.

B. 6. Oral History Recordings

Oral history recordings refer to aural representations between an interviewer and interviewee embodied in a carrier.[55] As oral historian Sean Field mentions, oral history as a lived practice existed way before academics developed it as a research practice in the 1950's.[56] By the 1980's practitioners, such as Portelli and Passerini, had written conclusively about a more layered approach of understanding oral histories as being conveyed in lived practices

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[54] S.Muller, J.Feith, R. Frun, *Manual for the arrangement and description of archives* (New York: H.W. Wilson Company, 1940) 42

[55] A Carrier is a discrete physical unit- e.g. disc, cassette or reel of tape on which the image or sound is carried. A singe work may compromise one or several carriers; sometimes a single carrier may contain more than one work. Edmondson (ed), *A philosophy, 5*

[56] S.Field, 'Oral History Projects', *Lost Communities, Living memories: remembering forced removals in Cape Town.* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2001) 125

and through the inter-subjective dialogue between interviewer and interviewee. This has specific relevance to how researchers have come to imagine and use oral histories in audio-visual archives. Such usage of narratives/texts within archives is fortified by the importance of correct and effective copyright procedures around human subjects.[57]

B.7. Access

Within archives the notion of access to material and collections is seen to occupy varying levels of importance. Some archives place little importance on the availability of material of the public, but rather see their function as one of conservation of their collections.

The National Archives of South Africa describe access as an "element [which] indicates the policies which govern public access to archives and manuscripts at individual institutions."[58] The International Council of Archives takes this one step further by suggesting that collections are of no use (their words) if they are not accessible or understandable. In their *Electronic Records; a workbook for Archivists* they expand on the need for an awareness of hardware obsolescence and vigilance around material being understandable to users:

> By accessible we mean that we still have some technology, both hardware and software, that allows us to locate records

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[57] See Appendix 1:1 CPM Copyright release form. The use of a copyright release form ensures that both parties are protected. This allows the interviewee to place whatever restrictions they desire on the use of their interview. Interestingly is has not been common practice to use copyright release forms. And many research archives and researchers still lodge material without such forms. For more around within a South African university setting see UCT's humanities research and ethics handbook available at www.uct.ac.za

[58] http://www.national.archives.gov.za/ last viewed 25/6/2007

> of interest and then translate them into a form which human senses can deal with, such as marks on paper or words on a screen. By understandable we mean that we can make sense of the record and the meaning it is intended to convey. This understanding may require assistance or support of other information, which is also part of the record system, it is not an absolute requirement that each record makes sense in isolation.[59]

Following on from that, the collection, record and archivist are to some extent affected by the current external domain, be it theoretical, political or physical changes (such as changes in government policy, prioritization needs, institutional affiliations etc). To flesh this out a little more, I have outlined some of the key concepts around archiving below.

C. A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF ARCHIVES

> The keeping of archives constitutes a significant aspect of mankind's experience in organized living; without these archives, in fact, the story of our past could not be told.[60]

By outlining a brief historical overview of archives, I explore certain notions that will be developed in this thesis. The main themes within this section engage with:

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[59] *Electronic records: a workbook for archivists.* International council on archives . Committee on current records in an electronic environment April 2005 . downloaded from the International Council of Archives(ICA) website. Last viewed 26/06/2007

[60] E.Posner, *Archives of the ancient world* , 1

1. The power relationship between the state and individual.
2. Ideas and practice around the virtual and the tangible.
3. Technological shifts which affect the availability of material and the changing roles of archives and how such changes affect the meaning imbued in such archives.

C.1. Archives of power: state and society

In a temporal framework the archive has a long history. Remains of archive buildings and storage areas have been excavated and traced to ancient Mesopotamia. While one can plot a series of entries in archives and literary sources, which mark the existence of archives before the common era, it seems that much of the research aims to prove / show that such organizations of government or institution existed in the ancient world. By implication written and archeological resources seem to be proof of the structure of the archive, accountability to government and a record of legal and economic affairs at that time.

Posner posits that ancient Roman institutions have influenced western archival practice. Secondly in the east, Persian experience and the art of record keeping, determined the character of financial administration of the near east through to the 18th century.[61] He and other writers such as Jenkinson outline the place occupied by archives within states practice. Thus marking the strong relation of archives to structures of judiciary and economic activity. As Terry Cook states, it is no coincidence that the first archives were those connected to power in ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, China and pre-

[61] W.Hinz. 'Das Rechnungswesen orientalischer Reichsfinanzamter im Mittelalter' Islam. XXIX. P119

Columbian America. In Le Goff's words the capital city in these and later civilizations becomes "the centre of a politics of memory. First the creation and then the control of memory leads to the control of history, thus mythology, ultimately power'.[62]

Yet, proof of archival activity in the ancient world seems largely based on physical excavations of what is understood to be archival structures and artifacts/records[63] such as clay tablets or ivory writing boards (Muller, 1940, Posner, 1972, Christopher, 1938). According to Posner, excavations of Calah (Nimrud) one of the youngest of the great metropolises of the ancient Near East, clearly shows, how "records of various levels of government, archives and business papers of individuals were discovered in one location".[64] The chapter on 'The clay tablet archives' in Posner's book *Archives of the ancient world*, gives a fascinating account of the ordering and managing of records at that time. It also suggests the importance of archives and archival custodian within that system.[65]

Since before the common-era (BC) the archivist and state have negotiated this position of power in terms of archival records. Even

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[62] Cook, 'Archival science', 6

[63] This distinction depends on the field or discipline the researcher is working within. In this vein *artifact* would refer to its value as source material of former civilization while *record* makes reference to its archival value.

[64] Posner, *Archives of*, 38

[65] To the left of the temple was an archival holding area where records of the day's events were stored. Experts () know this as the structure shows shelving and record boxes as well as papyrus holders and remnants of clay tablets. These records and their office were close to the inner sanctum showing their importance within the administration of the state. Précis of the day's events were logged for quick use. Interestingly enough, often these summaries of courtly activities were used at a later date to remind the public/courtiers of previous events. Or rather provided justification of certain decisions around who won and why. It's interesting as the summary of the day's activities was consulted rather than the 'record' of the event in long form. E.Posner, 'Clay tablet archives' in *Archives of the ancient world.*

more importantly this power had a relation between the individual and collective on a number of levels. The archivist and state as regulators (or holders) of the record held information about a person that could be used as evidence in court. Furthermore the archivist as individual held the collective power of the State, in terms of his position as preserver of the record (even transferring that power further to his personal residence).[66]

Two other factors are interesting; the first, a reminder that the archive was a public office and the second, that it housed unpublished records. These substrates marked transactions on individual and collective levels, which could be used in verification at a later date and as reminders of what came before. In this sense the ancient archive was a vehicle of the state and a repository of information on the governance of areas and people. It speaks of the long history of people being 'catalogued and inventoried'. While in the current century, we carry around markers of these public and private relationships (such as wallets), people in ancient Egypt were also subjected to these types of relationships through archival inventories.

Furthermore, Posner's text highlights a close relation between the archivist and archive itself. Derrida also reminds us that the senior magistrate (archivist) housed the records in his house,[67] which confirms a longstanding connection between public records and private space. The intimacy between the holder and the record is

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[66] This position was held only by men well into the 20th century. For more around the exclusion of women for archives see Lerner, G., The creation of Feminist Consciousness: from the middle ages to eighteen seventy (New York:1993) and B.Smith, *The gender of History: Men, Women and historical practice* (London: 1998)

[67] H.Bradley, 'The seductions of the archive; Voices lost and found', *History of the Human Sciences*, 12, 2 (London: Sage Publishers, 1999) 110

not only interesting but remains an important power relation well into the 20th century.

In his paper, *Archival fictions: Garcia Marquez Bulivar file*, historian Gonzalez Echevarria reminds us that the etymology of 'archive' contains the Latin and Greek origins, but also includes a figurative dimension that involves the words *Arcanum* (secret) and *arche* (rule, command). Thus the archivist is central to archival activity and is a person entrusted "with a secret or very private knowledge and knows how to guard them".[68] In some form these combinations of protecting secrets for (or of) the state/institution, and the power relations between the state and individual or group, have filtered through the centuries.

In her book *Dust: the archive and cultural history,*[69] Carolyn Steedman, uses the example of early 19th century indentured domestic workers in England being "forced to provide personal histories to the records office /archive to prove parish responsibility".[70] Through this physically recorded proof of place of birth, the worker was then the fiscal responsibility of the corresponding parish. This example once again shows, the connection between the personal within a larger state mandate. Patricia Hayes lays out a different approach, with similar aims, in her article 'Picturing the past in Namibia: The visual archive and its energies'.[71] This article explores the power relations present in

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[68] S.Bell, et al, *Critical Theory, Cultural Politics and Latin American narrative* (Indiana: The University of Notre Dame Press, 1993) 187

[69] C.Steedman, *Dust: the archive and cultural history* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2002)

[70] Steedman, *Dust*, 54

[71] P.Hayes, 'Picturing the past in Namibia: The visual archive and its energies', *Refiguring the archive*, (Cape Town: David Philip, 2002) 103 -133

colonial visual archives and how images of Namibians from the early 20th century onward, were used in the service of different colonial powers.[72] South African historian Carolyn Hamilton also discusses the overlap of state and collective by critiquing the bias colonial powers placed on the material, thereby categorizing as myth and belief that which actually were forms of knowledge. For her, archives became a mechanism of control over people and land, not dissimilar to Steedman's example. Gedi's assertion that "Society manifests its reality through institutions, laws, customs and social products"[73] is also in line with the idea that the state relies on archives to assert power.

Yet, the state is also under threat of the archive. While the state can wield power over people/individuals through the use of records, the archive also contains records that implicate the state. Hence, examples of State or religious archives being destroyed when countries or constituencies are overpowered.[74] A strong reminder of such power at play, existed in the archives of the apartheid state. South African archivist, Verne Harris explains, that an investigation he was involved in "exposed a large scale and systematic sanitation of official memory resources authorized at the highest level of government".[75] Thus, between 1990 and 1994 huge volumes of public records were destroyed in an attempt to keep the apartheid

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[72] Hayes mentions how such images and archival material was 'manipulated by various colonial powers at different points of occupation. These included Germany, South Africa and Great Britain by proxy, and then later with the technological and political influence of the United States of America.

[73] N.Gedi, Y.Elam, Collective memory-what is it? (EBESCO: 2002) 30-50

[74] Of course there is the strong reminder from Hamilton (Hamilton, *Refiguring*, 23) that the physical destruction of this archive displaces the power to fantasy (and into its collective imaginary).

[75] V.Harris, 'The archival sliver: a perspective on the construction of social memory in archives and the transition from apartheid to democracy', Hamilton, *Refiguring*, 135

state's darkest secrets hidden. He footnotes that in 1993 the National Intelligence Service headquarters destroyed an estimated forty-four tons of paper based and microfilm records.

That investigation, conducted for the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) where the stories of South Africa's past, although supplemented by archival records and documentary evidence, essentially relied on oral testimony. The TRC, then is an example of the parallel developments of private and public, which is at the heart of archival practice. As Mc Ewan[76] suggests the translation of personal memory into collective memory [in something such as the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission] shows that through ordinary lives the forces of social history are revealed.[77] As such, there is a much greater understanding that oral history is as much archive as any other form of memory production, which readdresses an unbalanced historical South African past.

A relative amount has been written around the South African TRC and archival records management. Amongst others, is the debate recorded by Villa-Vincencio and Du Toit[78] on The TRC's unfinished business. That book and articles such as Harris's 'Archival sliver', and Hamilton and Mangchu's paper on Freedom, Public deliberation

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[76] A.Lester, J.Beall, (eds) C.Mc Ewan 'Building a Post-colonial archive? Gender, collective memory and citizenship in post apartheid South Africa', *Journal of Southern African studies* 29,3 (2003) 747

[77] This engagement between personal and collective is not a simple movement from A to B though. And it is not unmediated in terms of the gathering and engaging with the complicity of group and societal knowledge generation either.

[78] C.Villa-Vincencio, F.Du Toit (eds) *Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa; 10 years on* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2006) 53-70

and the archive,[79] highlight the state of national record-keeping during the apartheid era in South Africa and caution against the "sanitizing of official memory resources"[80] within our newer democratic state. Of course there is also the difficulty of how access is controlled. In other words, what has been silenced or destroyed, essentially creates or fosters a space of sanitation in its absence. Pumla Dineo Gqola calls the TRC part of a "counter amnesia"[81] project, yet notes that it is also a work of forgetting as "certain types of memory making are elevated above others with gendered, racialised, sexualized and class specific implications".[82] This 'counter history' and the media coverage of the TRC hearings constitute a form of nation building in which, McEachern argues,[83] individual and collective memories were articulated and framed in an attempt to forge a new vision of the people out of the apartheid past.

The TRC archive is an interesting case in point though. For one, it contains specific challenges and highlights definite archival processes around power, silence and forgetting. Kriger[84] begins by mentioning the magnitude of material generated. In her words:

> In the lifespan of the TRC it received and heard tens of thousands of testimonies of documentary and oral submissions. In this sense the South African TRC created possibly the wo'rlds largest and most diverse archive – oral

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[79] C.Hamilton, X.Mangchu, Freedom, Public Deliberation and the archive'. conference paper

[80] Harris, ibid, 56

[81] V.Harris, in Villa-Vincencio and Du Toit, (eds) *Truth and Reconciliation*, 59

[82] Harris, ibid, 61

[83] C. McEachern. Narratives of Nation. Media, Memory and Representation in the Making of the New South Africa. (New York: Nova Science, 2002) 15

[84] E.Kriger, 'The South African Truth and Reconciliation commission – a case study in documenting crimes against humanity in the interests of national reconciliation and nation building', *Esarbica Newsletter*, (7, 2005) 4-10.

and written - of human rights abuse, resistance to the abuse and resultant suffering of millions of people.[85]

Such a mass of information generation, much of it oral, visual and multi -lingual required a particularly effective records management system. The archival procedure needed to protect not only the integrity (inviobility) of the record, but also adhere to the legal specifications related to the records. This proves to be particularly challenging, as Harris notes: [86]

- In the period 2001-2004 public access to the TRC archive was managed exclusively through requests submitted in terms of the Promotion of access to information Act (PAIC)
- Inadequate processing and the absence of detailed finding aids made public access to the TRC archive problematic
- There is no signs of decentralized 'centres of memory'[87]
- There is no sign of vigorous National archives collecting or oral history endeavors

Many of the factors mentioned within the example of the TRC, relate directly to concerns over power between state, archive and

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[85] E.Kriger, "The South African' 5. Another example is the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda [ICTR]. Vigorous debate recently has seen many options being proposed for what to do with the ICTR's unique archival collection on the Rwandan genocide of 1994. ICTR archive has a huge portion of its content in the form of audiovisual material. It contains thousands of hours of video recordings [VHS and DVCAM], multi-track sound recordings on CD, a large collection of audio cassettes and many thousands of photographs, slides and maps tendered as exhibits in the trials. For more on this see http://www.ictr.org, last accessed 10 August 2008

[86] Harris, 'the TRC's unfinished business : archives', Villa Vincencio and Du Toit, (eds) *Truth and Reconciliation,* 57

[87] As originally suggested by the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

citizen. There are many layers to these inter relations and the relationships remain dynamic and affected not only by changing socio-political climates, but also by changing or shifting responses and practices within and around archiving.

C.2. Technology and archival records

The development of technology has significantly influenced archival practice. While the archives of 5000 years ago relied on clay, reed and wood substrates, the refinement of printing, copying and marking techniques significantly increased the availability and use of documents. The Gutenberg press of the 16th century, remains a significant marker, yet other technological developments also considerably altered the relationship between archive, state, community and power.

The first quarter of the 19th century heralded three important discoveries for the development of audio-visual archiving, namely: electromagnetism, Ohms law and Faraday's electromagnetic induction. These building blocks provided a number of discoveries over the next few decades. German archivist, Albrecht Haefner outlines these developments, which include the first documented recording of sound waves in 1857 and the first transmission of human voice across an electrical wire in 1861. These discoveries assisted inventions such as the magnetic microphone in 1876 and the flat disc in 1887.[88] These technologies provided the medium for the development of sound archives and it is not therefore surprising

[88] A.Haefner, 'Renaissance in archiving: The present upheavel in audiovisual archives; evolution toward multimedia archiving'. Keynote address at SASA national conference. (Johannesburg: EBSCO publishing, 2000) 9

that the first audio-visual archive was set up in Vienna, Germany in 1899.

Growth in the audio-visual archival arena gained momentum in the 1930's and then again in the post war 1950's, by which time over 400 European audio-visual archives housing huge collections existed. During that time period recording formats included wax cylinders (of which 300 000 currently still exist) and shellac and micro groove discs (an estimated 20 million are held in recorded sound collections worldwide).[89] With the production of gramophone records in the 1890's and the development of magnetic tape in Germany in the 1930's,[90] new possibilities for dissemination opened up.

Schuller mentions though, that it was not until the 1950's that the tape recorder was used more extensively. This is attributed to the development of battery-operated tape recorders with a relatively high sound quality. Due to these developments, holdings of magnetic tape are currently estimated to be around 30 million hours.[91]

Furthermore, the invention of photography in the late 19th century and moving images in the early parts of the 20th century, opened up a world of dissemination previously unavailable to the public at large. As early as 1900, Boleslav Matuzewski, a Polish cinematographer published a manifesto calling on the establishment of a world wide network of archives to acquire and conserve the

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[89] D.Schuller, 'Technologies of the Future' A.Seeger, S.Chaudhuri, *Archives for the future: global perspectives and audio visual archives in the 21st century*, (Calcutta: Seagull Books. 2004) 21

[90] Schuller, 'Technologies of ', 20

[91] *Ibid*, 21

product of this new marvel of technology, this new source of history. [92]

While magnetic video signals were developed in the 1950's, it was only by the 1970's that portable videography gained momentum. Schuller, claims that by 2004, it was estimated that there was over 10 million hours of videotape in holding collections.[93] If one includes magnetic mediums, over 40 million hours of recordings are present in collections. That is a vast amount to archive, never mind to consider for digitization.

Coupled with this mass of magnetic recording material, the 1980's heralded the development and distribution of optical media such as Compact Discs (CDs) and Digital versatile discs (DVD's). While magnetic tape is said to have an optimal lifespan of around 50 years[94], there is considerable debate around the longevity of optical discs. While some companies advertise a life of 70 years, it seems that there is no benchmark for such claims. Accordingly, neither CD nor DVD is seen as archivally sound, [95] and with the rapid development of technology, digital archival material needs be migrated, rather than preserved. This opens up a number of related issues around obsolescence of hardware and standards for migration.

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[92] Harrison (ed), *Audio Visual*, 86
[93] Schuller, 'Technologies of' , 21
[94] Haefner, 'Renaissance in archiving', 12
[95] For more around this see Guidelines on the production and preservation of digital audio objects produced by International Association of Sound and Audio Visual Archives (IASA) technical committee and recommended by UNESCO's Memory of the World Programme as guidelines for best practice in audio-visual archives. 2004

Common to all these formats is the fact that content is embedded in the carrier. These technological innovations have seen the rapid evolution of affordable portable equipment meaning that the ability to record (capture) oral or aural narratives existed for 'the person on the street'. Oral history also evolved substantially during the post war period through the coupling of affordable portable equipment and a 'new' approach to history recording, not just of state leaders and heroic speeches, but also of voices from 'below'. This mass generation of material, requires stringent standards and mechanisms for preservation and access. With this in mind a number of regulations and guidelines have been drawn up to try and deal with the influx of technologically embedded archival records.[96]

C.3. Availability of material

The end of the 20th century has heralded a significant transformation in the storage capacity and affordability of portable recording media. The capacity and usability of recording on R_DAT, minidisk, and solid state through devices such as ipod, mobile phones, digital voice recorders and HD video cameras, and the subsequent low cost and time effective mechanisms for transferring and saving media and printing on conventional/low end printers allows for material to be transported around the world at an alarming rate. It is alarming, in that mass media, doesn't take the sensitivity to content of material as a central position. One example is, the digital photographs emailed across the globe from Ben Grabi prison in Iraq, which highlighted the gross mistreatment of

[96] The 1950 Bern convention, ICA report in 1972 and UNESCO recommendation in 1980 provided standards, usage, and strategies for conservation and dissemination.

prisoners. In this example the non-official dispersal of material, often of a personal and traumatic nature, gained national and international significance and demanded official and state response, thereby once again merging the boundaries between the public and private.[97]

While the above example falls outside the archival paradigm, the concept remains the same. The mere fact that information of archival importance is being created, accessed and transferred through the rapid development of technology and therefore has an effect on societies, groups and individuals is of significance. In 1962 Thomas Kuhn maintained that,[98] radical changes in the interpretive framework of a scientific theory occur (which he calls a paradigm shift), when answers to research questions are no longer sufficiently explained by the phenomena being observed or when the practical methodologies based on the theory no longer work. This has occurred in archival science, with the impact of technology and post modernist theory on the discipline. Terry Cook, notes that the dominant intellectual trend of this age is postmodernism, and that as Terry Eastwood has observed "one must understand the political, economic, social and cultural milieu of any given society to understand its archives".[99]

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[97] For more on this see Susan Sontag's book *Regarding the pain of others*, (New York: Farrar,2003)

[98] T.Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific revolutions*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,1962)

[99] T.Cook, *Archival Science*, 1, 1 (2000) 3-24 downloaded from www.wkap.nl. Last accessed August 2006

C.4. Archiving within an African context

While archival practice in European countries developed rapidly during the first half of the 20th century, the African situation is different. In the *World Information Report* of 1997,[100] Peter Mazikana notes that most sub Saharan countries only established national archives after the Second World War. This is coupled with the fact that training of archivists within this geographical area has only existed for the last four decades, while the profession in the Western world has existed since the 17th Century.[101]

It is also worthwhile to note at the outset, that many African archives still archive material without the use of computer technology or even the correct humidity and preservation requirements for housing fragile material.[102] This then affects not only the type of preservation and conservation work being carried out, but also the digital access and migration possibilities available to such institutions. There are other factors, which question the relevance of archives in Africa. In this view, archives are constructed through a colonialist lens[103] and therefore the dominant information disseminated about Africa is politically and historically distorted.[104] In his article on 'Preserving our collective memory..',[105] Munyaradzi Murove uses Lyotard's argument that computer archival memory does not recognize all forms of knowledge systems. As

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[100] World Information Report, 1997, 144
[101] S.Katuu, 'Whither Archives and Records Management Education and Training', *Esarbica Newsletter*, 11-14
[102] For a readdressing of this – see the example of the Timbuktu project which seeks to digitally preserve the famous Timbuktu manuscripts from the 16th century
[103] A.Mazrui, *The Africans: A triple heritage* (Boston: Little, Brown and co. 1986)
[104] T.Ranger, *The invention of tradition*, (Oxford: Blackwell,1983)
[105] M.Murove, 'Preserving our collective memory: an ethical inquiry into the future of the archival tradition in Africa', *South African Archives Journal*

such is cannot be neutral as it is programmed within a particular context that determines what is seen as legitimate knowledge systems and memory formations.

In South Africa itself, up and till the 1980's, the archival terrain was dominated by the State Archive Service (SAS). Harris notes that the National Archive's mandate included huge regulatory power, but it functioned in isolation due to the cultural boycott that largely excluded it from international exchange.[106] In 1960 The South African Society of Archivists (SASA) was founded with a 'moral duty to preserve information about the past and present for the future'.[107] Yet, less than sixty years past its inception it no longer exists. One wonders whether SASA's demise is not perhaps due to a disinterest in preserving information from the past and present for the future. Outside of national structures though, there was an upsurge of interest in archives on certain levels.[108]

As Cuthbertson notes "at a time when archives and public history are being harnessed for nation building and are trying to centralize control in the National Archives of South Africa Act of 1996,[109] for instance, history is rejecting synthesis and meta narrative".[110] In

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[106] V.Harris, in Hamilton, *Refiguring the archive*, 138. This is an interesting position, which in some ways mirrors the archival relationship, which both holds power and yet somehow collapses in on itself.

[107] K.Murray, 'Preservation Education and Training for SA library and archive professionals and students', *m.bibl thesis* (UCT, 2002) 40

[108] During the 1980s an increasing number of anti-apartheid organizations, amongst others, began depositing material with university libraries and during this time the South African history workshop also came into being. This period saw a shift from making oral accounts text based to accepting their fluidity as a core and not a flaw (for notions of fluidity see Hamilton's 'Living by fluidity oral histories, material custodies and the politics of archiving.' *Refiguring the archive 54*).

[109] National Archives and Records Service of South Africa ACT (Act no 43 of 1996)

[110] G.Cuthbertson, 'Postmodernizing history and the archives: some challenges for recording the past', *SA Archives Journal*, 39 (1997) 3

contrast though, Graham Dominy, the current South African national archivist, sees (or at least saw) the archivists duty to "purposefully collect the records of the less articulate, the poor and ill educated who do not write to government departments or newspapers".[111] In his speech at the 1994 conference Odendaal also articulated how "popular memory must be reconstructed if the struggle for real democracy is to succeed and that oral history must play a central role in this as two thirds of South Africa's population is illiterate".[112]

Yet Verne Harris and Sello Hatang, critique this notion of the responsibility and meaning of being an African archivist.[113] They speak of archives in terms of the binary subject/object where "there was no space for the soul, the spirit to be found in things and places".[114] Their conversation and other considerations raised by Premesh Lalu and Carolyn Hamilton re-evaluate the position of an archivist in South Africa. While these debates are more personal, *the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage* (1996), sought to redress inequalities of the past, through a legislative rather than philosophical position, thereby, creating a connection between post apartheid preservation and the domain of public memory and history.[115]

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[111] K.Murray, Preservation education and' 2
[112] A.Skotnes, Peoples archives and oral history in South Africa; a travellers account, *South African Archives Journal*, 37 (1995) 63
[113] V.Harris, S.Hatang, 'Archives, Identity and Place. A dialogue of what it (might) mean(s) to be an African archivist' *Esarbica Journal*, 19 (2000) 45-54
[114] Harris, 'Archives, Identity', 54
[115] Cuthberston, 'Postmodernizing history', 42

This tendency to refigure arises out of a changing society that needs to refine and reconsider biases in 'official records'.[116] These have told a very specific part of the history of that country due to a minority rule that placed more value on certain sectors of society than others. In an effort to readdress this imbalance a number of South African oral history related projects emerged. Such projects directly play a part in refiguring the contents and context of archives. (I list a number of them in Appendix 1:3)

C.5. Changing Contexts

In the preface to his book published in 1934,[117] Jenkinson mentions that the suggestion that archivists hold ' all classes of documents in his custody must from certain points be said to have equal value' would have been viewed by contemporaries in records administration as 'silly'. Yet almost 80 years later, there is a sense that records are of equal value, or at least, that there are standards that regulate the preservation and access of all records within the archive, without hierarchy.

While we know that the archive in Mesopotamia was a resource for legal and state affairs, the history of the audio archive has different agendas. For one the difference in century offered a different context. Archives have changed from being founded by the state, in service of the state, to the current context where archives often are created by public desire (or demand[118]) "to offer citizens a sense of

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[116] N.Mutiti, 'Re-figuring the archives- the African experience', *Comma* (2002) 202

[117] H.Jenkinson, *A Manual of archive administration*, (London: Humphries&Co, 1965) pxiv

[118] In Eric Ketelaar's words 'of the people, for the people, by the people' 'Archives of the people, by the people, for the people', *South African Archives Journal*, 34 (1992) 5-16

identity, locality, history, culture and personal and collective memory".[119]

Leading on from the technological inventions of the 19th century, which prompted the developments within audio archiving, the 20th century heralded a mass generation of media and textual material in different physical and virtual formats. In that century the author died, the text was deconstructed and narrative also became meta narrative. The late 20th century also saw the rapid growth of digital photography and film, which provided the possibility for the rapid transfer of information and images, from the local to the global. On another level, the 20th century also heralded a large popular interest in genealogy, psychology and memory studies.

While the post World War II period saw the re-establishment of civilian society, with a revitalized sense of patriotism and nationalism, there was also an interest in the voice of the people. This period sparked the need for narratives 'from below' aided by inventions such as portable tape recorders and television. Possibly the best known example is film director Stephen Spielberg's, 'Shindlers List' and huge Holocaust Survivor oral history project - Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation, these highlight not only the use of survivor stories in recreating a thematic construction of place and time (SHOAH), but are also a reminder of the layering and interplay of memory, myth and re-creation. Many other similar examples exist, both in archival repositories and stories revisited through sound, television, Internet and film. The use of audio narratives in museums and historical sites, has also furthered this possibility of using such stories not only as 'authentic'

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[119] Cook, 'Archival Science', 8

and ancillary, but also to enhance the user experience and understanding.[120]

So too, archives and libraries have increasingly become places of interaction, where users not only trace their own historical pasts but also look to other narratives as points of connection and change. If one looks beyond the tracing of personal genealogy, archivists such as Bradley and Steedman suggest that the historian (sociologist and researcher) gains a "sense of belonging"[121] in archives by identification with their topic. So too, one needs to question the responsibility of the user/researcher. One has to question how this type of relation contributes to and engages with psychological mirroring and constructions of group identity. With this in mind, Achille Mbembe suggests that the imaginary of the archive is toward a collective ownership,[122] which requires the death of the author. The question then arises as to whether the archive is some sort of reincarnation, whether the refiguring is another layer or cycle of the archival lifespan? In that cycle there is both a description that limits, but also a transformation that reconfigures.

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[120] An example of this is the South African Holocaust Museum in Cape Town, where the use of audio is used to enhance the visitors experience from the moment they enter the museum space.
[121] Bradley, 'The seductions ', 110
[122] Hamilton, *Refiguring*, 23

D. PRECIS OF CENTRAL ARGUMENT

As outlined in this chapter, a number of central themes arise, which I shall discuss in greater depth in the following chapters. The central thread remains an exploration of the ways in which oral history recordings and their constructions of individual and collective memories intersect within a South African audio-visual archival setting. This reveals the uncanny relationship where oral texts have a descriptive, transformative and performative nature. This relationship is inherent within the rigid archival setting which names and numbers narratives, yet is also due to the nature of oral history recordings and the effect of post-modern theory on the practice of both oral history and archiving.

Such layering offers certain opportunities, which are brought to the fore by technological advances and paradigm shifts in archival practice. These offer new alternatives regarding access to audio-visual archival material and ways in which such material can be used and performed outside of the archive. Yet within the archive, the process of archival collections structures and changing relationships between historical time and place also transform material. These boundaries between inside and outside (stories are inside and outside - bodies/minds; collective/communities; archives/institutions) are of central significance to this thesis, for the premise is that narratives live in both spaces, yet are contained by neither.

E. CHAPTER OUTLINE

This chapter has briefly laid the foundation for the issues I explore in later chapters. It has created a foundation for understanding some of the key terms that will be unpacked. It has also briefly sketched a historical perspective of archiving and how audiovisual archiving fits into this picture.

Chapter two asks the question "How do the changes in memory and historical studies affect the work of oral history archives?" This chapter introduces the role of signs, signification and signifiers. It also looks at the movements within critical historical studies and memory work. In introducing some of the key themes and thinkers in these areas, I aim to provide and explore the ways in which the oral history archive can utilize and draw on theoretical strands that direct its function in the context of the 21st century.

Chapter three maps the territory of the audiovisual archive, in terms of technology and archival practice. While technological advances provide new preservation and dissemination practices for African archives, they are largely reliant on internationally developed standards for digitization and prioritization of material. Concerns relating to intellectual property, community property and access to technology as well as connections to global forums are largely controlled by trans-national organizations off the African continent. Issues such as 'global homogeny' focus the world on the practices, icons and language of the developed Western world. Multi-lingualism for web-based media and digitisation/ transcription procedures for languages other than English, remain under-developed and prioritised. In short there are concerns that are

specific to the African continent which are not being addressed on a global level. Through the Centre for Popular Memory's (CPM) audiovisual archive, these concerns are explored with relation to digitisation procedures, storage mediums, customised digital repositories and virtual archives in a global context.

Chapter four concentrates on the generation of myth and meaning in audio collections, using Centre for Popular Memory archive holdings as a case study. It unpacks meaning, generated through the creation of topologies within the archive. The chapter looks at examples of singular records and their demarcation and placement within collection categories. The aim is to practically explore some of the notions and approaches raised in the previous chapters. It engages with the interplay between the individual voice and the collective imagination and explores the ways in which narratives are described and transformed.

Chapter five uses the Centre for Popular Memory archive, holding collection on trauma and memory, to look at the construction of collective remembering. By exploring the a number of individual collective imaginings around incidents of urban violence within the city of Cape Town during the late 1990's, I draw on themes raised in earlier chapters to explore the intersections of memory, time and space.

Chapter six is the synthesis of ideas expanded on in previous chapters with an emphasis on theoretical and practical implications of the conclusions and their contribution to inter-related bodies of knowledge. The chapter highlights the main conclusions and suggests further possibilities.

Chapter 2

CONCEPTS THAT INFORM THE WORK OF ORAL HISTORY ARCHIVES, IN THE 21ST CENTURY.

A. INTRODUCTION

B. THE INFLUENCE OF LINGUISTICS AND SEMIOTICS WITHIN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARCHIVAL NARRATIVE PRAXIS

C. DEVELOPMENT IN ARCHIVAL THEORY

1. Archiving in the 21st century
2. A turn to memory and oral history

2.a.Introduction

2.b.Groundwork: between (oral) history and memory

3. Myth
4. What is collective about collective memory?
5. Silence and speech/Remembering and forgetting
6. Memories and space
7. Institutional memory
8. The uncanny and the double bind
9. The active user

A. INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces some of the key themes and thinkers in the areas of critical studies and memory work with relation to archival management. I aim to explore the ways in which the oral history archive can utilize and draw on these theoretical strands to fulfill its function within the 21st century. My interest lies in looking at how seminal thinkers such as Saussure, Barthes, Foucault, Freud, and Lacan intersect with thinkers in other disciplines such as Connerton, Samuel, Portelli, Derrida and La Capra. Such names conjure up specific fields of study and it is important to note that while there are central academic disciplines that I concentrate on within this thesis, my work is informed by many other areas and reworking of texts. So for instance, the groundwork of Derrida's *Archive Fever* is fascinating within its own context, it also informs the work of Harris, Hatang and Hamilton in terms of accessing and developing notions of post-colonial archives within the South African situation. In similar ways the historical developments within an oral history framework as laid out in Grele and Thompson/Samuel, lay ample foundation for the work of Portelli, Passerini, La Capra and Nora.

B. THE INFLUENCE OF LINGUISTICS AND SEMIOTICS WITHIN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARCHIVAL NARRATIVE PRAXIS

At the outset let me refer to Jay's warning regarding 'The linguistic turn', which for him is a place where meaning is only understood inside the limits of linguistic mediation.[123] I therefore highlight the importance of linguistic and semiotic theory and practice and use it

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[123] M.Jay, *Songs of experience* (Berkley: University of California, 2005) 6

to relate directly to the way such developments can play themselves out within oral historical archival narrative collections.

Ferdinand Saussure and later Roland Barthes, delve into the role of signification through the lens of linguistics and semiotics. In their terms, the 'system of signs' constitutes a system of signification. They take form in sound, image, object and complex variations and layerings such as ritual, performance or mass media. An important example of such a system is the binary classification of concepts such as language/ speech.[124] If, in Saussure's terminology, language is the institutional and systematic, the autonomous and the collective, speech then is the individual use of that 'institution of language'. Neither the form nor system of language is disrupted by the variations of the individual combining those signification tools. Saussure explores these binaries as reliant on each other to achieve their full definition. "There is no language without speech, and no speech without language: it is in this exchange that the real linguistic praxis is situated".[125] The main concern in the language theory of Saussure and to an extent Barthes work, is their understanding of language (or the institutional binary) as static.[126] So in the language/speech example, speech is the individual usage of the institution language and is understood never to alter this fixed, abstract institution. In analyzing language one is dealing with social facts, with the social use of material objects.[127] In this sense,

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[124] Barthes lays out in his chapter 'Myth today' in *Mythologies* (London: Vintage, 1993), that he is analysing myth as a type of speech "innumerable other meanings of the word 'myth/ can be cited against this. But I have tried to define things and not words" 109

[125] R. Barthes.*Elements of semiology* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1973) 4

[126] Saussure has been charged with giving priority to the synchronic study of language and in doing so was ignoring the reference to time which has impact on the evolution of language. J.Culler: *Saussure*, (London: Fontana Press,1976) 35

[127] Culler, *Saussure*, 51

signification's meaning is centered on a certain language/speech group to which such signs and signifiers have common usage. Regarding archival oral history texts[128], it is the commonality around certain signification that by its nature includes and excludes. This development of collective memory and imagination is central on a number of levels within the archive, as it explicitly heralds the complexity in developing collections and context within this setting. (Discussed in greater length in later chapters).

At this point I am interested in the role of the individual and society and how such notions play themselves out in different constructions and signification systems. Similarly Freud and Durkheim revolutionized the social sciences by creating a new epistemological context within their disciplines.[129] Central to this, is the role of the individual and the meaning of the society in which they place themselves within. Meaning then becomes implicit in the relationship between the individual and objects/ actions, "and this meaning cannot be treated as a set of subjective perceptions"[130] but rather as a series or "system of collective norms which organize the world and gives meaning to verbal acts".[131]

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[128] Isabel Hofmeyr argues that one needs to make distinctions between 'oral narratives' and 'oral texts' which are methodologically more complex in that they acknowledge the meaning generated not only in the initial interview, situation, process but then also in the transcription and translation. This she suggests, help us to think of language use within its ideological framework, where texts contain both oral and literate features or characteristics and it is not necessary to place orality and literacy in separate realms. I.Hofmeyr, 'Reading oral texts: new methodological directions' paper presented at the *South African and Contemporary History seminar* (Oct 1995) 4

[129] Culler, *Saussure*, 70

[130] Culler, *Saussure*, 70

[131] Ibid, 73

While such theories have direct implications for the understanding of the role and development of both individual narratives and collective meanings within the archive, they do not sufficiently explore the importance of change/fluidity within the negotiation of collective meanings. But as Barthes points out, what becomes apparent is the connection between the "affinity of language according to Saussure and Durkheim's conception of a collective consciousness independent of individual manifestations".[132] This can then be a starting point to explore variations of spaces that exist for and in-between the individual and collective.

As mentioned earlier, for the purpose of this exploration these theories are discussed in terms of their direct relationship to the formation of collective meaning in the audio-visual archive. As such Saussure's explicit exploration of the 'unconscious character of language through its use in speech' is used in reference to Levi Strauss's contentions that 'it is not the contents that are unconscious but the [ ] symbolic function'. In a similar manner, Lacan writes of the libido being connected to a system of signification that for him describes a new type of collective field of imagination. This system is arranged by its forms or rather its signifiers (plane of expression) and signifieds (plane of content). Through this terminology, collective meaning within the archive can be seen as the signification of neither the mental representation (phantasia logika) nor the real/physical (tinganon) but only of the utterable (lekton). Thus, it is defined by its relation to the process of signification. In this example I suggest that the 'utterance' of collective meaning is defined by the use of the individual narrative (phantasia logika) made into a recording in an archive (tinganon).

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[132] Barthes, *Mythologies*, 9

Jay once again prompts us, that "experience is both a linguistic concept (signifier of signified) [] and a reminder that such concepts always leave a remainder that escapes the homogenizing grasp".[133] So too, I would suggest that material cannot be saturated within the confines or hold of the archive nor beyond the archive walls. These kinds of discussion centre on the place and space (form) of the utterance of 'planes of content and planes of expression'. Put differently, I am interested in how such utterances or individual narratives hold not only that which is spoken, but also that 'which is not', and it seems 'that which is not' spoken has other forms of coming through in collective narratives.

Such generation of meaning is difficult to pin down, as it is exactly its elusive ability that maintains its dynamism (or lack of static). It cannot be found in any one narrative and yet is apparent across collections, it cannot be heard in one person's voice and yet the thread or pattern gains some form, in listening to many narratives within collections. In the text by Harris,[134] he notes:

> Fact is contextual and disturbed by what is left or forgotten or gathered or not gathered. It is possibly the knowledge or accepting that "something is happening here, but you don't know what it is". Then it is not to pin that down and dissect it ...but to affirm the otherness, the unknowable within our humanity. In this psychic space beginning and ending, lose meaning.

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[133] Jay, *Songs of experience*, 6

[134] V.Harris, 'The archival sliver: power, memory and archives in South Africa' *Archival Science*, No 2,1 (2002) 63-86

This interest around oral texts, in what is found and not found, apparent and allusion, reminds me of one of Jacques Derrida's[135] most quoted early statements namely *"il n'ya a pas de hors-texte"* there is no outside-the–text. Yet as La Capra reminds us, this is not reference to a book or writing but rather to a 'relational network of instituted traces'.[136] The reference to instituted traces is reminder that be it text or some other referent object, it is a larger body of layered traces in a system (possibly such as one Foucault refers to as structure)[137] rather than static contained form that is being referred too.[138]

Such layering is also apparent in approaches of the post structuralists[139] 'linguistic turn' through works such as Jacques Derrida's unpacking of power, signification and contextual practice in *Archive Fever* and Foucault's discursive location of the modern subject in *Archeology of Knowledge.* Lastly, the work on language and entry into systems of power discussed by Lacan and expanded

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[135]J.Derrida, *On Grammatology,* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1974)158

[136]D.La Capra, *Writing history, Writing Trauma*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2001) 56

[137]M.Foucault, *The Order of Things: An archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Routledge, 1970).

[138] Hence, in Derridian terms there is nothing outside the archive and at the same time everything is outside the archive. Everything in life is the archive, all our memories the way they are played out in text, speaking, drawing and so forth. Yet at the same time these traces of those processes can never be complete. In his book *Archive Fever* he suggests that the marking on the substrate (through an impression on paper, or the body or a number of other methods) implies both process (its power) and place (where you do it). Then control of that process and place is central to archiving practice.

[139] One needs to note that even though Derrida is included in this section, he was actually questioning the authority of logocentricism, so it was in fact a protest against linguistics , [N.Royle, *Jacques Derrida*, (New York: Routledge,2003) 62] and by extension phonocentricism which could be read as a critique of oral history.

on by Irigaray's explorations into the democracy and contextual building of subject positions, fortify the importance of multiple dimensions and building of meanings - some of which I unpack with relation to examples within the archive in Chapter 3,4 and 5.

This linguistic turn paves the way (or gives way) to a 'narrative turn'[140] - a return to the represented and ethical turn with developments in all forms of cultural production[141]. This is followed by a historical turn "which opens the discussion to more voices from hermeneutics, critical theory, cultural studies, anthropology and archeology.[142] Amongst these weavings of theory and practice in other disciplines, the archive also registers a number of developments in theory and practice.

C. DEVELOPMENTS IN ARCHIVAL THEORY

The archival turn registers a rethinking of the materiality and imaginary of collections "how people imagine they know what they know and what institutions validate that knowledge".[143] To explore this, I briefly trace historical and theoretical movements within this field.

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[140]A.Douglass, T.Vogler, (eds) *Witness and Memory: The discourse of Trauma* (London: Routledge. 2003) 5

[141]J.Winter, 'The generation of memory: reflections on the memory boom in contemporary historical studies', *GHI Bulletin*, 27 (2000) 19

[142] G.Cuthbertson, 'Postmodernizing history and the archives: some challenges for recording the past', *SA Archives Journal*, 39 (1997) 4. For more on this see J. Toews, 'New Philosophy of History', *History and Theory*, 362 (1997) 241

[143] A.Stoler. 'Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance on the content in the Form', in C.Hamilton, (et al) *Refiguring the archive* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2002) 88

C.1 Archiving in the 21st century

"Historical inquiry should be the combined study of both what happened and how it was passed down to us."[144]

Historically, the archive houses archival records, which are maintained and catalogued. It has a physical home (a building, or room) and is governed according to international archival best practices[145]. These records are maintained by an archivist who according to the South African Association of Archivists[146]:

> The archivist is responsible for ensuring the availability and use of permanently valuable archives by identification, acquisition, description and preservation. Accountability to the archives creator, employer and user should shape the performance of these tasks.

Muller speaks of this role in another way:

> In every collection a certain relationship has existed from the old; the secretaries who built it up established certain rules, either consciously or unconsciously, for the preservation and arrangements of the documents.[147]

For him, the archivist resembles the paleontologist as "both can restore only one particular state of the reconstructed organism, whereas the living organism changed its state time and time

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[144] J.Young,The texture of memory: Holocaust memorials and meaning, (Conneticut: Yale University Press, 1993)
[145] A set of regulations and standards to ensure effective maintenance of records.
[146] www.archives.org.za last accessed 21 April 2007
[147] S.Muller, J.Feith, R.Frun, *Manual for the arrangement and description of archives* (New York: H.W. Wilson Company, 1940) 56

again".[148] This is a very valid point and one pertinent to the development of archiving, as records are not static and the reading/listening to/of them is affected by a number of factors. This relationship between collections (or records) and the archivist has adapted to changing environments over the last 70 years.

In 1964 Jenkinson laid out the qualities of archive making in the following way:

i) The archives of the future must have the same qualities as those of the past; therefore, any line of action we lay down for him must not be based on the hypothetical needs of the historian of the future:
ii) He must leave memorial of all the proceedings of importance which occur in his office
iii) He must preserve as little as possible
iv) He must deposit as often as possible and thereafter leave them undisturbed. [149]

According to the traditional mandate which is referred to above, the archivist is charged with the job of receiving, cataloging, archiving, managing and storing archival collections and maintaining them for the purpose of preservation. While these important functions maintain the lifecycle of the record, they do not seem to deal with two important facets of archiving. Firstly none of the descriptions deal with access to records and secondly they do not deal with the development of the notion of what constitutes a record in a late 20th

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[148]Muller, *Manual for the*, 71
[149]H.Jenkinson, *A Manual of archive administration*, (London: Humphries&Co, 1965) 152

century and early 21st century context. So while the systematic outline of archival functions and responsibilities are summed up in the above references, in realistic terms archives are often seen to be restricted and possibly unwelcoming places for researchers (or the general public).[150]

In terms of legal restrictions, archival records are removed from society for a period of time, taken away from their source yet given importance for posterity. Mostly they are also held separate for a number of years. In this way there seems to be internal fissures that are inherent in the contained archive. In a sense, to maintain the 'completeness of a record in terms of lifecycle one has to remove it and then return it to its position within the archive. Its removal from public interaction (for instance until the death of the author) is part of its archival life span; its return to the public in terms of access within an archive, then returns it 'to life'. Is this related to the death drive that authors have spoken of with regards to archiving?

Derrida, Freud and Irigaray have suggested that such a desire to preserve was coupled with a desire (death drive) to forget. Thus, the ability for the record to have a voice is caught in a double bind as it is coupled with the possibility of silence. In Freudian terms such a death drive cannot be separated from memorization, hence the archive is about remembering and forgetting at the same time. (Explored more later in this chapter)

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[150] For further examples and a systematic discussion of restrictions and access within current historical research within French archives see S.Combe, 'Reason and Unreason in Today's French historical research', in *Telos*, 108 (1996) 149-164

The archivist is a professional whose mission includes the "active participation in the creation of documentation".[151] Thus the archive can no longer be seen as a neutral space where records are stored, but is now understood as a construction and the archivist as a subjective and responsible part in this construction. The archivist, scholar or reader, then is never exterior to the archival trace; their presuppositions and conceptions mark their own interpretation onto the record. In Schwarzstein's words "from now on, the documentary heritage of society will not be the product of an unconscious process of sedimentation, but rather an explicit construction".[152]

Such developments within archival theory significantly inform the practice of archiving. An archive is no longer necessarily housed in a physical building (e.g. an internet chat room archive); the record is not immediately accessible (e.g. a PDF file on CD) and there are a growing number of archival projects that have no physical markers (virtual network partnerships). While digital archiving is altering the face/presence of archival resources within the scholarly network it is also informed by a number of classic processes that determine how audio-visual memories are archived.

So too, in the 21st century the audio-visual archivist is mandated to analyze orality, not as something waiting to be archived, but as archive itself. In Fogerty's paper *'Oral history as a tool in archival development'* he reminds us that even though oral history has been a documentary tool since the 1940's, it is still regarded by most

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[151]Duke oral historians quoted in J.Fogerty, 'Oral history as a tool in archival development' *Comma*, (2002) 207

[152]D.Schwartzstein, 'Oral history around the world: present and future perspectives' *Comma*, 1.2 (2002) 186

archivists as an activity foreign to their work, seen as a thing apart.[153]

The concept of archive is also something that has shifted significantly. In this age we have many projects that make reference to their archive, yet this does not mean that material is archived according to international standards. Even within more 'scholarly' projects, audio-visual archival standards are often not strictly adhered to, or policy standards within archives do not exist. The South African situation is a case in point. Most projects that refer to their archive, actually mean they may store material, but the conditions and maintenance of such material differs widely from project to project.

C.2. A Turn To Memory And Oral History

C.2a. Introduction

> Historians have found in the subject of memory, defined in a host of ways, the central organising concept of historical study, a position once occupied by the notions of race, class and gender.[154]

The study of memory in the 20th century, has certain roots in the advent of modern psychology. Both Bergson and Freud were interested in memory as a social phenomenon[155], while sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, was both a follower of Durkheim and in line

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[153]J. Fogerty, 'Oral history as', 207-210

[154]J.Winter, 'The generation of memory: reflections on the memory boom in contemporary historical studies.' *GHI Bulletin* (2000) 27

[155]K.L.Klein, 'On the emergence of memory in historical discourse' *Representations* No 69. (Winter 2000) 127

with Bergson suggested that "memory cannot be separated from the conditions in which it is formed and recalled"[156]. While that suggests one layer in reference to the subject's recall of memories, on another level, memory is also non temporal. An example of this, is meaning being assigned to events retrospectively, for instance the concept of Holocaust came into circulation in the 1970's, while of course the actual historical events ended 30 years earlier, which suggests that memory is more cyclical than linear.[157]

Winter expands this 'circle of commemoration'[158] in that the remembering of the Holocaust has encompassed (or stands in) for a broader remembering of victims of twentieth century war. For the purpose of this discussion though it seems that commemoration has been a large part of the return to memory, and for Winter there is a redemptive framework within such commemoration. This is interesting in light of current debate around the possibility of oral history and text contributing to notions of nation building and redemption.[159]

It often seems that commemoration of one group, stands in for remembrance of a larger issue or identity. For instance, while the memorial to the Gugulethu Seven, refers directly to the seven youths who were ambushed in 1985 in Cape Town, South Africa, it also stands as memorial to a particular political time in South Africa. Memory then is both temporal (which can also be considered to be

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[156] B.Craig. 'Selected themes in the literature on memory and their pertinence to archives' a review essay in *American archivist*, 65, No 2 (Fall, 2002) 8

[157] B.Zelizer. 'Reading the past against the grain: the shape of memory studies.' *Critical studies in Mass Communication*. 12 (1995) 222

[158] J.Winter 'The generation of', 2

[159] South Africa's TRC is an example in how redemption and reconciliation are seen to rest arm in arm. The ideal of a redeemed rainbow nation, has laid groundwork for war to be followed by truth commissions – with the aim of redemption being key.

linear or diachronic)[160] and synchronic (in that the location of the object in space is relative to the perspective of the viewer).

There are many examples combining memory to space, be it temporal or synchronic. Pierre Nora's *Lieux de mémoire*, which laid the groundwork to re-examine sites and signifiers of French nationalist identity, is noted as one of the two leading texts which in the 1980's sparked, what Klein has called a 'scholarly boom'.[161] The second, Douglass and Vogler[162] suggest is Yerushalmi's, *Zakhor: Jewish history and Jewish memory.* [163]

Yet, these literary texts were preceded some 20 years before by Frances Yates' seminal work *The Art of Memory*, published in 1966. Craig describes her insight into the role of memory in other fields, as establishing a commanding position of the memory metaphor.[164]

But what is this memory metaphor? As always it depends on both a synchronic and diachronic placement. In terms of behavioral sciences there is a clash between the study of memory from a laboratory research perspective and on the other hand, what Koriat calls "the more naturalistic approach of the study of everyday

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[160] It seems difficult to consider time without a relation to space (temporal space); this has a basis in Newtonian relation of objects fixed within a time and space framework. For more on this see K.Lombardi, and N.Rucker, *Subject relations: Unconscious experience and relational psychoanalysis*, (New York: Routledge, 1998) 65

[161] K.L.Klein, 'On the emergence', 127

[162] Douglass, Vogler (eds), '*Witness and Memory*', 5

[163] Douglass and Vogler include the following as seminal moments in the 1980's:

- The establishment of The History and Memory Journal.
- 1982: Yale video archive- part of what Greenspan called a 'modern crusade' to collect and distribute survivor testimonies
- 1983: the atomic bomb literature in Japan' collection published
- Orwell's 1984 'who ever controls the records and memories controls the past'

[164] B.Craig, 'Selected themes in', (2002) 6

memory". In Koriat and Goldsmith's[165] opinion, this sets up a controversy between traditional memory research using a storehouse metaphor (where there is the concentration on the quantity of items remaining in store) and everyday memory research with its correspondence metaphor (which focuses on the faithfulness of memory to accurately address past events). While this qualitative versus quantitative binary may explain responses to scientific memory research, it does not successfully deal with other layerings of this memory metaphor.

There is an interesting thread in these and other texts, which seems to tie into the redemptive pull of commemoration and the (re)call to memory. If as Douglass suggests, Nora and Yerushalmi's texts "valorise memory as a primitive, sacred form of experiential knowledge",[166] Yates also plots mnemonic systems from ancient Greece to the scientific method of the 17th century with a concentration on the mystical.[167]

Yet this is only one thread. Klein notes that outside of experimental and clinical psychology, "few academics paid much attention to memory until the great swell of popular interest in autobiographical literature, family genealogy and museums that marked the 1970's".[168] There is a further thread that points to the affluence of western society and consumption of historical reconstruction. As many writers have discussed, creating a product out of memory has paid off. This is seen in huge consumer booms in images of the

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[165]A.Koriat, M.Goldsmith, 'Memory metaphors and the real-life/laboratory controversy: Correspondence versus storehouse conceptions of memory,' *Behavioural and Brain Sciences* 19, 2 (1996) 167-228
[166]Douglass, Vogler (eds), '*Witness and Memory*', 5
[167]F.Yates, *The Art of Memory*. (Chicago: Universtiy of Chicago, 2001)
[168]Klein, 'On the emergence', 127

past, present in films, books, articles and more recently on the Internet and television.[169] Once again, this highlights the bringing together of the public and the private, the intimate and the universal.

In this liminal space between the personal and the public, sociologist, Kurusawa eloquently points to the generations of witness who are willing to speak of previous events, yet as he reminds us "the birth of the witness was the recovery of voices that had been there all along".[170] In this interest in the recording of peoples narratives and the contextual background strongly being linked to war and disruption, perceptions of memory in the 20th century have become inextricably tied up with notions of trauma.[171]

As briefly indicated above, memory has become a key (word) to many doors and fields, from psychology and the behavioral sciences to historiography, trauma and heritage studies amongst many others. While over optimistic, yet laced with possibility that is present, Zelizer[172] asserts that memory studies and the study of collective memory virtually erased interdisciplinary boundaries. Or as Klein puts it "Memory is now a meta-historical category that subsumes all the terms (folk, popular, oral, public history etc)"[173]

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[169] A.Huyseen, 'Twilight memories, marking time in a culture of amnesia', J.Winter, 'The generation of memory: reflections on the memory boom in contemporary historical studies', *GHI Bulletin*, 27 (2000) 11

[170] J.Winter, 'The generation of', 7 In a sense this thesis critiques the recovery model idea with regards to oral history research and archiving.

[171] Memory and trauma are discussed in greater detail later in this Chapter.

[172] B.Zelizer, 'Reading the past against the grain: the shape of memory studies', *Critical studies in mass communication* 12 (1995) 216

[173] Klein, "On the emergence'128

C.2b Groundwork : between (oral) history and memory

Almost parallel to the development of memory studies, oral history as a research practice[174] gained ground from the late 1940's with the development of the portable tape recorder and interest in gathering stories of 'ordinary people' post world war two.[175] Yet as Paula Hamilton and Linda Shopes state in their introduction to *Oral history and public memories,*[176] while there has been extensive scholarship on oral history as method and practice, too few people take it 'out of the house'. A further observation is that this scholarship has not adequately engaged with the many societies where history and memory are inextricably linked. In their words "very little published work examines how oral history as an established form for actively making memories, both reflects and shapes collective or public memory".[177]

This disjuncture between scholarly practice in the form of theoretical critical works that provide analysis and interpretation and practical 'on the ground' projects that engage oral history (often naively) as a method of gathering stories, stems back to its evolution. Jose Meihy structures the 'problem' a little differently by

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[174] Yet as Isabel Hofmeyr notes in her paper ' "Wailing for purity"- oral studies in Southern African studies' presented at *The Journal of Southern African Studies conference: Paradigms lost, Paradigms regained? Southern African studies in the 1990's*, University of York, 1994 " Oral history in South Africa is not new as the business of writing down oral testimony characterises the activities of most of the aspects of the colonial state. Yet while this is valid, oral history as a research practice only gained ground much later in the second half of that century."

[175] J.Fogerty, 'Oral History as' 207. Alistair Thomson puts a date to this with Allan Nevins recordings of memories of people significant in American life in 1948. For more on this see A.Thomson, 'Fifty years on: An international perspective on oral history' *in The Journal of American History*, 85.2.(1998) 581-595

[176] P.Hamilton, L.Shopes (eds), *Oral history and public memories.* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008)

[177] P.Hamilton, L.Shopes (eds), *Oral history and public memories.* Viii

suggesting on the one hand, a wide scale acceptance of the practice of oral history, while on the other, stating that there is an excess of theory.[178] This pull between scholarship (exclusion) and community (inclusion) is an interesting one, as the roots of the discipline seem to rest in both.

In the 1960's, oral history emerged as a widespread practice with the democratising of history fuelled by "decolonisation and the feminist and civil rights movements".[179]This was furthered by the History workshops close engagement with labour and social movements[180] and supplemented by a number of texts that examined the value of conducting oral history interviews as a way for people to "make sense of their past".[181] In the USA many of those early projects were connected to prestigious universities such as Berkley, UCLA and Columbia, making an early link between scholarly archival collections and oral history.[182] This foundation was significantly built upon during the 1970's (the same time that memory studies boomed). In the introduction to *The Oral History Reader,* Perks and Thomson note that oral history was well established, but that success "had sparked serious challenges, ranging from fierce criticisms by traditional documentary historians to sophisticated re-evaluations of aims and approaches from within the emergent field".[183]

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[178] J.Meihy, 'The radicalisation of oral history' in *Words and Silences, IOHA journal.2002*

[179] P.Hamilton, L. Shopes (eds) *Oral history and public memories*. ix

[180] D.Schwartzstein, 'Oral history around the world: present and future perspectives' *Comma*, 1.2(2002), 179

[181] For more on this see Paul Thompson's *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*, and R. Perks, A.Thomson, *The Oral History Reader*

[182] D.Richie, *Doing Oral History*. (New York: Twayne publishing, 1995) 131

[183] R.Perks, A.Thomson, *The Oral History Reader*,2. Other key texts which engage with the earlier emergent field include Ron Grele's, *Envelopes of Sound,* which helps

One of the interesting developments has been the range of methodological debates around historiography.[184] As Schwartzstein notes, "this has brought about a consequent loss of naivety with respect to the historiographical operation. The role of the historian has been questioned, as well as the character of his sources and this has helped clarify how a historian is separate from the past".[185] This subjective positioning breaks from past conceptions of an apparent objective positioning of the historian generating History without bias.

In the same way, the development of oral history interviewing as unreliable (or the sources as unreliable) has shifted. Thomson notes that, "one of the most significant shifts in the last twenty five years has been this recognition that the so called unreliability of memory might be a resource, rather than a problem for historiographical interpretation and reconstruction."[186] In line with this, Luisa Passerini's article on silences under the fascist regime is still seen as one of the key texts[187] on subjectivity and silences. Later Portelli's *Death of Luigi Trastitulli and other stories. Form and meaning in*

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explain oral history as a method or a process, a way to 'flesh out history' And Don Richie's, *Doing Oral History*, published in 1995, which also offers a comprehensive exploration of the development and field of oral history. Of course Perks and Thomson's, *The Oral History Reader,* is a substantial (and updated) anthology of seminal writings around oral history.

[184]Eloquently framed by writers such as Dominique La Capra in *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2001)

[185]D.Schwartzstein, 'Oral history around the world : present and future perspectives', *Comma*, 1.2 (2002) 180

[186]A.Thomson, *Fifty years on*', 585. Another example of this is Portelli's famous quote "errors, inventions and myths lead us through and beyond facts to their meanings" quoted in P. Hamilton and L. Shopes, *Oral history and public memory*, ix

[187]L.Passerini, "Work ideology and consensus under Italian facism'(1979) in *The oral History Reader* 53-62

oral history[188] provided interpretive frameworks for exploring the complexities of oral history. His earlier exploration of notions of ucronia and the multiple dimensions of truth and myth also provide a more nuanced listening and analysis of oral history texts.

Yet, South African historian, Isabel Hofmeyr's warning, made more than 15 years ago, reminds us to question the authenticity of oral histories, which in fact have been subject to manipulation through transcription, translation, editing and printing.[189] Such mediation is ever present in oral texts. As Hamilton and Shopes state, many people speak of remembering when they write or talk about oral history but are not particularly reflective about the process by which the articulation of memories takes place or how they became public.[190]

Yet, there is an understanding that oral sources are no longer seen as subjects involved with verification of facts or merely to provide information about past events and time-spans. Even though oral history places particular emphasis on each individual's (re) membering of time and place, memory studies have shown that human recall and (re) membering include multiple dimensions of relay of unconscious desire, reconstruction and socio political manifestation. All of this is present in the oral history interview, including the dialogic engagement, which moulds the record (that which comes out of the engagement) between interviewer and interviewee and the specific socio-historical time that informs the interview.

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[188] A.Portelli, *Death of Luigi Trastitulli and other stories. Form and meaning in oral history* (New York: State University of New York Press. 1991)
[189] I.Hofmeyr, 'Wailing for purity' 5
[190] P.Hamilton, L. Shopes, *Oral History and,* pix

C.3. Myth

One of the key tenants of this move toward a more nuanced understanding of oral history, has been the exploration into how people consistently reconstruct their pasts through their recall of memories in the present. This has been approached from many angles in many disciplines.

Roland Barthes writes of myth as a 'type of speech',[191] a mode of signification that conveys a message through the utterance (which then describes it as a form). Myth is a message. It is important to note that for him the relation or expression of sign, signifier and signified in terms of myth is different from that triad in terms of a semiological system (say language). So with myth he describes the tri-dimensional pattern, as a second order semiological system.[192] In this system what was the sign in the language system, is now merely the signifier in the myth system - which sees this combination of image, or in the myth second order form/meaning, and concept (signifier and signified) merely as material for mythical speech (signification).

Is this not untenable? The meaning of myth belongs to a particular history- it has a history, a knowledge, a past,[193] yet myth empties when form comes into play, it does not devalue meaning but rather places it at a distance:

> One believes the meaning is going to die, but it is a death with a reprieve; the meaning loses its value, but keeps its life,

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[191] Of course for Barthes speech is not only spoken word it can include other representations such as photography, text, sport etc, R. Barthes, *Mythologies*, 110
[192] R. Barthes, *Mythologies*, 114
[193] *ibid*, 117

from which the form of the myth will gather its nourishment.[194]

One can build this a little further with his understanding that myth deprives the object of which it speaks, of all history.[195] Does that mean that the transformation to myth extracts the temporality from the object?

These thoughts have distinct value in understanding such forms of myth (or myths forms). This is different from the oral historical understanding of myth as discussed by Samuel et al. For Samuel, to recognise myth in stories is "not to deny their roots in real incidents. It is rather to indicate that however we evaluate their literal meaning, the very fact that they recur so widely is real symbolic evidence of a collective sense".[196] *The Myths We Live By* and *Theatres of memory*[197] are seminal texts in the understanding of the functioning of oral history and memory work within the historical context. In *The Myths We Live By,* Samuel and Thompson remind us that traditionally, historians use documents to verify facts and locations rather than 'what they might tell us about the symbolic categories through which reality is perceived'.[198] Life stories then, offer a defense of the rigid categorisation of private and public, where all recollection is told from the standpoint of the present.

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[194] *ibid*, 118
[195] *ibid*, 151
[196] R. Samuel, *Theatres of memory*, 19
[197] *Theatres of Memory* provided an imaginative exploration of landscapes as theatres whose structures we invest with meaning.
[198] R. Samuel, *Theatres of memory*, 2

On a broader group level, Paul Connerton's *How Societies Remember* set the scene for understanding or exploring the inter-connectedness of individuals and groups. In his words "it is imbedded in the story of those groups, from with the individual derive their identity".[199] This concept, incorporated in Benedict Anderson's context of 'imagined communities' although written in the context of nations, has become a marker for understanding only sub cultures.[200] It has also been a way to imagine grouping, or at least, begin to put words to such grouping, to try and grasp complex relations before they are concrete. So too, Raymond Williams speaks of 'structures of feeling'[201] as a way to describe emergent (non dominant) groupings. In Pickering's text this "structure formation at the edge of semantic availability"[202] sums up much of my interest in the overlaps and dissonances, of and between, group and individual.

This relationship is iterative, yet beyond saturation. It seems it can be described, yet in its description it transforms.[203] As mentioned in the opening chapter, it is this relation between description and transformation that is uncanny. It is exactly this, that is constative

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[199] P. Connerton, *How societies remember*, (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1989) 21.

[200] For more on this see S. Klopper, 'From Japan to Jamaica: reframing youth identities in contemporary South Africa' in J,van Eeden, A,Du Preez, *South African Visual Culture* (Pretoria: Van schaik,2005) 175-187

[201] Williams defines structures of feeling as a unit of analysis that defines a "sense of the ways in which particular activities combined into a way of thinking and living for a particular time and place", so structures of feeling mediate the groups collective understanding of social experiences and relations. M, Pickering, *History, experience and cultural studies*, (New York: Macmillan, 1997) 33

[202] Pickering, *History, experience and*, 37

[203] Memory is procedural (processed) in that it allows us to account for transformations that occur in the acts of remembering (B. Zelizer, 'Reading the past', 211) she goes on to remind us that the most common transformation is forgetting or amnesia

and performative within audio archival collections. Oral texts are both separate and interconnected. For instance, an archival register could look something like that represented in Appendix 2.1a-c:

(See Appendix 2:1a-2:1c) One can see the overlaps in the different levels of description. The holding collection level (2:1a) shows a hierarchical breakdown- listing Holding collections (e.g. Communities or Education) then Collections (such as Eastern Cape or Digital Divide) to sub collections (e.g. Duncan village or Bridgetown high). Already at this level, one notices the overlap (for instance the sub collection We2-Women teachers in Lesotho, could also have a placement in Education or Environment- depending of the interview narratives it might even fit in the holding collection of Politics). Appendix 2:1b shows that at the Collection level these crossovers and inter relations can be more complex. Appendix 2:1c shows the interview level descriptions. Even on a basic level one can see (i.e. looking at the related material line) there are a number of interview crossovers and relations. It is (a)part and whole at the same time.

Royle in his discussion on Derrida,[204] suggests that for something to be readable it needs to carry the capacity to be used in all sorts of contexts (beyond saturation) and at the same time be singular (no meaning determined out of context). It must be iterable, which entails both repetition (sameness) and alterability (difference).

This process of readability, which can never be fully described, has many frameworks of reference. In 1984, Hutton asserted that

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[204] N.Royle, *Jacques Derrida*, 63

memory is a process "not of retrieval, but reconfiguration (that) colonises the past by obliging it to conform to present configurations".[205] Memory is seen as a construction, a social idea that emphasises 'the group' in shaping each persons memory.[206] Dependence on these shared frames of reference about the past, in effect, assist one in holding/containing parts of ones identity in ways that are meaningful, not only to the individual but also to the collective. Zelizer contends that this does not imply, that the meaning needs to be the same for both.[207] Once again the possibility of the relationship of individual to group (and visa versa) is dynamic and beyond saturation.

C.4. What is collective about collective memory?[208]

While the term 'collective memory' has gained much currency in the last fifteen years there are varying responses to not only the nature, but also the veracity of the term. Frisch questions the relationships to memory in another way. He asks:

> What happens to experience on the way to becoming memory? What happens to experience on the way to becoming history? As an era of intense collective experience recedes into the past, what is the relationship of memory to historical generalisation?[209]

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[205]P.Hutton, 'The Art of Memory Reconceived: from rhetoric to psychoanalysis', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 48 (1987), 371-392
[206]B.Craig, 'Selected themes in', 8
[207]B.Zelizer, 'Reading the past' 228
[208] J.Olick, 'Collective memory: the two cultures', *Sociological theory*, 17 (1999) 333-348
[209]M. Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the craft and meaning of oral and public history*. (Albany: State University of New York Press. 1990) 188

There are many such salient questions. To begin with, it seems one of the deepest fissures lies in what the term implies. On the one hand it is seen as the "aggregation of socially framed individual memories".[210] On the other, as suggested by Connerton and Halbwachs, a more hegemonic unity of collective remembering, placing importance on cultural and social patterns of memory construction. In its essence, collective memory suggests a desire to understand how relationships form and mutate between individual and group(s).

Chronologically, the first explicit use of the term was in 1902 when Hugo von Hofmannsthal spoke of "piled up layers of accumulated collective memory".[211] But more common associations rest with Maurice Halbwachs' 1925 exploration of the social frameworks of memory.[212] Halbwachs suggested that memory cannot exist only within the individual, but is reliant (and meaningful) through external 'social frameworks'.[213] For him 'memory is a matter of how minds work together in society, how their operations are not simply mediated but structured by social arrangements'.[214] Most notably, Halbwachs argued that it is impossible for individuals to remember

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[210] Olick, 'Collective memory'

[211] Schieder 1978, 2 quoted in J. Olick, J Robbins, 'Social memory studies: from collective memory to the historical sociology of mnemonic practice' in *Annual review of sociology*, 24,1 (1998)105-127.

[212] While Halbwachs, Bloch and Benjamin explored the perspectives of collective memory from the standpoint of sociology and history, psychology was also expanding its explorations into the social dimensions of memory around a similar time period. The advent of psychoanalysis saw a movement from understanding memory as a purely biological functioning to a more complex philological and psychic process, reliant on a number of functions and silences. One starting point can be Freud's exploration of the unconscious as the repository for past experience. In this analysis emphasis is placed on the individual's recall, yet in his later work he emphasised the social and group aspects far more.

[213] M. Halbwachs, *On collective memory*, trans/ed. LA Coser. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992) 169

[214] J. Olick, J. Robbins, 'Social memory studies' 105.

in any persistent and coherent fashion outside of their group context.

This of course, is not dissimilar to Durkheim's hypothesis that ideas, within individuals, can only be traced through the collective representations that characterise social life.[215] Both theorists place the emphasis on individual recollection always being within a social, political, economic framework that moulds individual memory in certain ways.

In this conception the individual is reliant on the group[216] (be it family, society or some other collective framework) to mediate individual recollection. Elam and Gedi[217] suggest that Halbwachs would have us realise that 'spontaneous' feelings are regulated through the structure of the family, hence memories are no longer individual images but really are "an expression of ideas and traditional judgments which define the mind of the family".[218]

Memories then, are framed by this structure in ways that mediate recollection. So childhood memories become collective in a sense that they might not actually be remembered personally by the individual respondent, but through the interplay and reminiscences of family over years, hence the individual can relate experiences

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[215] E.Durkheim. *The rules of the sociological method*, (New York: Free Press, 1982)
[216] This echoes earlier work of Bartlett's Social memory (1932), which connects individual memory to the group quoted in B. Craig, 'Selected themes in' 8
[217] N.Gedi, Y.Elam, 'Collective memory what is it?', *History and Memory*, 8.1 (1996) 43
[218] Halbwachs quoted in N.Gedi, "Collective memory' 44

from their childhood as if they had been there while actually it's a 'family re-memory' rather than a personal experience.[219]

While theorists such as Durkheim and Connerton emphasise the collectively framed individual, Funkenstein reminds us that:

> Consciousness and memory can only be realised by an individual who acts, is aware and remembers. Just as a nation cannot eat or dance, neither can it speak or remember. Remembering is a mental act and therefore it is absolutely and completely personal.[220]

This brings us to one of the central discrepancies in discussion around collective memory - the place of the individual in the collective. Each individual has separate feelings and remembrances, even if they are around historical events. Hence while there might be synchronicity between narratives there can easily be as much discrepancy.[221] On the other hand, society or groups are seen to be important holding mechanisms for construction of remembrances of individuals. For Zelizer,[222] at its most fundamental, collective memory suggests a deepening of historical consciousness that becomes wedged in between the official markings of the past and ourselves in the present.

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[219] A.Green, 'Individual and collective memory: theoretical presuppositions and the contemporary debates.' Presented at the *IOHA conference*, Rome, 2004. 6

[220] N.Gedi, Y.Elam, 'Collective memory'34

[221] Laub's discussion of traumatic remembrances of Nazi war camps is one of the most vivid examples of not only differences in remembered detail, but also importantly expresses the need to listen and analyze narrative on a number of levels, with singular historical 'fact' never being the ultimate goal.

[222] B.Zelizer, 'Reading the past' 218

There is the fundamental irony within collective memory, that it doesn't necessarily mean it is unified. As Gedi and Elam[223] suggest, there is a slippage between the individual member and collective group when the group is spoken of as an 'integral entity'. This denotes some form of will and any act for them, can only be personal. Hence they state that:

> The employment of collective memory can be justified only on a metaphorical level [] as a general code name for something that is supposedly behind myths, traditions, customs, cults, all of which represent the "spirit", the "psyche" of a society, tribe or nation.[224]

This is not dissimilar to the earlier quote by Funkenstein, which reminds us that the nature of memory is only available through an individual, not a nation or group. Collective memory is particular and universal - it is particular to a group but containing universal significance. An example, would be the physical location of the concentration camp at Auschwitz. This has a symbolic link to time and space and a universal link to trauma and personal remembering. It holds both at the same time.

With good reason though, Winter reminds us that "collective memory is a term that should never be collapsed into a set of stories formed by or about the state."[225] So too, both Cuthbertson and Harris suggest that the collective memory of our society does

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[223] N.Gedi, Y.Elam, 'Collective memory'44

[224] N.Gedi, Y.Elam, 'Collective memory', 35

[225] Ilan Gur- Ze'ev and Ilan Pappe's paper titled 'Beyond the destruction of the other's collective memory: Blue prints for a Palestinian/Istaeli dialogue.' is a very interesting example of engagement with the nationalist agendas which collective memory can be harnessed for. J.Winter,'The generation of memory : reflections on the memory boom in contemporary historical studies.' *GHI Bulletin* 27 (2000).

not reside in archives. While I agree with both those statements I also acknowledge, that containment and saturation is not the aim. Yet at the same time, archives are one (of many) ways to explore relationships and layers around all these themes, be they generation of myths, groups, identity and so forth. Yet, the classic relation still remains: what part does the individual play in society and what influence does society have on the construction of the individual? In the case of oral history collections the archivist's relation to this question, can determine the ways in which collections are organised (groupings such as "communities in geographical/historical areas" such as Atlantis, Harfield village, Blouvlei) or Individual (such as Life Histories). The more nuanced the understanding of the many facets of collective memory and related fields, the more sensitive the archivist can be to inter-relations and reconstructions.

In the case of collective memory though, there are countless stands, for instance Halbwachs suggests that memory is not a repository (storehouse), but rather it translates experience through symbols understood by the group. So in his words, "they are recalled externally, and the groups which I am a part of at any given time give me the means to reconstruct them".[226] This suggests that modern technologies of memory, such as archives and libraries, can also be these groups that translate or hold the framework of memory reconstruction. And in that translation of memory, externally, there is also forgetting.

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[226] M.Halbwachs, O*n collective memory,* 38 or Foucault 'starting from experience can clear the way for a transformation [] that isn't just individual, but which has a character accessible to others. That is experience [] must be linkable, to a certain extent, to a collective practice and way of thinking" Jay, *Songs of experience* ,399

This is very interesting, because as we now look to new global networks that are virtual or electronic, we reconstitute (transform) notions of what memory can be and where it resides. For instance, artificial memory[227] and external memory stored on hard drives now mean we no longer only need mnemonic devices or physical groups to assist in the recall of memory. In a way the rise of electronic media and storage/retrieval changes the need to remember to a need to know how to access or find the right/desired memory which is stored externally.[228]

C.5. Silence And Speech/ Remembering And Forgetting

> The hallmark of 'the social' is discontinuity, and no two people will have identical lives. Cognitively, the recognition of dislocation and difference is built into us all, and we are all creatures of choice.[229]

While this quote by anthropologist, Elizabeth Tonkin, reminds us to not to subjugate the individual within the group, it also points to the fact that each act of remembering engages with an act of forgetting at the same time. Each choice of what to speak of, to voice, engages with an equal and opposite choice of what remains in silence. Or as Agamben suggests, there is a system of relations between what is said and unsaid in every act of speech (between

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[227]G.Rose. Feminism and geography: The limits of geographical knowledge. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993)

[228]As quoted in chapter one, Freud, 50 years before the advent of this use of technology had noticed that in writing notes on paper, he was externalising the thought and memory and thereby offering himself the opportunity to forget (as it was now captured somewhere else). These concepts of memory and forgetting are discussed in more depth in the section below.

[229] E.Tonkin, *Narrating our pasts:the social construction of oral history* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 106

what is inside and outside of language).[230] If one extends that to the oral text, testimony includes what is sayable and unsayable - possible and impossible. [231]

These silences or what is left unsaid, reminds us that memory is a multifaceted process of representation. On one level, as Passerini notes, these screens of silence[232] register absence and for her in these relationships between silence and revelation new spaces can emerge.[233] The twentieth century has given us many examples of such absence and silence. One of the most literal might be the Argentinean mothers marching in remembrance of their missing family members. This serves as both an act of defiance against state forgetting (active silencing) and the claim of mourning and public agency in this process.[234]

So too, in Passerini's discussion of Roma (gypsies), silence is seen as a worldview and also an act of defiance. But other examples of silence are not so filled with agency. For instance, genocide representation and silence in Rwanda become, for her, a silence as repression of memory and imposed amnesia. With regards to the Rwandian genocide of 1994, interestingly enough when one is actually at those sites of massacre, there is a deep sense that survivors and communities have made an active choice to ensure that the genocide is not forgotten. Remnants of bodies, clothes and

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[230] G.Agamben, 'Remnants from Auschwitz'144
[231] *ibid* 146
[232] Passerini makes interesting point in noting that silence is what comes before and after sound, in a sense that it surrounds it, the space where speech is located
[233] L.Passerini, Fascism in Popular Memory: The Cultural Experience of the Turin Working Class (Cambridge: CUP, 1987)
[234] Passerini mentions how the 20th century is about the cancellation of memory associated with totalitarian regimes, " but can as easily happen in democratic or transitional political regimes".

Outside of the archival need to define and yet also to allow dynamism, there is a further 'complication' in the desire to acknowledge the multiplicity of archival content. Oral history interviews contain countless remembering's of the interviewee. This process of relaying is affected by a number of things: the power relations between interviewee and interviewer, the context of the interview, the time (memory of a prior era is affected by current context) and so forth. Memory then, is a multilayered process of representation. And the hope is not to emerge with a singular historical truth, but with a layered reading of a person's recollection, which is, of course, also affected by what it not said.

Archivally, the interest in memory work and the analysis or acknowledgement of traumatic memory explored in oral histories opens up a number of different decisions that need to be made. One of the more complex is the need to acknowledge differences in personal testimony without letting that devalue the recollection. The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) highlights this dilemma: both in personal recall (mothers being devastated to hear that their sons had been *askari's* or been killed by their comrades rather than the police) but also in the magnitude of silences and absences. There is also the influence of a larger agenda of redemption which has been criticised as imposing not only Christian values on the proceedings but also on the people who gave testimony in 'forgiving' their oppressor. Ian Hacking maintains that something like the TRC is an example of how commissions "determine the character of social facts and produce new social realities".[241]

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[241] A.Stoler,`Colonial archives and the art of governance: on the content in the form`.in *Refiguring the archives*,(Cape Town: David Philips,2002) 97

Such archival material requires a multilayered working (and continual re-working) around access to such collections. While one can quantify certain areas of access, for instance the number of respondents or the number of testimonies gathered, there is also a responsibility to point out or rather to acknowledge who didn't get to testify and for what reasons this occurred, as this speaks volumes. As such, trauma and recollection provide a new parameter for exploring archival collections directly because those oral tests overtly display many of the concerns (silence, multiple truths, versions of events etc.) that might be less overt in more traditional collections.

C.6.Memory And Space

In such categorisation and reconstruction, historical/geographical sites or places become important markers of identity or memory regeneration. Writers such as Walter Benjamin explore this significance on the accumulated history of the material world emphasising the traces of the past in artifacts of culture.[242] Zelizer also reminds us, that space has always helped define the boundaries of memory. Such commemoration often relates to war. One has only to think of the countless monuments and memorials that mark sites of certain battles, or monument to soldiers that lost their lives for their country. For Wachtel, preservation of recollections rest on these special markers like monuments, artifacts and texts.[243]

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[242] S.Buck-Morss,*The Dialectics of seeing: Walter Benjamin and the arcades project* (Cambridge:MIT press,1989)
[243] B. Zelizer, 'Reading the past', 223

The most extreme need to define [social memory[244]] might be Nora's *'Lieux de memorie'*. For him, sites are a necessary embodiment of memorial consciousness, which mark the rituals of a society without rituals.[245] These sites then act as mnemonic devices as, in his view, modern society relies on the materiality of the trace, the immediacy of the record and the visibility of the image. Such exterior devices and signs then, help one to remember.

A collective understanding of what this implies, assists the physical trace as marker of memory. So in Nora's case the mapping of sites not only pins what is important to nations, but also speaks of 'cycles of change'. It seems, that meaning is not fixed in such sites of memory, but open to socio-political change over time. It functions as sign and symbol simultaneously.

The *lieux* then, is a site of excess closed on itself, but also forever open to a full range of its possible significances. In this way Nora's notion of archival memory both opens and closes in on itself. It sets up collective markers of identification for groups, yet also denies static ownership of such traces. He speaks of this as "a differentiated network to which all these separate identities belong,

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[244] Social memory has been defined in a number of ways encompassing the broad definition which sees it as 'the connective structure of society' (J.Assmann,1992, 292) to a branch of the sociology of knowledge (Awidler, Arditi 1994). Interestingly Olick and Robbins mention how it has been seen to "involve sets of practices like commemoration and monument building and general forms like tradition and myth.". (105) Craig describes it as that which we share with communities of experience and history, it transcends the life of any individual (B.Craig, Review article, ,5)

[245] P. Nora, 'Between history and memory: les lieux de memoire', *Representations*, 26(1989) . In Chapter four I use this concept to explore actual examples within the Centre for Popular Memory's archive.

an unconscious organisation of collective memory that is our responsibility to bring to consciousness". [246]

Winter too, encourages us to think of monument and memory in ways that are less centralised and static. His exploration of memorials to the Holocaust is a good case in point. Here he argues that the alternative to the national monument is not nothing.[247] But rather, localised inscriptions and remembrances help to maintain a sense of the particular in the larger whole. Another thing that localised memorials do is engage with multiple layers of meaning around a larger reality (such as the Holocaust). Winter mentions that none of these sites can re-present the Holocaust "all they can accomplish – and it is a lot – is to suggest what is absent in European life because of the genocide and to leave the question of its meaning open."[248]

Historian, Tenorio Trillo, speaks more specifically about the construction of meaning having a specific aim that is not open "...the modern sense of identity in Peru is [] constructed on the basis of denying its past history and traditions in favour of the modern and the foreign".[249]

In this, and many other examples, one is reminded of the conceptual binary present in thinking of the past and traditions as being opposed to the 'modern and foreign'. In many developing countries there is a pressing desire to start afresh with a clean slate, to create a separate identity from the past regimes

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[246]P.Nora, 'Between history and'23.
[247]J.Winter, 'The generation of memory: reflections on the memory boom in contemporary historical studies.' *GHI Bulletin* 27 (2000) p4
[248] J.Winter, 'The generation of'5
[249] M.Tenorio Trillo, *The urban planner*, 2004. 162

accumulated history. But this construction often requires a denial of past icons and multiplicities of histories. Harris's text around the silences and destruction of material within the apartheid regime, remain a grim reminder of such state power.[250]

In a nationalist framework it seems that there is a danger of collective memory being used for the purpose of creating a simple, cohesive form of tradition and past culture as a reminder of what not to lose in the current era. Yet, for Jay the question remains "how do present constructs emerge from, duplicate, give shape to, modify or betray the past. That 'foreign country' whose very strangeness is a major reason for choosing the journey?"[251]

Young goes on to implicate the very form of memorialisation, in the forgetting. By assigning memory monumental form, we divest ourselves of the obligation to remember.[252]

The current era encompasses a technological age, where fear of the power of a globalizing world, threatens to undermine/break down what make groups specific and individual. So while there is perceived worth in the possible economic /market hegemony there is an understanding that with the globalizing world, comes a certain disintegration of what makes us part of a community or group.

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[250]V.Harris, 'They should have destroyed more: The destruction of public records by the South African state in the final years of apartheid, 1990-1994' *TRC Commissioning report* 2004

[251]M.Jay, *Songs of experience*, 222

[252]J.Young, quoted in J. Olick and J, Robbins 'Social memory studies: from collective memory to the historical sociology of mnemonic practice' in *Annual review of sociology*, 24.1(1998) 112

How does one retain the dynamism of community, in Connerton's words, this ability to belong to a number of groups and communities at the same time, all of which are constantly changing and adapting? And how does the archive attempt to deal with this need for change within both collection categories and collections of dominant community identities? How then can one as an archivist understand and develop collections around the concept of non-static community identities?

In an audio-visual archival setting in the 21st century, there is a difficultly in needing to both; define 'network of separated identities' for archival purposes, but also keep in mind that the traces are dynamic. A possible untenable situation.

The post modern archive then, is no longer static and fixed, it is neither defined by the walls that house collections, nor by the carriers that hold the audio or video. In some ways the post modern archive exists in its inability to exist. To recognise the archive, is to acknowledge that it is caught in its own demise and constant recreation (not to mention the dilemma of virtual archives, which exist only in a place that has no physical manifestation).

C.7. Institutional memory

On the collective level, archival work has been affected by the recognition of the relations of power present in institutions and archives. The central question here would be: What is the institution meant to remember, what is its aim?

Librarian Geoffrey Bowker, uses the example of a nursing group to

examine institutional memory. This group in IOWA created a Nursing Interventions Classification (NIC), which aimed to create standardised language for describing what nurses do. The article maps the ways in which institutions remember and forget and what they deem important, both in terms of human subjects and 'valuable information'. In this instance, it is the nurses' duty to remember for others. They act as a distributed memory system for doctors during the course of a patient's treatment, yet their notes are removed from the patient's files once initial treatment is complete, thereby eradicating a certain level of memory from the institution. Bowker, suggests that 2 types of forgetting are at play in such an institution, namely: [253]

> Erasure - constant filtering out of information deemed not worthy of preserving for future purposes, and
> Clearance - a complete wiping away of previous preserved knowledge, with the aim of starting with a clean slate.

Yet in terms of institutional remembering, memory seems to be data driven. Hence there is a need for finite classification systems that can be entered into a database structure. As Schachter notes, classification systems permit encoding of multiple bits of information into a single coherent framework.[254]

Yet such classification[255] significantly affects the type of memory and forgetting produced. Entering data into fields, eradicates the

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[253] G.Bowker, 'Lest we remember; organizational forgetting and the production of knowledge',7

[254] D.Schachter. *Searching for memory :the brain, the mind and the past*. (New York: Basic books. 1996)

[255] Classification systems are inherently problematic. To quote Rothwell "you wont know what makes a difference until you have built up a body of knowledge that relies, for its units of data, on the classification scheme that you have not yet

procedure involved in any action (which can be of huge importance). Thus groups have to either accept the position of classification or challenge it with their own knowledge base (which is hidden). In the example of the nurses group, they responded to the threat of the data driven information infrastructure, by showing a need for categories that recognise process. For instance "that women physicians often spend longer with patients than male doctors, but they need to see patients less often as a result.[256] It is this procedure that is often forgotten in many institutional memory banks.

On one level each classification field allows greater access, yet in its finite description it can disable or disallow other searches or information being gathered. To use Heidenstrom's example around classification sets:

> there is no telling what will be relevant: to classify a chisel, a hand drill and a spanner together as 'hand tools', or the first two as 'cutting and piercing instruments' may be misleading. Whereas to one accident researcher it is significant that the chisel is edged, the drill pointed and a spanner neither, to another it may be important that the chisel is pushed, the spanner turned and the drill operated by rotary motion.[257]

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developed" D.Rothwell 'Requirements of a National Health information System' in D.Protti and J.Scherer (eds) *Role of informatics in health data coding and classification systems.* 169. For a thorough analysis of building alternative theoretical frameworks for classification see. H.Olson. 'Mapping beyond Dewey's boundaries: Constructing classificatory space for marginalised knowledge domains.' In *Library trends.* (1998)

[256]G.Bowker, 'Lest we remember ' 14

[257]P.Heidenstrom 'Accident statistics, Coding systems and the New Zealand experience' in D. Protti and J. Scherer (eds) *Role of informatics in health data coding and classification systems.* 69-80

As this example suggests, institutional remembering is also about translating from the context of storage to the present situation (one might store a fact for reason X and retrieve it for reason Y).

To use another example, the archives of French company, Schlumberger, contained detailed reports and extensive records of company activity. When the company got implicated in a law suit and realised that its internal records were open to public scrutiny which could affect income and business practice, it altered its institutional archival practice accordingly.[258] A second example is the effect of political economy on institutions, for instance post September 2001, the US homeland defense department, required the removal of geographical information and maps off the shelves of public libraries as they posed a security risk to the country.[259]

Institutions are in an interesting position, with many factors to consider when it comes to record keeping. For one, most institutions maintain their records electronically; they no longer have carbon copies of purchase orders and minutes, but rather store and process this information on computers. It often seems this does not happen centrally (i.e. within the archives of an organisation) but rather that, for instance, information sits on a hard drive on the administrator's desk and filing systems are not organisationally systematized, but rather ordered as each individual employee sees fit. Hence there is an influx of institutional memory that is not centrally managed nor systematically ordered, thereby providing ample opportunity for loss and forgetting within

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[258] G. Bowker, 'Lest we remember', 20

[259] R. King, 'Mad archive disease: archival spongiform encephalopathy, the loss of corporate memory, the death of institutional archives.' Paper presented at SSA/CIMA annual meeting, Arizona. 2002 downloaded from http://infomgmt.homestead.com/files/sitefra2.htm. Last accessed August 2006

institutional structures.[260] As archivist, Terry Cook states,[261] in most organisations, no senior manager is accountable for the context and content of electronic records, for their long-term retention or authorised destruction, for their intellectual and sometimes even physical integrity. And the decentralisation of computing from main frame to desktops and client server platforms now makes every worker his or her own records manager and archivist, with disastrous results for maintaining a corporate wide information perspective.

Not only institutions but governments too, are losing their memory. Cook uses the US National Aeronautic and Space Administration (NASA's) computerized data as example of this. NASA has over 1 200 000 magnetic tapes of computer observations that NASA has generated over the last three decades of space travel. Yet many of these tapes cannot be read, have been damaged by floods, are uncatalogued, unlabelled and many cannot be decoded from earlier software systems to those operating today.[262]

This brings up central concerns around the retaining of memory in the electronic age. Migration, metadata and description of accessions are key to providence of institutional memory, yet all too often records are decontextualised and decisions around preservation are not made with enough insight into the possible needs and uses of it in the future.

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[260] For more examples and fleshing out of this area see Terry Cook's 'Keeping our electronic memory: Approaches for securing computer generated records.' *South African Archives Journal*, 37 (1995)
[261] T. Cook, 'Keeping our electronic' 5
[262] T. Cook. 'Keeping our electronic' 3

C.8. The uncanny and the double bind

Lacanian psychoanalysis was one of the first major schools of thought to meet with the dialectic as a system of mediation. "The Lacanian subject is not a knowing self, but itself an imaginary construct launched by desire and trapped between the real and the symbolic".[263] This lies at the limits of the representable. If as Lyotard suggests, the views of the past, the present and future are always taken from the point of an ungraspable present consciousness then " life signifies the death of what one is and this death certifies that life has a meaning",[264] but what it doesn't offer is a suggestion around that ungraspable/unrepresentable quality. One speaks of the silences of oral history texts being as important as what is said. Yet how does one acknowledge and represent that which has no tangible form?

Freud speaks of the unheimlich, the uncanny,[265] as such a place/space where the familiar and representable is also unfamiliar and unrepresentable at the same time. For Freud the uncanny is coupled with anxiety, which has a quality of infiniteness and

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[263] A.Jardine , *Gynesis. Configuration of women and modernity*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press,1985)121

[264]M.Jay, Songs of experience, 361

[265] R. Meyer in S. Field, R. Meyer and F. Swanson (eds) *Imagining the city: memories and cultures in Cape Town*, (Cape Town: HSRC, 2007) 65. In 1919 Freud spoke about the '*Heimlich*' and the '*Unheimlich*', the familiar and the uncanny (Freud 1925). The concept was further analysed by Lacan and explored in Jung's notion of synchronicity (amongst others). The uncanny was later discussed in terms of architecture, society and conditions of post-modernity. See further Aziz (1990), Bhabha (1994), Cixous (1976) and Kristeva (1991).

absence.[266] For Heidigger and Kiekergaard it is the fear of something that is nothing.[267]

In the situation of the archive, one can apply Derrida's understanding of the relation between description and transformation as uncanny, which he sees as 'a strange even contradictory combination'.[268] For Jentsch, the uncanny is also related to intellectual uncertainty, something that one does not know ones way around in.[269]

As will become apparent and is central to my topic, the space of archive holds such an uncanny space. The combination of archival ordering (description) and the transformation (performance) which occurs, highlights how traces live both within and exceed their frame, are informed by collections contexts and placement but also not saturated by them. This iterability allows for both repetition and difference. It must carry the capacity to be used in all sorts of contexts and at the same time be singular in some way. Or as Royle states "no meaning determined out of context".[270]

One of the positions that such an uncanny relationship brings up is that of a double bind. This is an untenable situation, where for example, in the case of Holocaust (or other survivors of life death

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[266] La Capra reminds us that there is no ultimate solution to absence-this acknowledgement (working through) maintains a necessary anxiety. D, La Capra, '*Writing trauma*', 58

[267] D. La Capra, '*Writing trauma*' 57

[268] N. Royle, *Jacques Derrida*, 23

[269] H. Cixous. 'Fiction and its phantoms: a reading of Freud's das unheimlich', *New Literary History*,7.3(1996) 610

[270] N. Royle, *Jacques Derrida*, 68

trauma) Agamben reminds us that survivor's testimony is reliant on those who did not survive.[271] No one can bear witness from death.

La Capra too, uses the example of Holocaust survivor narratives placing the researcher/reader in a double bind - between the desire to criticise and the fear of inappropriateness.[272]

On another level with 'acting out', there is an imploding of tenses (the past and present). Any such duality (double inscription) of time is collapsed or productive only as it is a double bind. In this way double binds could mark trauma not worked through.

C.9.The active user

Clifford suggests one should resist the temptation to translate all meaningful experience into interpretation,[273] "We can make visible the difference, but that doesn't tell us what made the difference." In line with that Wallach Scott states "for that we need to attend to the historical processes that, through discourse, position subjects and produce their experiences."[274]

These concepts inform not only the active engagement of archive but also of reader/listener/user/researcher as being complicit in this interaction. The archivist is an active and subjective player, so too the user engages with a similar role. La Capra states the case of Wilkormirski's text *Fragments; Memoirs of a wartime child*.[275] In this instance, after publication it came out that Wilkormirski could

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[271] G. Agamben. *Remnants of Auschwitz*. (New York, Zone books. 1999) 150
[272] D. La Capra, '*Writing history*' 18
[273] M. Jay, '*Songs of experience*' 247
[274] M. Jay, *Songs of experience*' 250
[275] D. La Capra, *Writing history*' 32

not have had the experiences he described in the book and hence must have elaborated on the 'factual' truth. It seems that not only does such an example remind the reader of the constructions of truth and meaning, but also engages with the reader being fooled or being made to feel like a fool.

Such an example points to the authenticity and importance of the context of the record and refers to the underpinning of archival records, which all require content, structure and context.[276] Yet that is only of the record, it doesn't assist the reader in evaluating the veracity of the written autobiography or interpretative text. While this thesis does not deal with literature and novels, it is important to note that the reader is also complicit in the engagement with text. So too, within the archival setting, Foucault encourages the historian to be interested in not only the archival (record) but also the way in which it was gathered, even before its entry into the archive. Young too suggests that historical enquiry should be the combined study both of what happened and how it was passed down to us.[277] The second level then looks at how the record alters over time. Namely with the passing of time, there are changes that occur in the way we read texts, who uses them and how access to records are managed.[278]

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[276] T. Cook. 'Keeping our electronic' 5
[277] A.Douglass, T.Vogler, (eds), '*Witness and Memory*' 285
[278] C. Hamilton: et al. *Refiguring the archive*, 9

belongings, of those murdered in, for instance the church at Ntamara, remain at that location, above ground as a physical reminder of the horror. Mass graves and sites of commemoration also remain as witness to that time.[235]

As with the redemptive stance of the TRC, there are also instances of "collective traumatic memory passed from generation to generation" put aside for political harmony (see Paloma Aguilar); a silencing of the past to avoid it as a political weapon. Or in other cases a rewriting of the past to reflect current changes (such as the inclusion of 'the liberation struggle' post 1994, in South African textbooks).

Another link is a look at the development of social memory and the right of the individual. Bundsgaard[236] speaks of the use of personal case files found in hospitals, social services and banks to develop research around social memory. She explores the growing possibility of retaining and using personal files for research. And highlights the dichotomy it creates between excitement and anxiety.

The question in this case, is how archives must respond. These social memory files provide opportunities to gain insight into public laws and responses to them (e.g. divorce papers a couple wants destroyed- while they have a right to privacy one also wants archives to avoid political pressure to destroy records for ethical

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[235] In 2004, I journeyed to Rwanda, as part of a consultative team, to evaluate and make suggestions around the archiving and education of youth around the genocide, ten years later.

[236] I.Bundsgaard,'The selection of case files; the right to social memory versus the right to social oblivion', *Comma*, 1.2 (2002) 173

reasons).[237] In the example of Nazi Germany she mentions that the "role of the individual in re-establishing a collective sense of the past is very significant for the complex relationships between silence, memory and oblivion." Combe in her article 'Witness and historians: for reconciliation',[238] also eloquently discusses this.

On some levels, archives of oral history have also been seen as a way to fill the gap, to reconstitute parts of historical memory that have been eradicated or not been given priority for a number of reasons - be they political or oversights. Carolyn Hamilton, reminds us that talking of a 'gap' in the archive, suggests a desire for wholeness. Yet, this cannot be fulfilled. Archives attempt "at coherence at piecing together time, life and event can only be an illusion, an impossible task". [239]

Oral archives are not an alternative, but are one of many options to both readdress and reconstitute understandings of the past. As Mc Ewan suggests, oral archives can be seen "as an important gesture toward holding a fragile history together."[240] Yet I think they are more than a gesture, they offer the possibility to actively engage with notions of remembering and forgetting, collective and individual within a space that can never be contained, yet can offer multiplicities of meaning.

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[237]I.Bundsgaard,'The selection of ', 174

[238]S.Combe, 'Witness and historians: for a reconciliation' *History and Memory. Bulgaria: facing the Holocaust*. (Open Society Foundation) 57-70

[239]C.Hamilton, Refiguring the archives, 21

[240]C.McEwan,'Building a post-colonial archive? Gender, collective memory and citizenship in post apartheid South Africa', *Journal of South African Studies*, 29,3(2003) 749

Chapter 3

MAPPING TERRITORY: EXPLORING HOW THE GEOGRAPHICAL, TECHNICAL AND VIRTUAL TERRAIN IMPACT ON ORAL HISTORY ARCHIVING IN THE 21ST CENTURY

A. INTRODUCTION

B. DIGITIZING AFRICAN ORAL NARRATIVES IN A GLOBAL ARENA (DESCRIPTION).

1.State of archive in developing countries
2. The South African technological terrain
    2.a Language and multilingual dissemination
    2.b Training
    2.c Funding
3. The Centre for Popular Memory (CPM) as case study
    3.a Audio-visual archival procedure
4. Outcomes of a digital repository

C. CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

"The archive reveals the rules of practice, but it is not outside time and place".[279]

This chapter maps the territory of the audio-visual archive, in terms of technology and audio-visual archival practice. While technological advances provide new preservation/migration strategies and dissemination practices for African archives, it relies largely on internationally developed standards for digitization and prioritization of material. African concerns relating to Intellectual Property, community property and access to technology as well as its connection to global forums is largely controlled by trans-national organizations off the African continent. Notions such as 'global homogeny' focus the world on the West - its practices, icons and language. Multi-lingualism for web-based media and digitisation/transcription procedures for languages other than English remains under developed and prioritised. In short there are concerns that are specific to the African continent which are not being addressed on a global level. Through the Centre for Popular Memory's (CPM) audiovisual archive these concerns are explored with relation to digitisation procedures, storage mediums, customised digital repositories and virtual archives in a global context.

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[279]M. Foucault quoted in C. Hamilton, et al, *Refiguring the archive* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2002) 94

B. DIGITIZING AFRICAN ORAL NARRATIVES IN A GLOBAL ARENA (DESCRIPTION).

There is a growing awareness in worldwide forums regarding the use of African archival content. The most radical (or conservative) of them engages negatively with new technologies and the effects of globalism. In this view a commercially homogenous global network, the McWorld of MacDonalds, Macintosh and MTV[280], (essentially a post-national environment governing commerce, information technology and communication) is pitted against a more regional tribalism. In the words of political scientist Benjamin Barber, "the one re-creating ancient sub-national and ethnic borders from within, the other making national borders porous from without".[281] Yet such a binary is not contained. As mentioned in chapter two, one can belong to a number of groups at the same time and even within such groupings there is not necessarily unity. Furthermore as archeologist, Martin Hall explains the running together of the notion of individual and community- one to many and many to one- eradicates the meaning of boundaries.[282] Yet the utopian fantasy of cyberspace as a new 'free world' is quite the opposite, with a tendency of virtual communities toward mono-lingualism and homogeneity.[283]

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[280] B.Barber, *Jihad vs. McWorld: How globalism and tribalism are reshaping the world.* (New York: Random House, 1995)

[281] B.Barber, *Jihad vs McWorld,* iiv

[282] M.Hall "Virtual Colonisation' *Journal of material culture* (4. 39. 1999) 45 available online at http://mcu.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/4/1/39

[283] For more on this see M. Tepper, 'Usenet Communities and the Cultural Politics of Information', D. Porter (ed.) *Internet Culture*, (London: Routledge. 1997) 39–54. and D.Healy, 'Cyberspace and Place: the Internet as Middle Landscape on the Electronic Frontier', D. Porter (ed.) *Internet Culture*. (London: Routledge. 1997)

For the purpose of this discussion though, the effects of globalism are felt in that Africa is being recolonized in the virtual environment.

International technology partners are looking to provide technical expertise for the globalizing of African content. As stated in the introduction to *Refiguring the archive*:

> For much of the nineteenth century the treasures of the archive were forcibly relocated to imperial centers. At the turn of the millennium they continue along similar paths from poorer centers to richer metropoles as wealthy institutions snap up private collections, purchase microfilms and 'facilitate' digital availability. Based in western centers, those institutions thus aggregate to themselves the power to define and delimit the archive.[284]

A further consideration is Murray's caution[285] that in addition to substantial hurdles (war, economics, lack of access), there are incongruities in trying to adhere to international standards which are almost without exception created for and by wealthy, developed, northern hemisphere countries.

B.1. State of archive in developing countries

> Virtually every medium of expression is threatened today, by forces of deterioration.[286]

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[284] C.Hamilton, V.Harris, G.Reid et al, *Refiguring the archive*. (Johannesburg: David Philip, 2002) 17

[285] K.Murray.' Preservation Education and' (2002) 29

[286] R.Oakly, 'Copyright and preservation: A serious problem in need of a thoughtful solution?' R. Harvey, (ed) *Preservation in libraries: A reader* (New South Wales: Bowker, 1990) 30

With this in mind, archives in the developing world register specific relationships and concerns. Amongst the more pertinent are issues of climate control, access to technology, training and funding. These play a major role in the development and maintenance of audiovisual archives and determine how effectively they function within the societies they serve. The Archives and Research Centre for Ethnomusicology (ARCE) in India, described their archival growth as "primarily those of maintaining an audio visual archive in a climate with extremes of temperature and humidity, of running a highly technical operation at a time when local availability of equipment was non-existent ...".[287]

Furthermore, while access to information across continents, is increasingly easy with the use of digital networks and Internet forums – there are still imbalances. For one, access to the Internet is intermittent and incredibly slow in most countries on the continent. In Ghana for instance speed of 19 kilobits per second are quite normal[288] compared to Finland at 21 megabits per second, meaning that internet connection in Ghana is 0.01 % that of Finland. This severely affects the ability to communicate on technical forums and download documents that contribute to keeping abreast in the international audio-visual archival field.[289] To use just one example, in South Africa, a country considered to be at the forefront of digital communication on the continent, a search for

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[287] S.Chaudhuri, A.Seeger, (eds) *Archives for the Future: Global perspectives on audio-visual archives in the 21st century* (Calcutta: Seagull books, 2004) viii

[288] Ghana Internet Service providers association (GISPA)/USAID report quoted in "Ghana lags behind in internet connectivity" www.ict.gov.gh/press last accessed 21 July 2008

[289] For a short web based bibliography on archival preservation see Appendix 3.1. Invaluable resources are also provided for download on sites such as The UNESCO archives portal (www.unesco-ci.org/cgi-bin/portals/archives/page1), IASA website (www.iasa-web.org/) and the Association for Recorded Sound Collections (ARSC).

printed books available on audio-visual archiving and technology yielded no results.[290] Even a request for books relating to archiving proved problematic, with the only result being one bookstore having stock of *Refiguring the Archive*[291] (ironically I could only find and order it online). Even internationally, there is a nominal amount written about audio-visual archiving outside of the developed world. One of the most useful compilations remains Seeger and Chaudhuri's *Archives of the Future,*[292] which combines technical and experiential data and is available in print or download.

Secondly, if one is to take standards[293],or guidelines and recommendations such as those laid out in IASA's *Guidelines on the Production and Preservation of Digital Objects*[294] and the recommended practices laid out in *The Safeguarding of the Audio Heritage: Ethics, Principles and Preservation Strategy*[295], the ability to institute such standards is often very difficult due to a number of factors.

To use an example, the sound archives at the Institute of African Studies in Ghana, contains material collected over the last 40 years that includes reel to reel, long play discs, 78rpms and paper based

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[290] While this was not an in-depth search in terms of ordering books from abroad it was merely phoning a number of franchise and independent bookstores in Cape Town to check availability.

[291] C. Hamilton et al. *Refiguring the Archives*

[292] S. Chaudhuri, A. Seeger, (eds) *Archives for the Future.(2004)*

[293] ISAD(G): General International Standard Archival Description. 2nd edition (Ottawa, ICA, 1999)

[294] Available in print or at http://www.iasa-web.org/technical_guidelines.asp. Last accessed 11 August 2008

[295] Available in print or at http://www.iasa-web.org/technical_guidelines.asp. Last accessed 11 August 2008

documents. Archivist Maxwell Addo,[296] notes that for several months between 1985-1987, there was no air-conditioner, which damaged some of the magnetic tapes. Furthermore at some point during that time a grant enabled the purchase of duplication equipment and the unit was presented with DAT machines by the funder, at that time DAT was a new technology that looked very promising archivally. On the software front, The International Centre for Music and Dance (which is housed at the same university as the former unit in Ghana) has over 600 video cassettes and 2000 audio recordings in different formats- in 1996 an initial attempt was made to computerize the holdings, this was done with Filemaker Pro 2.1 which did not allow for effective keyword searches and the unit had to wait for a number of years before the software was upgraded.

This example points to many of the problems encountered within audio-visual archives. So too, one may be aware of the need to migrate formats due to equipment obsolescence and degradation, yet the availability of such hardware and funding may be out of reach. Another problem is the absence of established standards, protocols and methods for preserving metadata.[297] Since technology changes so rapidly archivists struggle to set standards. Hughes claims the best thing about standards is that there are so many to

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[296] For more on the situation in Ghana see M.Addo, 'Audio-visual archives in Ghana' in A. Seeger, S.Chaudhari *Archives for the future,* 2004

[297] Back up and migration – As the development of digital archives and the entering of metadata increases, ones need to ensure that the metadata repositories remain available and stable – i.e. They need to be backed up from the server at least once a week and that backup needs to be on a separate server, just as archival originals and copies are stored in separate geographical locations to prevent loss due to fire or unforeseeable damage.

choose from,[298] but more seriously Cook regrets the slow development of standards. By the time the international community has achieved consensus, the needs and issues within the setting have altered.[299]

Thirdly, there remains a lack of coordinated programming between archives, both on a regional and national level. As Mutiti, notes this led:

> to the duplication of effort whilst other areas remained largely unexplored. Historians often undertook oral interviews that hardly reached the archives, whilst archivists were at times unaware of the existence of such programmes, resulting in important information remaining largely inaccessible to potential users and being lost over time. [300]

Yet many projects involved with oral sources, do communicate on a number of levels and although there is no technical forum for audio-visual archiving, there are regional chapters such as African representation on the International Oral History Association (IOHA)'s council,[301] a national co-ordinating body for Oral History (OHASA) and a National Register of Oral Sources (NAROS). Furthermore many oral history/archiving conferences, both nationally and internationally, include panels on audiovisual archiving and technology.

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[298] B.Hughes,'A metadata search engine for digital language archives',*Dlib magazine*, 11.,2 (2005) 199

[299] T.Cook, 'Beyond the screen' 2002

[300] N.Mutiti, 'Re-figuring the archives: the African Experience' *Comma* (1.2 2002) 204

[301] For more on the International Oral History Association and its chapters see http://www.ioha.fgv.br/ioha/english/index.html last accessed 18 August 2008.

2. THE SOUTH AFRICAN TECHNOLOGY TERRAIN

With regards to the South African situation, Adeya describes one of the many legacies of Apartheid as a 'dualistic economy and society that has elements of both a developed and developing country'.[302] While this has an effect across the socio-economic and political terrains, I will only look at such a relation to technology and archival practice.

Current government policy involves large investment in Information and Communication Technology (ICT). For instance in 1999 ICT expenditure in SA was marked at 7.2% which is higher than the world average of 6.6% and higher than countries such as Japan, Ireland, Denmark and Malaysia.[303] While such investment is concentrated within more commercial and industry related areas, it has an effect on access to digital platforms. Government policy regarding education includes a desire to ensure that school learners have access to computers and Internet facilities. Furthermore oral history is included as an option within the National Curriculum for grade 9 and 10 learners (ages 14-17).[304]

South Africa has a number of digital technology solutions[305] and is rapidly moving into developing both content and coding strategies

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[302] C.Adeya, D. Cogburn, 'Prospects for the digital economy in South Africa: technology, policy,people and strategies' UNU/INTECH Discussion paper(2002)

[303] Digital planet, 2002

[304] The CPM has developed an extensive three year program in conjunction with the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) whereby they provide oral history training and mentorship within schools. For more on this project, Bridging the Digital Divide, which involves not only training learners in oral history methodology but also in archival research, use of digital equipment and web-based dissemination see www.popularmemory.org.za.

[305] Such as ISDN, ASDL, GSM, video conferencing, WAP, 3G and HSPDA

for mobile media.[306] According to Cogburn and Adeya, South Africa's GSM Cellular network is the largest in the world outside of Europe, with the penetration of the Internet within the country being 30 times that of Egypt, its closest competitor.

While these statistics reflect well, they need to be understood in context of the country and continent. For instance the percentage of South African households with telephone lines at 31%, sounds promising when compared to 19% in China or India, but pales in comparison with USA at 92% or Denmark at 143%. Yet these statistics do not reflect the distribution across geographical areas. South Africa's major cities and even smaller towns are well connected - meaning that Internet connections and both land lines and cellular communications are relatively stable and comprehensive. While access to personal computers is still low in many township areas (and the more rural and economically impoverished areas of South Africa), government communications operators such as Telkom and the South African Post Office, have directives in place to supply Public Internet Terminals (PITS) in areas where communities gather, such as corner stores or community halls. According to the Department of Communications, 90% of SA households are within 30 minutes walk of a telephone or telecentre.[307] Not only does this assist in the access to information, but also from the perspective of the audio-visual archive, it allows for dissemination of web-based material, which can extend beyond the physical archive walls.

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[306] For more on this see www.mobfest.co.za, that developed Africa's first made for mobile content platform.

[307] www.gcis.gov.za/docs/govcomm/web.htm last accessed 20 August 2008

2.a Language and multilingual dissemination

The African continent has 53 independent states and over 900 million people. It is estimated that over 2000 languages are spoken on the continent.[308] South Africa is the only multi-lingual country granting official status to indigenous languages within its borders, hence SA has eleven official languages, with English being spoken by 8.2 % of the population as their mother tongue.[309] Yet English is the country's *lingua franca* and is the primary language of government and business. According to a 1991 census, over 45% of the population have a speaking knowledge of English.[310]

Yet within a country and continent of such lingual diversity, there is a need for a multiplicity of approaches to the gathering and dissemination of oral histories. This focus on multi-lingualism also ties in to the need to understand language within its power framework. For example, in 1976, a central reason for the Soweto uprising involved scholars who revolted against Afrikaans as the language of instruction in schools, which was seen as the language of an oppressive regime.

The following quote is from an interview with Mrs Gutsha,[311] who relates an experience she had, as a domestic worker in a white woman's house during Apartheid:

> She was saying to me 'there is a stupid boy at the door'. I said to her 'what do you mean he is stupid' she said 'because

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[308] B.Elugbe, 'Cross-border and Major Languages of Africa.' K. Legère, ed. *Cross-border languages : reports and studies*, (Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan, 1998)
G. Childs, *An Introduction to African Languages*. (Amsterdam: John Benjamin, 2003)
[309] http://www.southafrica.info/about/people/language.htm
[310] Statistics available from http://www.hsrc.ac.za/ESSD.phtml
[311] Interview available in the CPM audio archive [COMM_CWC_Cwc4]

he can't speak... he can't speak English' I said to her 'but he is not stupid, he can't speak English that doesn't mean he is stupid. He is not stupid he doesn't know English. Do I call you stupid?'' I said to her 'do I call you stupid because you can't speak his language. You can't speak his language that means you are also stupid.

'Haai, don't call me that. I said to her 'Yes, He is also not stupid, but he can't speak your language, he is saying he wants a job, so if you don't understand him. He is not stupid he has a full brain that is the reason he is here to ask for job'. I'm saying things like if a person can't speak English in the past he was called stupid and can't get the job. Do you understand? There is a difference today even if a person can't speak English he gets employed.

These interviews were conducted in Xhosa, the mother tongue of most Guguletu residents. The recordings were all transcribed and translated by the Centre for Popular Memory interns and the interviews and images, copyright release forms and recordings, were archived with a view to making such records publicly available through the CPM archive. The active participation of the archivist and interns in that process, enabled a more nuanced understanding of the oral texts and their collective meanings, and ensured that a broader base of users could access the oral texts within the sub collections.

Of course interpretation is subjective and so are the signs and signifiers that constitute cyberspace. For one, there are still many South Africans who are not computer literate and there is the

further issue that, while English[312] is one of South Africa's eleven official languages it is not the majority of the population's first language. In the following quote, Mrs Zuzile,[313] Guguletu resident, describes her experience of being arrested for not having a *dompass*:

> Then came the police, a young guy came to me and he forcefully held me. I was wearing a jacket because we were told to dress warmly, in fact I was going to jail and I was arrested as accused number one. I said to him 'if I was your mother you wouldn't hold her like this' I told him in English I said 'you will never hold your mother in this way, because I'm black that is why you are holding me tight here'. We went in the queue I had a song that I sang... that song was saying "Tambo please be visible, Tambo please be visible, Tambo please be visible, Tambo please be visible" That was when I was arrested and taken to Moille Point police station

This quote highlights a distinct racial prejudice as experienced by vast numbers of people under South Africa's former regime. Through the interviews and oral texts of people explaining their experiences, there are also a number of secondary themes that emerge. In this instance English is the interviewee's second language, but it is also important for her to be able to communicate effectively in that language to be able to voice her distaste for how she was treated. The song she speaks of, is an isiXhosa song (and

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[312] For Hatang, meaning is woven into language and all language including English is open to being reshaped. In this case he makes specific reference to layering the language of English with the experience of being an African. For more on this engagement around western and African perspectives on archiving see V. Harris, S. Hatang 'Archives, identity and place: a dialogue on what it (might) mean(s) to be an African archivist' in *Esarbica Journal* (19. 2000) 45-57.

[313] Interview available in the CPM audio archive [COMM_CWC_Cwc5]

was sung by her in Xhosa), so the power relation shifts in that the white policeman would more than likely, not have understood what she was saying, which was essentially a call to the leader of the then banned ANC to relieve the oppression within the country.

2.b. Training

The difficulty of applying international standards and guidelines due to access and funding constraints is coupled with lack of training and education regarding audio-visual archiving. As information specialist, Shadrack Katuu mentions, the entire sub Saharan region is plagued by outmoded programs, low numbers of qualified staff and funding constraints.[314] Within South Africa a post graduate degree on archival science is no longer offered, but is rather coupled with courses on library science.[315] What this means is that audio-visual archives are being run by people either trained on the job or possibly who have received training internationally. Furthermore, there are only a handful of non-commercial archival projects involved with digitization of audio material in the country.[316] Many of those projects employ different standards with relation to audio hardware, software, procedure and metadata delivery. Such digitization and software choices have a distinct effect on how such material is disseminated.

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[314] S. Katuu, 'Whither archives and record management education and training' *Esarbica newsletter* (6.2004) 12-15. 13

[315] Kate Murray's examination into education and archival science reveals more of this dire situation. K. Murray, *Mbibl. Thesis* (UCT, 2002)

[316] I am excluding broadcast archives and business archives as I am examining oral history archives. While I noted some of the South African projects working with audio- visual archival material in chapter one, this does not reflect their commitment or national engagement with the use of technology and adherence to international guidelines within audio-visual archives.

One example of this is the availability of the TRC records electronically. Gqola[317] mentions not only the high cost of the electronic version of the TRC report but also that it is issued under a single user license fee and is only supported by one proprietary platform in one language, namely English. Such a situation not only speaks to the level of inaccessibility of so called public records, but also to a number of other obstructions, highlighted by exclusion of non-proprietary hardware and software platforms such as Linux and Open Source.

2.c Funding

Many archives and projects within the continent and country rely on funding partnerships to be sustainable. All too often funding is sourced from project to project as opposed to core funding, placing considerable pressure on the development of the organizations structure and procedures. All to often staffing and long-term organizational vision falls by the wayside, in a need to maintain short-term project funding cycles. Yet, while funding comes with certain requirements and restrictions, there is also significant opportunity for preservation and technological development through such partnerships. One example is the Digital Innovation South Africa (DISA) project that uses digital technology, to promote and build scholarly digital content.[318] This project has received substantial funding from a US organization over the last eight years. This has enabled DISA to become a central player in national projects around digitization and access to scholarly digital content around the liberation struggle in South Africa. Furthermore the

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[317] C.Villa-Vincencio, F. Du Toit, (eds) *Truth and Reconcilliation in South Africa ; 10 years on* (Cape Town, David Philip, 2006) 61

[318] For more on this project see www.disa.ukzn.ac.za

project has enabled the development of guidelines around digital imaging and metadata, which is of benefit on a much larger level than only within the project itself.

Yet as highlighted at the beginning of this chapter, one of the concerns of funding partnerships has been a certain split that sees a 'developed world' partner offering technological capacity, while the African organization is seen to provide content to populate the technology driven product.[319] The result is what some writers describe as a resurgence of imperialism, this time represented by knowledge dependence.[320] This caution though, does not advocate virtual isolation, but rather is aimed at encouraging a critical reworking of funding relationships from within the continent.

To survey how archival functions and technological changes are negotiated within a specific audio-visual archival context, I utilise the Centre for Popular Memory as a case study. In chapter four and five, I expand on the CPM's archival collections, to unpack the generation of meaning that is placed on (exists within) such an archive. In this Chapter I outline the technical groundwork for the building of such collections.

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[319] Regarding the globalizing of African content there are further concerns over Intellectual Property and community property of African songs, narratives and content management. And this is something that lies both within the continent and without. It seems one of the largest fears within traditional grouping the world around is that technologically advanced and be-moneyed groups, however altruistic the aim, will hold the rights to another communities content.

[320] One view as described by YZ Ya'u, in 'The New Imperialism and Africa in the Global Electronic Village' *Review of African Political Economy* (31.99 2004) 11-29; states that locating the marginality of Africa in cyberspace within its colonial past, is part of current international attempt at bridging the digital divide to not only secure new markets of developing countries, but also to configure the world in the interest of the new imperial powers.

3. THE CENTRE FOR POPULAR MEMORY (CPM) AS A CASE STUDY

The Centre for Popular Memory archive is based at University of Cape Town, South Africa and is a scholarly, public access archive and resource center. The CPM has been involved with oral history recording and research work for over twenty years, primarily concentrating on narratives around forced removals and liberation history, yet expanding significantly over the last ten years to include a range of related dissemination outcomes and research work.[321] The CPM archive collects and disseminates audio, video and images around a range of topics including forced removals; transnational migration; trauma; memorialization and cultural heritage.

I worked as the senior audio-visual archivist within this centre for six years.[322] During that time I developed strategy and structure for the housing and online retrieval of archival collections which include over 2000 hours of oral history narratives and about 500 hours of video. Part of the mandate was to increase public access and scholarly interest in the archival work, incorporating the Center's

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[321] Appendix 1:2 lists the catalogue inventory of CPM audio collections. For more detailed information regarding the work and extent of the CPM go to www.popularmemory.org.za. Last accessed 29 July 2008

[322] I too, am one of the many people working within the field with no formal training directly in the field. My undergraduate studies were in fine arts and post graduate studies in museum curatorship. In my career as a curator I became interested in access and technological aspects of dissemination of material and began work in a pan African music archive. From that point on I did extensive research and reading and engaging with forums around the topic.

four main areas of work around oral history namely research, training, archiving and dissemination.[323]

Yet access requires vigilance on a number of levels. Intellectual property issues, copyright restrictions and best practice procedures in terms of digitisation and migration, play an intrinsic part in the development and access to archives in the 21st century. As Hughes reminds us, digitisation changes the way cultural heritage materials are used and accessed.[324] With this in mind, it is imperative to have a carefully structured approach to managing and creating access to digital material.

3.a. Audio-visual archival procedure

> Digital information lasts forever –
> or five years which ever comes first[325]

The CPM audio section of the archive, contains material in a number of formats. About 1500 hours were originally recorded on analogue cassette; about 200 hours on minidisk and more recently about 300 hours were born digital. Each format has a different archival procedure and digitization rate, which is determined by the original.

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[323] To use an example, in 2003 the CPM trained students who were selected from Gugulethu in Cape Town. Over a nine-month period these two interns, Sibongile Mtini and Andiswa Yindani, were taught skills around oral history methodology, interviewing, transcription, archiving and exhibition design. During the internship they structured their practical interviews and each intern conducted 20 audio interviews (recorded on minidisk) with long-term residents of Gugulethu, around their memories and stories of the political unrest of the 1980's. The interns then transcribed and translated the interviews and these were handed to the archivist who catalogued and accessioned them.

[324] B. Hughes, 'A metadata search',29

[325] See J. Rothenberg 'Ensuring the longevity of digital documents', *Scientific American* (272,1, 1995) 42-47 available online at www.clir.org/cpa/film/future/ensuring.pdf last accessed 21 August 2007

(A bibliography around key material related to digital preservation is included as Appendix 3.2).

As material is received, the first step is to ensure a suitable analogue or digital copy is made. The first generation copy is used for researchers and for the making of further copies. That copy (and the original) is given an archival catalogue and sub collection number - and that catalogue number corresponds to a collections category and management inventory. The metadata information is also transferred to the tape label, for accessibility and continued use.[326]

While paper-based records register text or images that the human eye can decipher directly, in the digital environment the record exists as a logical set of numerical values in a virtual environment.[327] The key point here is, the aspects that make up this electronic record's structure, content and context often exist as separate entities which are only brought together when a user

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[326] To use the examples of cassettes - interviews are recorded on the tapes in mono/analogue at about 10 000 Hz which effectively captures human speech (which does not usually extend above 7 000 Hz). If stored correctly, inline with archival best conditions, it will have an optimistic lifespan of 30 years. This is incredibly short in archival terms, where often public access is only granted after a period of 35 years. Hence storage and access to such recordings beyond this initial period is imperative. In this model, an archival record is only a record as long as its life span is maintained. In former archival practice this model meant that records moved through a number of phases from their creation to their disposal. By implication, the archivist manages the record through a number of processes (for as long as possible or needed).

[327] As mentioned previously, the digital environment is governed by binary code. Every piece of information that is fed into a computer is broken up into 0s and 1's, each numerical value is called a bit and each bit is strung together in sequences of 8, which makes a byte- these bytes are combines in a number of sequences and 1024 (or rounded to 1000) bytes makes a kilobyte and by the same process 1 000 000 bytes is a megabyte- which then means a billion bytes as a gigabyte. This binary code becomes the way material is accessed.

wants to view/hear it. Terry Cook reminds us that with paper based records one has content, context and structure,[328] within one medium such as words on paper or accounts in journals. With electronic records content, context and structure are separated and hence it is not readable to the human eye. So the metadata, content and context become separate entities, which rely on specific (and possibly specialized) software and hardware to reconcile the record.

To work with such records within the archive, certain processes need to be managed. Amongst them are copyright and IP regulations, effective archiving and digitization methods,[329] migration/backup and vigilance. The irony of digitization, is that while the rapidly developing technology increases storage capacity (with higher density storage) more data is at risk of damage or loss as technologies become obsolete with increasing frequency.[330] Crucial to the development of the digital repository then, is an understanding of the temporality of the trace and secondly the need for metadata around the trace (to try and ensure its sustainability). As Conway suggests "the biggest challenge may not be embracing digital technology, but rather building a common language to

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[328] T. Cook 'Keeping our electronic memory: Approaches for securing computer generated records' *South African Archives Journal* (37.1995) 89

[329] Digital copy storage - archival preservation copies are stored as 96 000hz, 24bit wav files –as data on CD-R. Each standard 700mb CD-R can store +- 20 minutes of preservation standard data. The digital trace is batch converted to 44 000Hz 16 bit and stored as audio on a second CD-R. CD-R's are stored under archival conditions and no labels or paper-based adhesives are used. The preservation copy (and all subsequent derivatives) information is listed on the jewel case cover and the archival number listed as close to the center of the CD as possible. CD-R's are stored in plastic jewel cases (not paper or vinyl slip covers) to prevent damage and deterioration.

[330] For more around digitisation and music archives see W.Shoaf, "Archives' in *Notes*, (56.3.2000) 648-654

describe the transformations that [] take place". Metadata[331] (also referred to as data about data) maintains a common foundation for the finding and accessing of digital information that fulfils a number of functions.[332]

A key factor remains, how archivists ensure that these digital records that are created and 'preserved' remain usable and accessible. In other words, will one be able to retrieve (on the computers of the future) records, images, text and data generated on systems that are becoming extinct? For instance, equipment is no longer available to wind reel-to-reel tape or obsolete software programs make it increasingly difficult to reformat documents. In other words the equipment/software and information are no longer compatible.

It is exactly that paradox which is key in the audio-visual digital domain. Technological advances have provided high quality portable solid state recorders (such as the Marantz PMD series) and

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[331] Metadata includes different sectors:
Descriptive metadata- referring to the trace and the description thereof – title, collection, interviewee, interviewer, date of interview, location etc
Technical (preservation) metadata- contains details of original carrier, format and state of preservation, and references the digitization process and its description i.e. File format, bit rate depth, size, duration, equipment and operator (IASA-TC_03 p10)
Structural metadata- how to "reassemble the trace-
Source information- audio analogue cassette, photograph, and physical description
Rights and restrictions - copyright holder, copyrights, distribution restrictions

[332] Firstly, it needs to be compliant with terms discussed through initiatives such as the Dublin Core, METS and ILAC. As mentioned, this metadata becomes the link between the digital trace and its structure - so when the trace needs to be migrated the metadata is used to reconstruct and certify the trace. Without structural metadata, the page image or text files comprising the digital work are of little use, and without technical metadata regarding the digitization process, scholars may be unsure of how accurate a reflection of the original the digital version provides. For internal management purposes, an archive must have access to appropriate technical metadata in order to periodically refresh and migrate the data, ensuring the durability of valuable resources.

microphones geared for optimum voice reproduction, but the flipside of that is the storage and transfer of these digital files exists in a paradigm where technology is moving so fast that long term digital solutions are unavailable.[333] Less than ten years ago sound was digitized to a maximum range of 36 000Hz. Currently many heritage/memory archives digitize sound at a standard rate of 96 000kHz/24 bit, yet Analogue to Digital (A/D) converters provide a sampling rate of 192 kHz,[334] with a similar development ratio occurring in software and other hardware.

Yet, while digital archival practice remains fraught, there are also a number of solutions. For instance, backwards compatibility is becoming a standard.[335] Repositories of obsolete equipment are being formed[336] and global electronic forums and lists are being established for technicians, archivists and policy makers to discuss formats/problems and regulations and to set international standards for electronic record making and metadata formatting.

There is also a need for audio archives to prioritise collections to digitize, based on institutional considerations, as the costs and labour needed to make digital copies of analogue recordings requires technical expertise and can only be done in real time

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[333] Innovation is the buzzword of computer technology and software companies, money and markets drives new products and methods. In this modern age, it is assumed that every 3-5 years devices and processes for storing and reading information are replaced.

[334] IASA-TC-03 The safeguarding of the audio heritage: Ethics, principles and preservation. 8

[335] Backwards compatibility involves new software including programs which enable you to read old formats/material

[336] Obsolescence of equipment: retrieval and playback technologies. Media hardware is rapidly changing and may become obsolete: i.e. Beta and VHS or open reel tapes, DAT recorders.

(1:1).[337] Below are some of the questions in the CPM's digitization priority document:

- Do you have direct authorization from the interviewee (or authorized party) to use the material in this particular manner?
- How fragile is the original (how urgent is it to be digitized)?
- What are the recording quality, narrative quality and audibility like?
- Will it be stored digitally or used in the public realm?
- Do you have authorship to do that?
- How interesting will it be for the public?
- Is the material contextualised?
- Will it need to be translated?
- How will you ensure the information is not misused?

International recommended practices suggest digitisation priorities, include records that are:

At immediate risk, and /or

Part of a commercially unsupported system and/or

In regular demand[338]

Margaret Hedstrom, reminds us that digital recordings are not just the digital version of an analogue original, but preservation includes understanding the volatile and ever changing nature of the digital landscape. She fleshes out that preservation involves:

The planning, resource allocation, application of preservation methods and technologies necessary to ensure that digital

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[337] IASA_TC-03 , 11

[338] P. Conway, 'Digitizing Preservation.' *Library Journal*, 2,1(1994), 42–45.

information of continuing value remains accessible and usable.[339]

Within this dynamic field, it then seems imperative to ensure that the digital information created in the current era is technologically accessible in the future. Hence, the digital repository and/or archive needs to keep its virtual eye on the present and yet also anticipate the archival future of digital records. While archival preservation strategies, cataloguing techniques, restoration rigour and digital dexterity are extremely valuable to archivists, the question remains, what difference do such strategies make to the communities that archives claim to serve?

With this in mind, how can the audio archive create ways to ensure that people's stories and versions of history are fed back into the society that feeds the archive? In that sense the archive has a distinct social function to provide access to its collections outside of the building that houses it and to increase the presence of people's narratives beyond the archive walls. Audio-visual archives maintain access to people's stories and those oral texts belong beyond the temperature-controlled vaults.[340] Archives need to work more cohesively, by not only providing text transcripts but also providing users with the facilities to listen to the sound, read the transcripts, view the images and through this layered process to make interpretations.

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[339] M. Hedstrom, 'Digital preservation: a time bomb for digital libraries', *Language resources and evaluation, 31.3*(1997)

[340] In the case of the CPM, many older recordings are on analogue cassette; these are digitised to 96 000 Hz/24 bit data, which are stored as multiple copies across multiple media in different locations. All available metadata around the recording is entered into a digital repository and this virtual archive also holds electronic copies of all sound clips, transcriptions and translations.

Yet, this needs to be coupled with effective Intellectual Property[341] copyright regulations and the awareness of difficulties around digital formats, migration and obseletion. As Derrida suggests, the structure and meaning of the archive is dependent on what will come.[342]

3.b. Outcomes of a digital repository

Digital technology offers certain opportunity for audio-visual archival resources, such as:

i. They can be easily distributed
ii. They don't degenerate when copied
iii. They can be downloaded
iv. Integrity (inviolability) can be secured
v. They are fully searchable
vi. They can be stored in a variety of formats

These materials form the major resources for the future of memory access. In this way access is increased and the original is protected. While the digital copy does not replace the original version, it does provide a new range of uses and access points to it.

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[341] Intellectual property, migration and access
Archivists are often confronted with issues of intellectual property, copyright, legal and ethical issues that govern the use of records/material. In terms of such issues The Centre for Popular Memory (CPM) adheres to the following procedure:
Establish and do not break trust with interviewees and engage on a level where they feel comfortable and protected.
Ensure that interviewee's wishes are legally ratified through copyright release forms.
Accepting an ethical responsibility to use material in a sensitive, contextual and referential manner.
Accessioning and preserving material in accordance with CPM archival guidelines.

[342] J. Derrida, *Archive fever*, 46

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, access and usability remain key to the development of the archive in the 21st century and technological advances open up ways to effectively use audio-visual archival material. For instance, Frisch's exploration of the 'non linear' mapping possibilities of digital material, allows for a variety of access points into oral history texts.[343]

C. CONCLUSION

Creating best practices around digitization and exploring the problems and possibilities of technology as a tool, can alter the way one does oral history and the way in which it is received.[344] Technology can be adapted to the specific context, rather than trying to mould the context around the technology.

The examples listed in Appendix 3.1 only hint at the many possibilities for dissemination. Of course such 'creative dissemination' is not the job of the archivist, yet foreseeing some of the public possibilities, will inform the process. What the variety and breadth presented by digital technology offer the archivist, is a need to consider these public possibilities when receiving and accessioning archival material. Digital archiving allows us to use the technology to enhance the experience of oral history through multiple methods. Furthermore one needs to establish and broaden the possible audiences for the archival material. To do this,

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[343] M. Frisch, 'Oral history and the digital revolution' R. Perks, A.Thomson (eds.) *The Oral History Reader*, (London, Routledge, 2006) 102-114

[344] For more on this in the developed world see P. Read, 'Presenting voices in different media: print, radio and CD ROM' R. Perks, A. Thomson, (eds.) *The Oral History Reader.* (London:Routledge, 1998) 414-421. For examples of public programs using oral history in the USA see D. Richie, *Doing oral history*, (New York: Twayne, 1995) 158-160

archivists need to engage with the notions of agency, construction, audiences and community in a theoretical and practical sense.

Africa is a continent that is both near and far from technological stability, but through well-constituted partnerships and intelligent and proactive methods extending from the continent, there are ways for technology to be harnessed. As I have explored in this chapter, there are also ways for archivists, technicians and cultural activists to walk outside of the doors of the academy and engage with the communities they serve. In the following two chapters I explore how meaning is generated within the archive walls.

Chapter 4

EXPLORING CONSTRUCTIONS OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY IN ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS

A. INTRODUCTION

B. FRAMEWORKS FOR AUDIO VISUAL ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS

B.1 Topological Structures

C. LOOKING AT THE CPM MIGRATION COLLECTION

C.1 Oral History and the practice of archiving

C.2 Understanding the CPM, Migration/ Displaced lives collection

- C.2a. Sub collection on refugees from Nigeria
- C.2b. Sub collection on refugees from Congo
- C.2c. Themes within the sub collection

D. CONCLUSION

A. INTRODUCTION

This chapter interrogates relationships within and between oral texts and how such constructions affect the reading/analysis of both individual and collective oral histories. Within this field, a number of issues need to be considered. Some of the most prominent include the process of recording a life story; the play between archiving a dynamic oral text within an archival system of categorisation and how a particular narrative affects the reading of other narratives within that collection. It is also of particular interest to explore how such layering remains dynamic, fuses or separates as time goes by and collections grow.

B. FRAMEWORKS FOR AUDIO-VISUAL ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS

As explored in chapter three, vigilance is necessary with regard to the technical aspects of audio archival material. Yet other types of active engagements with the oral texts are also necessary. Another layer is the underlying system of accessional and framing mechanisms. In his book, *The Order of Things,*[345] Michael Foucault outlines the possibility of tracing underlying systems of non-formal knowledge structures. He questions whether in the juncture between the applications of structures and empirical context, an underlying system exists. Although that analysis extends across a much broader terrain, it is relevant within the scope of this thesis, which explores constructions within audio-visual archival collections.

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[345] M. Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London:Routledge, 1970).

The question then is how and what is that juncture? One is aware that meanings emerge in the collation of material – whether it highlights similarities between materials or heightens the differences. Of course emergent meanings also alter with time and juxtapositions. Yet somehow within a topographical structure of qualitative material, such as archived oral histories, there seems to be dynamic meaning that is not captured in the spoken (or transcribed) words of the content or the keywords and metadata of the archival structure.

Hence, while archival collections are created with a structured topology, it is the juncture (or interaction) between and through them that creates an underlying, possibly dynamic, construction. So while archival records comply with a formal structure of archival accessioning, how do individual and collective shifts that take place under that structure play themselves out? For instance, individual narratives and the collections they exist within are affected by additions to such collections or by subsequent publications around a certain collection theme – such as displaced lives or migration. Such a critical mass of information generation has an influence on readings and understandings of narratives. This chapter looks at possible ways in which this happens.

These shifts are explored through two main streams. The first is the content that (possibly) guides this classification. The second is the influence and layering through factors not intrinsic to the trace – such as the effect of time. Not only in that meaning is affected temporally but also that the generation of, for instance, publications or changes in political/social circumstances affect the reading of narratives. In keeping those two streams at the forefront, I engage

with the dynamic (non-formal) constructions that are created within the structure.

B.1 Topological Structures

The classification of traces into collections falls within a number of formalised systems. There are countless archival texts,[346] including Muller, Feith and Fruin's *Manual for the Arrangement and Description of Archives*[347] and more recently IASA's *Guidelines for the Production and Preservation of Digital Audio Objects*,[348] which outline metatags and data accumulation for both paper-based and binary audio archival collections. These manuals have been developed over years,[349] it seems, through a combination of empirical and scientific knowledge. Here I am reminded of Foucault's formulation, where he speaks of the interesting combination of application of the structure and the empirical context within collections. So while the theory of archival science rests in formalised accessioning and standardised tags, there is a strong element of the development of this science that rests in the *practice* of archival collections management.

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[346]While the list seems endless some of the better utilised include: M. Cook and M. Procter, *Manual of Archival Description* (Aldershot: Gower Publishing, 2000); V. Walch, ed., *Standards for Archival Description: A Handbook*, (Chicago: The Society of American Archivists, 1994); R. Edmondson, *Audiovisual Archiving: Philosophy and Principles* (Paris: UNESCO, 2004); H. Harrison, ed., *Audio Visual Archives: A Practical Reader* (Paris: UNESCO, 1997); and the invaluable resources available through the Council on Library and information resources (www.clir.org); Society of American Archivists (www.archivists.org); International Association of Sound and Audiovisual Archives (www.iasa-web.org).

[347] S. Muller, J. Feith, R. Fruin, eds, *Manual for the Arrangement and Description of Archives* (New York: H.W. Wilson Co. ,1968).

[348]K. Bradley, *Guidelines for the Production and Preservation of Digital Audio Objects* (Johannesburg: IASA, 2004).

[349]In the case of Muller, Feith and Fruin, the manual has a 75-year history.

Hence there is a development, of what Foucault might have termed a more stable grid of identities as opposed to looser, unstable collections. An example would be a collection of objects on a table – the table is the container that orders the items on it, yet it is likely that the objects have more stable collections that they belong to. For instance if one has a book, keys, a feather and a dog on the table each of those objects have a solid collection structure to which they belong. The dog has a stable collection category with other mammals/domestic animals/canines while the book is more closely related to other texts, even possibly genres of literary writing and so on. So the ordering is random in that the table contains the objects and becomes by default a collection. Yet, in classification structures, it holds little weight as there are more 'logical' categories that both the objects and container fall within.

Archival collections are part of this more stable collections order. On the one hand there is a logical structure that assists in determining archival collections (albeit an empirical/scientific fission), yet on the other, one is reminded of Pierre Nora's notion of 'the differentiated network to which separate identities belong, an unconscious organisation of collective memory that is our responsibility to bring into consciousness'[350]. These two structures or networks seem to exist simultaneously. On some levels the exploration then encompasses physical (tangible) and intangible generation of meaning. There is an accepted construction of archival collections according to a number of standardised criteria, yet there is a simultaneous construction/ accumulation of meaning that is not actually generated through what is spoken of in the oral history

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[350] P. Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations*, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory, 26 (Spring 1989), 23.

interviews – which Nora may describe as the 'unconscious organisation of collective memory'.

He discusses this notion with regard to *lieux de memoire*, suggesting that these 'realms' are necessary, or rather are a condition, of our modern epoch where such 'sites' need to exist, as 'environments of memory' no longer do. While this chapter cannot deal with the repercussions of such a suggestion, I do choose to relate the notion to such occasions that occur within the oral history archive. There too, the interaction and building of meanings occurs at the fissions, junctures and interactions – the brushing together of narratives that disturb and yet create. Nora suggests that it is 'this very push and pull that produces *lieux de memoire* – moments in history torn away from the movement of history, then returned; no longer life, not yet death …'.[351] Such a double bind is not uncommon in archives. Each narrative and interaction is caught in the moment between its own destruction and continued life, a metamorphosis that allows nothing to remain static – but is always caught in the play between.

The responsibility of the archive to remember,[352] as a type of prosthetic memory-bank, is fraught, though. For the 'memory' received relies on its trace, the form it is given: the recorded interview, the photographic image, the AV Mini DV. As mentioned earlier, this tracing already sets it in a structure. The archivist plots the descriptive and technical metadata, creates inventories, accessions records, checks copyright release forms and so on. In this process, the initial 'memory' is partially stripped of its

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[351] *Ibid.*, 12.

[352] Nora suggests that memory's 'new vocation is to record; delegating to the archive the responsibility of remembering, it sheds its signs upon depositing them there'.

individuality through this trace and then somehow reconstituted within the archival structure. Its placement in collections, reformatting and even making multiple that which was original (with archival access copies, digitisation and so on) are all physically manifest, but of course the paradox remains: how can one plot or make tangible that which is unconscious or ephemeral? Here I am speaking of the 'unconsciousness' of the trace, as well as in the interviewee's narrative. So by looking at how an oral history interview is placed in the archive, or by the collections' structure, and more deeply at the interaction that is created in that placement, one can explore a number of links and overlaps.

C. LOOKING AT THE CPM MIGRATION COLLECTION

To explore this in more practical terms I look to the Centre for Popular Memory's audio-visual archive. One collection category within the archive broadly encompasses oral texts around migration and displacement with a concentration on refugee and displaced persons entering South Africa, and more specifically the Western Cape (rather than South African citizens leaving the country).[353] Within this holding collection is a sub collection called Testimonies of Passage (ToP) [MIRG_MAF_Maf2/Maf3].[354] This sub collection

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[353] This collection includes sectors on Rwandan refugees (MIGR_MAF_Maf4.01-17); Somalian refugees (MIGR_MAF_Maf4.01-05); Testimonies of Passage (ToP) (MIRG_MAF_Maf2.01-56 and MIRG_MAF_Maf3.01-50); Italian immigrants (MIGR_MEU_Meu1.01-18); Eastern European immigrants (MIGR_MEU_Meu3.01-23); Chinese Immigrants (MIGR_MAS_Mas1.01-25) and Iranian Immigrants (MIGR_MAS_Mas2.01-03).

[354] Testimonies of Passage was a comprehensive two-year project run within the Centre for Popular Memory, funded by the CPM and Mellon Foundation. The project model aimed to gather and explore forced migration from Nigeria and Congo to Cape Town, South Africa. On some levels this had a practical element in that Nigerian and

consists of 106 interviews conducted over 18 months with Nigerian and Congolese people living in Cape Town.[355] The recordings come from the larger project which involved two CPM interns working for two years (2003–2004) on gathering oral texts – these were then archived and compiled into a series of exhibition panels, radio programmes, academic articles and a visual/ reflective catalogue.

The sub collection is interesting and for a number of practical reasons useful to this analysis. Firstly there is a logical grouping together as the interviews were conducted for one project (Testimonies of Passage); secondly there is an imbedded construction around the conception of group, namely that of Nigerian or Congolese refugees (place and space).

Yet, the recording of such life stories comes with particular constraints. While interviewers were trained in oral history methodology and chosen particularly for their relation to the specific communities,[356] the factors around displacement, fear of the State and issues around gender continue to inform the process. To unpack the overlays between archival spheres, content management and development there is a need to briefly look at the context that informs the creation of its stable category.

Congolese immigrants at that time comprised two of the largest foreign 'communities' in Cape Town, where the CPM is based. This allowed for a thorough study of such testimonies of passage.

[355] Interviews conducted by Iyonoyan Iyegun (Masande) and Theodore Kamwimbi in 2003/4 in English, French and Lingala. All interviews were transcribed and translated. Where copyright permits they are available online at www.popularmemory.org.za

[356] For more on this see B. Bozolli, *Women of Phokeng*. (Johannesburg: Raven. 1991) and I Hofmeyr, *We spend our years as a tale that is told:oral historical narrative in a South African chiefdom*. (Johannesburg: WITS Press, 1994)

While population movements have been a constant feature in world history over the past five centuries (and further), the last decade has seen a global surge in migrancy due to increases in political instability, famine and poverty.[357] On the local level, South Africa has a double wave of migration; the first being a long-established pattern of internal circular migration between rural and urban households due to the migrant labour system established under the former regime; the second dealing more directly with trans-national migration.

One of the complexities within this form of migration is the legislation governing asylum seekers coming into this country. The Refugee Act of 1998 (the replacement for the Aliens Control Act) is seen to hinder rather than facilitate refugee status. Refugees are not allowed to work, study or be self-employed until they are granted refugee status They are also not granted any form of social welfare support. In 2002 a new Immigration Act was passed,[358] and this was seen to encourage highly skilled immigrants while also protecting the rights of citizens. It is understood that one of the main failings of the act is its inability to sufficiently protect those who are most vulnerable – the so-called illegal or undocumented immigrants.

Yet how do these legislative and policy positions play themselves out on a more practical level within archival practice? As mentioned, the naming of categories of Nigerian or Congolese within the

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[357] For more on these topics see R. Cohen, *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); P. Harries, *Work, Culture and Identity: Migrant Labourers in Mozambique and South Africa c 1860–1910* (London: Portsmith, 1994); D. McDonald, ed., *On Borders: Perspectives on International Migration in Southern Africa* (Cape Town: SAMP, 2000).

[358] The South African Immigration Act of 2002.

broader collection raises questions. For example, many Congolese interviewees mention that their nationality became a holding feature once they were displaced from their country of birth. Other interviewees mentioned that their status as refugees, immigrants or asylum-seekers within South Africa, is affected by the Democratic Republic of Congo's political standing in international forums, but is also personally affected by actual political and often by economic situations. So, while one interviewee might feel personally threatened within his or her country, their legal status within the country they flee to – not as a refugee but as an immigrant – has specific economic and political social rights within that country. Etienne, a Congolese refugee, explains this in the following way: 'Me, I am Congolese through and through, but I came here [South Africa] not because I want to be South African, only because I came to seek refuge.'

While the scope of this chapter does not try to explain or expand on the vast and varied writings around migration and displacement, it highlights the fact that each so called holding collection or grouping of material comes from a highly fraught and often complex field of theory and practice, which is often submerged in conventional audio visual archiving naming systems. With these conventions, in an example as suggested below, political changes that affect geographical location and as such affect metadata, are not sufficiently reflected. For instance sectors of what is now referred to as the DRC has in the past been referred to as Congo Free State (1877–1908), Belgian Congo (1908–60), Congo-Leopoldville and Zaire (1971–97). This simple example highlights the difficulty of representing complex relations even on a geographical level. Sophie Lissonnet's comprehensive analysis of inadequate naming with

regard to Australian material is a good case in point in highlighting such complexity.[359]

C.1 Oral history and the practice of archiving

There is further complexity with the overlay of oral history theory and practice onto/into such archival systems. Alistair Thomson's[360] article reviewing 50 years of oral history, reminds us that oral history 'provide[s] opportunities to explore aspects of human experience that are rarely recorded'.[361] These include people's personal lives, domestic situations and so on. He goes on to say that this manner of collecting offers 'rich evidence about the subjective or personal *meanings* of past events'.[362] While this is broadly accepted, the development of oral history as a research practice has been significantly interrogated and debated. For instance, much has been written about the positioning of power in the interaction between interviewer and interviewee. This subjective position allows the interviewer certain credibility in that s/he is informed about the research topic and subject to a certain degree, and is quite obviously asking the questions- thereby placing the interviewee in a position of response and on some levels wanting to

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359 S. Lissonnet and L. Nevile, 'The Development of a Metadata Application Profile to Facilitate the Repatriation of Cultural Resources to Quinkan Country', in L. Stillman and G. Johanson, eds, *Constructing and Sharing Memory: Community Informatics, Identity and Empowerment* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007).

360 A. Thomson, 'Fifty Years On: An International Perspective on Oral History', *The Journal of American History*, 85, 2 (September 1998), 581–95.

361 *Ibid.*, 582.

362 *Ibid.* Such personal meanings and remembrances are affected by the distortion of physical deterioration, nostalgia exacerbated by old age and by the personal bias of both interviewee and interviewer.

answer to the best of their recall[363]. These subjective positions are neither static nor simple and while this chapter does not delve into the complexity of these layers, it is important to mention as such positioning and fluidity affect the archiving of such material. In a way, as with the historian no longer being expected to be a transparent carrier of History, so too the oral historian (and the archivist), are acknowledged as subjective within the process of both interviewing and archiving. For Nora, this subjectivity is not an obstacle but the means to their understanding.[364]

As discussed in chapter two, over the last 25 years, a variety of differing approaches have surfaced in which fears around subjectivity and bias have become assimilated, or at least explored. For instance, Luisa Passerini's analysis of Italian working class memories under Mussolini's regime,[365] marked significant points of discussion around the 'entanglement of the everyday life and personal identity to explore the difficulties of remembering involvement in a discredited regime'.[366] With such texts,[367] the meaning embedded in remembering is not viewed under the guise of quantifiable historical fact, but rather explores the generation of meaning as active and dynamic.

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363 For more on this inter-subjective relationship see S. Field Turning up the Volume: dialogues about memory create oral history.

364 Nora, 'Between Memory', 18

365 L. Passerini, Fascism in Popular Memory: The Cultural Experience of the Turin Working Class (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

366 Thomson, 'Fifty Years On', 585.

367 For example, R. Samuel and P. Thompson, eds, *The Myths We Live By* (London: Routledge 1990).

With this in mind, I am interested in how such an unpacking of memory affects the archiving of such traces.[368] The key question remains: how do all these intricacies play themselves out in the generation of myth[369] and meaning within the audiovisual archive? And how can concepts such as Foucault's 'juncture between the application structure and empirical context' and Nora's 'unconscious organisation of collective memory' connect to the generation of myth/meaning within oral history archives?

Central to this generation then, is memory itself. As Halbwachs suggests there are as many memories as there are groups, memory is by nature multiple and yet specific; collective plural and yet individual.[370] Much has been written around these relationships between the natures of memory, hereby expanding our understanding of memory, constantly shifting between the collective and the individual, and addressing itself to various groupings and interactions.

C.2 Understanding the CPM, Migration/ Displaced Lives Collection

In the case of the Centre for Popular Memory's (CPM's) Migration Collection, the first difficulty arises in the placement of narratives on displacement in one broad category. While one can see the logical

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368 Interestingly enough, developments around unpacking the nature of meanings and memory are not confined to oral history. Many other disciplines such as psychology and sociology add huge value to such discussions. Even anthropological perspectives on the exploration of the individual in the group, assisted in reassessing preconceptions of how such 'loose organisations' are structured.

369 Myth is understood in terms of the oral history definitions explored by Samuel and Thompson, *The Myths We Live By*, where myth is understood to encompass personal narratives that may be historically inaccurate, yet that does not undermine the veracity and value of the narrative as experienced/ remembered by the interviewee.

370 Nora, 'Between Memory', 9.

progression of grouping together of Nigerian and Congolese narratives of displacement, the circumstances and issues experienced by individual persons in these groups are vastly different. Although I suggest narrative interpretive workings in the following section and unpack some of the nuances of this, it is key to remember that the foundation of this chapter is to explore the junctures rather than the interpretations. With this in mind, while I may hint at themes, it is what underpins or holds the oral texts and the interplay between them, that I am more interested in.

C.2a Sub collection on refugees from Nigeria

Oil-rich Nigeria has been ruled by military regimes for all but 15 years during its 44 years of independence since British colonial rule. Since 1960 the three largest ethnic groups, the Hausa/Fulani, Ibo and Yoruba, have dominated the political scene, each occupying different geographical regions of the country. Nigeria also boasts over 250 smaller groupings, all with distinct languages, traditions and practices.[371] As two Nigerians put it:

> You get this sense that you are in the centre of Nigeria ... its like a melting pot; a mix of cultures ... both Nigerian cultures and also the whole Nigerian/African experience versus a Eurocentric experience, so there is always that recognition that you kind of live in two worlds. (Bebe)

> The average Nigerian thinks he is smarter than everybody in the world. The education we are given back home gives us

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371 R. Meyer and F. Swanson, eds, Testimonies of Passage: Congolese and Nigerian Migration and Identity in Cape Town (Cape Town: Centre for Popular Memory, 2004).

> the courage ... the slogan of Nigeria is 'the giant in the sun'. You don't intimidate Nigerians. (A.D.)

Nigerian identity is described by interviewees, as being more communal and a national identity seems to be more pronounced than with the Congolese examples:

> Being in Nigeria we are very, very communalistic, you know. We do things collectively, together ... so living with your niece, your nephews. That's what I'm saying, quite interesting. Either if good comes you share; if the worst side of life comes to you too, you share. (Rabiu)

Referring back to Foucault[372] and to Carter,[373] there is however a dynamism or unfixed nature that emerges in the definitions. Nationalism, community and home, although grounded in certain theoretical and conceptual frameworks, are understood or experienced differently by individuals. This is apparent in the 52 Nigerian interviews and the 54 Congolese interviews in the same collection, which also offer varying perspectives on the notion of community or a sense of identity.

C.2b Sub collection on refugees from Congo

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is part of the Great Lakes region and has an abundance of natural resources. Yet its political history beckons towards dictatorship and civil war. The country's

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372 Foucault, *The Order of Things*.

373 P. Carter, 'Living in a New Country', in N. Rappaport and P. Dawson, *Migrants of Identity: Perceptions of 'home' in a world of movement* (Oxford: Berg, 1998),

borders have also shifted.[374] These geographical and political changes have a noted effect on interviewee's narrations of their country of birth. For instance, Raphael describes himself as 'a refugee even in my own country' while other interviewees mention the varied languages they speak due to their geographic movement. In Tshombe's case he was able to speak three international languages (French, Portuguese and English) and was fluent in Swahili, Lingala and Kikongo due to the areas where he received his schooling.

While not yet clearly evident, it is becoming apparent that definitions of groupings are based on a physical location (and on political history); so for instance a person might have been born in Bas-Zaire, or what is now Zaire, yet refer to him/herself as Congolese. Not only geographical shifts but also political shifts alter the way interviewees speak of their histories. Lillian describes this as follows:

> So you find yourself in a country you didn't plan to live in. After varsity I couldn't move in with my parents because I was in Lubumbashi, my parents in Likasi. When I was in Congo I was mistaken as Rwandan. So you can't go out ... wherever you on the street you feel like you are not safe. Everybody is looking at you and saying, 'Is this a Congolese? No I don't think so ... maybe she is Rwandan!' So that kind of situation made me move to Zambia. But there is a conflict between Zambia and Congo, they accused Zambia of protecting the Tutsi or rebel Tutsi by saying they were at the borders, they were keeping them to come and attack Congo.

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374 Meyer and Swanson, *Testimonies of Passage*, 6.

So, it would be difficult again to go back to Congo or to stay in Zambia. What should I do?

Difficult geographic and ethnic relationships such as these have a marked effect on notions of identity and naming. While it is not within the ambit of this chapter to explore these issues, I draw attention to the vast difficulty of trying to categorise and name within an archival system that leaves little space for the exploration or description of complex, contested naming conventions.[375] For a researcher who is unfamiliar with such complexities, a seemingly uncontested or uncomplicated relationship exists.

C.2c Themes within the sub collection

As one begins to flesh out similarities and differences across categories and within interviews, patterns seem to emerge (and shift). Looking at further examples, one dominant theme within many of the interviews is the notion of belonging/home.

As Masade sets out in her chapter exploring transnational migration amongst Nigerians in Cape Town,[376] the concept of home has altered considerably in the twenty-first century. 'Home' is no longer a static location, where everything abroad is perceived as strange, other and differing.[377] Prior conceptions of home as a stable, fixed

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375 For more on this see Sophie Lissonnet's work on archival naming systems in Australia, in Lissonnet and Nevile, 'The Development'.

376 I. Masande 'Where is home? Transnational Migration and Identity amongst Nigerians in Cape Town', in S. Field, R. Meyer and F. Swanson, *Imagining the City: Memories and Cultures in Cape Town* (Cape Town: HSRC, 2007), 94.

377 S.Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', in J. Rutherford, ed., *Identity, Community, Culture and Difference* (London:Routledge, 1990), 223–37.

location and the further a person moved from that location the further they were from home,[378] are now thrown into disarray.

One of the many reasons for this seems to be the rapid development of transportation and technology, which has opened up a more global and accessible world. In this world communication technologies allow the rapid transfer of information around the globe. We now live in a place where cultures, music, language, images and information are often available through the click of a mouse or the use of a mobile phone; where the physical location of family or friends is virtually dissolved through the ability to talk through skype or video conferencing on the web; where chat rooms, blogs and websites such as www.myspace.com or www.facebook.com allow for the immediate sharing of ideas and visual markers.

This transformation of modern society has altered senses of fixed identity or location; it offers possibilities beyond the tangible. In prior epochs these would have been out of reach on a physical and economic level. Yet in the 21st century the boundaries of time and space between people, societies and cultures are collapsing,[379] and thus the fixed identities and concepts of home and space are destabilised. Bebe, a Nigerian immigrant, explains it in this way:

> I think that my world has grown bigger, so I am less Nigerian now, than I am African, and less African than I am global. You know, when people ask where are you from, you say Nigeria because you have a passport from that country but I really ... I'm a global child you know.

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[378] Carter, 'Living in a New Country', 21.
[379] E. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1995).

Moise, a student from Congo expands on this notion of global possibilities in the following manner:

> The best thing for me would be to go overseas and try and carry on [with my] studies. If I can do this Masters at a big university it will be the best thing. The second thing would be to get my Masters degree here [South Africa] and get a better job. The third thing that could happen to me is I go back to Congo and live there. But I still want to improve, to enjoy, to learn, because actually going back to Congo is a huge sacrifice.

Yet, while the world is expanding on such levels of learning and career opportunities, it is also contracting in terms of a sense of localisation or regionalism. As the world gets larger it homogenises on some levels. Yet there is also a growing fear of the outsider and the need to solidify local culture. Both these issues are highlighted in the Migration/Testimonies of Passage Collection.

As displaced Nigerian and Congolese people these respondents show a particular understanding and experience of xenophobia within South Africa. Foreigners are seen as taking jobs and opportunities from South Africans. Okafor, a Nigerian, describes it in the following manner:

> Where I work its only me that has a different accent. But I can't help it, it's my mother tongue. So it's always the question 'where do you come from? Which accent is this?' I don't lie I say, 'OK I'm Nigerian'. 'Wow I hope you're not one of those people who sell drugs or you are not one of those fraudsters!' and all that stuff. After a time I got used to that.

Or as Congolese refugee, Henri puts it:

> I have not found work yet, it is linked to a bit of a bad environment I have found here in Cape Town, a kind of masked solidarity of the compatriots where people do not help each other … the compatriots most of them have forgotten something very important, that is 'love thy neighbour'.

This perceived banding together of insiders and outsiders is not only economically motivated, but also ties in with a global fear of the outsider. As discussed in the following chapter, the events around 9/11 and the subsequent 'war on terror' attest to this mentality and on a local level such mistrust and xenophobia are also apparent. The flip side of such fear is a closer kinship to perceived similarities. So one interviewee describes his identity as follows:

> A white man will die a white man, a black man will die a black man, there will never be a change. I was born Congolese, I will die Congolese. I am not going to die South African. Even if I'm living in South Africa, I will not be a South African. I can walk on the road and look like a South African, but I am not. I am not and I won't be Thabo Mbeki or Bill Clinton. I will never be Jacques Chirac. I will remain what I am. I am a black. I will remain a black. It means that I will never be a South African at all. I will be a Congolese up to my death.

This quote eloquently highlights the fractures and intricacies around belonging and being excluded. For him, there is a strong sense of belonging to a hierarchical identity. Yet ironically it is an identity that separates him.

Sociologist Paul Carter, adds an interesting spin on such fixed notions on identity in his suggestion that it becomes even more urgent to develop a framework of thinking that makes the migrant central, not ancillary, to historical process. An authentically migrant perspective would perhaps be based on an intuition that the opposition between here and there is a cultural construction, a consequence of thinking in terms of fixed entities and defining them oppositionally. It might begin by regarding movement not as an awkward interval between fixed points of departure and arrival, but as a mode of being in the world.[380]

This movement away from the binary in terms of identity construction is reminiscent of deliberation around the difficultly of fixed binaries in archival collection topologies[381]. It is not necessarily the rigid conventions or naming that are of primary interest for this discussion, but rather the ordering and accessing of such information. With that in mind, maybe it is in the unravelling on both the structural and conceptual levels that possibilities exist.

If one is to represent the Migration/ Testimonies of Passage sub collection in another format, for instance as a topological hierarchy, it could look something like this:

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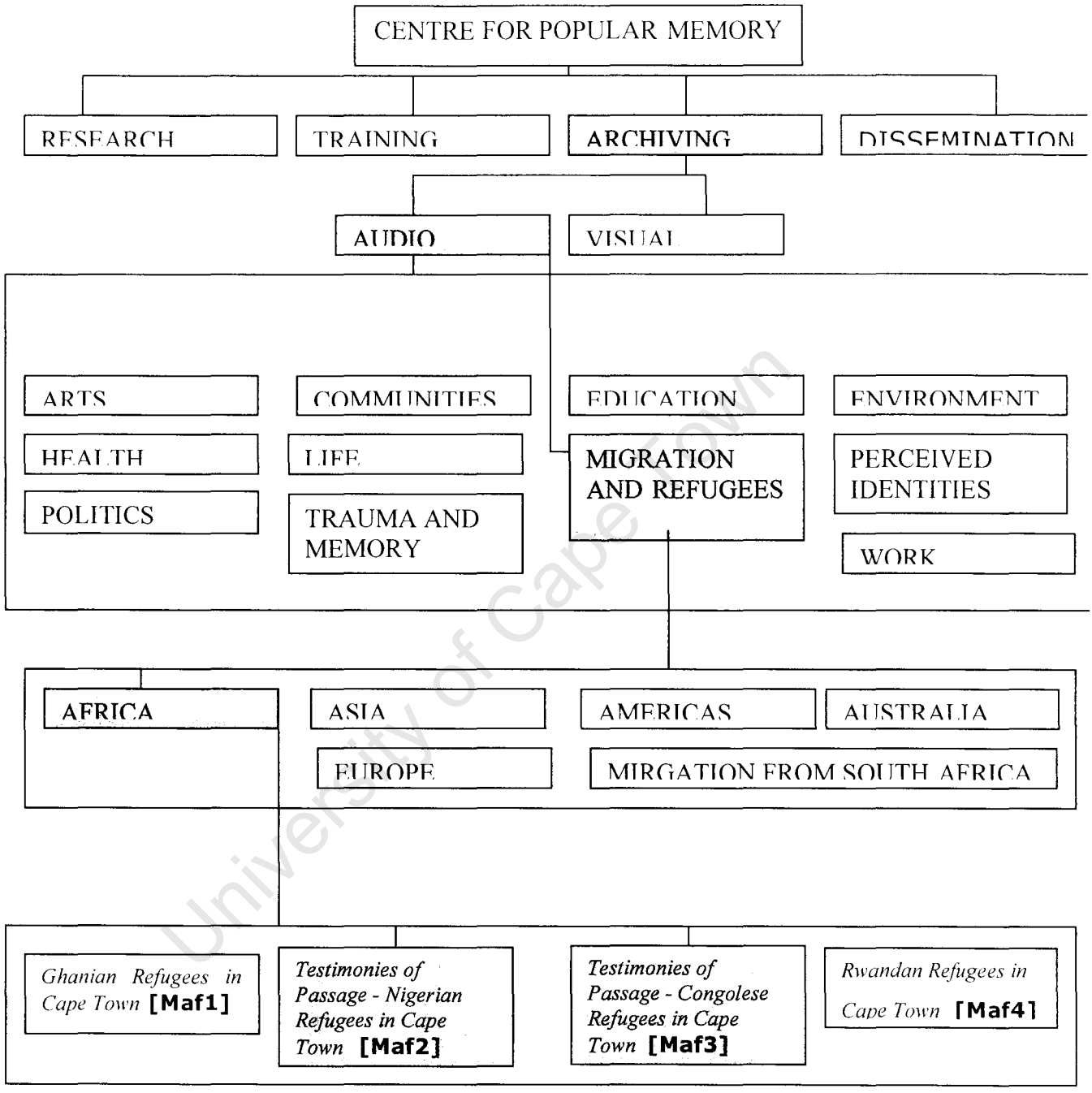
380 Carter, 'Living in a New Country'.

381 For more on these topics see D. Bearman and J. Trant, 'Unifying our Cultural Memory: Could Electronic Environments Bridge the Historical Accidents that Fragment Cultural Collections?', *Information Landscapes for a Learning Society, Networking and the Future of Libraries* (1998) www.archimuse.com/papers/ukoln98paper/index.html last accessed 26 May 2008; also T. Cook, 'Beyond the Screen: The Records Continuum and Archival Cultural Heritage'. Paper delivered at the Australian Society of Archivists Conference, 2000; And E. Hallam Smith, 'Lost in Cyberspace: Have Archives a Future?' Paper presented at the Australian society of Archivists Conference, 2000.



What an example such as this provides is a mechanism for seeing what types of collections exist with the CPM audio archive. In this example one can see the logical unfolding – Centre for Popular Memory_Archive_Audio_Migration/Refugees_Testimonies of Passage (Maf2 and Maf3). If one takes it a step further, one gets information that provides individual catalogue numbers, names and keywords of each interview. A further step will provide all the copyright and technical information regarding each interview.

Yet, while this is all valuable information, it does not address context specific to that interviewee (of course the keywords are helpful but are still standardised and therefore refer to a more generalised topic as opposed to how a particular interviewee dealt with that topic or to what degree it was discussed, and so on). Therefore, if one tried to address such layers of complexity within collections, a table such as the one below might look at certain topics in a different manner.

This table uses a small sample of interviews from Maf2. It quantifiably plots the main topics answered directly in each interview,[382] and could be represented as follows:

	Maf2.26	Maf2.29	Maf2.28	Maf2.15
Home	14	13	15	14
Identity	17	11	15	13
Migration	17	20	18	19
Urbanisation	12	1	7	2
Time	43.19	58.11	68:01	43:13
Questions	102	123	123	123

[382] These themes were tracked by the interviewer, Iyonoyan Iyegun, through her interviews and marked on the transcripts.

While such a table gives us certain information about specific topics, namely home/identity/migration/urbanisation – there are countless variables that were alluded to earlier in this chapter on the conditions and relations of interviewing. In practical terms, these questions include, for instance in Maf2.29, that migration is directly spoken about in 20 answers (and is the most frequently mentioned topic of the four mapped). The interview lasted just over 58 minutes and the interviewee answered 123 questions. Yet the table cannot help us determine if the information on migration would be useful in a more in depth study.

So if one goes to the interview transcript and audio, let us look at a few examples that highlight different nuances and engagements in the experience of migration:

Maf2.29 page 2, begins to map the physical journey taken from Nigeria to South Africa:

> 'I migrated, if I should say, or should I say I traveled from Enugu to Abuja where I worked before I left Abuja for South Africa …'

On the following page of the same interview the narrator speaks of one of the reasons for leaving Nigeria:

> But more civilised or advanced countries, you find out that the thing is not going to school, its about developing a talent towards … so that's why I said that Nigeria is not challenging and that is exactly why most people left.

On the same page she then expands on how that perceived hope for improvement through migrating is played out in the country to which she migrated:

> Why I left Nigeria … to improve scale, but unfortunately here

> in South Africa now the chances are limited. While in South Africa, you realise South Africa is strictly for South Africans. There are no opening of doors for let me say other foreigners, so to say in South Africa. The prime aim of leaving was to see what the outside world looks like. On coming to South Africa, which is much more developed than our place, you still find out that you don't have such chances ...

On page 7, this disillusionment then introduces a sense of community or kinship amongst displaced Nigerians: 'I would say we couldn't do without each other because I would say we found each other in a valley of abandonment (here in South Africa), so we are interdependent to a certain extent on each other.

And by page 10 the interviewee reintroduces the direct theme of migration, by suggesting that South Africa is really just a nodal point in a more extended journey of displacement:

> Being a Nigerian, really I want to go back home. If I don't go back home, I will migrate again to Canada. The issue of being in South Africa is just to gain permanent residence; I don't need the South African citizenship for anything. I just want to use here as a base or for an anchor point where I can do business later. Then I can achieve and I don't want to stay for long. That's all.

Of course this is just a small representation of the one interviewee's experience. It does show, though, that the topic level (migration) is only a marker – it does not point to the level of complexity in the interviewee's answer, nor does it reflect other answers which reference the interviewees experience of migration in a more

nuanced way such as an allusion to the experience in relation to living in this country, while not directly dealing with migration.

A further level of complexity is added by the inclusion in the sub collection of Theodore Kamwimbi's interviews with Congolese immigrants to Cape Town. This means that there are now two major blocs of interviewees to speak to the topic from completely different circumstances and positions. To look at one such example I use his discussion with Congolese interviewees about their experience of 'community':

Maf3.47 p 6 (track counter 15:36;01)

> TK: Would you say in Congo you were living in a Congolese community?
>
> GT: Yes, that is the difference from here and Congo, I remember in Congo everybody is like you know everybody in everywhere. We were like, you ask your neighbour for salt, I don't think we can do that here. I would say the community in Congo is too close [closer] than it is here in South Africa.

Maf3.47 p8 (track counter 21:42;09)

> TK: So do you think there is a Congolese community here in Cape Town?
>
> GT: I am sure there is, but I don't know who these people are.

A similar question posed to another interviewee, Leonard Lukusa, offered a more nuanced understanding of a sense of community in Congo and how that translated in the South African setting:

> Maf3.34 p6 (20:22;02)
>
> TK: ...Do you think that while living in Congo, you were living

in a Congolese community with your neighbours, your kin?

LL: Well, when we talk about community we talk about a lot of hidden meaning. Firstly the direct environment in which you live, so that the people that are in your entourage, that is the members of your own family, the people you are acquainted with, the people that are acquainted with you, perhaps the people you work with, the pupils, the students, the workers, your neighbours, people from your neighbourhood, they are all part of the community. Well, any man is called upon to live in the community; nobody can pretend to live outside the community.

Maf3.34 p11 (track 2. 04:07;05)

TK: Would you say you are living in a Congolese community here in Cape Town?

LL: Well, to say that I am living in a Congolese community is too much, I live with Congolese people.

A third interviewee, Lisette Kaunda, responded to the question of community by linking community and family in a way that binds individuals together:

Maf3.50 p10 (track 2. 04:01;02)

TK: Would you say you lived in a Congolese community when you were in Congo? Can you describe it?

LK: Because I would say Congolese community is like a family because we help each other. I would say that, as a community as a Congolese community, I would say that your neighbour is not just your neighbour for you he is a brother, he's just a sister, is like a mother, a father … you cannot just pass by as your neighbour as you don't know each other, you

> can greet, you can go and visit, it is like a family. Whoever is around you, he is your family because when ever you get into trouble it is just your neighbour who will come and assist you or come and help you.

In the Nigerian examples on migration and Congolese examples about community, one begins to see both similarities and differences in perceptions of community. These three interviewees responded that a sense of community in Congo was prevalent and in South Africa they have not experienced such a deep sense of the same identity. A key point of engagement within the nuances of each interview is the manner in which one can discover how that sense of community is experienced individually and plays itself out in collective constructions.

D.CONCLUSION

Once again differing levels of information are gleaned through different methods. Engaging with the audio and transcript, gives us contextual and direct information around actual relevance of the theme to the greater narrative. Of course this engages with an interpretative approach to using audio and transcripts. Yet the exploration remains around mapping information archivally, where such constructions and developments of themes are brought to the fore – in a manner that can reflect the inherent complexity within interviews and collections as briefly explored above.

The more users understand the constructions and junctures that exist within archival collections, the better. The suggestion that

interviews are reconstructions of past events, and that those representations are affected by time and place remains key. In this case, the narratives discussed above were gathered at a particular point in time, namely in 2004 in South Africa. By association that information tells us a number of things – interviewees were all removed from their home country and were speaking from a context of a foreigner within another African country that had a specific relation to them as refugees on a political level, and possibly posed a degree of threat on a personal level.

This shaping affects the type of information accessed. The fact that interviewers were respectively of Nigerian or Congolese decent was useful in terms of language/mother tongue and understanding of place and politics – yet, as mentioned, there is a specific power relation between interviewer and interviewee and in this case there was a further power relation in that many of the people interviewed were in this country illegally. Hence there was an added fear of being deported or not being eligible for the necessary status required to remain in South Africa.

Oral history interviews have the potential to explore such layerings. Not only is the content layered in the generation of spoken and implied meaning, but the possibility of exploring their complexity and nuances over a collection becomes a potent and useful research tool.

From within the oral history archive this can be represented in a number of ways. An incredibly simple starting point is including information on the way the interviews were gathered, the purpose and outline of circumstances within the collections' description. This

is not theoretically unusual within an oral history archive – yet I would argue, needs to be more rigorously implemented within the interview gathering and archival phases, as all too often such valuable information does not come to the fore when users are seeking out recordings within the audio visual archive.

Secondly, as mentioned earlier, political situation can have specific effect on the engagement with interviews, as geographical references with regard to ethnic prejudice and sense of community are highlighted in such, possibly non-spoken, information. Although a thorough researcher would have knowledge of the impact that these may have on interviews, I believe it is also the responsibility of the archive and archivist to maintain such information, that might well influence the reading and hearing of interviews, within the archival structure.

These inclusions in available archival information may seem like additions in terms of subjectivity and collections management procedure. But they are coupled with archivists and users having an understanding of the nuances of meaning, layered within collections and interviews over time and affected by both institutional and political memory. If such acknowledgement comes from a rigorous position of working with oral history interviews from the praxis of understanding the constructions of the archive (not just the interview dynamics and oral history process), it can provide a more meaningful and layered approach with a more nuanced and complex outcome.

Chapter 5

INDIVIDUAL RECOLLECTION AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY FORMATION AROUND NARRATIVES OF TRAUMA.

A. INTRODUCTION

B. THINKING ABOUT COLLECTIVE MEMORY

B.1. South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission

B.2. The events of 9/11/2001

C. LOOKING AT THE CPM TRAUMA AND MEMORY COLLECTION

C.1.Context for the sub collection

C.2.Generation of collective memories (inclusion and exclusion)

D. CONCLUSION

D.1.Possibilities for transformation beyond the archive

A. INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the intersections between private and public processes of remembering and their constructions within institutional collective memory. It examines how individual oral narratives carry multiple meanings singularly and collectively. It also explores alternative historical sources, affected by local and global relationships and looks at the need for fluidity in the archive. In this instance, I use private and public narratives around trauma, to examine agency within institutional memory repositories and how the governance of these spaces affects the reading of individual narratives within a broader framework of historical collective meaning.

The first section considers notions of individual and collective remembering and how these configurations have broader implications and applications within different world-views. Examples include the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa (which drew to a close in 2000) and global repercussions of the attacks on the Twin Towers in New York 2001.

The second section continues with an in-depth discussion of urban trauma, using the personal narratives gathered between 2000-2003 around a series of bombings in Cape Town. Through these oral texts I explore ways in which citizens manage urban terror and how such narratives inform and disrupt notions of collective imagination.

This chapter builds on the theory and practice outlined in chapters one to three, and uses oral texts from a local and international perspective, gathered within a defined time period (i.e. between

1996-2003). It explores how the archive and governance of cultural memory has then to be understood at part of a mechanism of space, power and time.

B. THINKING ABOUT COLLECTIVE MEMORY

B.1 South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission

One South African example, that has been drawn on in previous chapters and which relied on individual oral texts contributing to the formation of one of many collective meanings, has been the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The TRC gathered 21 298 written statements in respect of 37 672 human rights violations, from which 2200 people gave oral testimony in public forums. Although it provided a platform for these individual stories to be heard publicly, one of the collective or even central motives was of national healing and reconciliation. In the words of former South African president Nelson Mandela "Only by knowing the truth can we hope to heal the terrible wounds of the past that are the legacy of Apartheid. Only the truth can put the past to rest".[383] Yet in contrast to a simplistic notion of truth, the TRC final report acknowledged its conceptual differences namely: forensic or factual, personal or narrative, social or dialogic and healing or restorative. The complexity of unpacking 'truth' then, as a mechanism for 'healing' to occur in a space of four years[384] seems ambitious and on some levels naive in its understanding of

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[383] N. Mandela quoted in S. Field, 'Beyond healing: oral history, trauma and regeneration.' *Oral History*, (2004)3

[384] The TRC began operations in 1996, delivered a draft report in 1998 and halted operations in 2000.

individual trauma and catharsis on a psychoanalytic front (for more on this see Freud, Lacan, Laing, Lacy-Rogers et al). The possibility of movement from one sphere of anguish to another of collective transformation is fraught with difficulties. To name one such hazard, Bozzoli quoted in Field states 'in the very act of defining a public realm... a new silencing, a new seclusion began to emerge'.[385]

The TRC was mandated with the ambitious task of 'establishing as complete a picture as possible of the causes, nature and extent of gross human rights violations committed during the period 1960-1994',[386] toward a collective ideology of closure. Yet notions of 'putting the past to rest' cannot always provide enough space for the overflow of personal individual trauma. Often these individual retellings (in front of journalists, perpetrators and commissioners) become on some levels, more about collective testimony rather than personal narrative. These collective mythologies and individual retellings, are discussed by Fiona Ross in her book *Bridging the Gap: Women and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission*[387], where she maps how TRC testimonies were framed in a gendered, national forum that had a large effect on the relay of that information.

The TRC hinted at national restorative possibilities, while its collective mythology actively framed and recontextualised personal narratives to this end. This type of framing is not dissimilar to other instances of individual and collective imaginings. In this case people were brought together under the 'common goal' of national

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[385] S.Field, 'Beyond healing'
[386] The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report, Vol 1
[387] F. Ross, *Bridging the Gap: Women and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.* (London: Pluto Press, 2003)

unity, healing and reconciliation – an unpacking of the past to transform the future. In other instances the goals of establishing collective meaning are less transformative.

B.2. The events of 9/11/2001

The events and repercussions of the 2001 bombings in the United States of America (USA) are a reminder of such national agendas. As oral historian, Mary Marshall Clark says:
what was a horrific local story for those who experienced it directly, became a national and international mass-mediated experience for the millions who watched it and a political event given an official narrative with a title (9/11 - America at war) with 48 hours of its occurrence.[388]

This national agenda and what Clark refers to as a 'government lie', took a historical moment that could have been a turning point in global (collective) history had it been acknowledged as such. As one of the narrators in that project noted:

> For a moment the walls between America and the rest of the world were torn down, and there was a possibility that we (Americans) could understand the way the rest of the world felt, and saw us, then it went up again stronger than ever before.[389]

In a similar vein, Milroy states "the loss of life in Rwanda was 5000 times greater than in New York, but the world went on sleeping.

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[388] M. Marshall Clark, 'The Media Eye, and the Government lie: September 11 (2001) 500 stories later'. Lecture first presented Columbia, 2002.
[389] First generation immigrant, eye witness quoted in M. Marshall-Clark, 2002

Those things happened elsewhere and we did not see them."[390] In the case of the events of 9/11, the global media harnessed collective imagination around the world. Yet, the need for collective cohesion relies on silences and forgetting. Such exclusions operate on a number of levels - individual, social and collective and "involved constructing a hierarchy of victims and heroes that fit the consensus framed by the media and government".[391] Hence individual stories and recollections, even of people recognized as heroes, such as firefighters and paramedics, omit circumstances where people were left behind, personal trauma and even perceived cowardice.

Other omissions included the silencing of voices of immigrants, Muslims and Pakistani's during the media aftermath of 9/11. The Columbia Oral History Office at Columbia University is one project that sought to balance those silences.[392] In this project, many interviewees spoke of the difficulty in 'separating the trauma of the event from its rocky wake'. A Pakistani businessman recounted his story of his disabled father's near escape from tower two, while for nine hours, the son believed that his father must be dead. He described "the fears he experienced as a Muslim afterward as transcending the terror of the moment."[393] This recollection is compounded, by the experience of a Sikh academic that worked in the US for forty years and described how after the event of 9/11

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[390] D. Milroy, 'Redeeming the Horror.' www.ctbi.org.uk/010911/tablet01.htm
[391] M. Marshall Clark, 'The media eye'. 5
[392] The creation of the September 11, 2001 Oral History, Narrative and memory Project in September 2001 was an attempt to allow those directly and indirectly affected by the events and aftermath of September 11, 2001 to search for the meaning of those events in personal and social terms' Quoted from M. Marshall Clark,'The media eye'. 3
[393] *ibid.* 10

colleagues refused to speak to him. His narrative, recounted in Marshall-Clark's paper, displays his triple trauma:

> living through the event, the betrayal of his identity as a colleague in the city (that he had made his home) and the guilt he felt as a father for allowing his children to be exposed to the xenophobia of Americans for whom fear of the other was the prevailing atmosphere following the terrorist events. [394]

The power and process inherent in using (or not using) individual narratives for institutional, national or collective agendas is apparent. The oral history office, at Columbia University explored these omissions and showed the creation of collective memory with a national agenda, which erased (from public earshot) the voices of communities living in America. As such, institutional or national memory is not only in constant flux, but is seen as one of many constructions of collective imaginings, rather than a singular (homogenous) dominant narrative.

C.LOOKING AT THE CPM TRAUMA AND MEMORY COLLECTION

To explore such interplay between individual and collective memory within a South African audio archival collection, I examined the CPM holding collection on Trauma and Memory. This section of the CPM audio archive contains four sub collections and over 60 hours of interviews.

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[394] *ibid.* 11

The sub collection I concentrate on, holds a series of oral history interviews conducted between 2000 and 2003 with bomb survivors of a series of events that occurred in Cape Town between 1998-2000 [TRAU_TIN_Tin2.01-07].[395] These fragmented individual insights, layered in historical and social memory, helped me explore how urban terror affects peoples daily experience of living in the city, thereby exploring the many interfaces between individual and collective memories. In Thabo's words:

> Cape Town has been captured, presented as a tourist city... as being a wonderful place. That wonderfulness tends to obscure the possibility of it being unsafe. I would tell people [coming to the city] about the reality they are going to endure...there are many homeless people who will be begging. [] You should hide things, keep things away from the public's sight.

In examining this sub collection I look not only at the interplay between and within oral texts, but also how they tie into the generation of collective meaning within the audio archive. And how such meanings move in and out of the archival walls. For that specific reason I chose a sub collection that directly concentrates on the integration of personal and public space on a number of levels. So just as the archive is affected and affects the meanings within individual oral texts, so too are those oral texts present and played out in the world beyond the archive walls.

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[395] All interviews are housed in the Centre for Popular Memory (CPM) archive. All interviews related to the bomb blasts were conducted by Dorothee Kreutzfeldt and her collaborators. In line with CPM policy, pseudonyms have been used where interviewees have requested anonymity

By exploring the context of a series of events that affects physical and internal space of people, I can also explore how oral texts are affected within the archive. Thereby, allowing me to explore the unconscious and transformative nature of such material. A third factor, is to examine the use of oral texts in the building of collective meaning around events and within sub collections and how such interpretations can create spaces of transformation beyond the archive walls. So the trace both describes and transforms at the same time, it is different and yet similar.

C.1 Context for the sub collection

In South Africa, the fear of domestic terror is as great as that of global terror. Citizens have had considerable exposure to intimidation and violence over the years. Specific instances of brutality and bloodshed experienced under past racist regimes, and the political insurgency before 1994, has begun to have public voice in forums such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). Yet the new democratic era still has rumblings of third force activity, religious extremism and racist fundamentalism.[396] Along with these menacing national undercurrents, threats to the individual persist. Violent crime statistics remain unnervingly high, and possibilities exist of being caught up in the crossfire of gang warfare, or being involved in recurrent episodes of urban violence. [397] In this way, urban terror fosters an untenable position, in which places previously perceived as safe can no longer offer that possibility.

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[396] See Hough (2000)

[397] In early 2003, nine male employees of a massage parlour in Seapoint were brutally murdered. The event highlighted the ongoing drug dealing and violence crime in the city ' Campaign to make Seapoint sleeze free starts', *Cape Argus* 27 April, 2003

One Cape Town resident, describes his experience:

> these places, Waterfront, Long street, city centre, I think those are an urban space. For me that is an organized space, a controlled space, there are police. Safety is ensured in a way.

Such opinions highlight one of many ambiguities. While some people view urban areas as safe and controlled others residents such as Tanja, understand it to be "a place where I am vulnerable to attack."

Claude, a visitor to Cape Town perceives the townships as "separated from the main city with lots of violence and unrest happening there." Yet Guguletu resident, Sibongile describes the sense of belonging she experiences:

> I know all my neighbours, when I leave for work, or if I'm not near my house I can say to them, "look after my house" and I know it will be safe

she also reiterated the involvement of neighbours on a social and economic level :

> In my place my neighbour will come and borrow sugar or something and maybe if tomorrow I need potatoes I go there...we do it like that, it is how the old people teach us.

As with most interviewee's recollections, feelings of hope and terror exist within the same geographical areas. Inner city partnerships have increased police presence and surveillance cameras in Cape Town,[398] while the hardships of living on the Cape Flats is evident

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[398] 'Cleaning up the city', *Cape Argus* .5 March 2002.

through daily newspaper coverage and residents stories.[399] This complicated relationship between people and spaces of the city is not uncommon. [400] Thabo explains:

> It really makes me so furious to think about it, that one has to be over careful. You are in a crime active zone, the minute you leave your house. In fact even in your house you are not safe. But that's how life is and one has to adjust to that somehow.

During the 1990's Cape Town was notorious for public disruptions. These disturbances indicated a growing sense of urban unrest within the city. Gang clashes and wide scale drug distribution was evident on the Cape Flats and a number of civic groups emerged to try and contain or deal with the disruptions.[401] From January to June 1998, over sixty gang related killings took place and as many as 667 acts of urban terrorism were recorded in the Cape Peninsula for that year.[402] These disruptions were seen by the media to have root causes: gang clashes, drug cartels, economic pressure, religious disputes and hate crimes. Whether accurate or not, this allowed them to be placed in a framework of cause and conflict. Geographically, the core of this violence occurred on the Cape Flats, an area separated from the city centre by sheer distance and class divisions. But the threat of the violence 'spilling over into white

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[399] 'Cape gang bullet hits 18-month-old baby boy'. *Cape Argus*. 23 April 2003. 'DA proposes state of emergency for Cape Flats' March 2003 *www.SABC.com*

400 The layering also exposes the heritage that the city management grapples with in a bid to create the appearance of a united but diverse city. This vision caters for the six million tourists who visit the region annually but while glossy images of an integrated city abound, there are undercurrents of dis / ease.

[401] People against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD) was one such group. In 1996 a vigilante PAGAD group marched to the house of a high profile gang leader, Rashaad Staggie and murdered him in front of his home. This example is one of many which unsettled the communities of Cape Town.

[402] Hough. 2000

spaces of consumption and tourism' became evident in the later part of the 1990's. [403]

C.2 Generation of collective memories (inclusion and exclusion)

In August 1998 the first bomb exploded in the Cape Town metropole area. Over the next two years, the bombings claimed the lives of three people and injured over one hundred more. But the statistics underplayed the consequences of these attacks. The fact that there were 22 blasts over 24 months kept the city in an unnerving state of perceived perpetual threat and insecurity.[404] Bruce,[405] one of the most well known survivors of the first bomb blast, which took place at a popular Waterfront restaurant, described what he remembered:

> One of the things this bomb taught me is you never know when it's going to happen to you. That Tuesday in 1998, started like any other Tuesday, as was my habit I got up put on my running shoes and did a 6 km run around the neighborhood. I fought the traffic to work, had a full day's work, went home and drove that evening to Planet Hollywood [a restaurant at the Waterfront shopping centre]. Little did I know that my life would be changed forever 10 minutes later?

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[403] S.Robins 'At the limits of spacial governmentality: A message from the tip of Africa.' *Third World Quarterly* 23 (4), 672

[404] As Baudrillard suggests in his book *The spirit of terrorism* (2002), when the second plane hit the second tower on 11 September 2001, it removed any doubt from people's minds that the first plane might have been an accident. Capetonians were reminded 22 times of the reality of terrorism and yet did not have a sense of where it was coming from, or what would be hit next.

[405] Bruce has subsequently written a book about his experiences: *Victor over victim: The Bruce Walsh story as told to Sybrand Mostert.* (Cape Town: Human and Rousseau, 2003)

Many survivors recall the experience of a seemingly ordinary event changing into something unimaginable. Frans, who survived the bomb blast at a bar in Green Point in 1999, remembers it in the following way: 'It's not a fear or tearful emotion, it's a dissonance between reality and dreams…It's your perception of the world and what can exist.' He continues:

> In my reality, a bomb doesn't make sense, it's the unexplainable...bringing something into reality that doesn't exist.

Others spoke of numbness – "I just didn't feel anything"– or 'time standing still'. While Frans' and Bruce's words describe individual experiences, it is clear that for all those who survived there was a shift in what they believed 'could happen' in the world.

Riyaaz, a police officer based at the Woodstock police station, remembers:

> The day it happened, it was a normal day, we were doing patrols…It was a quiet Saturday afternoon. Later we were watching cricket [at the station] a lady came in with head injuries and the officer asked if I would accompany him and the lady to hospital. We went outside walked passed the vehicles and then there was a yellow flash and loud bang, our vehicle just lifted in the air. I couldn't believe it had happened.

Sixteen-year-old Hayley was serving tables at a restaurant in the affluent beachfront suburb of Camps Bay. Her recollection of the traumatic event begins after the blast:

> Immediately afterwards I don't remember it. I remember being there and suddenly I was over the road and on the

> pavement. I thought I am going to die here on this pavement, where hundreds of people had walked ten minutes before. I thought I will die here on this dirty pavement, what a way to die.

Bruce also has no memory of the blast he survived. He mentioned that for the first month following the bombing at the Waterfront, his 'sister and brother-in-law bore the brunt of the trauma' as he was in a coma. He notes that his sister's decision to keep life-support going saved his life:

> My injuries were quite severe, I almost lost my arm, I had a fractured skull and my eardrums burst. The debris of the bomb infiltrated my lungs, I battled to breathe and they had to cut me open and inserted a tracheotomy. Above all this I developed bleeding on the brain, which caused the medical fraternity concern that I might be brain damaged.

Bruce speaks of being "blissfully unaware" during that initial period, but this all changed once he regained consciousness. He describes his first recollection of waking up:

> I picked up the sheets and looked at where my legs would have been and there were stumps and I cried and cried and cried until my stomach muscles hurt and I thought well you can't just lay here and cry, you have to do something. I started setting goals. I remember thinking that these people who did this, whoever they are, they can take my legs and the lives of my colleagues, but what the perpetrators won't do is take my life.

While Bruce spent a month unconscious in hospital and years

recovering from his injuries, Frans has a different experience of trauma. In 1999, he was having a drink at a popular bar in Green Point when a bomb exploded under someone's chair. After the initial shock of the blast, he managed to drag himself outside and was recovering on the pavement when "...a policeman came and told us to leave and we tried to say we are witnesses, that we were in the blast, but they weren't interested."

He continues his story:

> In the Bronx [a night club] the dancing is just going on, the music doesn't stop...The car is quiet, coughing up dust which was in our lungs, there were rose petals in his hair which is absurd. We go back to the flat and realise we are fine, hold each other. Only when you try to dress or take a shower, then you realise you don't know how to do it. Your body wants nothing, it wants monotone, sameness, so without undressing we climb into bed, to try and sleep, but you've lost the knowledge of that as well.

Such stories are poignant reminders that trauma is more than a medical term used to describe a physical wound. Frans suffered mostly internal injuries, but because he had few external gashes, "no marking to say we were involved", it was as if his trauma was invisible. This gave him less opportunity to relate his experience to the police officer.

Alan, another survivor of the Green Point blast, mentioned how time and space contracted and "moved in more than slow motion". He remembers that even after the bomb had exploded, he still didn't believe it was a bomb. Other survivors spoke of their sense of the

familiar being disrupted –"You never know what people could be capable of " (Delia) – and how an uncanny or eerie sense infiltrated their lives.

As mentioned in chapter two, in psychological terms, the uncanny references a mental state of projection where the boundaries of the real and the imaginary blur, provoking disturbing ambiguities. It is seen as a state between waking and dreaming or, in Adrian's words, "the slippage between reality and the imagined". In that state the world still looks the same, but somehow it has changed. Riyaaz explains further, "You didn't know where the bomb would be planted it could be anywhere, it could go off at any time." The city now felt strange and unfamiliar, as the lines between the ally and the enemy blurred. As Delia said, "[Y]ou always wonder who are these people? ...I could have been sitting next to the bomber, I could stand next to them in the train, in the bank."

City residents also recall having been at the bombed locations moments before the blasts. Peter Kaplan, an emergency services volunteer, "drove past Mano's Restaurant in Somerset Road, about 20 seconds before a huge explosion shattered Christmas Eve, injuring 7 police."[406] In his case, he turned back to assist the severely wounded officers. Yet for other citizens the inability to pin down where the next blast would occur, or even if there would be one, fuelled their sense of dread. While many people mentioned being scared or apprehensive, the bombings also emphasized their identification with a broader imagined community.[407]

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[406] H.Bamford H, J.Schronen, 'Volunteer rescuer tells of blast horror.' *Cape Argus*, 27 December 1999.

[407] J.Bennett,R.Kennedy,(eds),*World memory : personal trajectories in global time*,(New York:Palgrave,2003)

It is important to note that remembering or being unsettled is different to reliving the event (which often happens with people directly exposed to traumatic events – for instance, having firsthand experience of its sounds, smells and images: seeing the mutilated bodies of their colleagues or the sound and smell of the explosion). Yet, even taking into account that important distinction, many inhabitants had a sense that those directly affected by the bombings could easily have been members of their own families or group of friends. Bruce remembers the night he met his colleagues at Planet Hollywood:

> When I left that night, I left the dogs. And I left the light on. It could happen to anyone. It can be just so normal and in the blink of an eye the trauma happens in life. That's why it's so interesting, it could just be anyone.

The possibility of it being 'anyone' brought people out of the isolation of individual trauma. But this identification almost relies on an enemy (something to blame or rally against) and as Delia noted, 'these people' never revealed their identity or intentions; therefore it was difficult to gain mastery over the situation. Survivors recall being caught in an exhausting web of internal questions: "What if I had been ten minutes later? What if I didn't go that night? Where will the next one be? What if I'm there?". In one instance, Delia, who had been badly hurt during the blast at Planet Hollywood, was 'there' again as she witnessed a second bombing in Adderley Street almost two years later.

B. Van der Kolk et al. *Traumatic stress: The effects of overwhelming experience on mind, body and society.* (London:Guilford Press. 1996) 24.

Because of the uncertainty about motives and targets, this particular wave of urban terror fostered a broad-based unease within the city. After each bombing, residents, survivors and possibly even perpetrators were reminded of the most recent event (and the residual effects from previous bombings) through coverage in daily newspapers and explicit news flashes on the television. Thabo, a resident in the suburb of Rosebank, associated the bombings and urban violence with a broader insecurity. In his words, they were "things you can't run away from, there is no place safe anywhere in the world, basically."

Understandably, many interviewees remained fearful. At the time of the interview, Hayley still worked in a restaurant; she explained that if "people leave a packet I want to throw it over the road…I am paranoid." Paul identified with her anxiety: "I am still very aware of public space, who walks in…what bags they carry, the tables and things like that." While many survivors spoke of the panic or trauma related to the blast, some mentioned an almost obsessive need to try and make sense of what had happened. Clinical psychiatrist Bessel van der Kolk mentions that in traumatic situations, if people "can imagine having some control over what is happening to them, they usually can keep their wits about them." Some people saw a pattern, in that most of the bombs were planted in affluent areas of the city, but even if that was the case the impossibility of plotting where the next attack would occur caused trepidation across the city strata. While the namelessness of the bombers made it difficult for survivors to gain closure, interviewees reiterated the significance of 'lay[ing] it to rest', to stop collecting newspaper cuttings around the bombings and to stop painstakingly unpacking each detail of the attack. Many also mentioned how important it was to face the past

by going back to the bomb blast location. Frans placed it in a broader context:

> The thing about violence and trauma in Cape Town is it is nameless. If you comb through the newspapers you realise that my experience is not unique. We are all experiencing this sense of nameless terror out there and live in one of the most violent societies and cities in the world.

D. CONCLUSION

I have wondered what makes this series of events in Cape Town different from and yet similar to urban terror experienced in other cities and countries. The attacks on the Twin Towers in New York in 2001 and the bombings in Madrid in 2004 and London in 2005 stand out as symbolic markers of global experiences of urban terror in First World cities.[408] On another level, of course, a number of chronic conditions exist worldwide, evident through the ongoing violence and terror in targeted regions in the Middle East, such as the Gaza Strip, and the Great Lakes region of central Africa, amongst others.

At a presentation on the theme of globalisation and urban terror in Bhubaneshwar, India, two political analysts questioned whether the Cape Town bombings could be separated from everyday violence in urban areas, as was their experience in (north-eastern) India.[409] For

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[408] For further discussion of 'symbolic' events see Baudrillard, *The spirit of terrorism* (2002).

[409] The colloquium 'Governance of cultures' was held in Bhubaneshwar, India, in January 2005 and supported by the Sephis 'south south exchange programme'. It afforded the opportunity for 12 young academics from 'countries in the south' to present papers and be involved in discussions with leading academics. My paper

me, the Cape Town bombings provide a microcosm of events within a larger experience of persistent (but changing) violence in South Africa. Yet the events also exist within a wider context of global trauma, terrorism and evolving transformation of cityscapes. On a local level the bombings provide a framework for exploring how bearing witness to such traumatic dislocations within the city informs one's experience of the city.

But one is reminded that the active process of bearing witness often gives way to the active process of forgetting.[410] Over time, the traces of the bomb attacks have been erased from the city landscape. Blood has been washed off the pavements. Damaged shops have been restored. The façades have been rebuilt. There is no longer any physical confirmation of the blasts. The remaining evidence lies embedded in archives, held in the bodies of survivors and remembered through residents' recollections. Therefore one needs to question whether there are sufficient spaces within public culture to acknowledge these limit experiences, which mark both the individuals and the city as deeply as those mentioned in the body of this chapter.

Yet not only is there opportunity for transformation in creating spaces in public culture to examine such narratives and experiences, but within the archive itself, one can see overlaps with other collections. For instance, one could plausibly argue that many

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'Exploring social cohesion: Individual recollection and collective memory formation around narratives of trauma' concentrated on the collection of narratives of trauma within institutional repositories such as the South African TRC. The academics who critiqued the paper were Partha Chatterjee and Sanjib Baruagh

[410] B. Van der Kolk et al. *Traumatic stress: The effects of overwhelming experience on mind, body and society.* (London,Guilford Press. 1996) 29; F.Kurasawa 'A message in the bottle: Bearing witness as a mode of ethico-political practice'. (2003)

of the sub collections on migration and displaced lives could also be categorized under the holding collection of trauma and memory. And perhaps just as 'trauma' resists being pinned down by words, it must surely resist rigid archival descriptions. Trauma is also by definition disruptive of the 'unconscious systems' mentioned through out this thesis. So many refugee interviewees may not use the word 'trauma' at all, hence it won't appear in simple word searches, but many/some researchers will realise that 'trauma' is spoken (and not spoken) about in many ways in these interviews and collections.

D.1.Possibilities for transformation beyond the archive

Although beyond the ambit of this thesis, I am also interested whether, under certain conditions, there are safe spaces "to reinscribe painful experiences through public commentary"[411] and to examine how collective memory and oral texts have a part in such (re)imaginings. There are many examples of artists and social commentators who have drawn on violent or painful experiences (of others and themselves) with similar ideals in mind. Sue Williamson's installation *Truth games* constructs disturbing representations of events of violence taken from the TRC hearings. Antjie Krog's book *Country of my skull* also draws heavily on her experience of following the TRC proceedings.[34] While the TRC

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[411] I believe the conditions for such public explorations need first and foremost to include the involvement or acknowledgement of the individuals whose experiences one is representing publicly. In the case of the Cape Town bombings, the survivors interviewed volunteered their time with the knowledge that their narratives would directly inform an art installation (and subsequent textual publications). All interviewees were informed of the use of their narratives used in this chapter. Interviews were conducted in a private space in consultation with a clinical psychologist.

provided an instance where the thresholds between recollections of private trauma and public testimony were blurred, there are other examples that offer more nuanced understandings of the place of the private in the public (and vice versa).

As explored in appendix 3.1, there are many different forms to extend the access to archival traces. One such partnership in Langa, coupled the resources of the city council, the CPM and the expertise of the Langa community to redevelop the old Pass office[412] into a museum and heritage site. Further collaborative projects such as *In view of you* (which explored survivors stories of the bombings described in the body of this chapter), in a museum setting strategically intervene with the urban environment.

The installation *In view of you* is also an example of the interrogation of junctures between public and private memory. The exhibition offered the opportunity for survivors' voices and stories to be heard publicly, bearing memorable witness to a volatile period in the history of Cape Town, a period which has already faded from public awareness. The collaborative project also explored how the attacks had shifted people's perceptions of the city and how survivors dealt with the bombings on a personal level.

The installation space deliberately steered away from sensationalising the bombings.[413] It chose not to exhibit explicit

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[412] The Pass Office was used during Apartheid as a court and council office for stamping temporary passes (dompass) for workers in town.

[413] The exhibition opened in 2001 at the South African National Gallery (SANG). Fourteen loudspeakers, each playing back a different audio narrative account, were mounted on either side of the site-specific photographs. While the bomb sites were digitally pixelated (creating a blurred effect) out of the images, the survivors' audio narratives described the events, often in great detail, and revealed the 'emotional,

images of the bombed sites and not to speculate on the identity of the culprits. Instead, it relied on the engagement (or possibly empathetic unsettlement[414]) of the viewer/listener with the survivors' audio narratives and accompanying reinscribed traces. In the words of Emma Bedford, the SANG curator:

> The installation was a merging of art, oral testimony, social study and political engagement. The work created a space where individual and courageous voices and visions could be considered; where experiences of trauma and survival could be testified to and witnessed as part of our history and culture.

In many ways, the installation explored the potential for art to operate as a public forum and possible meeting point. It provided a platform to address the collapse of the city's safe zones and to acknowledge the impact of the bombings. The survivors' oral narratives essentially facilitated entry points into the realities of urban terror and personal, private trauma. As Hayley reiterates

> It's important for people to know it's not just a bang and when your wounds heal you're fine, people don't realise how it affects you mentally. People don't realise the impact.

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psychological and physical impact' of the blasts. A table in the middle of the room displayed text files containing details of the bomb sites and responses from a number of sources including the media, civil society groups and government officials. In addition a notebook was placed on the table in which visitors could write their own comments.

[414] D. La Capra, 2001

Chapter 6

IN CONCLUSION (TRANSFORMATION)

In Conclusion (TRANSFORMATION)

> Changes are in front of the professional archivist; they will have to give up their traditional mono-medial orientation if they do not want to become hopelessly under qualified. They will have to navigate in a virtual archive world of databases and files, completely independent of which classical medium the desired information came from or in which it will next make its appearance.[415]

I started out this thesis by asking a number of questions around audio-visual archiving in the 21st century. The central focus was to explore how oral history texts and constructions of memory, intersect within an audio-visual archival setting. Within that location I wanted to explore the uncanny relationship present in archive. In a sense, it is this uncanny relationship that has been central to the work of this thesis, which ultimately questions the space/place of archive, with a desire to explore its constative and performative elements.

To plot that space, I explored the terrain of audio-visual archiving by using examples and collections from a specific archive in a particular setting. This allowed me to examine how records are described and through such description are also transformed. Such processes have been significantly affected by the development of

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[415] A. Haefner, 'Renaissance in archiving: The present upheavel in audiovisual archives; evolution toward multimedia archiving.' Keynote address at SASA national conference. (Johannesburg: EBSCO, 2000) 14

technology. That progression along with the development of theory around the practice of archiving has meant that there is a shift away from viewing records as static physical objects toward understanding them as dynamic virtual records. Similarly, archivists no longer function as disassociated administrators but rather as active participators. This shift has also altered the context of record creation from a stable hierarchical organization to a situation of records within fluid horizontal networks.

But it is not the need for an alternative form of archival organization that has been discussed in this thesis. It there is rather an acknowledgement of that juncture between archival structure and empirical context. And an unpacking of how such an unconscious organization can be brought to the fore, while still keeping the underlying archival structure in mind. While the researcher can reorganize and 'mine' information across collections and even archives, the point is how the fluidity within collections can be acknowledged from within the archive (internally) as well as placed (externally) upon the archival text. The further pull between scholarship (exclusion) and community (inclusion) remains an interesting one. The hope is not to emerge with a singular historical truth, but with a layered reading of a person's recollection, which is, of course, also affected by what it not said. As Louisa Passerini points out, silence is what comes before and after sound, in a sense it surrounds the space where speech is located.

Throughout this thesis, I have explored how memory is seen as the creative collaboration between present consciousness and expressions of the past. Furthermore recollection is affected by time and technology. Memory then, is a multilayered process of

representation. It is seen as a construction, a social idea that emphasizes group identity in shaping personal memory. Dependence on these shared frames of reference about the past is meaningful, not only to the individual but also to the collective. At its most fundamental then, collective memory suggests a deepening of historical consciousness wedged between the official markings of the past and our present consciousness. In line with such thinking, archival material requires a multi-layered working (and continual re-working).

Hence, notions such as community, home and the play between individual and collective remembering within oral history archival sources will continue to alter as time passes. Generational shifts as well as changes in both physical and virtual socio-political boundaries alter the reading of archival collections. As mentioned previously, Pierre Nora's concept of a 'differentiated network' and Paul Carter's idea of something 'not being an awkward interval between two points', mark possibilities of such a network of archival information.

Such a relationship, as expressed through the examples in previous chapters need not alter the naming categories of archival registers, but rather encourage an examination of the underpinning of information management. In such networks the archival user has access to topological information, yet this does not hierarchically overlay searches for information thematically, organically, or even randomly. The rigid archival system then, is not compromised, but the underlying (non formal) structure accommodates exploration of material, which can highlight constructions of categories and across multiple formats and collections. It also allows dynamic interplay

between the narratives, user and collections. So, while audio-visual archival material has both physical and virtual attributes, archival classification does not prevent an infinite number of possibilities existing for 'reading' the material while it is still contained in a structured framework.

Yet, such generation of meaning is difficult to pin down, its elusive ability maintains its dynamism (or lack of static). It cannot be found in any one narrative and yet is apparent across collections, it cannot be heard in one person's voice and yet the thread or pattern gains some form, in listening to many narratives within and across collections. This interplay relies on the active engagement of the researcher or archival user, but also the archivist or archival structure. This includes a responsibility to conceptually plot ways through the memory traces of people's stories. In doing so, the audio-visual archive opens up ways for researchers to both make use of the archive in conceptually more complex ways and to do justice to the fluidity and collective constructions of meaning in and around oral history narratives in such archives.

Of course, the audio archive contains (to some degree) the recollections and remembrances of people. These recordings are catalogued and described by the archivist. This interaction is further dialogued through archival users engaging with the archive and the oral texts that are housed there. It is these dialogues that matter to the generation of meaning(s), not just between interviewer and interviewee, but also archivist, archival users and dynamic archival systems. Furthermore, there is a synchronic circle of reinscription, by engaging oral texts beyond the walls of the archive, they gain further dynamic inscriptions within the archive.

Yet there is also a responsibility to manage oral texts that fulfils the archives mandate to preserve material for generations to come. As explored such preservation possibilities no longer exist, as previously imagined, and as such it lays the archive open in a number of ways. For one as quoted at the beginning of this chapter, it means the job of the archivist changes and so the archivist needs to adapt. Where in previous centuries there was a distinct combination between private/secret and what is made accessible, now there are different concerns around migration and obsolescence, externalised memory and versions of authenticity.

As new global networks emerge, we reconstitute (transform) notions of what memory can be and where it resides. These factors significantly alter the role of audio archives, in that they allow for increased access though a variety of media and audiences, none of which are static or finite. This suggests that modern technologies of memory, such as archives and libraries, translate or hold the framework of memory reconstruction. And in that translation of memory, externally, there is also an inherent forgetting. The post modern archive then, is no longer fixed. It is neither defined by the walls that house collections, nor by the carriers that hold the audio or video. In some ways the post modern archive exists in its inability to exist. To recognize the archive, is to acknowledge that it is caught in its own demise and constant recreation.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1:1

CENTRE FOR POPULAR MEMORY COPYRIGHT RELEASE FORM

CENTRE FOR
Popular
Memory

Interview Release Form

CAT NO:

This agreement ensures that your interview is added to the archived collections of the Centre for Popular Memory in accordance with your wishes.

I, _____(interviewee). hereby authorize _____ (interviewer) to record my name, likeness, image, and voice on tape, film, or otherwise to be used in the archived collections of the Centre for Popular Memory.

In consideration of my participation in said recording, I agree that:

The 'original' recording will be conserved at the University of Cape Town. Copies will be held and made available as a public reference resource for possible use in research, teaching, publication, electronic media (such as the Internet or the World Wide Web) and broadcasting (such as radio or television). Copies may be made available, in whole or in part, in any and all media, in perpetuity, throughout the world, subject to limitations stated below.

All public use is made in strict accordance with the uses and restrictions mentioned below.

All public use is made in strict accordance with copyright law and 'fair use' provisions.

The Centre for Popular Memory, and thereby the University of Cape Town, shall hold the copyright in this recording and I hereby cede any copy-right that I may have in my contribution to it.

Any and all revenue acquired from this recording will be used to subsidise future research and archival projects of the Centre for Popular Memory.

This agreement represents the entire understanding of the parties and may not be amended unless agreed to by both parties in writing.

The use of the recording is subject to the following restrictions (if any):

I require my name to be kept confidential and anonymity to be preserved. YES - NO

2. Other restrictions

Interviewee signature: _____

Signed at: _____

Date: _____

In the presence of (interviewer): _____

Administrative Use Only

Interviewer and project details

Full Names
Research Project title
Location of interview (s):
Number of tapes: _____ Total length of interview (s):
Transcribed by: _
Additional
Comments:_____

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Fax +27 +(21) 689 7581 email: renatemeyer@.uct.ac.za

APPENDIX 1:2 CPM AUDIO CATALOGUE

catalogue no.s	Collection title and Cat #
COMM (C)	**Communities:**
COM	Communities
CEC	Eastern Cape
I	*Interns: Duncan Village* **[Cec1]**
CFS	Free State
CGA	Gauteng
CKN	KwaZulu-Natal
CLI	Limpopo
CMP	Mpumalanga
CNC	Northern Cape
CNW	North West
CWC	Western Cape
Ca	*Atlantis (Mamre)* **[Cwc1]**
Cds	*District Six* **[Cwc2]**
Cg	*Gugulethu (1920-1950)* **[Cwc3]**
Cg1	*Imini Zakudala 1* (interviewer Mtini) **[Cwc4]**
Cg2	*Imini Zakudala 2* (interviewer Gidana) **[Cwc5]**
Ch	*Harfield Village/Claremont* **[Cwc6]**
iCh	*Interns: Communities Harfield* **[Cwc7]**
Ci	*Informal Settlements* **[Cwc8]**
Cl	*Langa* **[Cwc9]**
Cln	*Langa and Ndebeni* **[Cwc10]**
Cl2	*Migrancy in Langa Hostels* **[Cwc11]**
Cm	*Various African Townships* (interviewer Kondlo) **[Cwc12]**
Cn	*Ndabeni Project: Ndabeni* **[Cwc13]**
Cr	*Blouvlei (Retreat)* (interviewer) **[Cwc14]**
Cr1	*Blouvlei (Retreat)* (interviewer Martinus) **[Cwc15]**
Cr3	*Blouvlei (Retreat)* (interviewer Jobela) **[Cwc16]**
Cs	*Simonstown (Oceanview)* **[Cwc17]**
Cw	*Wupperthal 1* **[Cwc18]**
iCw	*Interns: Communities Wupperthal* **[Cwc19]**
Cwb	*Wynberg* **[Cwc20]**
Cwk	*Windermere (Kensington)* **[Cwc21]**
Cwc22	*Constantia to Grassy Park*
EDUC (E)	**Education**
EDU	Education
Edu1	*Educators in action at the South African Museum*
EDD	Digital Divide

Edd1	*Bridgetown High School*
Edd2	*Deutsche Schule Kapstadt*
Edd3	*Norman Henshilwood High School*
ESS	**Secondary School Education**
ETL	**Tertiary Education**

ENVI (L)	**Environment**
ENV	Environment
E	*Land reform* **[Env1]**
EEC	**Eastern Cape**
Mf	*PLAAS Project (Eastern)* **[Eec1]**
EFS	**Free State**
EGA	**Gauteng**
EKN	**KwaZulu-Natal**
ELI	**Limpopo**
EMP	**Mpumalanga**
ENC	**Northern Cape**
ENW	**North West**
EWC	**Western Cape**
Ewe1	*Shark Hunting in False Bay*
Ewe	*Western Cape* **[Ewe2]**
Ewe3	*Langa Heritage Sites*
Ewe4	*Western Cape 4*
Ew1	*Western Cape: Perceptions of Natural Environment* **[Ewe5]**
Ewe6	*St. George's Cathedral During the Second Half of the Twentieth Century*
Ew2	*Table Mountain (District Six)* **[Ewe7]**
Ky	*PLAAS Project (Western)* **[Ewe8]**
I	*Interns. Langa High School* **[Ewe9]**
We	*Dudley-Livingstone High* **[Ewe10]**

ARTS (A)	**Arts**
ART	Arts
I	*Bias in the Media* **[Art1]**
Ah	*Oral History in the 21st Century* **[Art2]**
ACU	**Culture**
A	*Healing & Art in District Six* **[Acu1]**
Ac1	*Indigeneous Xhosa Food* **[Acu2]**
Ac2	*Muslim Food* **[Acu3]**
Fcc	*Coon Carnival* **[Acu4]**
Acu5	*Islamic Faith Healing*

AMU	**Music**
Am	*Cape Jazz Musicians* **[Amu1]**
iAm	*Interns' Art & Music* **[Amu2]**
APE	**Performance**
Ap	*Freestylin' MC* **[Ape1]**
Ape2	*Hyphop and Resistance 10 Years After 1994*
AVI	**Visual**
Avi1	*Pissarro Sub-collection on Political Cartoonists*
Aa	*Architecture* **[Avi2]**
Ac3	*Bauhaus* **[Avi3]**
Ac4	*Clark Sub-collection on Jansje Wissema* **[Avi4]**
Av1	*Visual Arts* **[Avi5]**
iAv	*Interns: Visual Arts* **[Avi6]**
WORK (W)	**Work**
WOR	**Work**
WTI	**Trade & Industries**
W	*Work* **[Wti1]**
iW	*Interns: Workers* **[Wti2]**
Wc	*Clothing Industry* **[Wti3]**
iWc	*Clothing Industry* **[Wti4]**
Wdw	*Dockworkers - Simonstown Naval Dockyard Workers* **[Wti5]**
Wd	*Domestic Workers* **[Wti6]**
Wh	*Hairdressers and Barbers* **[Wti7]**
iM	*Interns:Sotho Ex-miners* **[Wti8]**
I	*Interns: Security Guards* **[Wti9]**
I	*Interns:Prostitution & Shoplifting* **[Wti10]**
W	**Noncommercial**
We1	*Education and Politics* **[W1]**
We2	*Women Teachers in Lesotho* **[W2]**
POLI (P)	**Politics**
POL	**Politics**
POR	**Organizations**
PI	*Gun Free South Africa* **[Por1]**
Ps	*Street Committees* **[Por2]**
Pu	*UCT* **[Por3]**
Por4	*Black Sash*
I	*Interns: Black Sash* **[Por5]**
PIN	**Individuals**
P	*Care Givers of School Children Whose Parents Were Detained* **[Pin1]**
Pa	*Activists* **[Pin2]**
Pi	*Identity: Coloured Politics in the 1940's-1950's* **[Pin3]**

Pm	*Miscellaneous* **[Pin4]**
Pww	*World War II Veterans* **[Pin5]**
iPa	*1980s School Boycott* **[Pin6]**
iP1	*Politics, Liquor & Community 1* (interviewer Kobese) **[Pin7]**
iP2	*Politics, Liquor & Community 2* (interviewer Ntene-Ramakau) **[Pin8]**
iP3	*Politics, Liquor & Community 3* (interviewer Du Preez) **[Pin9]**
iP4	*Langa March 1960* **[Pin10]**
HEAL (H)	**Health**
HEA	Health
HWO	Health Workers/Caregivers
H	*Reconciliation in HSF Project (Including Abortion Rights Action Group interview)* **[Hwo1]**
HLI	Living With Health Issues
Ha	*Positive Lives Exhibition* **[Hli1]**
iHa	*Intern HIV/AIDS* **[Hli2]**
MIGR (M)	**Migrancy and Refugees**
MIG	Migrancy and Refugees
MAF	Africa
Ma	*Ghanian Refugees in Cape Town* [Missing] **[Maf1]**
Mr1	*Testimonies of Passage - Nigerian Refugees in Cape Town* **[Maf2]**
Mr2	*Testimonies of Passage - Congolese Refugees in Cape Town* **[Maf3]**
Mr	*Rwandan Refugees in Cape Town* **[Maf4]**
Ma2	*Somalian Refugees in Cape Town* **[Maf5]**
MEU	Europe
Ime	*Italian Immigrants* **[Meu1]**
iIm	*Immigrants to South Africa* **[Meu2]**
iIme	*immigrants to South Africa* **[Meu3]**
Im	*Immigrants to South Africa* **[Meu4]**
MAS	Asia
Imas	*Immigrant Chinese* **[Mas1]**
Mas2	*Displaced Lives: An Iranian diplomat*
MNA	North America
MSA	South America
MAU	Australia
MFS	Migration From South Africa
M	*White South Africans Migrating to the UK* **[Mfs1]**
	-

TRAU (T)	**Trauma and Memory**
TRA	Trauma and Memory
TOR	Organizations
T1	*Mediating Trauma in Museums* **[Tor1]**
Te	*Education: Trauma & Memory* **[Tor2]**
TIN	Individuals
T2	*Matrydom: Hindu Women of Kwazulu Natal* **[Tin1]**
LIFE (Li	**Life Histories**
LIF	Life Histories
LAU	Autobiographical
	Life Histories Summary
Im	*Interns: Miscellaneous* **[Lau1]**
Lh	*LePage, Father* **[Lau2]**
Lh	*Abrahams, Walter* **[Lau3]**
Lh	*Adams, Bill* **[Lau4]**
Lh	*Benjamin, Beulah* **[Lau5]**
Lh	*Carolus, Molly* **[Lau6]**
Lh	*Ford, Jon* **[Lau7]**
Lh	*Stanyster, Leonard* **[Lau8]**
Lh	*Valentine, Jon* **[Lau9]**
Lh	*Williams, Martin* **[Lau10]**
Lh	*Alexander, Ray* **[Lau11]**
Lh	*Stuurman, Lettie* **[Lau12]**
Lh	*Lidderdale, Ann* **[Lau13]**
Lh	*Thomas, Kenneth* **[Lau14]**
Lh	*Robinsky, Herbert L.* **[Lau15]**
Lh	*Van Wyk, Chris and Annette* **[Lau16]**
Lh	*Rodenacker, Norman* **[Lau17]**
Lh	*Jacobs, Christine* **[Lau18]**
Lh	*Wolfe, Norah* **[Lau19]**
Lh	*Vos, Kathlene* **[Lau20]**
Lh	*Prescott, Alan* **[Lau21]**
Lh	*Nonganca, Ms. M* **[Lau22]**
Lh	*Mfaco, Ma* **[Lau23]**
Lh	*Nordien, Jasmin* **[Lau24]**
Lh	*Williamson, Carolyn* **[Lau25]**
Lh	*Bourne, David* **[Lau26]**
Lh	*Dorrington, Bob* **[Lau27]**
Lh	*Xawuka, Albert L.* **[Lau28]**
Lh	*Rensburg, Mr. & Levy, Mrs.* **[Lau29]**
Lh	*Amien, Boeta & Richard* **[Lau30]**

	Interns Life Histories Summary
iLh	*Mehlomakhulu, Mama Z. & Maudlwa, Mrs. Z.* **[Lau31]**
iLh	*Behardien, Ebrahim M.* **[Lau32]**
iLh	*Johannes, Mrs. E.* **[Lau33]**
iLh	*Amsterdam, Klaas* **[Lau34]**
iLh	*Berg, Mrs. Molly* **[Lau35]**
iLh	*Trimmel, Mrs.* **[Lau36]**
iLh	*Damon, Maria* **[Lau37]**
iLh	*Latief, Abdullatief* **[Lau38]**
iLh	*Taliep, Cassiem* **[Lau39]**
iLh	*Collinet, Joyce* **[Lau40]**
iLh	*Unnamed female* **[Lau41]**
iLh	*Mawethu, S.* **[Lau42]**
iLh	*Smith, Mrs.* **[Lau43]**
iLh	*Daniels, Mrs. M.* **[Lau44]**
iLh	*Amna* **[Lau45]**
iLh	*Gibson, Reginald* **[Lau46]**
iLh	*Momberg, Eleanor* **[Lau47]**
iLh	*Briggs, Shirley* **[Lau48]**
iLh	*Fransman, Veronica* **[Lau49]**
iLh	*Wilson, Chris* **[Lau50]**
iLh	*Napore, Roland* **[Lau51]**
iLh	*Ford, Mr.* **[Lau52]**
iLh	*Hughes, Debbie* **[Lau53]**
iLh	*Scholtz, Kathleene* **[Lau54]**
iLh	*DeWit, Isabel* **[Lau55]**
iLh	*Scheepers, Fiona* **[Lau56]**
iLh	*Qepe, Eunice* **[Lau57]**
iLh	*Crow, Karen* **[Lau58]**
iLh	*Anthony, Ingrid* **[Lau59]**
iLh	*Aunty, Dollie* **[Lau60]**
iLh	*Floris, Adam* **[Lau61]**
iLh	*Theys, Molly* **[Lau62]**
iLh	*Michaels, Rose* **[Lau63]**
iLh	*Lotz, Ethel* **[Lau64]**
iLh	*Dreyer, Gladys* **[Lau65]**
iLh	*Richard, Sophia* **[Lau66]**
iLh	*Youli, Vera* **[Lau67]**
iLh	*Novis, Cedrick* **[Lau68]**
iLh	*Miller, Harry* **[Lau69]**
iLh	*Pryce, Mrs.* **[Lau70]**
iLh	*Valentien, Daniel* **[Lau71]**
iLh	*Unnamed male* **[Lau72]**
iLh	*Smith, Mrs. S.* **[Lau73]**
Lau74	*Joffe, Mr. Joe*
LBI	Biographical
IDEN (I)	**Perceived Identities**

IDE	Identities
Ia	*Afrikaner Women in the Struggle* **|Ide1|**
Ie	*National Identity and Education* **|Ide2|**
Ig	*R Lee Generational* **|Ide3|**
Imi	*Mixed Coloured Identities* **|Ide4 |**
Ir	*Muslim African Women* **|Ide5|**
il	*Interns: Identities (including Afrikaans Identity)* **|Ide6|**
Igm	*Generational Misc* **|Ide7 |**
Iu	*Urbanisation* **|Ide8 [**
Imi	*Multi racial Identities* **|Ide9|**
iP	*Lesbian, Gay and Moffie* **|Ide10 |**
RLg	*Rebekah Lee: Generational* **|Ide11 |**
ilm	*Interns: Coloured Identities* **|Ide12 |**
ilr	*Jewish Community* **|Ide13 |**
I	*Interns: Street Children and Welfare Workers* **(Restricted) |Ide14|**
I	*Interns: Growing Up in a Divided Society* **|Ide15 |**

APPENDIX 1:3 TYPES OF SOUTH AFRICAN ORAL HISTORY PROJECTS AND ARCHIVES

Oral History Association of South Africa[416]

This is the national coordinating body for oral history initiatives around the country. Established in 2004 under the auspices of the International Oral History Association (IOHA), OHASA promotes the discipline and practice of oral history. While the body itself does not maintain an archive it aims to provide access and collaboration within the field.

National Archives and Records Service of South Africa

The National Archives and Records Service of South Africa was established under the National Archives and Records Service of South Africa Act[417]. This piece of legislation transformed the former State Archives Service into a National Archives and Records Service whose mission, functions and structures reflect the South African democratic political order and imperatives. In essence, the mission of the National Archives and Records Service is to foster a national identity and the protection of rights

* By preserving a national archival heritage for use by the government and people of South Africa
* By promoting efficient, accountable and transparent government through the proper management and care of government records.[418]

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[416] http://www.ohasa.org.za/index.php?option=com_frontpage&Itemid=1
[417] Act No 43 of 1996 as amended.
[418] http://www.national.archives.gov.za/ last accessed 29 October 2007

publications address the TRC and effects there of on society, a direct archive of testimony and transcripts are still under scrutiny. The website does however provide access to a number of the transcripts from the hearings.

Sinomlando[424]

The Sinomlando Centre for Oral History and Memory Work in Africa started at the School of Religion and Theology, University of KwaZulu-Natal, in 1994 as a way of developing a new vision about the history of Christianity in Southern Africa. Relying almost exclusively on written sources, missionary history has traditionally been written from a western perspective.

Through oral history methodology, Sinomlando tries to recover the silenced memories of the Christian communities, particularly those that suffered under apartheid. These is also a desire to record the oral testimonies of the indigenous people, men and women, community leaders and ordinary people, who give a face to the church in the African continent.

Such projects highlight the increasing availability of material due to a number of reasons. These are discussed more thoroughly in the forthcoming chapters, yet some central issues are mentioned below:

[424] http://www.ukzn.ac.za/sorat/sinomlando/

APPENDIX 2:1a CPM HOLDING COLLECTIONS DESCRIPTION

HOLDINGS DESCRIPTIONS

COMMUNITIES

Holding title: Communities

Catalogue number: COMM (C)

Description: This holding documents various aspects of life in communities of the Eastern and Western Cape, as well as in other parts of Southern and Central Africa. While there is a focus on memories of forced removals and other apartheid-era practices within specific Western Cape communities, memories from other subjects and areas are included. This holding is organized into ten collections: A general **Communities** collection, as well as **Western Cape**, **Eastern Cape**, **Northern Cape**, **North West**, **KwaZulu-Natal**, **Gauteng**, **Mpumalanga**, **Free State**, and **Limpopo**.

Related Holdings: ENVI

EDUCATION

Holding title: Education

Catalogue number: EDUC (E)

Description: This holding documents aspects of education within Western Cape, and other parts of Southern, Western and Central Africa. Narratives include experiences of

Policies affected by political climates. This holding also documents memories of particular schools and their relation to socio-political environments.

This holding is organized into four collections: A general **Education** colliection, as well as **Digital Divide**, **Secondary School Education** and **Tertiary Education**

Related Holdings: TRAU, WORK, LIFE

ENVIRONMENT

Holding title: Environment

Catalogue number: ENVI (E)

Description: This holding documents the natural, physical and political environment of the Eastern and Western Cape, as well as that of other parts of Southern and Central Africa. Impressions of particular areas, including heritage sites, memories of place and space, memories of political and community involvement and awareness, and issues of safety and poverty are a focus of some of the collections. Collections in this holding include the general **Environment** collection as well as **Western Cape**, **Eastern Cape**, **Northern Cape**, **North West**, **KwaZulu-Natal**, **Gauteng**, **Mpumalanga**, **Free State**, and **Limpopo**.

Related Holdings: COMM

ARTS

Holding title: Arts

Catalogue number: ARTS (A)

Description: This holding documents discussions of various types of artistic and cultural expression practiced throughout the Western Cape and the broader South African community. Subjects as diverse as food, festivals, cartoonists, and architecture are included. Collections within this holding include the general **Arts** collection, as well as **Culture**, **Music**, **Performance** and **Visual**.

Related Holdings: IDEN

WORK

Holding title: Work

Catalogue number: WORK (W)

Description: This holding documents the working environments and lives of individuals, particularly of those working in the Western Cape. Collections within this holding include the general **Work** collection as well as **Trade** and **Industries** and the **Noncommercial** sector.

Related Holdings: LIFE, COMM,

POLITICS

Holding title: Politics

Catalogue number: POLI (P)

Description: This holding documents the political struggles of the people and organizations that fought against apartheid South Africa, as well as the memories of those who fought other battles in their own communities and abroad. This holding is divided into three collections: the general **Politics** collection, **Organizations** involved in politics and **Individuals** involved in political movements.

Related Holdings: COMM, LIFE

HEALTH

Holding title: Health

Catalogue number: HEAL (H)

Description: This holding documents the stories and memories of those working in health-related fields, as well as the stories and memories of individuals affected by illness and disease. Collections within this holding include the general **Health** collection as well as **Organizations** and a priority collection highlighting the **HIV/AIDS** epidemic and the living memory of people living with and engage in issues around the disease.

Related Holdings: LIFE

MIGRANCY & REFUGEES

Holding title: Migrancy & Refugees

Catalogue number: MIGR (M)

Description: This holding documents the stories and memories of those immigrating to and seeking refuge in South Africa, as well as the stories and memories of those who have emigrated from South Africa to other parts of Africa and the world. Collections within this holding include the general **Migrancy & Refugees** collection as well as **Africa**, **Europe**, **North America**, **Asia** and **Migration from South Africa**.

Related Holdings: LIFE, IDEN

TRAUMA & MEMORY

Holding title: Trauma & Memory

Catalogue number: TRAU (T)

Description: This holding documents the stories and memories of individuals who have experience of trauma in their lives, as well as the observations of organizations involved in trauma and memory-related projects. The notion of trauma is understood to encompass experiences which remove/are more than what the individual can identify and hold in their day to day life experience. This holding is divided into three categories: the general **Trauma & Memory** collection as well as **Organizations** and **Individuals**.

Related Holdings: IDEN, LIFE, MIGR

LIFE HISTORIES

Holding title: Life Histories

Catalogue number: LIFE (L)

Description: This holding documents the life histories of individuals from all walks of society. Each interview within this holding is

considered to be its own collection, with the exception of the **Life Histories**, **Interns Life Histories** and **Interns Immigrants** interview collections.

Related Holdings: MIGR, IDEN

PERCEIVED IDENTITIES

Holding title: Identities

Catalogue number: IDEN (I)

Description: This holding documents perceptions of individual and group identities within communities. These perceived identities collections track issues of race, class, culture and language, amongst others, with a view to better understanding how individuals structure their experiences of identification in the world.

Related Holdings: MIGR, LIFE

APPENDIX 2:1b CPM COLLECTION EXAMPLE

Environment

Unique identifier: ENVI.EWC

Collection title: Western Cape

Catalogue number: EWC

Description: This collection documents issues and concerns regarding the natural environment of the Western Cape, as well as memories and perceptions of the physical landmarks and historical sites that are situated throughout the province. Sub-collections include: **PLAAS Project (Western)**, **Western Cape**, **Western Cape: Perceptions of the Natural Environment**, **Shark Hunting in False Bay**, **Table Mountain (District Six)**, **Langa Heritage Sites**, and **Western Cape 4**.

Related collections: CWC

Online:

Keywords: Conservation, Cape Town, Table Mountain, Langa, Apartheid, Housing, Childhood memories, District Six, Poverty

APPENDIX 2:1c CPM SUB COLLECTION EXAMPLE

Environment Sub-collection Descriptions (arranged by Collection)

EWC Ewc3

Unique identifier: ENVI.EWC.Ewc3

Sub-collection title: Langa Heritage Sites

Catalogue number: Ewc3

Interview dates: March-May 2002

Subject date range: 1930's—2002

Interviewer: Field, Sean

Physical description: 20 interviews, 20 English, 40 analogue cassettes, 30 transcripts, 3 restrictions

Duplicate formats: Analogue cassette, Audio CD (2 sets .wav), Data CD (1 set .doc)

Creator/Custodial history: CPM

Description: This sub-collection documents the memories and lifestyles of those living in Langa, Cape Town, particularly during the years of apartheid. Discussions include traditional customs; descriptions of housing quality and structure; personal family and schooling histories; apartheid-era violence; student uprisings and youth participation in the liberation struggle; political activity, including participation and voting in the 1994 election as well as discussions of the subsequent political and social transition; forced removals from surrounding areas and relocation to Langa; liberation struggle marches; and the social, political and cultural environment of present-day Langa.

Related sub-collection: Cl, Cln, Cl2, iP4

Location of originals: UCT Manuscripts & Archives, BC 1223

Restrictions: NONE

Keywords: Traditional customs, Forced removals, Liberation struggle, Politics, 1994 election, Sports, Housing, Apartheid

APPENDIX 3.1 POSSIBILITIES FOR DISSEMINTION

Accessibility through web based interactions

Providing the archive has the copyright and required releases one could use the audio clips on a website – these clips can be streamed online and down sampled from the master to 11 00hz-16 bit PCM (pulse code modulated) files. As these files are relatively small- it means they can be downloaded quickly without much loss of audible quality.[425]

Text/Audio/ Video

Through the use of an application such as *transcriber* one can load digital audio onto a script apply a range of formatting structures and transcribe the audio – so that it is available online. Because the program converts the text into XML it is fully searchable online and it is extremely useful as it gives the user the possibility of hearing the audio and reading the text.[426]

CD ROM Teaching aids

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[425] One can write the HTML for uploading audio or use a professional HTML editor such as Dreamweaver with associated software such as Fireworks and Flash for creating and editing images and icons fro the web. To have the audio play over the web- one also needs to include a media player such as real media (which is available as freeware from realaudio.com) or window media player or a program such as winamp.

[426] The CPM archive has developed a customised open source soft ware, greenstone to develop a Dublin Core Qualified (DCQ) meta data repository with a user front end that provides access to digital archival copies. The aim is that through the interface, one can access CPM holdings online. All copyrighted material the archive holds is included; so users are able to do detailed searches that bring them to a page that has all relevant information: sound clips in original language, text transcript in PDF, translations, related images and background information.

Through the use of CD[427] or the creation on an off line presentation with in a web browser (such as Internet Explorer or Netscape) one can create highly interactive teaching tools for use by lecturers, tutors, teachers and students. Digital oral narratives could also be effectively used within a school environment- encouraging participation and interaction from the children in the recording, accessing and development of oral narratives and their dissemination. This could be introduced as a project in technology and skills acquisition, which is gaining ground in schools. There could also be training points at Public libraries and CD ROM based interactive aids, where users can access and learn more about South African history and the stories that make it.

Community Radio /Interventions/ Soundscapes

High-end digital archival traces can be used for interventions within a public sphere, soundscapes in public places, audio clips at bus stations and use in arts based works. One such example is "*A walk with Bongi through Alex: Sounds and stories in Alexandra township*"[428].

Heritage and Museums

South Africa has encountered many instances of the need for oral narrative recordings to be with a heritage environment. There are

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[427] Once one has batch downsampled to 44 000 Hz – 16 bit WAV using a program such as Sonic Foundry Batch Convertor, they can be written to CD-R as Audio files and played through a commercial CD player or a CD ROM drive on your computer.

[428] This audio based installation was created from audio recordings made over 24 hour periods –with 2.5 minutes being selected from each hour. Accompanying the recordings of ambient sounds are stories and commentaries provided by Bongi Dhlomo- Mautloa a cultural worker who lives in Alexanda Township. This soundscape has been used as an installation as numerous art events in the Netherlands, South Africa and (DR)Germany.

countless examples and multiple uses of oral history digital recordings with the heritage and museum sector. One such example is "cell stories" an exhibition encompassing sound which was installed on Robben Island in the Cell Block another is the District Six Museum in Cape Town that uses the oral narratives of ex residents within their museum or in their memory room.

The CPM has used soundscapes within a number of their exhibitions including "Those were the days" which looked at images, text and sound within a gallery context and the use of oral narratives within at the South African National Gallery[429].

[429] This exhibition in 2005, included images and audio of people living with HIV/AIDS.

APPENDIX 3.2

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