D E N O T A T I O N S O F M E M O R Y

A F A M I L I A L A R C H I V E

J O S H U A W I L L I A M S

Denotations of Memory: A Familial Archive

Joshua Williams
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Supervisors: Senior Lecturer Fabian Saptouw and Professor Jane Alexander

Faculty of Humanities
Michaelis School of Fine Art
University of Cape Town
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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 and quotation from the work of others, has been attributed, cited and referenced.

Name: Joshua Williams Date:

Signature: Signed by candidate

For

Frederick Daniel Williams, Ruth Charlotte Wilhelmina Williams

Edgar George Lee, Velma Joanna Williams

Craig Sydney Williams, Joy Ruth Katherine Williams

Table of Contents:

List of Figures:

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Abstract

Denotations of Memory: A Familial Archive is an evocative exploration of memory centred on a familial archive. Notions of memory as well the memories themselves in the archive are explored in the form of paintings, sculptures, photographs, installation and videos. A major part of this work focuses on living in Cape Town, South Africa, which was the central location of my lived reality while I was reflecting on the past as embodied in the familial archive.

Introduction

'Denotations of Memory: A Familial Archive' is informed by an archive of documents, photographs, newspapers and video that belonged to my grandfather and that I acquired after his passing. These documents act as a foundation of my understanding of the past, and present, and thus for conceptualising the practical component of my research. In this project the documents act as a primary source of knowledge and become the basis for the arguments and observations made about the past and the present, while I was consulting and referencing artistic practice and theoretical frameworks as a means to contextualise and elaborate on strategies of knowledge production in response to political and social landscapes.

My grandfather, Frederick Daniel Williams, was an independent pastor living and working from the 1950s until his death in 2015 in Cape Town. By trade, he worked as a lithographer for various printing companies. His archive, consisting of documents, letters, photographs and video film, provide me with access to the context in which he lived and worked during the apartheid years, overlapping with my birth and transition into democratic South Africa. It has also provided me with in-depth access to the figure of my grandfather, before and after his death. My encounter with this archive can be described as an 'othered' experience, an experience in which I have gained an 'other' understanding of my grandfather and family members, an experience that has come to embody the familial archive as a living memory. This I came to recognise during the years of knowing him, where the conversations were never about the past or about personal experiences. It was seen as disrespectful to ask or engage in conversations of this nature, something never really explained but rather known. It became its own form of silence, his silence. However, the collected material was always present in the house, in the wardrobe, in the drawers. Its presence intrigued me but I could not access it. It was not mine to access, it was private.

It is only now with the passing of my grandfather that I have gained access to these documents. With no one to keep them safe or store them, they had to be inherited by someone. Therefore, the archive has become my inheritance, my family heirloom. My heirloom consisting of once proof, now evidence of memories of, the experience of living in

Cape Town during apartheid – his personal experience, and by extension the familial and the communal. The documents record his time and experience as an independent pastor living and working in Cape Town. They consist of letters between him and other pastors living in South Africa and internationally, as well as fellow believers in Christ. There are recordings of services and baptisms he held in Cape Town, invitations he wrote for distribution within local communities, the various Christian publications he subscribed to for redistribution, photographs of services and baptisms, with select photographs of those who attended them, newspaper clippings recording social and political events he found of value, and family photographs and letters.

This engagement with memory – past, present and personal – has prompted the production of the practical component in the form of an articulation of material, space and surface as a response to my family and the contents of this archive. Working with a selection of images and texts, I have created works that reference remembering in different forms by means of signifiers of death, faith, living space and the body. I have created an evocative formal language that conflates, illustrates and represents my engagement with the archive and the unpacking of memory. The works are not a direct representation of the archive, but become an evocation of the archive.

The following chapters provide a contextual background in defining what an archive is in relation to this project, and the role that archivisation can play in South Africa with reference to Santu Mofokeng's project *The Black Photo Album: Look at Me: 1890 – 1950* (2013). The research precedents of Dr Roderick Sauls (2004) and Ashley Walters (2013), who also explored aspects of apartheid and post-apartheid experience, notions of home, belonging and identity within the experience of 'coloured' communities, identify a particular context and experience in Cape Town. A brief consideration of the visual strategies of Doris Salcedo and Anselm Kiefer link the project to notions of secondary and second-generation witnessing. The final chapter provides a context for the body of work Denotations of Memory, ending with a catalogue of works.

Part 1

An Archive

This section aims to contextualise the archive by describing what it consists of with particular reference to the photographic image and its relevance to this project. I will draw references from the fields of archivists, theologians, visual artists and visual art scholars to decode the photographic images and provide an interpretation. Archives differ according to the institution that accommodates them and what is selected to be archived. A simplistic definition of an archive is that consists of documents that are selected for cataloguing, classification and protective storage. Discretion as to what is archived is based on the nature of the archive itself, and whether the archive is public or private. In the case of the public archive, the selection, which involves value judgement, could be based upon the needs of the state (Mbembe, 2002:19). This specific project does not include the work of public archives and refers only to my familial archive as the primary source of evocation of memory. *Refiguring the archive* was a series of seminars hosted at the University of Witwatersrand in 1998;[1] it was significant as a reflection and rethinking of the archive at the same time as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) ended its proceedings and the past was being reconsidered in general. The collections of essays in the publication (2002), however, vary in topics and concerns addressed. They are orientated towards thinking through aspects of memory, history and archive, which I refer to later with reference to Verne Harris's (2002) text regarding the archive in relation to the TRC. In this project, with similar intentions of addressing memory through visual representations, I consider the familial archive inherited from my grandfather subjectively, creating abstracted artworks that centre on understanding memory through an archive.

Of particular interest to me in my grandfather's archive are the documents that refer to his time practising as an independent pastor in the Western Cape, South Africa. He would record religious services and acts conducted by him in the communities of Windermere, Saldhana Bay and Lansdowne with photographs, video or film, documents and letters. I refer primarily

[1] *Refiguring the Archive* (2002) included participation by South African and international speakers, a publication with the same title, and an exhibition titled *Holdings: Refiguring the Archive*, including the work of Santu Mofofkeng.

to the images of baptisms conducted by him – images of a group of people whom, I would argue in retrospect, describe a yearning to become more than second-class citizens.[2] The recorded baptisms become self-representations of a particular act authored by my grandfather: the religious, spiritual act of cleansing and purification. To be baptised by immersion in water is to be born of the spirit.

When viewing these images, I question the role of these images, the intended function of recording these acts, and the significance of the acts themselves. The images have no recorded date or time, but can be placed between 1960 - 1980 in Cape Town, a time in South Africa when the apartheid regime was at its height and continued to enforce laws of segregation against increasing resistance. These images show people of colour gathering when their movements were oppressively regulated and when mass meetings were against the law.[3] One privilege of being a pastor during this time was that one's actions could be seen as taking place outside of political intentions and governance. It meant that my grandfather could move around and gather with people of colour without the assumption of the meeting being an illegal gathering that would incite interference, possible violence and arrest.

It is unclear to me whether he knew these privileges were available to him as a pastor, or whether this motivated his decision to become one. Possibly he saw being a pastor as offering an opportunity to bring a community together in an attempt to create solidarity amongst people of colour. I believe his intentions can be understood as politically motivated (however unconsciously) as religious structures can be political while operating without direct links to political governance. Conventionally understood, the structure of a church and the role of a pastor should be outside the sphere of secular politics, with the church providing a social gathering and forum concerned with spiritual wellbeing and providing comfort and guidance to the institution of the family. The way the church was conducted by my grandfather, encouraging social gatherings in the communities of Windermere and Saldhana Bay, seems to suggest political acts of self-representation and support.

[2] Disenfranchisement, segregation and discrimination against people of colour by way of apartheid laws created a hierarchy of race and class and reserved economic and social standing for separate racial classifications, privileging the white minority and coercing the majority into a sense of being second-class citizens.

[3] See the Riotous Assemblies and Suppression of Communism Amendment Act of 1954.






Figures: 1.1 – 1.6

Images of Baptisms: authored by Frederick Daniel Williams, circa 1970 - 1980, Saldhana Bay.

Source: Familial Archive

The collection of documents in their entirety and images found in the familial archive support this deduction, as he was never a member of a particular mainline church and operated independently, founding his own church, the Westgate Congregation. He did not operate within the structure of a building, but rather hosted open-air services in the form of gatherings in Windermere and Saldhana Bay. He conducted his own services and baptisms, as well as organising the logistics of transport, pamphlet design and printing, recording these events with his own camera and presumably funding the costs of processing and printing the images. He therefore produced an independent and self-authored record of religious practice. Operating under the high-standing identity of a pastor afforded him the agency to be able to self-author the material, based upon a desire to represent himself as well as to give a tangible presence to his congregation and the extended community, possibly as response to the social and political landscape of South Africa during apartheid.

Looking specifically at the images of a recorded baptism held in Saldhana Bay, next to coast where sea baptisms could be conducted, these images ask to be read and understood by the author only, meaning they were not intended for other kinds of publication. They alert one to a religious practice independent of the dominant denominations associated with the white population and conventional churches, while still associating with their codes and rituals, as well as with agency in Christian practice and to a desire to document the events and the individuals, thereby creating an archive of this practice.

South African academic theologian Gerhardus Cornelis Oosthuizen (1990) was a prominent figure advocating for African Independent Churches. His research interest was in the indigenisation of Christianity[4] within South Africa. Here he notes the following:

> *The reluctance of many white congregations to accept black ministers in their pulpits, the third-grade stipends and conditions of service black ministers often had to contend with – all this reflects on the racialism which the leaders in these*

[4] For more detailed biography of G. C. Oosthuizen see Protas Linda Zwane's Master's dissertation: *An Analysis of the Works of G.C Oosthuizen on the Shembe Church* (1999). See also Joel Cabrita's book *Text and Authority in the South African Nazaretha Church* (2014).

churches *had to counteract in sections of their churches and in the context of the socio-economic and political world. Most white church members know nothing about the realities with which black fellow Christians are challenged daily. In spite of the activities of institutions like the Christian Institute to effect dialogue between the groups, very little real contact has been achieved through the years.* (Oosthuizen, 1990: 110)

…

A serious rift between white and coloured churches, between blacks and whites in the multiracial churches has ensued. The Churches were in the invidious position of maintaining the status quo and seeking change – some empathising with the former, others with the latter. The independent/indigenous churches did not experience this upheaval although they have their own convictions about change, injustices, deprivation and disenfranchisement and their own methods of approaching the situation. (Oosthuizen, 1990: 112)

Oosthuizen's position on Independent African Churches may reflect a strong interest in Christianity, African identities and indigenisation within African cultures; however, the way the church relates to people of colour and their function within these structures highlights the struggle of multiracial churches during apartheid.[5]

What is of importance in the quotations is the lived reality of people of colour during apartheid who attended white churches and their standing within the church. How could one adequately address a congregation that speaks different languages or dialects, or faces different struggles that bear mostly no relation to each other as a result of segregation and social, educational and economic discrimination? It is for these reasons I would argue that the implementation of my grandfather's religious practice is revealing of someone who knew the lived realities of apartheid, knew the language and knew the living conditions, therefore allowing him a better understanding of who is speaking and who is listening. Operating

[5] Oosthuizen notes that, according to a multi-purpose survey conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council during 1983, 'coloured' people represented the highest proportion of the population for whom religion was very important: Coloureds (68.5%) Indians (62.6%) Blacks (59.5%) Whites (50.4%). This statistic would suggest the relationship between religious belief and 'coloured' people is strong , yet Oosthuizen gives no further account of this relationship.

outside the structures of the dominant denominations required purposeful agency in conducting services and baptisms that would be suited to the audience receiving the teachings. It also presented the opportunity to document and record the events as they were conducted by him.

What was to be made of these recordings is not clear, as they came with no guiding principles; however, what is clear is the role these kind of images have in the discourse of archivisation and visual practice, as well as in my understanding of the past and the present.

Reflecting Realities

> *Archivists, then, cling to outmoded Positivist ideas which underpin inappropriate strategies, distorted notions of their role, and inflated accounts of their accomplishments… We adopt the language of metanarrative too easily, using exhibitions, posters, pamphlets, and so on to tell the story of, for instance, the struggle against apartheid, or of nation building, or of transformation. The counter-narratives, even the sub-narratives, too frequently excluded, and so we deny our audience the very space in which democracy thrives.* (Harris, 2002: 84)

Verne Harris (2002) a notable archivist, in *The Archival Silver: Power, Memory and Archives in South Africa* offers a contextualisation of the role of the national archive during apartheid and post-apartheid, claiming archives should offer a window to reality and reflect the full realities of South African lives. What is meant by 'reality' here implies that the archive should offer a view into the lived realities of the full and diverse range of South Africans citizens. However, he suggests this is not the case, as the archive is used to tell stories of nation building, apartheid struggle and transformation, which are devised to aid the national ideology of moving the country forward in terms of national healing, forgiveness and reconciliation.

Harris's text maps the archive in its manipulated role in apartheid and the transition to a democratic post-apartheid South Africa. It also records how the national archives were sanitised during the negotiations that occurred between 1990 and 1994, with the transformational discourse of the democratic South Africa used as a framework for both

nation building and defining the new democratic South Africa Identity.[6] I was born in the year 1991, and hence my experience of South Africa is built on a national ideological framework of false cohesiveness. By 'false cohesiveness' I mean that while I was growing up with the discourse of transformation that has become part of the democratic South Africa's identity, the value and belief systems that would shape the nation during this time did not match. Now more than ever they do not correspond to the lived realities of multiple South African identities. The current context in which I write this dissertation is one in which the University of Cape Town is undergoing a process of decolonisation which needs to take many forms of transformation within the institution. Based on my experience, the reality of the University has been largely that transformation is preached but not practised to the extent to which it would benefit all who attend the university.

Over the course of regime shifts, national archives and discourse have been manipulated and used as a tool for sustaining the national ideologies (apartheid struggle, nation building and transformation). It is in this context that I identify the reality of growing up in the post-apartheid democracy, where learning about a transformed South Africa has been overshadowed by sub-narratives and the absence of counter-narratives, as expressed by Harris:

> *As South Africa enters the new millennium, it is set apart from most other nations by the intensity of its embrace of a future through re-negotiating of its past. For over a decade now, in the academy, in memory institutions, school classrooms, courtrooms, the media, peoples' living rooms and, crucially, the TRC, South Africans have been searching for meanings in a myriad narratives of the past.*(Harris, 2002: 82)

After the transition from apartheid to democracy, my mother worked for the Human Resources department of the TRC in the national office in Cape Town in 1995. During this time

[6] Associated terms such as 'colour-blind' and 'rainbow nation' are used to describe the new era. 'Rainbow nation' refers to the diverse backgrounds of South African citizens that are to be embraced as a triumph of the country. 'Colour-blind' refers to the generations who would grow up in post-apartheid South Africa and therefore would not have an experience of apartheid and therefore racism.

my mother was given a limited edition TRC print signed by Desmond Tutu, which has been hanging in the living room of my home to this day. The print outlines the significance of the TRC emblem, defining what the colours symbolise in relation to South Africa's past and present. Until I understood the value of the TRC as an event and what it meant in my home, my mother's treasured print held little significance for me. Central to the TRC was the recounting of experiences by victims of politically motivated crimes and gross human rights violations, with facilitation of amnesty for perpetrators. While the TRC might have failed for some and was seen as a mechanism for national building, I want to highlight the significance of the opportunity to speak out and to voice one's own position and be heard. The TRC has become an important event both in local and international discourses on memory, national violence, nation building and the past. It is through this forum that an opening up of the past was presented to the public and the nation.

Today the TRC can only offer knowledge for young citizens like myself in the form of recorded oral retelling of the history of the events and realities of South Africans who suffered. For those affected by the events directly, it did not offer retribution or accountability, but merely a space in which to voice traumas and realities. The TRC failed to address or acknowledge the daily trauma of living under apartheid rule and its aftermath, as the victims were selected within the framework of politically motivated crimes. This may create a hierarchy as to who suffered more by placing a higher value on the narratives of those affected more directly by politically motivated crimes. The forum also neglected structural racism in the form of institutional racism, systemic discrimination and the psychological well-being of people of colour forcibly removed and displaced, housed in the geographic areas of relocation or the designated segregated areas. If the TRC achieved anything, I believe it gave a voice to selected people of colour to express their experiences themselves and allowed an opportunity for them to be heard and recorded.

The ability to express one's experiences oneself and have them recorded in a public state-sanctioned arena is a fundamental shift in democratic South Africa, as is highlighted by the contrast with the silence that surrounds my familial archive and the past. The familial archive therefore affords me the space to investigate the realities of those before me in reflection of my own disillusioned reality. Prior to having gone through these documents, which has helped

my understanding not only of my family but also of the impact of apartheid on them, I did not have access to this familial knowledge of the past in oral form. It is this lack of access and silence that has positioned my project around notions of silence, voice, transformation, both public and private.

The acts of baptism positioned alongside the TRC can be interpreted as being linked to transformation, even though the baptisms are private acts and the TRC a public act. The baptisms, as an act of transformation, are religious acts. However, as mentioned earlier, they also functioned as gatherings for people of colour to share in the experience and uplift themselves with agency as individuals and a community under the rule of apartheid. The TRC functioned as a forum for national redress, publicly allowing people to share in the experience of apartheid under democratic rule. Allowing the sharing of experience has the potential to enable confrontation and recognition of the lived realities. The crucial first step to recognising experience can be by sharing the experience, which I believe to be a powerful act that creates a space for affective impact. The space of affect potentially allows for individual and national healing, reconciliation and, by implication, for transformation to take place. The transformation aims or agenda of the TRC failed in terms of perpetrators being prosecuted and the dismantling of systemic, institutionalised forms of racism. The TRC as a scheme succeeded in achieving the national agenda.

My mother having worked for the TRC and displaying the print in my home contrasted with the home of my grandfather, which was characterised by silence, not speaking of the past. The TRC, despite its failings, has become a symbol in my home of the fundamental shift in South Africa for those previously silenced to be able to speak and to have a voice.

Harris notes the importance of not only having a presence, but also a voice in the construction of meaning:

> *It is not enough for black South Africans to establish a representative presence in the archival profession and its discourses. What is needed are voices in these discourses employing conceptual frameworks for meaning-construction which are rooted in South African societal realities and indigenous pasts.* (Harris, 2002: 84)

Santu Mofokeng's project *The Black Photo Album/ Look at Me* provides a prototype for a form of contemporary archivisation and the construction of meaning rooted in these "societal realities". An analogy can be seen between the self-representation in Mofokeng's project, and my grandfather's documentation of his congregation in the making of meaning and memory.

Archivisation and Santu Mofokeng

> *The idea of the archive as the organizing structure of probing into events and organizing the interpretation of visual knowledge has played a significant role in the work of contemporary artists over the last century.* (Enwezor & Okeke-Agulu, 2009: 38)

Contemporary African Art Since 1980 (2009), edited by Okwui Enwezor and Chika Okeke-Agulu, presents a survey of African art from late 20th century. It is a major contribution to art history as it covers many of the strategies and methods of art production in Africa which are comparatively undocumented.

Chapter 5, titled "Archive, Document, Memory", provides a select survey of approaches to notions of an archive, a document and memory. In understanding these frameworks, this brief chapter directly focuses on the artistic practice and methodology needed to unpack contemporary African art production relating to this discourse. Enwezor and Okeke-Agulu (2009) identify three distinct elements of archival practice: the method of archivisation, the mode of the documentary, and the principle of the mnemonic (Enwezor & Okeke-Agulu, 2009: 36).

The method of archivisation in Santu Mofokeng's *Black Photo Album / Look at Me 1890 – 1950* (2013) project is described as acting as a pillar of contemporary archivisation. The project is an accumulation of collected images of urban middle-class Africans in South Africa during the periods of the Anglo-Boer War (1899 – 1902), World War I (1914 – 1918) and World War II (1939 – 1945). The project's primary focus is on middle-class Africans who were of

higher standing within communities. The roles identified range from bishops, teachers and composers to farmers. Possibly seen as a counter-memory, the premise of the project is to provide images of African identities that counter the hegemonic ethnographic image.[7] These images expose an African modernity, and most importantly reveal self-representations of black identities in times when the ability to see one's self was almost impossible as a result of oppression, categorisation by race, stereotyping and the lack of agency in self-identifying.

What these collated images do in relation to self-representation is to allow a different reading of history, a history that requires its own reading and understanding authored by the individuals whose images are captured. By curating this archive, Mofokeng prompts the viewer to read the images on their own, in terms of their own construction, with the backdrop of colonialism and apartheid. Whilst the images are constructions, they do provide archival visualisations which allow for the possibilities and choices of self-representation and visibility in the larger context of the past.

Figure: 2.1

[7] The 'ethnographic image' refers to aspects of the practice of anthropology at times in which groups of people are studied by way of field research documenting and recording people in particular cultural, ethnic and/or regional contexts. The practice can be problematic when research is based on political agendas that enforce racial stereotypes, and/or people become associated with particular forms of cultural representation through these images which can lead to racial stereotyping. See Shamil Jeppie "Re-classifications: coloured, Malay, Muslim" in *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New perspectives on* Coloured *Identities in Cape Town* (2001) for a reading of the influence that ethnography has on identity.

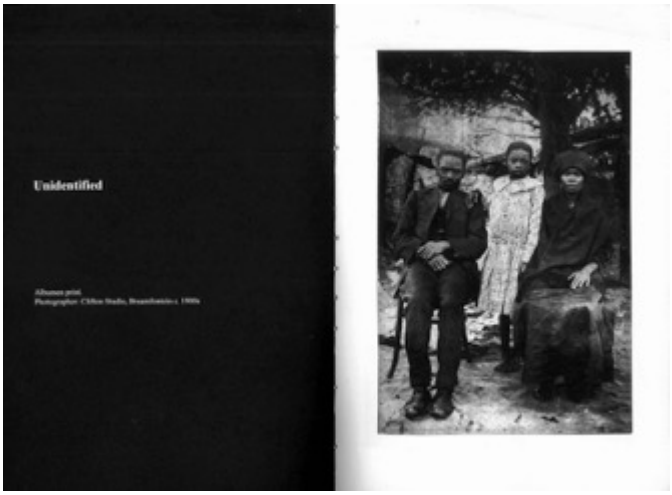

Figure: 2.2

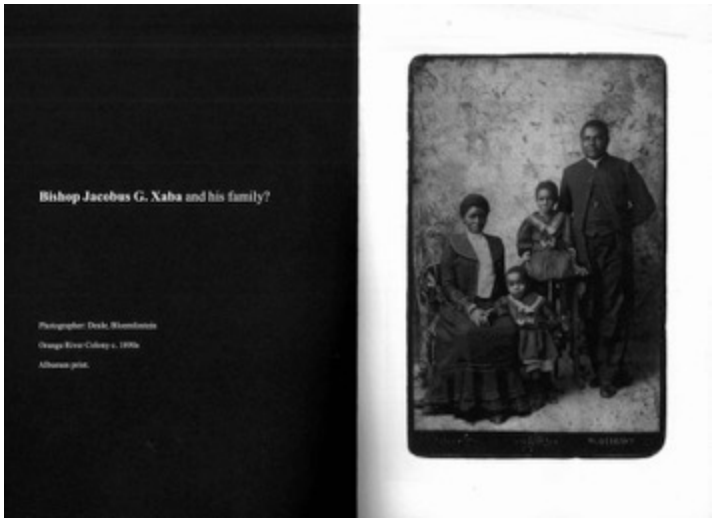

Figure: 2.3

Figure: 2.4

Extracts from Santu Mofokeng's *The Black Photo Album / Look at Me: 1890 - 1950* (2013)

This archival work of Mofokeng (2013) provides a framework for re-ordering the past and understanding the present. The *Black Photo Album* project, motivated by challenging conventional and common forms of representation and based upon existing documents in the real world,[8] is ordered in a way to present a counter-memory and narrative to the dominant or pre-existing imaging of African identities.

The primary role of Mofokeng's images is that they make African identities visible, to be seen as they chose to be seen during times when Africans were expected and seen to be subservient, second class and without humanity.[9]

The images of my grandfather within his church congregation allow me to see people of colour who have a form of autonomy and self-authorship. In my grandfather's photographs and videos, I see a group of people who took control, writing their own narratives through religious acts. These images capture acts pledged to God and witnessed by the congregation. They act on one level as religious ritual, but on another as a personal political decision to record a moment of self-worth. I refer to the personal aspect as 'self-worth' as it seems his teaching dignified and preserved the self by means of Christian faith. The political function lies in the ability to gather with autonomy, with self-respect, practising Christianity as a community of people of colour. These images offer value to the conceptual formation of my project in knowing how people before me represented themselves under the conditions of apartheid. In turn they provide a better understanding of my own place in history and its impact on the contemporary moment. Placing such images within the discourse of archivisation and visual art practice, Santu Mofokeng's project *The Black Photo Album/ Look at Me* (2013) provides a prototype for a form of contemporary archivisation.

[8] What is meant by 'real world' is that the photographs were functional in the homes and lives of those who owned them. They are connected to the realities of those who are photographed. The photographs were not constructed for the purpose of study or exhibition for public viewing, making their function concerned with the domestic, for domestic appreciation.

[9] Mofokeng recognises that the performance of bourgeoisie identity facilitates the integration into the hegemonic world of white ruling power. While assimilation and integration are acknowledged, my interest for this research is the ability of the images to provide an alternative visibility to African identities.

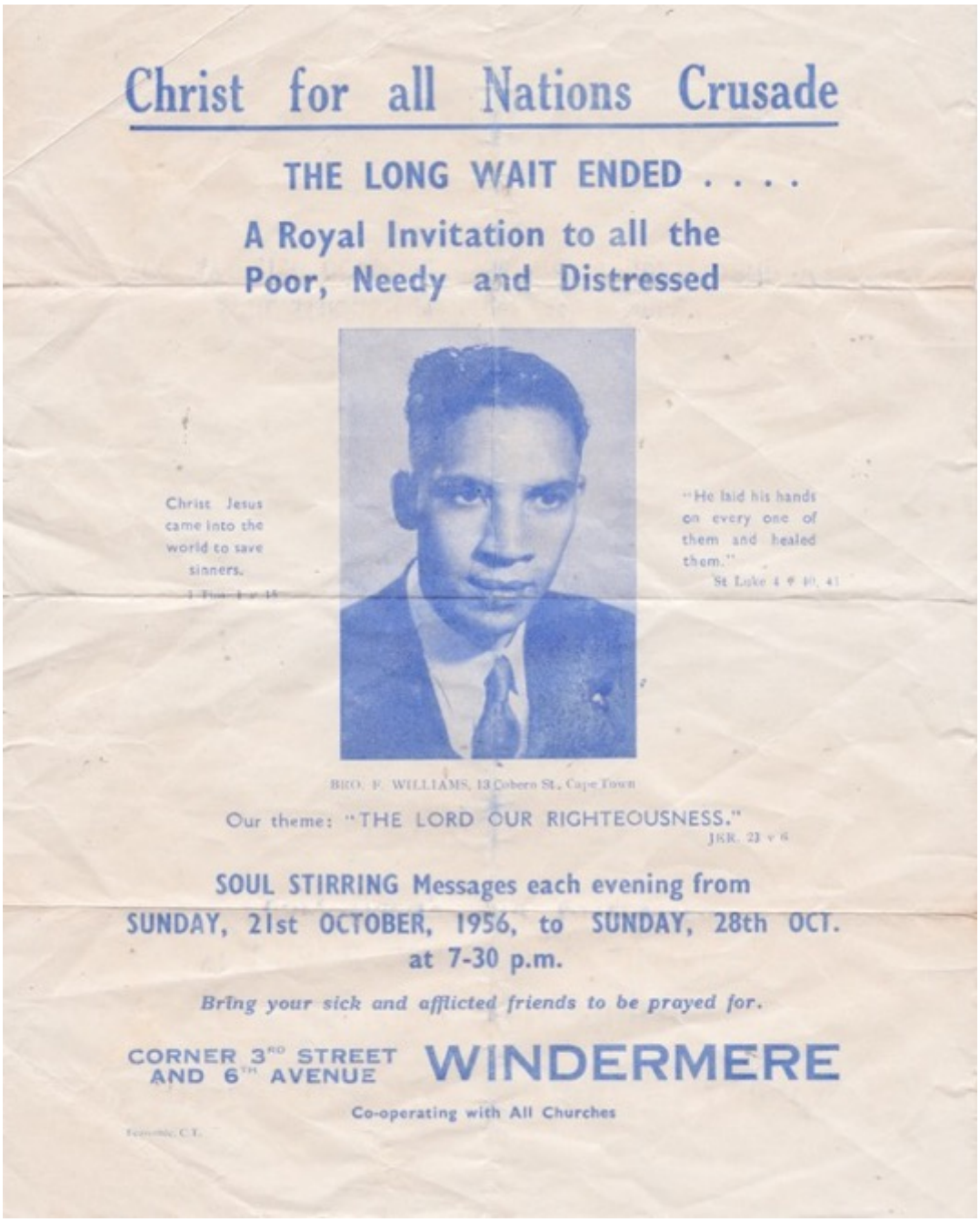

Figure 1.7: Frederick Daniel Williams, self authored congregation pamphlet 1956

Source: Familial Archive

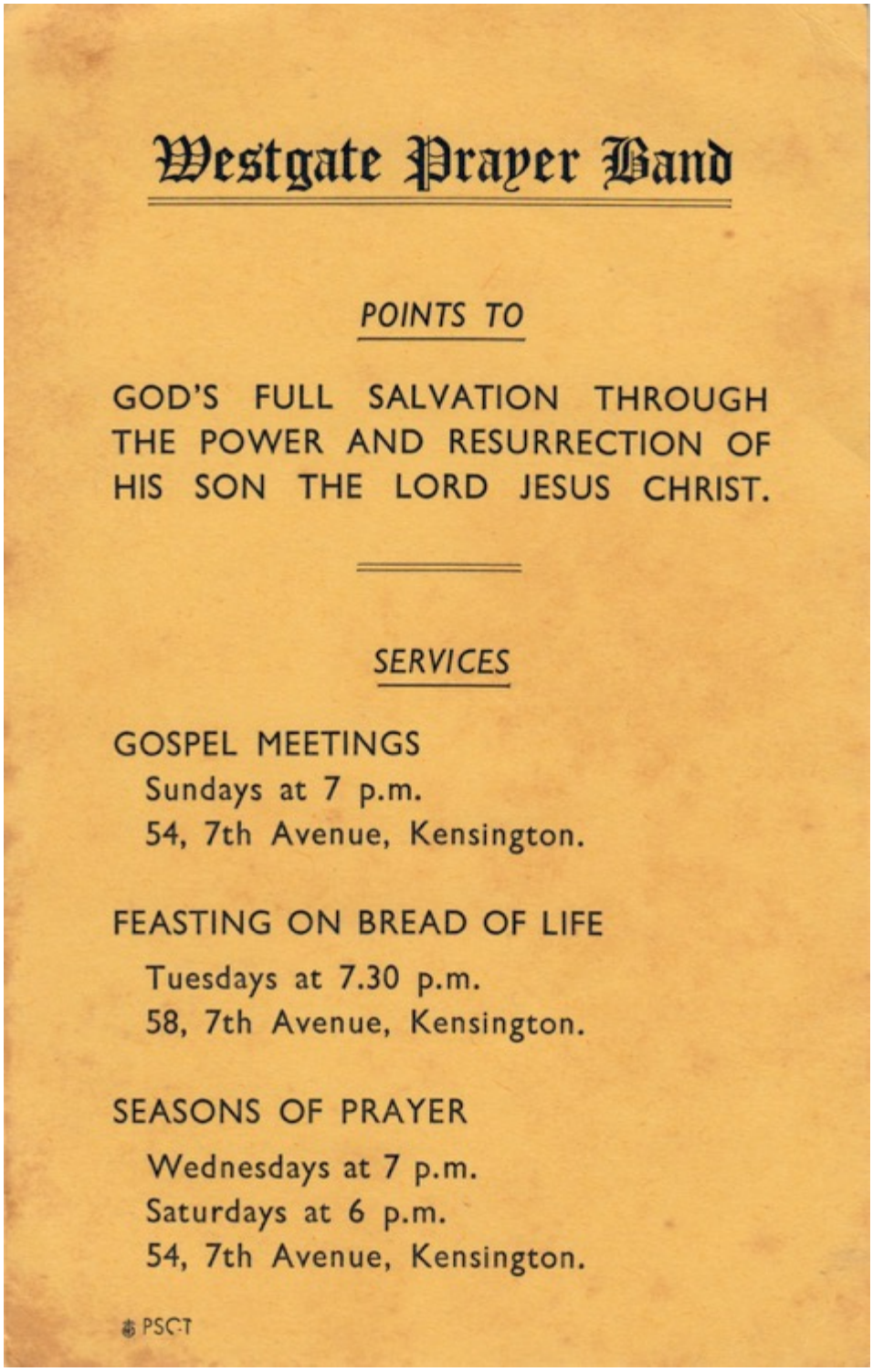

Figure 1.8: West Gate Prayer Band pamphlet, congregational pamphlet

Circa 1950 - 60s

Source: Familial Archive

Part 2

Research Precedents: Roderick Sauls and Ashley Walters

The following section focuses on the visual practice of Roderick Sauls (2004) and Ashley Walters (2013) as both artists have worked on projects that have as central themes 'coloured' experience and identity. The works of Sauls and Walters express distinct concerns relating to 'coloured' identity, with reference to notions of home, belonging and space. Both completed their Master of Fine Arts at the Michaelis School of Fine Art, University of Cape Town. I have paid particular attention to their master's research projects as they are produced within the same area of knowledge production as my research and share similar concerns. While my project may not be focused on 'coloured' identity, reference to this experience is the basis of the project as it relates to a familial archive and my own experience. Furthermore, the visual strategies used by both artists provide a framework and context in which to further a discourse relating to visual practice of space, place and memory in the context of post-apartheid South Africa.

Sauls's research is focused primarily on the history of District Six,[10] Cape Town – the birthplace and home of the artist, an area which was destroyed by the forced removals of the apartheid Group Areas Act.[11] He and his family were relocated to what is known as the Cape Flats to the community of Bonteheuwel. The experience of being displaced informs Sauls's work. His work, however, is not limited to this reading. Sauls applies a range of strategies and media in his artwork through a particular visual language that refers to identity, the representation of coloured identity during apartheid and after the first democratic election, and to the way that he "may be able to 'speak with' the history of District Six and its inhabitants" (Sauls, 2004:56). Works included photographs from his family archive transformed through print-making

[10] District Six was a racially mixed residential area based in Cape Town's CBD. It was declared a white area and many families were removed and homes demolished. The land stood empty for decades, but for churches and mosques, and a process of restitution and rebuilding has only relatively recently been underway. It has been a point of academic discussion, along with a museum dedicated to the memory of those who lived in District Six. In many cases the removals are referred to as the inhumane displacement of people of colour and the area has become a symbol of this. However, it is important to note that many other areas faced forced removals and District Six is but one of many that underwent this process.

[11] The Group Areas Act ensured that people were confined to segregated areas according to race during apartheid.

techniques, representations of the Kaapse Klopse with reference to assumptions and stereotyping, and a series of tableaux that refer to aspects of racism. I will focus on one work produced during his master's research project, a tableau entitled, *Wie is tjou Maker* [Who is your maker] (2001).

Walters's (2013) research focuses on the area Uitsig, the place of the artist's grandparents' home and his upbringing. The project *Uitsig* is a photographic representation of this home and extends to include the community. Photographs of daily life are captured as well as structural observations of the community. For Walters, the living conditions and life within a post-apartheid community that is a product of segregation is of concern. Further contextualisation of this community is provided, outlined in the dissertation concerning place and 'coloured' experience. A particular work in this project, the photograph *Grandparents Bedroom* (2013), is important for my own project and will be discussed further.

While I discuss these projects, as they are significant in the representation of 'coloured' experience, what is important to note is that they are by no means a definition of 'coloured' experience or identity. I found that these research projects intersected with my own concerns. In my experience the classification 'Coloured' is a shifting term that continues to undergo interpretation by those who were thus identified. Mohamed Adhikari (2005), who undertook a systematic history of the term, has conducted a comprehensive reading of 'coloured' identity with reference to Cape Town in his book *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough: Racial Identity in the South African Coloured Community.* He provides a history of the people to whom this term has been ascribed, and its adoptive and shifting functions within South Africa. Recognising the diverse backgrounds of this identity, I write from the imposition of 'coloured' classification, understanding how it informs the self and life in a context that is burdened by racial categorisation.

With reference to the Population Act of 1950,[12] the distinct racial categories of "white, native or coloured" are referred to, with 'coloured' indicating a person who is "not a white person

[12] The Population Act of 1950 was the implementation of the distinct racial categories that ascribed social and political roles within the state hierarchy in South Africa. This Act would allow the expansion of a consecutive series of apartheid laws.

or a native". The term 'coloured' today can be seen as a derogatory term used to describe a large group of people descending from a range of ethnic and geographic backgrounds. Those of mixed race residing in South Africa have been categorised and identified by this term. This term has been based on physical appearance, but does not account for the ethnic and cultural backgrounds to who this term has been ascribed. In my own experience the term is problematic, because it homogenises a group of people without accounting for the genealogy that informs their identity, nor allows agency for those who hold this identity to self-identify. Therefore, some identify with this term and others do not, as a consequence of the social and political implications of being stereotyped, ashamed or denying their cultural ancestry.

The term 'coloured' in my experience has come to mean different things for the community and for the institution[13], private life and public life. The identity could be based on a culture that stems from living in segregated communities, namely the Cape Flats.[14] Because of the segregated communities of the Cape Flats and the culture that derives from this experience and life, some may choose to reject the identity based on the associations or stereotyping of these areas. The use of the term could be based on a political agenda of recognising the erasure of identity and therefore claiming back the term as a means of power and agency. It may also be a means of representation within the larger landscape of South Africa, seeking recognition for people who have been marginalised by the binary system of black and white and who thus seek to be represented within the political sphere of South Africa and other institutions.[15] Adhikari notes the following regarding the binary position of 'coloured' identity:

> *The intermediate status of the Coloured grouping contributed in two ways to a third key characteristic of coloured identity, namely that it was largely the bearer of a range of negative and derogatory connotations. First, because of their lack of political and economic clout and because they formed a relatively small stratum*

[13] By institution I refer to an organisation founded for religious, educational, professional or social purpose. Institutions practice with tradition and mechanisms of creating social order. Institutions govern behaviour of individuals of or within communities and therefore mediate living behaviour.

[14] The Cape Flats refers to the geographical area within the Cape Town area where forcibly removed people of colour were displaced in terms of the Group Areas Act 1950, segregating South Africa residentially.

[15] See Mohamed Adhikari *God Made the White Man, God Made the Black Man…: Popular racial stereotyping of Coloured People in Apartheid South Africa* (2005) for a condensed revision of coloured identity.

> *within the racial hierarchy, the Coloured people tended to be perceived in terms of the larger groups. This was not notable in the official definitions of the term Coloured, in which the category was usually described as consisting of those people who were neither white nor African.* (Adhikari, 2005: 12)

The complicated formation of the term 'coloured' as an identity occurred in relation to the other groups, namely white and black. The work by Roderick Sauls (2004), *Wie is tjou Maker*, can be seen as a starting point in considering the formation of a racialised identity as well as having significance in the mode of production. Here Sauls notes his intentions with regards to his master's research:

> *But our new country allows me a new space: I am stepping out of the persona of the created stereotype to question this given identity, and to trace my history in a different way. Through this research, I hope to contribute in a different narrative that can show the violence committed by racial classification and stereotyping.* (Sauls. 2004: 2)

The work *Wie is tjou Maker* points to the way that racial classification is imposed as well as questions the complex way in which this process informs identity itself. The work is created from two constructed Cretestone[16] panels positioned as walls, with a wooden floor assembled to create a three dimensional space on which office furniture, consisting of a desk and chair, is positioned. On the desk are a lamp, typewriter and telephone. On the wall, using a litho/photocopying and stencilling method, is a photograph of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd[17] and text that consists of the racial distinctions taken from the Union of South Africa census form dated 5th May 1936, written in English and Afrikaans. An interpretation of this work can break it down to the three distinct parts that form the installation, which are the photograph, the text on the wall and the office furniture. The photograph of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, who is considered to be the 'father' and architect of apartheid, can be seen to represent a father figure for the nation during apartheid. The text on the wall consists of the racial classifications

[16] Cretestone is a form of skim finishing plaster used in building.

[17] Prime Minister of South Africa, 1958 – 1966, when he was assassinated.

in handwriting, evoking the learning process of racial classification. The rewriting of the classification onto the wall surface by hand suggests a form of public reading or vandalism for others to see. By repeating the text in English and Afrikaans, the assimilation of language suggests the learning and unlearning of racial distinctions similar to the process of repeating text for study purposes. The office furniture and tools can be seen to represent the bureaucracy of apartheid that maintained the process and procedures of the system by way of laws. The three visual elements are markers that represent the violent categorisation of racial identity in the public and national formation of identity.

Figure 2.5: Roderick Sauls, *Wie is tjou Maker* (Who is your Maker), 2001.

The artwork by Sauls can then be viewed as highlighting the embodiment of enforced racial identity in South Africa by way of the systemic bureaucracy. Following on from this, the photograph by Walters can be seen as representing a symptom of apartheid. The photograph titled *Grandparents Bedroom* is, as the title describes, a view of Walters's grandparents' bedroom. The intimate space of the home where one rests is captured. However, what is of significance in this photograph is not the bedroom itself, but the suitcases on top of the wardrobe. Here the suitcases seem to represent the experience of displacement and stored memories. As Walters notes:

> *My Grandparents hid the albums in old suitcases that stood on top of their wardrobe, suitcases that belonged to my grandparents when they got married and first moved to Uitsig. They still keep all their precious objects, important documents, photographs and souvenirs in the suitcases, ready to leave at a moment's notice. This speaks of a sense of impermanence and an anxiety about being removed and suggests spaces and lives of "inbetweenity" and ambiguity.* (Walters, 2013: 4).

The collection of stored memories can be seen as the manifestation of forced removals and displacement. By having the important things one has acquired over time and that inform one's life packed in suitcases suggests an unsettled lifestyle or a readiness to go. This state of living with memories stored in suitcases can be seen as the tangible residue of the trauma of living under apartheid. This photograph holds value for my project, not only for suggesting unsettled memories, but also as it is an experience I share. The bedroom of my grandparents had a similar wardrobe that had suitcases stored above it. I had a few glimpses of papers amongst clothes and other personal items stored in them. I remember opening the wardrobe, pulling the drawers and finding scattered photographs, newspaper clippings, empty envelopes, envelopes filled with a single photograph, others with personal letters. Taking down the suitcases after they died, I opened them to find more documents, personal letters, bills, pay slips and photographs, stacked and layered, folded together and disorganised.

Figure 2.6: Ashley Walters, *Grandparents Bedroom*, 2013

Part of my master's research project can be seen as an extension to the photograph taken by Walters. Where Walters reveals the intimate space of the bedroom and the containment of memories, my project begins to unpack the stored memories contained within the wardrobe and suitcases.

The layering of memories in the different forms of newspapers, letters, bills and photographs reveals a context that juxtaposes their personal thoughts, ideas and desires alongside the realities, difficulties and conditions of living under apartheid.

Unpacking, Stored Memories and Home

In unpacking the stored memories contained within the wardrobe and suitcase, I found four documents that reveal the context of my grandfather's interest alongside the suggestion of the living conditions of apartheid. Of the four documents, two are newspaper articles from *The Argus* and *The Cape Times*, and two are pamphlets produced by the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the United Parent Front (UPF). These documents can be seen as consisting of intersecting ideas of home within 'coloured' communities. The newspaper articles specifically report on the living conditions of Windermere, the same community where my grandfather was working as a pastor at the time. The pamphlets produced by the SACP and the UPF addressed 'coloured' communities who were staging a boycott in the form of a 'stay at home'. The interest in the newspaper articles addressed the living conditions of Windermere, which could be seen as motivation for working in the community or a means of keeping evidence of the living conditions in Windermere. Windermere is highlighted as one of the worst slums in the world, with inhumane living conditions. What is clear is the probable intention to provide a form of support as a pastor by engaging and interacting with the residents.

The political pamphlets are the only two documents in the archive that are not only politically motivated in protesting against apartheid laws, but that also show direct engagement with apartheid disruptions. The reasons for possession of the documents are unclear, though they are addressed to parents and workers within 'coloured' communities, and could have been received by those seeking solidarity within the community or workplace. What the protest documents reveal about the homes of 'coloured' residents is the need for unity amongst students, workers and parents. The homes in 'coloured' communities therefore became politically active in anti-apartheid movements, while seeking non-violent means of engagement.

The Argus article, titled "You live like a rat – and often with them", reports on the living condition of Windermere as a wasteland. In the area of middle-class housing in Kensington many tenants in sites such as this were victims of Group Areas displacement and were awaiting municipal housing. While the area itself is noted as being unfit for living in, with no

water or electricity, with scrap metal, water and rubbish surrounding it, the interior of the homes of the tenants were noted as maintaining standards of tidiness equivalent to most homes in Cape Town. *The Argus* article was published in 1958, and *The Cape Times* article in 1972; they cover a period of 14 years in which the living conditions in this area remained the same. While these articles report on the living conditions of areas in Cape Town, they add to the image of communities of colour. Articles such as these, accompanied by photographs, can add to urban ethnographic stereotypes. By this I refer to the reporting of people living within urban environments in a discriminatory way that reinforces cultural, racial and economic stereotypes.[18] In this case people of colour could be perceived as being less than human and living in such conditions to be seen as inherent in their lifestyles. Though the article recognises this condition as part of the consequence of the Group Areas Act, what it fails to acknowledge is the economic status of those who occupy these sites. The residents' economic status, possible exacerbated by forced removals, was very often linked to the limited opportunities resulting from job reservation and the segregated and unequal educational systems known as the Bantu, Coloured and Indian education.

Donald Frank Molteno, a UCT scholar, completed a master's degree in sociology by reviewing and contextualising the 1980 school boycotts in Cape Town and other affected areas in South Africa. In his dissertation Molteno notes that the structuring of education by race reinforces a subservient mentality and limits the working class to people of colour.

> *The system of Bantu, Coloured and Indian education was designed to control the direction of thought, to delimit the boundaries of knowledge, to restrict lines of communication, and to curtail contact across language barriers. It aimed to dwarf the minds of Black children by conditioning them to servitude.*

[18] For further reading on slums and ghettos in relation to people of colour see "Ascribing Otherness and the Threat to the Self" in Nicholas Coetzer *Building Apartheid: On Architecture and Order in Imperial Cape Town* (2013).

> *Like the segregated and inferior schooling before it, the system of Bantu, Coloured and Indian Education was intended to prepare Black children for the subordinated positions that waited them in such a way that they were appropriately equipped with limited skills as well as ready to resign themselves to their exploitation.* (Molteno, 1983: 85)

The context of the 1980 silent boycott call is the student boycotts within the 'coloured' communities of Cape Town. Drawing on the research conducted by Molteno (1983),[19] a brief context for the boycotts is provided and covers the major structure of events relating to Cape Town. In the year 1980 various secondary and tertiary schools in Cape Town staged class boycotts in response to the educational system provided at the time. Through a complex intersection of inadequate systems, students began hosting boycotts, meetings and rallies demanding a better educational system.

Molteno (1983) discusses the relationship between the worker and empowerment through education, which is still a struggle for people of colour to overcome. Education today becomes a motivation for better living, while previously it was used as a tool for maintaining forms of subjugation. The short- and long-term demands focused on the poor quality of education and the racist ideology of segregated schools as set up by Bantu Education and the Department of Coloured Relations. Various schools also posted demands that gave more tangible evidence of unequal compulsory school fees, compulsory uniforms, inadequate school infrastructures and having to pay for books that were meant to be free.

Boycotts were not exclusive to the Western Cape, and occurred in other areas including the Eastern Cape and significantly in Soweto[20], marked by the 1976 uprising. Hanover Park outside Cape Town was one of the first schools to hold meetings, organised by the students for students, parents and teachers in March 1980. During this time pamphleteering was a major strategy to distribute information and call for meetings. Two original pamphlets

[19] See Donald Frank Molteno *The schooling of Black South African and the Cape Town Student's Boycott: A sociological Interpretation.* Master's dissertation, University of Cape Town (1983).

[20] On 16 June 16 1976 thousands of students marched peacefully in Soweto (South Western Townships) near Johannesburg to protest against Bantu Education and Afrikaans as medium of teaching. Police fired live ammunition on the students when they refused to disperse.

illustrated below were found in my grandfather's archive, one for a silent school boycott, and the other a call for a 'stay at home' to address general workers' grievances. Molteno notes the following:

> *Along with 'bush telegraph', pamphleteering was an important medium of communication. From the first week of the boycott vast quantities of the pamphlets were distributed. At Rylands Senior Secondary, for instance, the boycott began on 18 April after a batch of pamphlets had been flung by a student from another school over the fence into the school grounds. They were grabbed and read immediately and few minutes later the student, who was already assuming the leadership at the school, stood forward to call for a boycott.* (Molteno, 1983: 134)

The pamphleteering reveals the strategy of organising and communicating during apartheid. In the particular case of the school boycotts, the organisation of the students to mobilise was managed by students, parents and workers. The mobilisation of the school boycotts[21] also provides the context of education within 'coloured' communities and what is important to note is the relationship between students and parents.[22]. During the time of boycotts, it is said the support of the parents wavered, as the deadly consequences of the Soweto 1976 riots overshadowed the concerns of the parents. In today's context of protesting for free decolonised education, the concerns of the parents echo the same deadly consequence of 1976 riots.

The second document released by the South African Communist Party does not specify a year of production, but only notes Monday 28th as the day of action. The document reads as a general protest against apartheid rule and grievances with no particular incident inciting specific demands. The date of publication must have been between the years 1950 and 1980 in Cape Town, the time during which the South African Communist Party was operating

[21] The boycotts took the form of class boycotts that entailed attending school but not classes, and at other times leaving school for a complete stay away. Not all students are said to have participated in the boycott, while some stayed away completely until the end of the boycott. The boycotts in Cape Town came to an end in March 1981. The result of the boycott saw some short-term demands being met; the most important outcome of the boycotts seems to have been the mobilisation and organisation of students, creating awareness along with strategies.

[22] The boycott came to an end because of lack of support from parents and teachers, as well as intimidation from police and fear of violence.

underground after its banning in 1950. What is firstly significant in the document is the call for 'coloured' workers to support African workers in the protest action, revealing the solidarity developing between people of colour during apartheid. The divided relationships between 'coloured' and 'black' people during that time prevailed between workers and students, and may continue to exist today.[23] Secondly, the document advocates the use of the home as a site of protest and to engage in resistance.

While the home was used for resistance in the form of silence, the implication of the silence is the extended silence in the home when speaking of the past. The relationship between the home and silence that is used as a political tool of engagement in the above documents is still echoed in the homes of people of colour. The silence in stored memories, when unpacked, begin to echo in the home and as each generation moves forward, the past continues to be stored in the homes of those who experienced traumas. In the reading of the work by Ashley Walters on stored memories and my own experience of the silence of the past, the relationship between the home and silence is echoed in my experience of post-apartheid South Africa. The segregation of education, Group Areas and forced removals still impacts on the homes of people of colour today in educational disadvantage, geographical separation, the social disruption of communities, the development of gangsterism[24] and the associated stigmatisation of living in in areas of forced displacement.

[23] During the School Boycotts of Cape Town, the Committee of 61 was formed as a committee that represented 61 institutions; it later changed to the Committee of 81 for the purpose of operating confidentially. The committee called the regional committee was formed independent of the committee of 81 and was to represent the African students within the Western Cape. On 19 May 1980 the committee of 81 released a document titled *Manifesto To The People of Azania*. See Molteno *The schooling of Black South African and the Cape Town Student's Boycott: A sociological Interpretation.* University of Cape Town (1983).

[24] For example, in Elaine Salo's *Mans is Ma Soe: Ganging practices in Manenberg, South Africa and the ideologies of masculinity, gender and generational relations*, she states that "gang practices and coloured men's gendered identities cannot be divorced from the historical factors of racial and economic dispossession that the residents of Manenberg experienced in the 1960s." Although Salo refers to Manenberg, these observations could be applied to various other areas.

THE CA

WINDERMERE SLUM AMONG WORLD'S WORST, SAYS VISITOR

THE first thing a visitor to Windermere wants to do is get out. Windermere is a filthy, stinking swamp of rubbish, flies, foul water, scraps of metal, shreds of paper and scavenging animals. It is also the home — somehow — of human beings.

DAVID HACKER, an American journalist who is spending some time with The Argus, visited Windermere yesterday. In this article he compares it with American slums — and finds it one of the worst in the world.

Yet Windermere is a paradox. One can step from ankle-deep trash into a scrap metal shack to find a tidiness that would equal that in any Cape Town home. Floors are clean, teacups are neatly washed and put away, beds —with sheets—are carefully made up, clothes are hanging neatly on the walls.

But even in the tidiest of homes the stench shrivels one's nose. Flies buzz everywhere.

Windermere is not a fit place for a human to live.

There are many such places in America, too, which should have been blown up long ago.

DIRECTIONAL

The difference between Windermere and the slums of America is one of direction. Cape Town's slums are horizontal—a lake of rubbish and tin. America's slums are vertical — multi-storied tenement houses, without windows, without water, without sanitary facilities.

In the worst of New York or Chicago slums garbage is thrown out of windows, to collect in evil-smelling piles in the backyards and courtyards below.

We drove past the 'business district' of Windermere, a row of shacks differing only from the houses by having open fronts.

STONY SILENCE

I stopped to talk with a small group of women who were chatting on one of the streets of Windermere. I asked if any of them spoke English and they stared back in stony silence.

I said that I was an American journalist who was interested in seeing all parts of South African life. Still they just stared.

Then a woman said 'Yes,' and I asked her to show me the inside of several of their homes.

There was a great deal of tongue clicking but after a few moments she said: 'This way.' She led me through a doorless entrance into a tiny room with a small stove in the middle. The other women — nine in all — followed and arranged themselves in a circle.

I looked at the soap carton foil wrapping that served as wallpaper. I looked at the neatly made bed and the china dishes arranged tidily on a small shelf above the one table. Behind me were six suitcases stacked up.

By this time the women had thawed out and were merrily clicking away among themselves.

I had seen one of the best homes in Windermere. Now I asked to see the other kind. The women got up and led me down the narrow path between shacks, across the road, and down another path and around behind a shack. Two children were playing in rubbish. I ducked my head under a line strung with freshly washed rag strips and stepped into a dungeon. The linoleum floor was more holes than floor. The bed was unmade, dishes unwashed. The odour was overpowering and I hastily backed out.

As I turned to leave, the one woman echoed the cry of those everywhere to whom poverty is the sum of life:

'Help us.'

OLD PISTOLS STOLEN

Two old pistols, the property of the South African Museum, which were exhibited at the hobbies section of the Spring Fair last week have been stolen. The theft was discovered when the exhibits were checked on Monday after the exhibition had closed.

One of the pistols is a woman's muff pistol about 3¾in. long with a percussion action. It was made in 1830. The second is a flint lock muzzle loading pocket pistol made in 1770, about 4¼in. long.

Neither of the pistols, which are valued at £15, have a serial number on them.

Behi

U.S. is spy-rid says research

The Argus United States Represe

WASHINGTON

THE United States was infested with Lt.-Gen. Arthur G. Trudeau, of Research and Development. 'We is highly penetrated,' he told a new

General Trudeau speaks with considerable authority and what he says is probably true.

There is little, if any, secrecy in the United States. No secret can be kept for long. Sooner or later it is blazoned forth for all the world to see.

General Trudeau said that much of Soviet progress in science had been achieved through espionage. He refused to go into details.

PILOT MODELS

He said that the Russians learnt a great deal from 'our manuals, visits to our factories, through subversion, and through the sale of pilot models.'

'If the British had not sold the Nene Rolls-Royce jet engines there never would have been a Mig in the skies over Korea.'

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Figure1.9: *The Cape Times*: "Windermere slum among world's worst says visitor". 1958

Source: Familial Archive.

4 THE ARGUS, SA /72

Flies and mud . . . the seas[on] change in 'Shanty Town'

YOU LIVE LIKE A RAT—AND OFTEN WITH THEM

By PHILIPPA MAISTER

LIVING in a shanty is 'very uncomfortable,' a shanty-dweller told me. He was understating it. Living in a shanty is living like a rat, and often with them. It is unhealthy, unsafe and unrelenting.

A shanty is a tumbledown structure of wood and corrugated iron. Newspaper usually lines the walls to keep out extremes of climate. It is as inflammable as tinder.

Most shanty families live in one or two rooms in which all their daily activities are conducted. They sleep, cook and wash in them. Privacy is impossible.

We visited shanties in two areas typical of any others, guided by Mr J. D. Pietersen, independent member of the Coloured Representative Council, Mr W. W. Miller of the Athlone and District Management Committee, and Mr A. D. Schoeman of the Kensington Management Committee.

Wasteland

Even in redeveloped areas like Kensington, patches of squalor come from the wasteland amid the solid middle-class housing. In Seventh Avenue we found an area of private ground owned by the Department of Coloured Affairs and zoned for a school. Around a stagnant puddle choked with refuse were a cluster of rusty shacks, a horse, mangy dogs. In winter it is a morass of mud.

The Kensington Management Committee has been fighting a long battle to get the council to make regular rubbish removals. But still garbage is usually buried in holes in the ground, creating a health risk. The committee also complains that when rubbish is collected it is often simply dumped outside the economic homes in the area.

Water is obtained from a tap in a corner of the site. Sewage disposal operates on the pail system.

Until recently the tenants of these unhealthful huts were paying rents of R1 a week a room to the former owner of the site. But this is no longer so. Some have been living there for 10 years.

Mrs Kase Demtse, one of the inhabitants, told us she had been arrested earlier this year for trespassing. After a night in jail she paid a R5 fine — and returned to her shanty. She had no alternative.

At Parkwood Estate we found a sprawling township of flimsy lean-to's. Seven months after our first visit, extensive rebuilding had removed some of the worst; but squalid tenements still blacken many dusty acres here.

In these areas, Jack and Jill have still to trudge down the sandy street to fetch a pail of water, which the people at the corner sell for 2c a tin.

There is no street lighting and no electricity. Twice a week rubbish is collected. But, as in Kensington, rats and mice are familiar denizens of the shacks in this area.

What does shanty living do for you? For a start, it breeds crime and despair. It offers little hope of a better life. It also breeds disease.

In an interview, Cape Town's Medical Officer of Health, Dr R. M. Langerman, named some. During the summer season flies gather about the refuse and severe, often fatal, cases of gastro-intestinal disease occur.

In winter they get chest and res

In winter they get chest and respiratory diseases like bronchitis and pneumonia.

'But regular small doses of disease tend to build up an immunity. It is amazing how tough some of these children are,' Dr Langerman said.

Who lives in shanties? During our investigations, we found people to whom they had been 'home' for more than 10 years. Many are what municipal workers call 'unhousables,' social riff-raff without fixed employment or any desire to gain it.

Victims

But many more are the victims of group areas expulsions or the critical backlog of municipal housing. They are the dispossessed of District Six, of Claremont, and a hundred other places zoned for White occupation.

Cape Town's Director of Housing, Mr H. Bloom, told me there was a backlog of 11 500 families waiting to rent house and of 6 600 who wished to purchase them.

The latest report of the Secretary for Community Development shows that in 1970 4 908 Coloured people were forced out of their homes by Group Areas proclamations. Of these 2 733 lived in the Cape Town area.

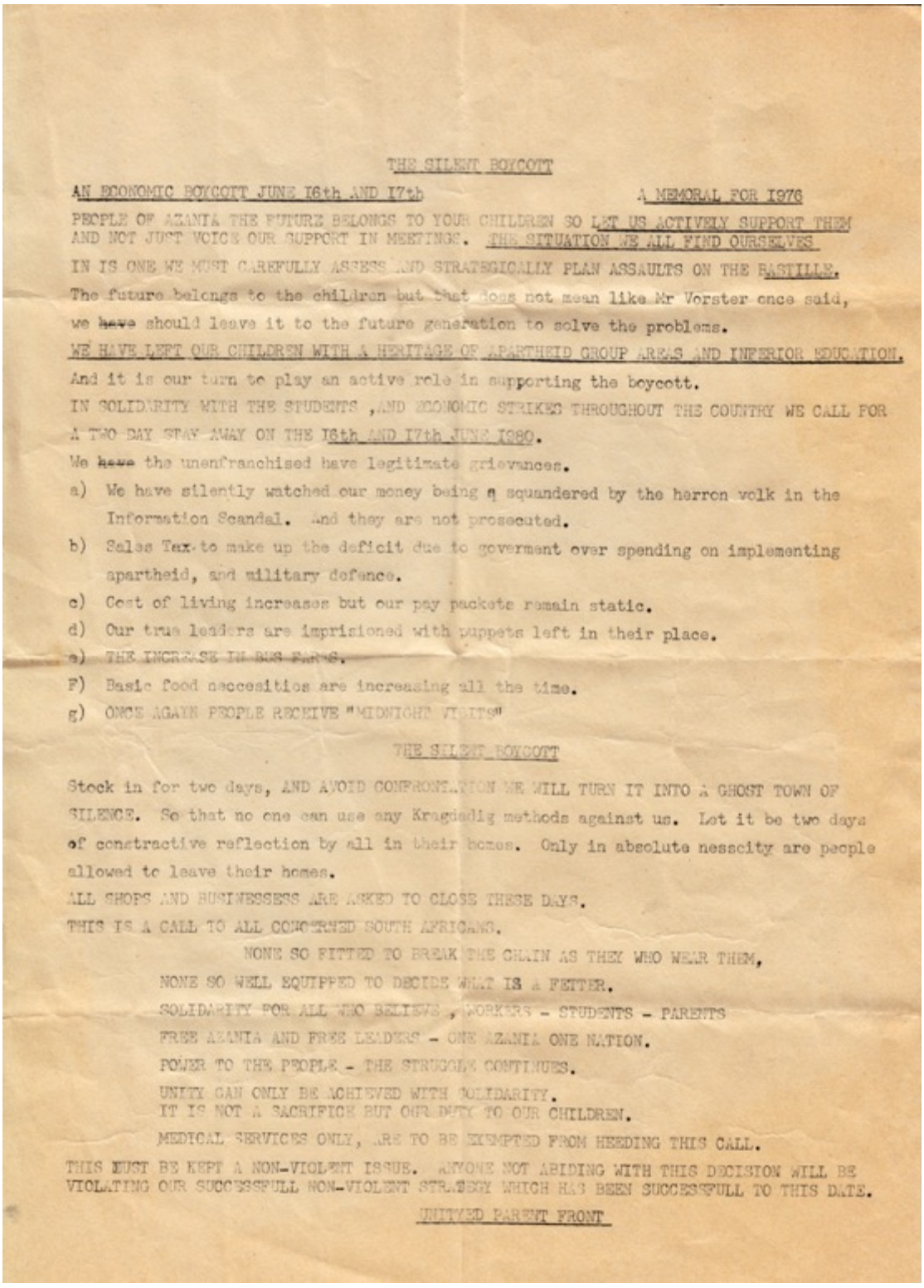
And in terms of the harsh logic of separate development,

A TRACT OF MUD and waste provides the front approach to this group of tumbledown shacks in Seventh Avenue, Kensington.

IN THIS STRUCTURE in Seventh Avenue, Kensington, Mrs Grace Maarman (extreme right) lives with her two daughters and niece. She gets a disability grant of R11 a month and relies on the R9 a week her niece earns at a factory and casual work obtained by her eldest daughter to exist.

Figure 1.10: *The Argus*: "You live like a rat – and often with them". 1972

Source: Familial Archive.



THE SILENT BOYCOTT

AN ECONOMIC BOYCOTT JUNE 16th AND 17th A MEMORAL FOR 1976

PEOPLE OF AZANIA THE FUTURE BELONGS TO YOUR CHILDREN SO LET US ACTIVELY SUPPORT THEM AND NOT JUST VOICE OUR SUPPORT IN MEETINGS. THE SITUATION WE ALL FIND OURSELVES IN IS ONE WE MUST CAREFULLY ASSESS AND STRATEGICALLY PLAN ASSAULTS ON THE BASTILLE.

The future belongs to the children but that does not mean like Mr Vorster once said, we ~~have~~ should leave it to the future generation to solve the problems.

WE HAVE LEFT OUR CHILDREN WITH A HERITAGE OF APARTHEID GROUP AREAS AND INFERIOR EDUCATION.

And it is our turn to play an active role in supporting the boycott.

IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE STUDENTS ,AND ECONOMIC STRIKES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY WE CALL FOR A TWO DAY STAY AWAY ON THE 16th AND 17th JUNE 1980.

We ~~have~~ the unenfranchised have legitimate grievances.

a) We have silently watched our money being squandered by the herron volk in the Information Scandal. And they are not prosecuted.
b) Sales Tax to make up the deficit due to goverment over spending on implementing apartheid, and military defence.
c) Cost of living increases but our pay packets remain static.
d) Our true leaders are imprisioned with puppets left in their place.
e) ~~THE INCREASE IN BUS FARES.~~
F) Basic food naccesities are increasing all the time.
g) ONCE AGAIN PEOPLE RECEIVE "MIDNIGHT VISITS"

THE SILENT BOYCOTT

Stock in for two days, AND AVOID CONFRONTATION WE WILL TURN IT INTO A GHOST TOWN OF SILENCE. So that no one can use any Kragdadig methods against us. Let it be two days of constractive reflection by all in their homes. Only in absolute nesscity are people allowed to leave their homes.

ALL SHOPS AND BUSINESSESS ARE ASKED TO CLOSE THESE DAYS.

THIS IS A CALL TO ALL CONCERNED SOUTH AFRICANS.

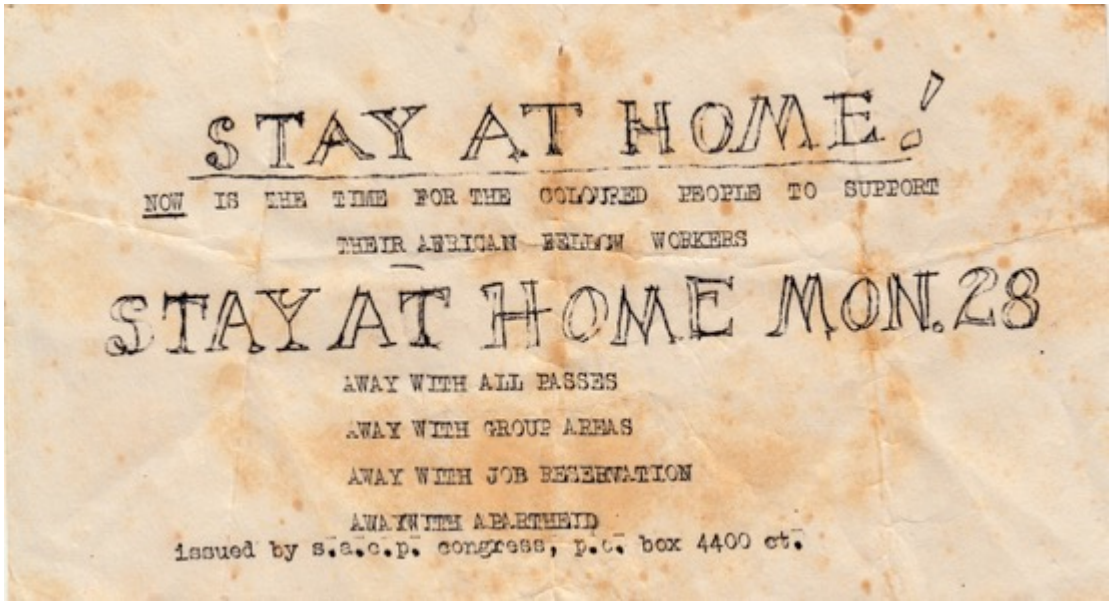
NONE SO FITTED TO BREAK THE CHAIN AS THEY WHO WEAR THEM,
NONE SO WELL EQUIPPED TO DECIDE WHAT IS A FETTER.
SOLIDARITY FOR ALL WHO BELIEVE , WORKERS - STUDENTS - PARENTS
FREE AZANIA AND FREE LEADERS - ONE AZANIA ONE NATION.
POWER TO THE PEOPLE - THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES.
UNITY CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED WITH SOLIDARITY.
IT IS NOT A SACRIFICE BUT OUR DUTY TO OUR CHILDREN.
MEDICAL SERVICES ONLY, ARE TO BE EXEMPTED FROM HEEDING THIS CALL.

THIS MUST BE KEPT A NON-VIOLENT ISSUE. ANYONE NOT ABIDING WITH THIS DECISION WILL BE VIOLATING OUR SUCCESSFULL NON-VIOLENT STRATEGY WHICH HAS BEEN SUCCESSFULL TO THIS DATE.

UNITYED PARENT FRONT

Figure1.11: The Silent Boycott pamphlet, the United Parent Front: 1980

Source: Familial Archive.



STAY AT HOME.!

NOW IS THE TIME FOR THE COLOURED PEOPLE TO SUPPORT

THEIR AFRICAN FELLOW WORKERS

STAY AT HOME MON.28

AWAY WITH ALL PASSES

AWAY WITH GROUP AREAS

AWAY WITH JOB RESERVATION

AWAY WITH APARTHEID

issued by s.a.c.p. congress, p.o. box 4400 ct.

Figure1.12: Stay at home pamphlet. circa 1970

Source: Familial Archive.

Figure1.13: Fredrick Daniel Williams (far right) with Sunday school children, Windermere, Cape Town circa 1965

Source: Familial Archive

Figure 1.14: Windermere, Cape Town

circa 1960

Figure1.15: Windermere, Cape Town.

circa 1960

Source: Familial Archive

Part 3

Visual Strategies: Doris Salcedo and Anselm Kiefer

> *Monuments articulate official memory and their fate is to be toppled or to become invisible. Lived memory, on the other hand, is always located in individual bodies, their experience and their pain, even when it involves collective, political, or generational memory.* (Huyssen, 2003: 110)

Salcedo and Kiefer are different in practice, history and location. However, their practice can be seen to intersect with reference to state violence, absence, loss, sculpture and materiality. Salcedo, born 1958 in Bogotá, Colombia, and Kiefer born 1945 in Donaueschingen, Germany, have both developed practices that characterise absence and loss in the national memory. In the practice of Salcedo memory works with second-hand memories, memories that have been passed on to her by those whose realities have been affected by loss and disappearance during the time of civil war and state violence. In Kiefer's practice, memory is second-generational – memories that have been inherited from the state violence of War World II, the ideological weight of a nation's identity, decline and rebuilding.

The juxtaposition of these two practices provide strategies for confronting and coping with themes of history and trauma, of violence inflicted from a national level experienced collectively and developed through a personal visual language.

Salcedo refers in her practice to the use of the body and the coverings of the body such as clothing, shoes, hair, bone and animal skin. Other materials include furniture, which refers to the body by association to represent the home. The arrangements and configurations of bodily materials alongside furniture and cement create strange and unfamiliar objects from the familiar. These objects begin to make discomfort an experience, not only in the disfigurement, but the unfamiliar use of domestic objects which locate notions of home and body in an uncharacteristic construction.

Kiefer refers to the body in his practice through the use of the absent body in landscape paintings and constructions depicting ruin and destruction. He uses materials such as straw, lead, concrete, paint and ash to create large barren landscapes and the architecture of decayed buildings. The physical presence relative to human scale in the works of Kiefer has the capacity to evoke the enormity of loss on a human level as well as the legacy of National Socialist German ideology from the 1920 to 1945.

The characteristics of both these practices involve addressing memory in response to state violence through use of materials and schemas, where the body is absent yet ever present in the making and viewing of work.

Salcedo notes the following:

> *When working it's not only my own experience that counts; the experience of the victims of violence I have interviewed is an essential part of my work. Dialogue is crucial in this process; it is what allows me to know the experience of the other, to the point at which an encounter with otherness in the field of sculpture is possible. Thus my work is the product of many people's experience*. (Salcedo, 2000: 13)

Salcedo's "other" is not conceived in the terms of race but rather in other people, in a person who is other by experience and violent experience. The violent experiences of other people are the beginning of her working process and the conception of her sculptures in combination with her own experiences. They then come to embody the experience of multiple bodies of violence, testaments to multiple experiences including her own – objects that mediate shared experiences. Violence becomes central to the framework of seeing and engaging with Salcedo's work.

The notion of secondary witnessing can be applied to the process Salcedo employs. In the case of Anselm Kiefer, academic Marianne Hirsch (2012) applies the term 'post-memory'. The premise Hirsch creates in post-memory is that memory and traumatic memory from the past experienced by a previous generation is inherited by the next generation. A passing down of memory is experienced and a second-hand memory is implanted.

Hirsh describes post-memory as follows:

> *"Post-memory" describes the relationship that the "generation after" bears to the personal. Collective and cultural trauma of those who came before - to experiences they "remember" only by means of the stories, images, and behaviors among which they grew up. But these experiences were transmitted to them so deeply and affectively as to seem to constitute memories in their own right. Post memory's connection to the past is thus actually mediated not by recall but by imaginative investment, projection and creation. To grow up with the overwhelming inherited memories, to be dominated by narratives that precede one's birth or one's consciousness, is to risk having one's own life stories displaced, even evacuated, by our ancestors. It is to be shaped, however indirectly, by traumatic fragments of events that still defy narrative reconstruction and exceed comprehension. These events happened in the past, but their effects continue into the present. This is, I believe the structure of post memory and the process of its generation.* (Hirsch, 2012: 5)

Post-memory as described by Hirsh would be most aptly applied to those whose families had such first-hand experiences that were passed down. This process could also be described as intergenerational memory or transgenerational memory. Both these terms refer to a process of memory being passed down through generations and experienced in the present. Kiefer grew up in post-World War II Germany, and experienced the trauma and memory of the war as a second-generation witness – and this is reflected in his practice.

Parallels can be drawn between Salcedo's process of second witnessing and Kiefer's second-generation witnessing. Neither artist experienced the events directly, but access them either through the story-telling of family members of the victims or feel the effects of the environment or space in which the memories are being mediated (by destruction and rebuilding).

This research takes the form of witnessing from an archive, documents that have not been 'heard' or seen. The materiality of the archive has to be uncovered, read, arranged or classified to make sense of it. It does not come in the form of a packaged book or in a glass vitrine. Its forms are layered upon each other, unclassified, scattered and weighted. It does not allow one to prioritise one document over another - it requires delicacy and patience. As each photo, newspaper clipping, note and letter reveals something, they together contextualise the lives and experiences of those they now represent.

The process of uncovering the things left behind by the dead is a listening in a different form. It is the materialisation, the fragility of being touched and the gentleness of being handled. The listening to the experience of my grandfather has not been one of hearing speech, but silence and reflection. Reading the thoughts, the sentiments shared by him and viewing his actions and those of others around him are weighted by absence and the noise of silence, as they have never been heard.

Salcedo comments:

> *I can't really describe what happens to me because it's not rational: in a way I become that person, there is a process of substitution. Their suffering becomes my mine: the centre of that person becomes my centre and I can no longer determine where my centre actually is.* (Salcedo, 2000: 14)

Listening to the voices of the dead in the familial archive becomes a similar process of substitution. It consumes one, as you continuously listen to the stories, you become the other. The process happens subconsciously by seeing oneself in the position of those in the archive and reflecting upon one's current position. You begin to embody the experience of others and your own, creating a new self that contains aspects of you and others. Though the others being heard are your family, part of your genealogy, you have to consider that you have always been the 'other'. It is only now that this 'other' can be known as an 'other' that you have now come to recognise yourself.

The process for you to gain is to give this experienced other a new form, to give it a physical presence, to expel it in the physical. The sculptural process therefore is not the act of creating works, but rather the exercise of giving a voice to the other, giving a form for the other, to voice your other self. The marginal experience that found a place in the mind has to find a place in the physical and find ways to materialise the process and experience.

Denotations of Memory

Denotations of Memory refers to the act of marking time and space, which makes reference to the memory as described in the archive. The process of abstracting and extracting qualities of home and living conditions within the archive and to present an understanding is a form of mark-making linked to place and time. The body of work produced consists of paintings, surfaces, structures and abstracted images and videos from the archive. Urban surfaces are suggested through the painted and constructed works, often abstract and simplified from the equivalents in the real world. The works, relating to Cape Town, are responses to urban structures that carry memory in the residue on walls. The materials suggest fragility, violence, damage and repair. Forms of demarcation of space, proposed by the archive and my grandfather's experience, which contain and separate the social experience, are suggested through structural forms.

The exhibition is a presentation of objects and images created from the selection of five distinct materials. They are used abstractly to reflect the experience of home, belonging, space, absence and loss. The materials used to characterise the project are cement, rust, motor oil, mild steel and mutton cloth. These selected industrialised materials for me not only characterise the narrative within the archive, but also become conceptual signifiers of notions of memory.

Cement in this project is used abstractly and in a painterly way to form surfaces. Cement is used in most construction projects and has a primary association with the urban environment. Walls and surfaces of walls can be interpreted as texts that reflect the conditions and memory or history of urban environments. This material signifier references the tension between

destruction of homes and construction of homes, and their residue in segregated communities.

Motor oil is a product used in the operation and maintenance of car engines. During maintenance the used motor oil becomes waste material unless it is recycled. In my mind the used motor oil is a highly corrosive and excessive waste product that is nevertheless vital for the functioning of urban environments. Another association with this substance is the staining caused by the oil. Staining is utilised in my project as a visual strategy that links to memory and history's ability to stain the present.

Mild steel can be used in the manufacturing of industrial and domestic products. The domestic use could be in the production of beds, gates, burglar bars, railings and reinforcing support structures. In this project it is referenced for its domestic use in support structures for its strength and longevity when maintained. When exposed to the elements, mild steel undergoes a process of oxidation, rusts and becomes structurally weak.

The inclusion of rust alludes to the structural vulnerability of steel structures that undergo an oxidation process. The rust suggests neglect, weathering, impermanence and erosion, which are signifiers of time. Rust has been applied to surfaces to stain and colour. The staining becomes a metaphor for the way memory stains and continues to have a presence over time.

Mutton cloth, a cotton-based fabric sold primarily in hardware stores as a multi-purpose industrial product, could have many functions. It is highly absorbent and used in the cleaning of spills during industrial, maintenance or repair tasks. The cloth becomes a signifier of the tension of staining and the process of cleansing. Cleaning is linked to the process of baptisms, which are linked to acts of purification; both processes are of relevance in my project. The spiritual cleansing in the form of baptisms is in my view related to the image of being unclean through living conditions and the moral uncleanliness that may be reinforced through religious doctrine.

The abstraction of the materials as a strategy allows for diverse and evocative representation, which has the ability to open the interaction between the viewer and object, and aims to convey meaning. Observing the formal strategies used by the two artists working through memory, I have made artworks that use materials and have associations with the narrative of unpacking the wardrobe and suitcase. In relation to the narrative unpacked by the archive, the works function as a language, marking themes of silence, loss, death, absence and rest. They are reflections on memory, links to the archive and my personal experience. The experience of cleansing and 'othering' is extracted and embodied conceptually through the construction and juxtaposition of the associated materials.

Painting with Residue:

Motor oil and rust are remnants of the urban landscape and sourced from industrialised contexts. Motor oil cleans and is used for lubrication, which then becomes waste, while rust develops through a slow natural oxidisation process; both products become toxic residues as remnants of a process.

Analogously, memory can be considered a residue, which is a remnant of a process of interactions, events and decisions. Memory as residue and material as residue allow for the construction of meaning as a physical staining agent – irremovable and potentially corrosive.

Surfaces in this project have been produced through repetitive processes of cleaning and staining that create multi-layered surfaces. The combination of these processes produces the textural and distressed quality that is echoed within the familial archive consisting of faded documents, newspaper clippings and photographs. As the archive consists of many documents that have been worn and weathered, the effect is an echoing of these documents onto textured surfaces which translates the material quality of the archive into artworks. Within my studio practice each artwork goes through a time and labour intensive process of adding and removing, staining and cleansing. With each additional layer a fragment of the previous one is partially removed which results in a nuanced surface.

The translation of the archive into artwork not only produces a visual quality symbolising the passing of time, but also evokes deeper attempts in the process of staining and cleaning to create paintings and sculptures. The cleaning and staining in this study are attached to narratives of history and memory, and to the discriminatory landscape of South Africa. The characterising of people of colour through stereotypes, including being unclean,[25] emerges from particular socio-political contexts. The artworks can be viewed as embodied stained memories translated from the reading of reports and the personal experiences of those within the context of Windermere and Saldanha Bay.

After people of colour were forcefully removed, the urban ethnographic image of them living in unfit conditions is then established as depicting their natural living conditions. The segregated spaces of these outlying geographical areas that have become homes to families of colour have been characterised as unhealthy, unclean dumps in the landscape, as reported in the articles discussed above: no electricity, no running water, no formal roads and no infrastructure. This research on living conditions in the landscape of Cape Town is what motivated the symbolic use of the selected residue materials in creating the artworks.

There is a parallel drawn in this study between the collection of newspaper reports of social uncleanliness alongside the documented collection of religious gatherings within the same community. The religious act of church and baptisms can be seen as evincing moral cleanliness. The cleansing occurs in the form of baptisms. The purification process by way of immersion in water symbolises the cleansing and acceptance of a renewed spirit, and acceptance into the congregation and the church as well as being a declaration with political overtones to the congregation. This congregation represents a way to gather and share in a social and religious experience. Artworks such as *Plaster* and *Awakening* refer to this cleansing in visual form and are constructed by filling, refilling, removing, covering, staining, cleaning, repairing and painting areas of the surface. The construction process in the artworks represent cleansing, covering, staining and time passing, developed from notions of moral uncleanliness in relation to apartheid, Christianity and the past.

[25] Refer to section highlighting *The Argus* and *The Cape Times* articles.

Finding a Place; Making Space:

Placeholder Place Making is central to this body of work. It consists of a structure which could be seen as a headstone and another structure that could be seen as a bed. These allude to burial and rest in different states. The cross marker on the cement refers to the marking of the grave with the format of the piece reminiscent of the proportions of a grave or a bed. This 'rest' refers to the infinite rest that may occur in the physical state, the final marker of life. The cross was salvaged from the grave of my grandmother; a year after my grandfather passed, a permanent headstone was placed on my grandparents' grave. It marks a point of departure, the departure from life in the physical state. The bed structure refers to a living rest, when one seeks rest and comfort from other activities, a subconscious rest in the sleeping state.

However, the structure consisting of a steel frame with stained and stitched mutton cloth appears fragile and worn. The soft, stained mutton cloth appears to allude to the belonging of a life, a life that is unknown but recognisable as a life lived. The stitching and mending of the mutton cloth alludes to the continuous use of the cloth. One can assume the bed structure belonged to a person. It does not speak of comfort, but rather refers to discomfort and fragility, with the mutton cloth unable to adequately support a body. These ideas are crucial in the majority of the works that I have created during my research project. Although not all the works are discussed in this level of detail, I think these points ground the specific intersection of the materials and concepts that inform their creation.

The structure, consisting of mild steel, is suggestive of industrial use, as though belonging to an institution housing people. The institutionalised body, possibly multiple institutionalised bodies, may therefore have found rest on the bed. Resonances with these aspects of this cot-like structure can be found in *Untitled (Double Bunk)*. The *untitled (screen dividers)* resonate with the bed structures. They, however, register the body differently by standing upright, reminiscent of screen dividers. While this form may suggest the privacy or covering of the body, it also refers to the process in which buildings are covered while under construction or renovation.

Scaffolding's general function in the building trade is to indicate when a building structure is in one of two processes. The first is a new building that is being erected, the second an old building being renovated, renewed or repurposed. Whichever state the building may be in, the presence of the scaffolding alludes to a period of transition, a place and space that is in-between, a space and place that is temporarily changing or becoming. Its state is temporary, existing neither before nor after, but rather as a moment in relation its passing function.

Placeholder Place Making temporarily marks death or a temporary place for marking death. It attempts to find a place of marking or recording a life, while referring to the recording of a life or lives. It concretises a moment of marking and placing an unidentified institutionalised life.

This process of substitution as described by Salcedo (2000),[26] is how I see myself occupying a space and time before me. It is an attempt to find a place, this place being a meeting point where an exchange happens, in particular meeting in a sleeping state, whereby I come to see their rest and imagine a life of rest.

Shared Experience: Still Waters

Still Waters is series of four works, consisting of two photographic and two video works. *Still Water*s refer to the shared experience of gathering and the act of baptism distilled and abstracted from archive material by way of cropping, enlarging, stitching and, in the case of the videos, the slowing down and repetition of time. The manipulation of the photographic image is concerned with moments within the acts of baptisms and gathering, as well as the movements during these gatherings. Two different baptisms were referenced, which can be seen as stitched together, slowing down the event creating a single narrative. Beginning with the video titled *Conducting,* the relationship between my grandfather, the sea and the congregation presents a moment when my grandfather is teaching. In this moment of teaching he stands between the congregation and the sea washing along the shore. He acts as mediator between the sea and the gathering before performing a baptism. The video has

[26] "In a way I become that person, there is a process of substitution" (Salcedo, 2000: 14)

been cropped to consist of the torso and lower half of the body, suggesting the position of the viewer to be part of the gathering, as if looking down. This echoes my own experience of looking downward, during the bowing of my head during prayer and listening respectfully.

The image *Deep Waters* has been cropped to consist of the moment just before the person is baptised and submerged in the sea. The three figures appear merged as one while performing the baptism. The video *Unwavering* consists of waves washing close to shore while the figures approach the shore. The shadows of the three figures draw back and forth, side to side with the motion of the water, at times merging as one figure. The washing of the waves references the meditative process of washing and cleansing, while the figures reflect on the surface. In the image tilted *Hand in Hand* the image has been reduced and enlarged to a section of a photograph after a baptism and leaving the water. This moment captures the movement just after experiencing a baptism and the shared experience. The shared experience is expressed by the holding of hands as they stand together. The still image and repeated images of the baptisms are captured from two different baptism events conducted by my grandfather; however, stitched together they depict an intimate shared experience.

Looking back at One's Self - Inserting the self now:

Knowing how self-representation has functioned within the familial context in the form of portraiture and the importance of seeing these images in terms of reflecting a form of reality, I apply this framework to myself. These school photographs begin to position me in a particular time and place.

In terms of the construction of these images, they are a product of a situation in which I as the subject have been complicit. They record the privilege afforded me by my parents and grandparents to attend a Model C school,[27] where this particular kind of representation is common. The ordered disciplined student in uniform is posed and recorded to mark a stage of growth and accomplishment. The self-representations of the baptisms are seen to be dignifying, which can be applied to the school photographs as well. The acceptance of the

[27] Former Model C schools, originally for white learners only, are government schools that have a semi-private structure and are administered and largely funded by a governing body of parents and alumni.

person of colour into educational institutions previously not welcoming to them is a mark in history. It is a shift in time and place where dignity can be restored to the undignified. In the past religion could dignify and grant access. In the transitioning post-apartheid democratic South Africa, education is seen to be the dignifying agent.

It marks a time when a certain immediate equality that democracy requires was emerging – having access to education without discrimination. However, economic wealth has become a discriminatory feature for many people of colour, as education continues to be economically inaccessible.[28]

In relation to the personal archive, religion was the structure through which to dignify oneself. Education in this democratic society can be seen as the dignifying agent that surpasses religion as a class structure with a high standing. The need to document the annual progression through the education system seems to be motivated by the need to have proof of history and achievement. This evidence, like the baptisms, is proof of being dignified in the world, often through colonial institutional structures.

In relation to the current contested space of commodified tertiary education in South Africa, access to education is not only a privilege, but a structure to promote political and social advancement. To be educated is to be dignified, to be civil, to have class and high standing, to have access to opportunity. Educational institutions are politically enriched spaces; however, at the moment I find myself in a mode of education that does not match the value and belief systems that the democratic post-apartheid generation was promised. Democracy enabled access to education; however, the complex relationship of financial access reveals the complex relationship to apartheid systems that have not yet been fully dismantled and are not equal.

[28] The Recent "Rhodes Must Fall" and "Fees Must Fall" protests of 2015 and 2016 are evidence of the difficulty of accessing education for the majority.

Significant financial resources are required in order to participate in education at a competitive level for secondary and tertiary education. Religion and education are two important agents that legitimise and dignify the individual in a society in which racist values and belief systems are structurally embedded, institutionally, culturally and politically.




Figures 1.16 – 1.19

School portraits taken of me during primary school days at SACS.

Conclusion

> *At the same time, it is important to recognize that while memory discourses appear to be global in one register, in their core they remain tied to the histories of specific nations and states. As particular nations struggle to create democratic polities in the wake of histories of mass exterminations, apartheids, military dictatorships, totalitarianism, they are faced, as Germany has been and still is since World War II, with the unprecedented task of securing the legitimacy and future of their emergent polity by finding ways to commemorate and adjudicate past wrongs. Whatever the differences may be between postwar Germany and South Africa, Argentina, or Chile, the political site of memory practices is still national, not postnational or global.* (Huyssen, 2003: 16)

Working through memory in the form of personal documents left behind by someone who has passed away was a personal process of uncovering and unpacking. While I actively thought about memory throughout the process, I focused on the question of how we remember. The act of remembering can take different forms and thus questions of what is remembered and how it is remembered began shaping this process. Huyssen (2003) suggests that memory is a national practice, which is shaped by the specificity of the context. Silke Arnold-de Simine (2013) in *Mediating Memory in the Museum* states:

> *Memory is used to describe a way of relating to the past that is autobiographical, personal, emotional, sensory, based on lived experience (one's own or that of others) and requiring empathy and identification.* (Arnold-de Simine, 2013: 16)

Taken further, it is a personalised practice, whereby a group of people experience an event, social environment or situation, and become shaped and affected by it.

The project began with accessing the memories collected by my grandfather and shifted towards generating a larger understanding of memory within homes and communities in Cape Town. Having access to the social and political environment of my grandfather has given me an understanding of him personally and the daily dialogue in Cape Town under apartheid laws. The images he authored have shown me the importance of photography in documenting his life and practice and the people around him. Viewing his images alongside the work of Mofokeng provides an example of how archiving can shift perceptions and undo ethnographic stereotyping. The images can be seen as evidence that provide a context to better understand the past.

Projects like Sauls's (2004) and Walters's (2013) engage the impact of apartheid classification of 'coloured' identity though the communities of District Six and Uitsig. The familiar experience that occurs in the homes of those who have shared an experience is evident – in this case, that of being classified as 'coloured'. These projects also provide a timeline of thought as to how memory and space are unpacked by different generations within Cape Town.

The work of Salcedo and Kiefer provide a context for how transgenerational experience can be expressed though visual art, with a particular focus on how memory can be articulated primarily by the use of materials and without the presence of the figure as a visual strategy. The use of materiality along with shared characteristics of absence and abstraction convey evocative responses to memory.

During this process of working through memory, I have gained an 'other' understanding of my grandfather and family members, which I have expressed through the practical component through using certain materials and specific references in the form of text and images. This embodied experience of living memory of the familial archive can be seen as a third-generational witnessing of events that still impact on the broader population of South Africa through continued segregation of land and education, and the effects of this in the home. As South Africa continues to move further away from 1994 as a marker to post-apartheid democratic South Africa, the vigilance of unpacking memory and not the contrived, recalled, branding of memory, will continue to help contextualise the present and shape the future.

Catalogue

Title: *Recalling*

Medium: Motor-oil, rust, detergents on canvas

Size: 820 x 600 (each) mm

Title: *Othering The Self*

Medium: Cement, rust, paper on board

Size: 900 x 400 mm

Title: Erasure and [Dis]integration

Medium: Motor-oil, acrylic paint, string, charcoal on canvas

Size: 1700 x 1200mm

Title: *Taking Measures*

Medium: Rust, acrylic paint, string on canvas

Size: 1700 x 1210mm

Title: *A Dreamscape of the Forgotten*

Medium: Motor oil, rust, cement, acrylic paint, charcoal, paper, reprinted images on canvas

Size: 1700 x 3000 mm

Title: *A Dreamscape of the Forgotten* (Detail)

Medium: Motor oil, rust, cement, acrylic paint, charcoal, paper, reprinted images on canvas

Size: 1700 x 3000 mm

Title: *Plaster*

Medium: Cement, white cement, acrylic paint, filler, tissue cloth on board, steel frame.

Size: 2010 x 1210 mm

Title: *Awakening*

Medium: Cement, motor-oil, crack filler, acrylic paint on board, mutton cloth, mild steel frame.

Size:2000 x 1200 x 3160

Title: *Covertness*

Medium: Cement, stained mutton cloth, nails, copper wire, crack filler on board

Size: 2000 x 1200mm

Title: *The Impossibility of the Past*

Medium: Cement, white cement, rust, acrylic paint, copper wire, nails on board.

Size: 1600 x 1200mm

Title: *Without End*

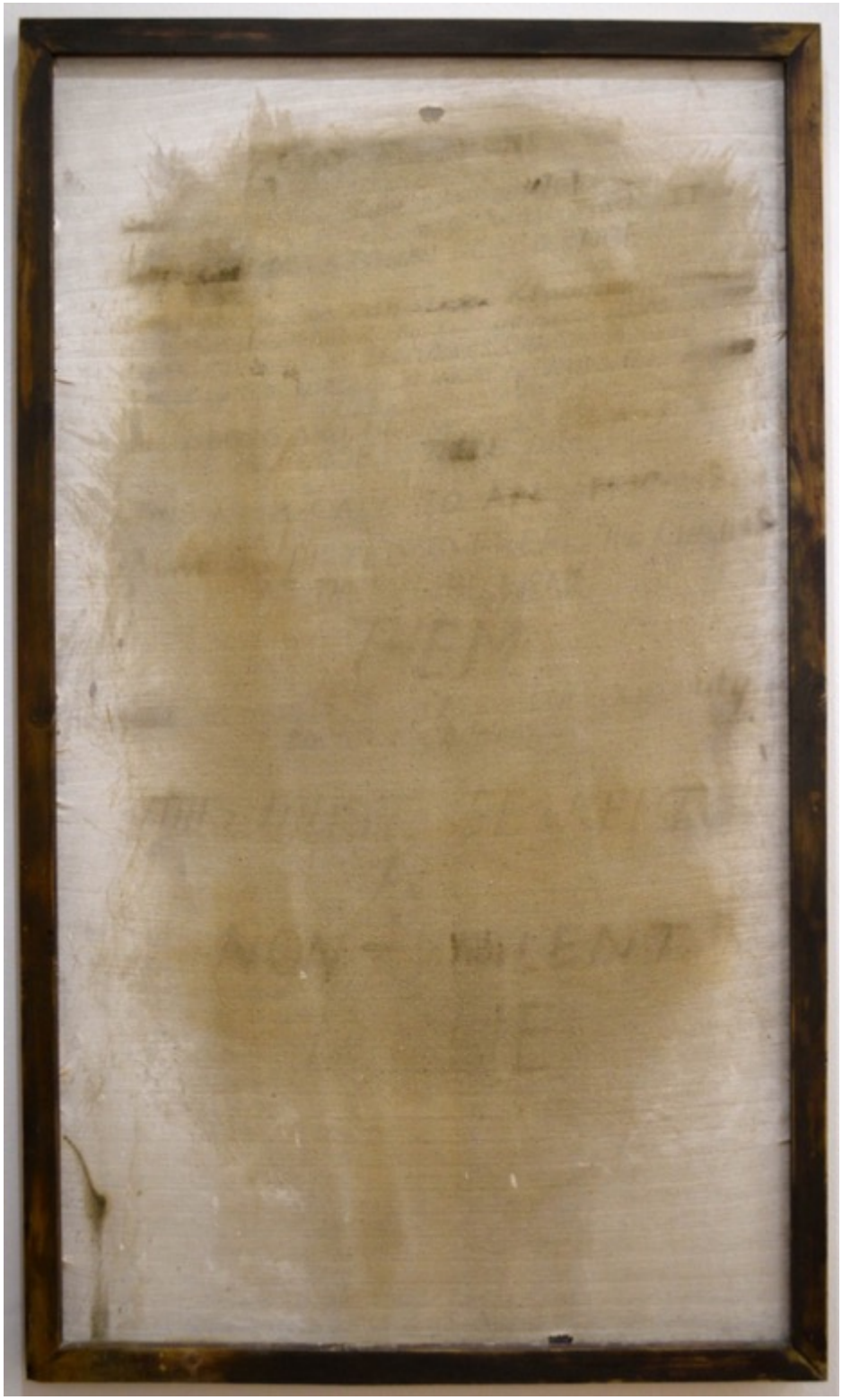
Medium: Cement, white cement, motor-oil, rust, tissue cloth on board

Size: 1600 x 1200mm

Title: Untitled (Traces)

Medium: Stained mutton cloth, motor oil, detergents. Stained pine wood.

Size: 1700 x 990.5mm



Title: *Untitled (Double Bunk)*

Medium: Stained mutton cloth, mild steel frame.

Size: 1600 x 1400 x 1760mm

Title: *Untitled (screen dividers)*

Medium: Rust and motor-oil on cloth, mild steel frame.

Size: 1800 x 1240.5mm

Title: Installation view

Medium: Mutton cloth and mild steel

Size: Dimensions variable

Title: *[Inter]generational*

Medium: Mutton cloth, copper wire

Size: 900 x 600mm

Title: *Transitions of Home and Values*

Medium: Photographs, TRC print, table from home

Size: 1760 x 1070 x 450mm

Title: *Placeholder Placemaking*

Medium: Salvaged cross, cement, rust, motor oil, cotton cloth on board. Mild steel frame.

Mutton cloth and mild steel frame.

Size: 2000 x 1200 x 3640mm

Title: *Placeholder Placemaking* (detail)

Medium: Salvaged cross, cement, rust, motor oil, cotton cloth on board. Mild steel frame

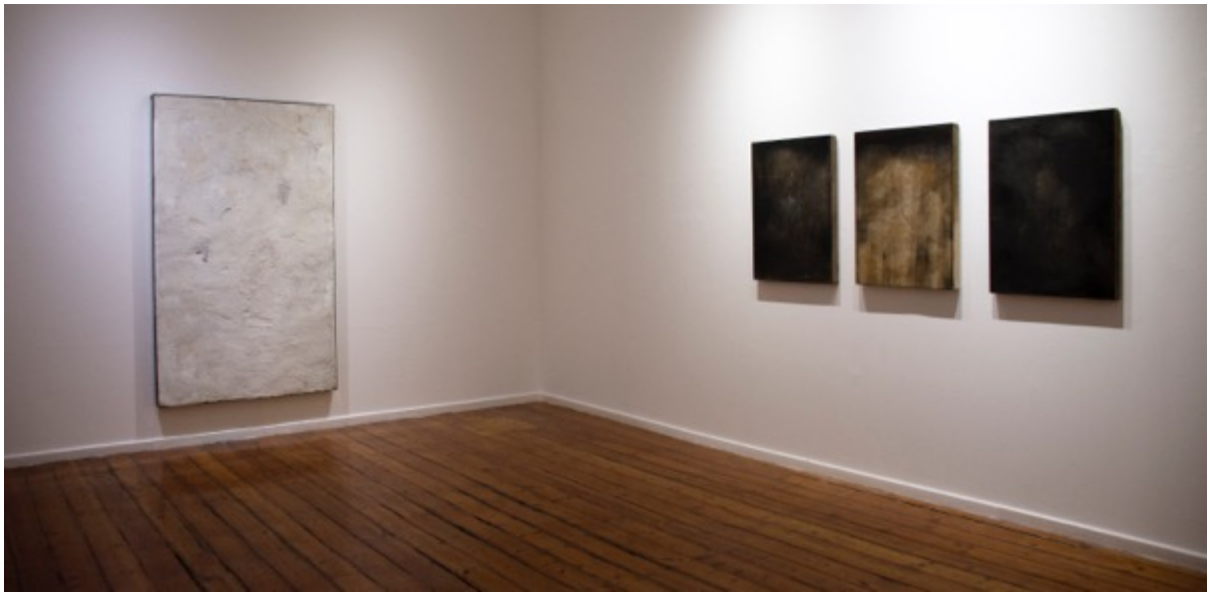
Size: 2000 x 1200 x 1930 mm

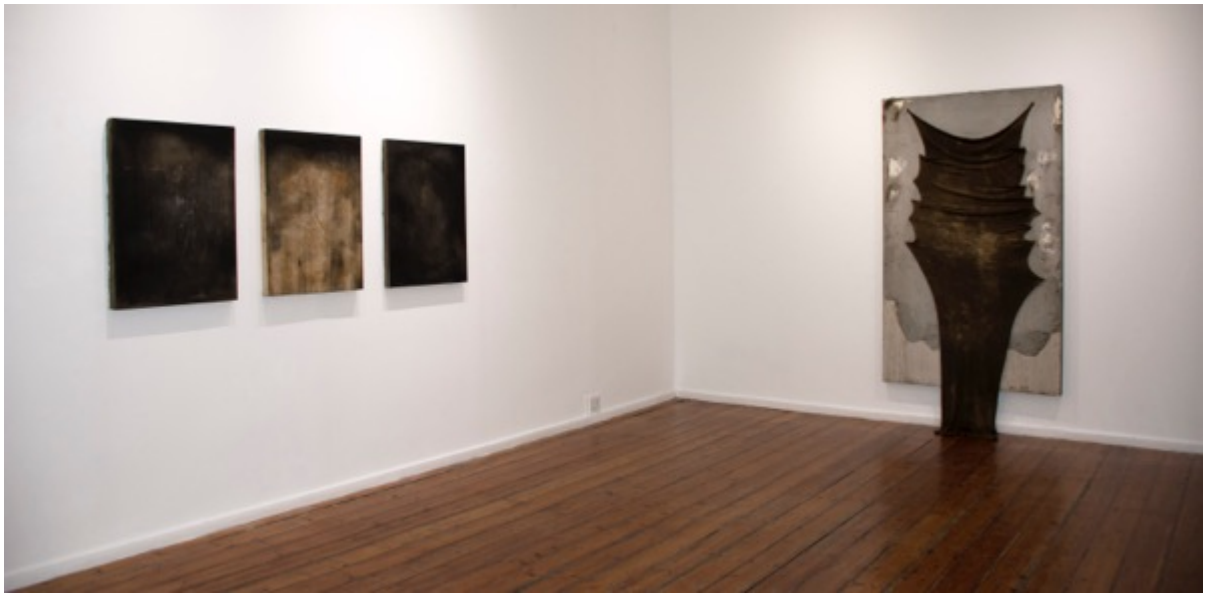
Title: Installation View

Medium: Cement, white cement, rust, motor oil, cotton cloth salvaged cross on board. Cement, white cement, acrylic paint, crack filler, mutton cloth on board. Mild steel Frame

Size: Dimensions variable

Exhibition Installation View





Title: *Conducting*

Medium: Digitized VHS recording (video Still)

Title: *Unwavering*

Medium: Digitized VHS recording (video still)

Title: *Deep Waters*

Medium: Epson Inkjet on Hahnemühle Museum Etching 350G

Size: 540 x 870 mm Framed

Title: *Hand in Hand*

Medium: Epson Inkjet on Epson Paper. 192G

Size: 570 x 450 mm Framed

Additional Archive Images:

Figure 1.20: Praying in Windermere, Cape Town Frederick Daniel Williams (far left)

Circa 1960 – 1965

Figure 1.21: Gathering Windermere, Cape Town.

Circa 1960 -1965

Figure 1.22: Prayer meeting, Windermere, Cape Town

Circa 1950 - 1960

Figure 1.23: Baptism, location unknown

Date Unknown

Figure 1.24: Preaching in Stellenbosch

Date Unknown

Figure 1.25: Business card of Frederick Daniel Williams

Date Unknown

Salvation and Divine Healing Campaign

Conducted by Cape Town raised Men of God

Deliverance for the
Poor, Distressed and Needy

in the

ST. JOSEPH'S A.M.E. CHURCH, HUGUENOT, PAARL,

FOR

ONE NIGHT ONLY

Saturday, 5th May

1956, at 7 p.m.

Bring your sick and afflicted friends along

Jesus Christ the same Yesterday, and Today and Forever.
Heb. 13 v. 8.

MEET THE AMBASSADORS FOR CHRIST.

Speaker: Bro. F. Williams,
13, Cobern St., Cape Town.

Co-Operating with all Churches.

Economic, C.T.

Figure 1.26: Invitational Poster. 5 May 1956.

PVR. 1.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA. DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORT.

Application for a Temporary Motor Carrier Certificate or Exemption.

(Motor Carrier Transportation Act, No. 39/1930, as amended.)

THE SECRETARY,

LOCAL ROAD TRANSPORTATION BOARD,

_____

FOR OFFICE USE.

Application No. _____

Time received _____

Receipt No. _____

No. of motor carrier—certificate/exemption _____

Confirmed/Granted _____

Declined/Minute No. _____

I hereby apply for a temporary motor carrier certificate/exemption for the conveyance of _____

_____

within area _____

and/or between points _____

on (date or dates required) _____

Vehicle Registration No. _____ Make and type of vehicle _____

Remarks and information in support of application _____

_____

_____

If goods are to be conveyed, state full name and address of—

(*a*) Consignor _____

(*b*) Consignee _____

State times of departure from and arrival at the points from and to which the conveyance is to be undertaken

_____

_____

State reasons for not using the existing rail or road motor transport facilities _____

_____

_____

Are you the holder of an annual motor carrier certificate or exemption and if so, state the name of the Board by which it was issued _____

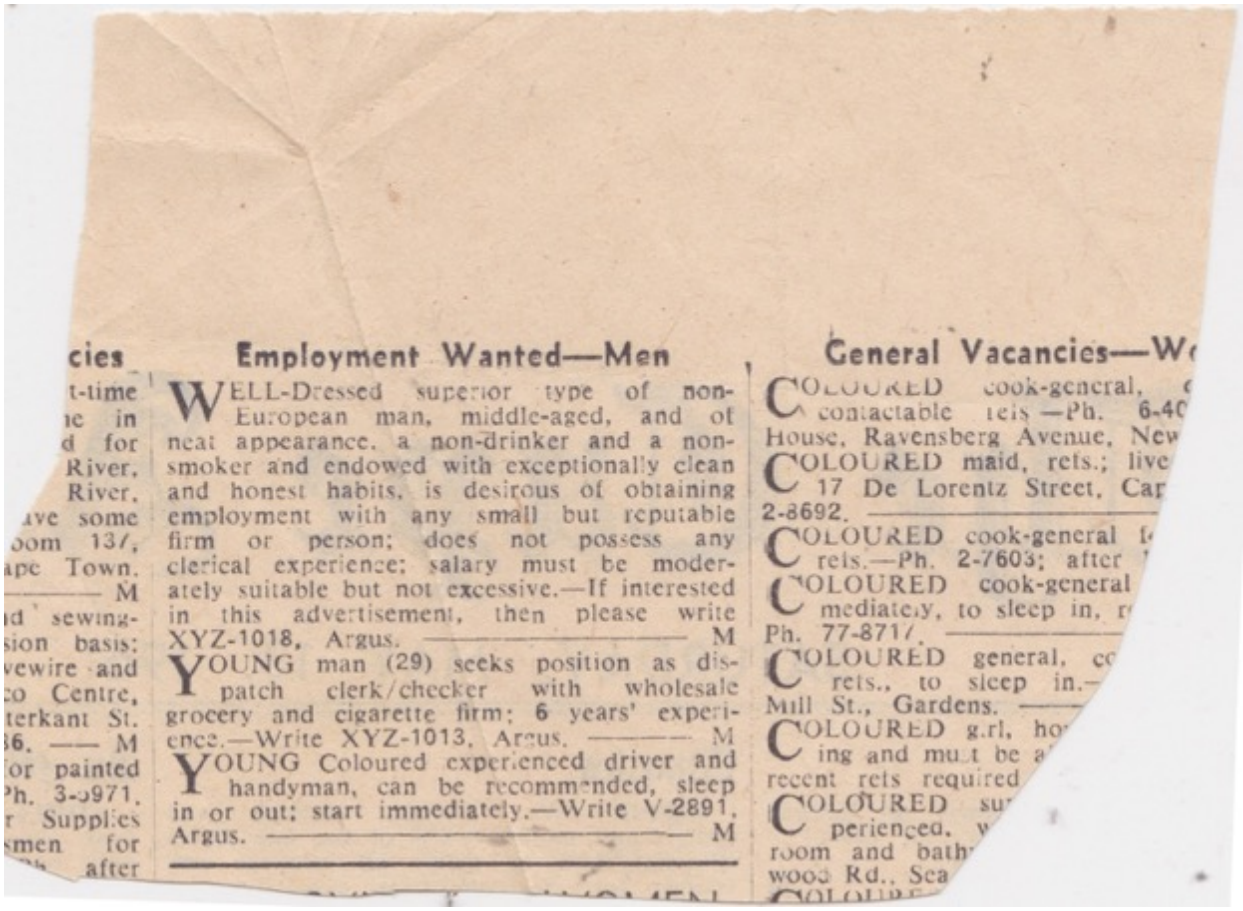
Full name of applicant _____

Full address of applicant _____

_____

Signature of Applicant.

Figure 1.27: A blank exemption form to be filled in when travelling for preaching purposes.



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36. —— M
or painted
Ph. 3-5971.
r Supplies
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Employment Wanted—Men

WELL-Dressed superior type of non-European man, middle-aged, and of neat appearance, a non-drinker and a non-smoker and endowed with exceptionally clean and honest habits, is desirous of obtaining employment with any small but reputable firm or person; does not possess any clerical experience; salary must be moderately suitable but not excessive.—If interested in this advertisement, then please write XYZ-1018, Argus. ——— M

YOUNG man (29) seeks position as dispatch clerk/checker with wholesale grocery and cigarette firm; 6 years' experience.—Write XYZ-1013, Argus. ——— M

YOUNG Coloured experienced driver and handyman, can be recommended, sleep in or out; start immediately.—Write V-2891, Argus. ——— M

General Vacancies—W

COLOURED cook-general, c
contactable refs.—Ph. 6-40
House, Ravensberg Avenue, New
COLOURED maid, refs.; live
17 De Lorentz Street, Cap
2-8692.
COLOURED cook-general f
refs.—Ph. 2-7603; after
COLOURED cook-general
mediately, to sleep in, r
Ph. 77-8717.
COLOURED general, c
refs., to sleep in.—
Mill St., Gardens.
COLOURED girl, ho
ing and must be a
recent refs required
COLOURED su
perienced, w
room and bath
wood Rd., Sea

Figure 1.28: Newspaper clipping of jobs for 'coloured' people

Date unknown

THE CAPE ARGUS, FRIDAY, JANUARY 31, 1958

(21) IS
VATION
DISPLAY

espondent

LONDON, Friday.
salon in Paris rang with
erday after the showing of
ear-old Yves Saint Laurent,
Dior.

Cape group areas are gazetted

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA, Friday. — Group areas for occupation by members of the White, Coloured and Indian groups in the magisterial districts of Cape Town, Bellville and Stellenbosch were proclaimed in a 'Government Gazette' here to-day.

The definition of the areas covers eight pages of the 'Gazette.'

Areas for occupation by the three groups (which come into effect on the date of publication) are within the following areas:

For Europeans: Brooklyn-Rugby, Woodstock-Salt River, Milnerton, Goodwood, Parow, Bellville (North and Stikland), Kuils River.

COLOURED PEOPLE

For Coloured people: Kensington area, Parow South, sections of Bellville South and north of Kasselsvlei Road, Kuils River (Sarepta and Vogelvlei).

For Indians, Parow South.

The notice also lays down that the areas mentioned are for White, Coloured and Indian ownership from date of publication.

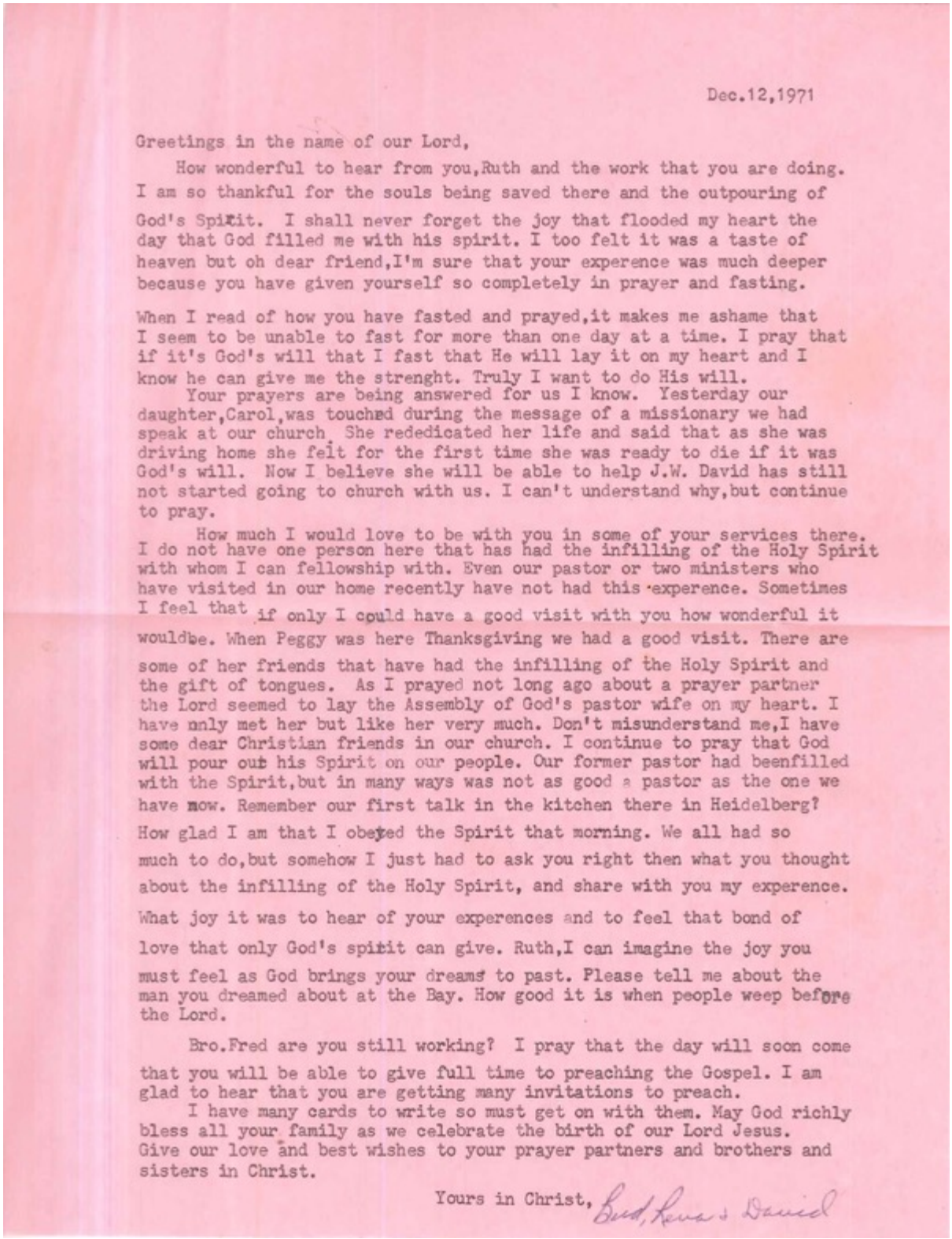
The notice adds that Goodwood (The Acres) will be an area for future occupation by the White group and Kuils River (south of the railway line between the line and Sarepta Road) shall be for future occupation by Coloured people.

ALBERT Rd.
VICTORIA Rd.
FRERE St.
WALMER Rd.
ADELAIDE Rd.
MELBOURNE Rd.
DURHAM Ave.
BROWNING Rd.
MAIN Rd.
DE WAAL DRIVE

NEWLY PROCLAIMED Woodst... Salt River group area for White ownership and occupation is AL... in the above map. Th area excludes planned industrial ... Browning Road was previously called Cemetery Road and ap... under that na... on existing maps.

Figure 1.29: Newspaper clipping of Group Areas gazette

31 January 1958, *The Cape Argus*



Dec.12,1971

Greetings in the name of our Lord,

How wonderful to hear from you,Ruth and the work that you are doing. I am so thankful for the souls being saved there and the outpouring of God's Spirit. I shall never forget the joy that flooded my heart the day that God filled me with his spirit. I too felt it was a taste of heaven but oh dear friend,I'm sure that your experence was much deeper because you have given yourself so completely in prayer and fasting.

When I read of how you have fasted and prayed,it makes me ashame that I seem to be unable to fast for more than one day at a time. I pray that if it's God's will that I fast that He will lay it on my heart and I know he can give me the strenght. Truly I want to do His will.

Your prayers are being answered for us I know. Yesterday our daughter,Carol,was touched during the message of a missionary we had speak at our church. She rededicated her life and said that as she was driving home she felt for the first time she was ready to die if it was God's will. Now I believe she will be able to help J.W. David has still not started going to church with us. I can't understand why,but continue to pray.

How much I would love to be with you in some of your services there. I do not have one person here that has had the infilling of the Holy Spirit with whom I can fellowship with. Even our pastor or two ministers who have visited in our home recently have not had this experence. Sometimes I feel that if only I could have a good visit with you how wonderful it would be. When Peggy was here Thanksgiving we had a good visit. There are some of her friends that have had the infilling of the Holy Spirit and the gift of tongues. As I prayed not long ago about a prayer partner the Lord seemed to lay the Assembly of God's pastor wife on my heart. I have only met her but like her very much. Don't misunderstand me,I have some dear Christian friends in our church. I continue to pray that God will pour out his Spirit on our people. Our former pastor had beenfilled with the Spirit,but in many ways was not as good a pastor as the one we have now. Remember our first talk in the kitchen there in Heidelberg? How glad I am that I obeyed the Spirit that morning. We all had so much to do,but somehow I just had to ask you right then what you thought about the infilling of the Holy Spirit, and share with you my experence. What joy it was to hear of your experences and to feel that bond of love that only God's spirit can give. Ruth,I can imagine the joy you must feel as God brings your dreams to past. Please tell me about the man you dreamed about at the Bay. How good it is when people weep before the Lord.

Bro.Fred are you still working? I pray that the day will soon come that you will be able to give full time to preaching the Gospel. I am glad to hear that you are getting many invitations to preach.

I have many cards to write so must get on with them. May God richly bless all your family as we celebrate the birth of our Lord Jesus. Give our love and best wishes to your prayer partners and brothers and sisters in Christ.

Yours in Christ, Bud, Lois & David

Figure 1.30: Letter addressed to Frederick Daniel Williams from American friend Bud

12 December 1971

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Appendix

List of figures:

Familial Archive Reference:

Artist Reference:

2.1 Santu Mofokeng. *The Black Photo Album/ Look at Me*.
2.2 Santu Mofokeng. *The Black Photo Album/ Look at Me*.
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