

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

FACULTY OF ENGINEERING AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

**FORDSBURG'S URBAN MEMORY – CULTURAL
SIGNIFICANCE AND ITS EMBODIMENT IN THE ORDINARY
LANDSCAPE**

YASMIN MAYAT

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TOWARDS THE COMPLETION OF A
MASTERS OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE CONSERVATION OF THE BUILT
ENVIRONMENT

JANUARY 2013

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

ABSTRACT

The vibrant suburb of Fordsburg has a rich history of diverse working class communities. It has long been associated with the Indian community and more recently a new immigrant population from the Indian subcontinent. Transitory communities have left their mark on the suburb and have resulted in changing significances and heritage resources. The study's main aim was to identify what constants have gained significance to become anchors for memory and identity in Fordsburg's landscape of rapid urban and social change. An exploration of Fordsburg's history and evolution was undertaken so as to reflect on multiple interpretations and insights into unacknowledged histories of the area. Themes of identity, urban memory, hybridity and the everyday landscape were examined within the context of Fordsburg. It concluded that there are constants of cultural significance which anchor memory and identity. These constants are located in the ordinary urban landscape of public spaces created in Fordsburg's main roads, public amenities and Fordsburg Square.

DECLARATION

COURSE CODE: APG 5071S
STUDENT: Yasmin Mayat
STUDENT NUMBER: MYTYAS001
SUPERVISOR: Melinda Silverman
CO-SUPERVISOR: Prof Stephen Townsend

PLAGIARISM DECLARATION

1. I know that plagiarism is wrong. Plagiarism is to use another's work and pretend that it is one's own.
2. I have used the Harvard convention for citation and referencing. Each contribution to and quotation in, this dissertation from the work(s) of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.
3. This dissertation is my own work.
4. I have not allowed, and will not allow, anyone to copy my work.

SIGNATURE:

DATE: 18 January 2013

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I extend my gratitude and debt to all who have contributed to this dissertation whether it was through conversation, time, ideas, books or tea. It would not have been possible particularly without the support of the following people –

My parents for their unwavering support

My family and brothers – Fatima, Mohammed and Aadil

My supervisors – Melinda Silverman and Stephen Townsend

My husband Brendan Hart for his encouragement, understanding and love

My grandmother, around whom my memories of Fordsburg will always be intertwined

All images, unless credited are by the author.

CONTENTS

<u>TITLE PAGE</u>	i
<u>ABSTRACT</u>	ii
<u>DECLARATION</u>	iii
<u>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</u>	iv
<u>CONTENTS</u>	v
<u>PREFACE</u>	vii
A Biographical Note	
<u>CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION</u>	
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Aim and Rationale of the Study	3
1.3 The Questions to be Examined in the Study	3
1.4 Literature Review	4
1.5 The Approach and Method of the Enquiry	6
1.6 Outline of Chapters	7
<u>CHAPTER 2 FORDSBURG – A WORKING CLASS HISTORY</u>	
2.1 Introduction	9
2.2 The Johannesburg Context	10
2.3 Working Class Communities	13
2.4 Fordsburg – The Mining Camp	15
2.5 The Indian Community and Era	21
2.6 Post-Apartheid Fordsburg	28
<u>CHAPTER 3 THE HISTORICAL LANDSCAPE</u>	
3.1 Township Establishment	30
3.2 Growth and Development	38
3.3 Transition	42
3.4 Landscape Mutation	45
3.5 The Everyday Landscape	47
3.6 The City as a Social Text	47

CHAPTER 4 THE CONTEMPORARY LANDSCAPE

4.1	Introduction	49
4.2	Significant Buildings and Sites	57

CHAPTER 5 IDENTITY AND MEMORY

5.1	Introduction	63
5.2	Culture and Identity	64
5.3	Hybrid Urbanism	65
5.4	Hybrid Fordsburg – A Cultural Enclave?	66
5.5	Cultural Hybridity?	69
5.6	The Identity of Buildings	70
5.7	Urban Memory	72
5.8	The Immigrant Experience	74

CHAPTER 6 THE LANDSCAPE OF SIGNIFICANCE

6.1	Introduction	75
6.2	Interview Mappings	77
6.3	Mapping Outcomes and Interpretations	96

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSIONS

REFERENCES

APPENDIX

a	List of Questions	110
b	List of People Interviewed	111
c	Mapping Citations	112

PREFACE

A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Fordsburg resides in the memories of my childhood. It is a part of Johannesburg which I will always acknowledge as my first understanding of the city and as part of my identity.

It is important for me to state that although I am no longer a resident of Fordsburg, I am a South African of Indian origin within the Johannesburg context. Fordsburg still resonates strongly within me and I still maintain close links to the area on a personal level.

My research and interest in the area has been informed not only as a prior resident but additionally as the subject of my architectural design thesis in 2005. Recently as part of masters in heritage studies I have had the opportunity of delving into my own past and legacy where my family has resided for much of the last half century.

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The vibrant suburb of Fordsburg has long been associated with the Indian community and more recently a new immigrant population from the Indian subcontinent. From its early days as a mining suburb it has been a working class area. Its close proximity to the mines and city centre made it a popular area irrespective of class or race (Brink 2008: 8). Fordsburg's built environment is constituted of an array of residential accommodation, retail, workshops, bars and eating houses. Development in the area has contributed to the establishment of a commercial spine along the main road while a market square allowed for public open space. The square particularly played a significant role during the 1922 Rand Revolt when the market building was the headquarters of strikers and the area a target for bombing by government forces (Krickler: 2005).

Fordsburg in the early twentieth century was a diverse and lively area and included a migrant Afrikaans community, mine workers, Indian traders, Chinese merchants, cabbies and their horses (Leyds: 1964). There was also a strong Jewish, Lebanese, coloured and African community housed in the suburb. This multi-faceted history allowed for a 'melting pot' of cultures, values and needs. The building fabric of Fordsburg subsequently includes established Indian schools, churches, mosques, recreational facilities, early residential dwellings, the Oriental Plaza and a variety of commercial buildings.

All these transitory communities have left their mark on the suburb. This has resulted in changing significances and heritage resources which at first are not apparent. Fragments of past physical manifestations remain, with many under threat due to the ephemeral nature of the city of Johannesburg itself.

"I like the changes. Fordsburg has created a niche and it has a neighbourhood character that you won't easily find anywhere else. It has a unique mix with social underpinnings which makes it special."

E Itzkin, Deputy Director of Immovable Heritage, City of Johannesburg
(Interview 22/10/2012)

Fordsburg is located to the west of Johannesburg’s historic city core. It is bordered by the suburbs of Burghersdorp to the north, Newtown to the east, Mayfair to the west and City West to the south. For the purpose of this study, the area of Fordsburg extends beyond the demarcated township boundary and includes areas within Burghersdorp and Newtown which are integral to the understanding of the lived experience and context of Fordsburg.

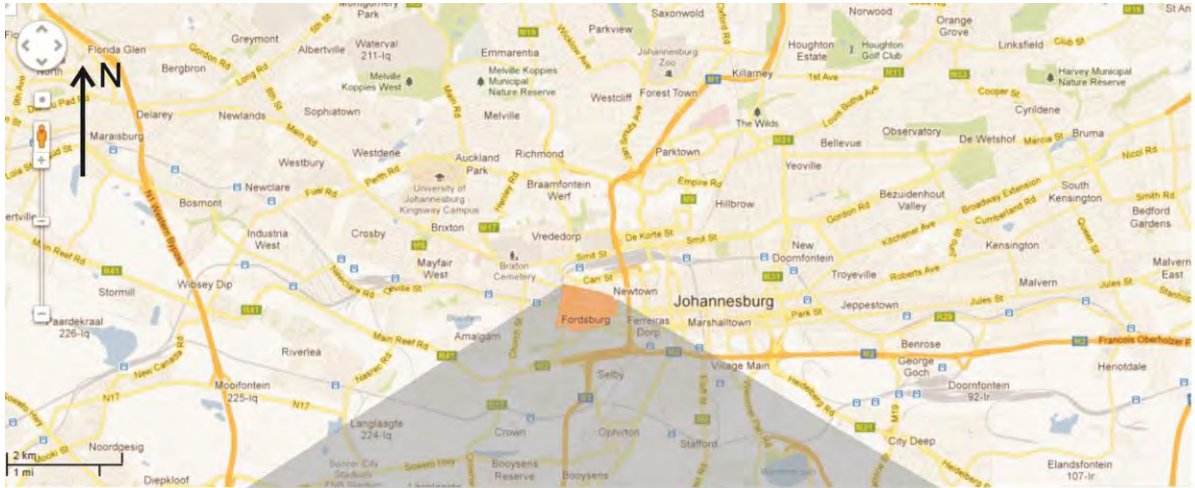


Figure 1 – Context of Fordsburg within Johannesburg (after Google Earth 2012)

1.2 AIM AND RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this dissertation is to analyse the layers of significance of an early suburb of Johannesburg, Fordsburg. Fordsburg is an area of historical value and a heritage resource. Furthermore, it is a place of constant transition and urban change. The emphasis will be on the historical analysis of the Fordsburg context and understanding its historical significance from varying points of view.

Fordsburg resonates with me not only due to my own past associations of the area. I am interested specifically in how one can address the issue of heritage in a context of rapid urban and social change as found in Fordsburg. Is Fordsburg significant to its current community, past residents or the city of Johannesburg? My architectural background has focussed my interest in the existing building stock and whether these buildings act as anchors within the Fordsburg context. Which of these anchors are significant markers of identity, memory and heritage?

Through the exploration of 'ephemeral' heritage in Fordsburg which is enmeshed in cultural identity, I attempt to better understand my own heritage and ultimately sense of place and meaning within Johannesburg. The exploration of heritage in everyday, contemporary life in Fordsburg and its articulation within my own sense of identity are important in affirming the value of its heritage. This value is integral to the ascertaining of what resources need to be preserved for the future and potentially what conservation approach philosophy could be taken within the Fordsburg, Johannesburg context.

1.3 THE QUESTIONS TO BE EXAMINED IN THE STUDY

The main research question is:

In Fordsburg, a townscape of rapid urban and social change, what constants have gained cultural significance to become anchors for memory and identity?

A sub question is the possible identification of these constants within Fordsburg's urban fabric and their impact on the significance of heritage and memory of Fordsburg.

1.4 LITERATURE REVIEW

This dissertation navigates across various disciplines of a historical, social, cultural, urban and architectural nature. I have examined diverse literature has been in order to reflect multiple interpretations and understandings and particularly unacknowledged histories of Johannesburg.

My starting point was to gain a general overview of Johannesburg's history. Literature consulted included established texts such as Leyds (1964), Norwich (1987), Chipkin (1993), Beavon (2004) and various heritage reports and surveys conducted by RAU (1977), Radford (1987) and Brink (2008). I further consulted alternative sources on Johannesburg's working class histories that included Callinicos (1985, 1987, 1993, 2000), Van Onselen (1982a 1982b), Pickard – Cambridge (1988), Itzkin (2000) and Brodie (2008). Equally, I consulted literatures concerning crucial events such as the Rand Revolt which was particularly prominent in the history of Fordsburg. These included Herd (1966) and Krickler (2005).

The strong association between Fordsburg and the Indian community is evident and this led to an exploration and analysis of the history of the Indian community within Johannesburg and the broader South African context. I referred to literature that included Duphelia – Mesthrie (2000), Carrim (1990), Bhana et al (1990) and Desai et al (1967).

Key themes became apparent in this dissertation. The notions and concepts of identity, urban memory, hybridity and the everyday landscape were identified as an approach to a theoretical analysis and framework to Fordsburg.

The ordinary landscape with its generic buildings provides an important insight into neglected urban history. Groth (1988, 1999) finds them a valuable text for social and cultural history. Generic building types and their social groups make up a distinctive cultural landscape where inhabitants have a sense of belonging. This everyday interaction of ordinary people provides a platform for an understanding of connections and significance within an area and its buildings. These may often subvert official meanings and values attached to them. The suburban built environment of Fordsburg may offer details and patterns of the urban environment and community life.

Lefebvre's writings and approach of the city as a social text reinforces Groth's more pragmatic slant. The historic city is no longer seen as a whole; rather it is fragmented and consumed as an illogical set of spaces (Lefebvre 1996). The concept of the everyday, according to Lefebvre (1987), illuminates the past. Importance of this everydayness varies and gives the observer clues to the existence or absence of constants within daily lives.

Identity within the South African context is inevitably intertwined with community, race, culture and values. A sense of self is formed through these understandings and is often linked to a specific area. Identity is also defined by the relationship of an individual within a socially distinctive group. Gleason (2006: 194) elaborates on the identity crises and the need to affirm an ethnic identity within the American context. This analogy is helpful within the South African context. Sociologist Zukin (1995: 1), explores the role culture has on the collective identity of a city.

Similarly the diasporic discourse is pertinent in understanding the case of transitory Fordsburg within both the apartheid and post-apartheid setting. AlSayyad (2001) in *Hybrid Urbanism* addresses the term hybridity and hybrid urbanism in the postcolonial context. He refers to Bhabha's definition of hybridity and the creation of a "third" or "in-between" space where "elements encounter and transform each other". This is relevant in the Fordsburg environment where the colonial subject essentially hybridises in these sites of colonisers. This specific setting is interesting in terms of its transitory nature and later dominance of an Indian minority subculture. The role of marginalised voices, particularly those of immigrants was discussed through the writings of urban planning theorist, Sandercock (1995).

This was juxtaposed with the notion of Fordsburg as an ethnic enclave and was considered specifically through a comparison with Chinatowns. The examination of Californian Chinatowns by Yip (2001) as an expression of hybridised culture was used as a comparison with Fordsburg. This comparison was initially made in a thesis study undertaken by Mahomed (2006).

The conservation of the familiar and cherished local scene, with its link to identity is deliberated by Grenville (2007). This has related to an understanding of the significance of certain buildings and spaces within the Fordsburg community and streetscape.

Urban memory as defined by Vidler (1992) was easy to define in the traditional city where the citizen was able to identify with the past and present within the reality of the protected environment of the city. The city and its physical environment enable recollections of the

past and, Rossi argues, that a city remembers through its buildings and the set of experiences enacted there (Crinson 2005:xii).

Huyssen (1995), reasons that remembrance of the past anchors our identities and that memory and forgetting are in fact interlinked. It is subject to change, whether political, generational or individual but it is always transitory. Fordsburg is filled with these moments of memories that are being forgotten or renegotiated.

1.5 THE APPROACH AND METHOD OF THE ENQUIRY

I have applied a case study approach. I undertook a visual investigation of the Fordsburg context and later mapped and analysed the built environment. I relied on historical primary archive evidence of maps and photographs to uncover apparent overlaps and patterns which led to an understanding of the evolution of the suburb and landscape.

I diagrammatically illustrated heritage resources of Fordsburg. These heritage mappings were divided into three significant periods as defined in the historical analysis of the suburb.

I additionally analysed and considered heritage assessments, surveys and urban frameworks previously undertaken by the City of Johannesburg (2008), the now defunct National Monuments Council (1987) and the former *Randse Afrikanse Universiteit* (1977) as part of an academic viewpoint on heritage resources identified within Fordsburg.

I was then able to undertake a general heritage mapping of buildings and spaces. These were interpreted and based through my personal experiences (see Preface), the above mentioned documents and literature research sources.

I conducted interviews with selected individuals as representatives of different streams of experience as a qualitative measure, see Appendix b. A limited number of individuals were interviewed due to the short nature of a six month part time dissertation. The restrictions of the dissertation limited the scope of the study and made it possible to only interview nine individuals. Therefore care was taken to interview alternate sets of individuals to ascertain varying opinions and perspectives between academics and heritage practitioners with that of past and present residents of the area. Interviews were run in a semi structured manner to allow for a guided conversation, derive interpretations and discover any patterns (Warren 2001:86). I contacted all potential research participants personally, telephonically or through e-mail. They were all made aware of the research nature of the interview and potential

outcomes. All interviewees were either known personally to me or contacted through a reference. Of the people contacted, nine were willing and able to participate. Informed consent was given by all participants. This consent was given in some instances due to the research rather than journalistic nature of the study.

Questions were used as a guideline for interviews, see Appendix a. These questions enabled the interviewee to reflect on Fordsburg and their relationship to the area and further demarcate any areas or buildings within Fordsburg that held a strong association or significance. Subsequently I undertook a mapping of these significant sites that each individual identified. Through these mappings meaningful patterns and themes emerged and constants were acknowledged. My observations and research were further supplemented and triangulated through the responses I obtained.

The primary and secondary research sources, their analysis and the interviews contributed to an exploration of Fordsburg and facilitated the identification of key sites or constants. These sites potentially demarcate Fordsburg's heritage resources and have cultural significance. My approach has therefore relied on multiple sources of evidence.

1.6 OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

Chapter 1 starts with an introduction to the subject of this dissertation and key questions to be examined. Resources that I investigated and approaches I have taken in the analysis are briefly discussed.

The historical background of Fordsburg is described in Chapter 2. This is conducted through the lens of Fordsburg as a working class community with specific reference to the establishment of the Indian community within the suburb.

This is followed by Chapter 3, the Historical Landscape with my analysis of detailed mappings and aerial photographs through the decades of the area. The evolution of Fordsburg is illustrated through these graphics and helps to contextualise potential heritage resources and periods.

Chapter 4, the Contemporary Landscape, is a mapping of the existing built environment. Mappings diagrammatically illustrate key buildings and sites of historical, cultural or architectural significance within Fordsburg.

The theoretical framework of identity and memory is explored in Chapter 5 in the context of Fordsburg. Further concepts discussed include culture and hybrid urbanism.

Chapter 6 diagrammatically illustrates significant sites that were identified through the interview process. My analyses of these mappings have resulted in the acknowledgement of key sites or constants within Fordsburg and their likely implications on the heritage landscape.

My conclusion is drawn in Chapter 7 with a review of the dissertation study.

NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

Racial categories and classifications are part of the historical reality of South Africa. In this dissertation, names and classifications of both people and places were used purely to maintain historical accuracy and description. My inclusion of them does not endorse or encourage their use out of their historical context.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Fordsburg was one of the earliest townships to be laid out by private developers in Johannesburg in 1888 by Lewis P Ford and Julius Jeppe Senior, who together with Jeppe's sons formed the Ford and Jeppe Estate Co (Leyds 1964:153). Land was acquired near the new mining camp where Ford and Jeppe subsequently laid out two townships in their own names. Johannesburg based social historian, Elsabe Brink (2008:3) notes that this was an act of faith at the time since the sustainability of these goldfields was unknown at that stage.

FORDSBURG! FORDSBURG!!

GREAT SALE OF BUSINESS SITES

Business & Dwellings.

FORDSBURG AND PROGRESS.
FORDSBURG AND FORTUNE.
FORDSBURG AND ECONOMY.

THE LONG-WISHED FOR COME AT LAST.
CHANCE FOR GREAT MEN AND SMALL.

Please Remember the saving in Rents alone if applied to the Purchase of Property will, in a short time, enable families to live under their own roof.

BUSINESS SITES! Dwelling Sites!

CHOICE STANDS in the best part of Fordsburg FOR SALE

NOTE THE PROGRESS OF THE WEST RAND

SALE DAY, MAY 10TH.	TIME, 10.30 sharp.	PLACE, EXCHANGE CORNER.
---------------------	--------------------	-------------------------

Unreserved Sale. Remember the Tramway takes you to your door at Fordsburg.

IN CONSEQUENCE of the great existing demand for Stands in Fordsburg, I am instructed to offer for Public Competition on WEDNESDAY, MAY 10TH, AT THE EXCHANGE CORNER, commencing at 10.30 sharp, a number of Stands in that Township, hitherto held in reserve. Portion of these STANDS are situate on either side of Main Street, between the Bridge and Terrace Road. These are eminently suited for Business Stands, others, away from business and turmoil are in the heart of the forest, and offer for private residence complete rest and quietude. These Stands face Lovers' and Nursery Walks, Pine Terrace, Park Lane, Commercial and Fountain Roads—others facing North Circular Road, adjoining that portion of Braamfontein reserved by Government and surveyed as Township, and close to Railway Station (as per Plan to be obtained from the Auctioneer). Most of the above streets are shaded by trees planted on sidewalks, and on the greater portion of the Stands offered some of the buildings reserved by the Government.

COME AND GET A PLAN! BE THERE!!

The Auctioneer wishes to point out that, as in all previous sales of Stands, the utmost impartiality will be observed, every purchaser will be treated alike.—There will be NO RESERVE. There will be a BARGAIN for everyone.

VALUE FOR YOUR MONEY AND SQUARE TREATMENT AFTERWARDS. ONLY WATCH LITHAUER'S EYE FOR A PLUM.

**AS A LAST REMINDER, THIS SALE WILL BE HELD
On Wednesday, May 10th, at 10.30 a.m., at the Exchange Corner.**

Terms: One third Cash; Balance 2—4 months.

RAIN OR SHINE, LOCUSTS OR ELECTIONS, by I. J. LITHAUER, Auctioneer.

Figure 2 –
Advertisement for Fordsburg
in The Critic 5 May 1893
(Smith 1971:162)

The township was surveyed by WH Auret Pritchard. Stands on Fordsburg were put on auction on 10 May 1893. An advertisement for the auction stated that stands were to be located “in the heart of the forest, and offer(ed) for private residence complete rest and quietude” (Smith 1971:162). Fordsburg’s original use was presumably as a nursery to provide townships with trees. Most of the sidewalks were said to be planted by trees along streets named; Pine Terrace, Park Lane and Lover’s Walk and were easily accessible from the Tramway. See Figure 2

2.2 THE JOHANNESBURG CONTEXT

The name ‘Johannesburg’ had been given to the first mining camp established on the Witwatersrand in 1886 following the discovery of gold (Beavon 2004: 6). The camp grew into a seemingly instant city on a site which held no desirable physical features without any immense constraints. It was a city that emerged from “an unbridled desire for material wealth.” The original piece of *uitvalgrond* called Randjeslaagte upon which Johannesburg’s first layout was sited, was owned by the state and soon became too small to accommodate its increasing population. Speculators had begun buying up the surrounding land that was not earmarked for mining, for residential and limited business purposes. Townships were subsequently proclaimed and portions were sold off (Beavon 2004: 23).

Fordsburg was established on land which formed part of the farm Langlaagte in the 1800s. Langlaagte was one of the five original farms on which Johannesburg was laid out. The farm was divided into smaller portions and owned by various members of the Oosthuizen family (Leyds 1964:5). See Figure 3.

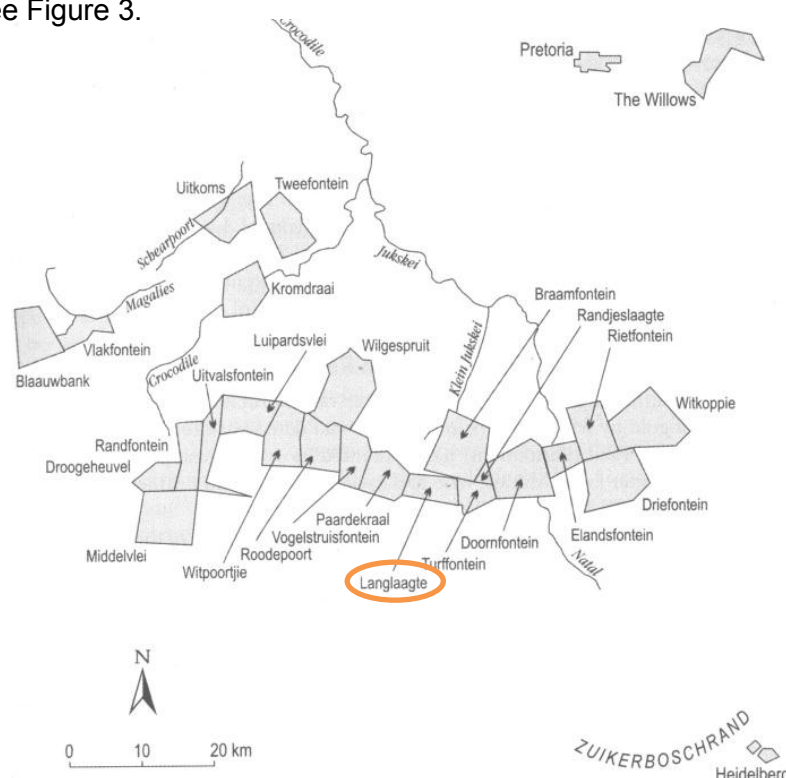


Figure 3 –
Farms in the vicinity of the
Witwatersrand in 1885
(after Beavon 2004: 19)



Figure 4 – Fordsburg 1889
(Museum Africa, Collection 916.82)

At the time the township of Fordsburg was located within the context of Burghersdorp or Brickfields, the Kazerne Railway marshalling yards and the Coolie Location. See Figure 5.

The poor of all races, with the discovery of gold, migrated to the Witwatersrand to find their fortunes. Owing to the fact that they had no mining skills, many became brick makers, cab drivers or labourers, particularly rural Afrikaners. By 1892 Brickfields had become a point of entry for the poor, unskilled and unemployed and had degenerated into a slum (Van Onselen 1982: 117). The Kruger government however had decided that it should be expropriated for the Netherlands Railway Company due to its ideal location between Braamfontein and Park Station. The brick makers were eventually forced off Brickfields and production had ceased by the end of 1898.

The Coolie Location was established in 1887 and was the only area where Indians could legally buy and own property in Johannesburg. It soon became highly congested with the arrival of more Indian traders while the city authorities did very little in terms of the provision of services and it soon degenerated into a slum (Itzkin 2000:50).

The Malay Location was similarly established in 1893, for Coloured people from the Cape who migrated to Johannesburg and were required by law to live in this area. The location would later be known as Pageview or colloquially as Fietas (Brink 2008: 6). The adjacent area of Vrededorp was occupied by poor Afrikaners where stands had been given to them as compensation for a loss of income due to the establishment of the railway (Leyds 1964: 162).

The area of Newtown was established after the destruction of the Coolie Location. The area developed after the completion of the Fresh Produce Market with small factories, showrooms and industries such as Premier Milling. (Brink 2008: 6).

2.3 WORKING CLASS COMMUNITIES

The western part of the city of Johannesburg attracted mostly the poor. Brink (2008: 8) states that by 1893 poor white people had moved into Vrededorp while the Coolie Location was occupied by a mix of Indians, coloureds and African people.

“Its proximity to the mines and to the centre of the mining town made it a popular choice for the poor irrespective of race or creed” and consequently adjacent Fordsburg became a blend of residential accommodation, small retail, workshops, bars and eating houses (Brink 2008: 15). There were no restrictions in terms of the usage of stands for business or residential and shopkeepers often lived in rooms behind their shop (Leyds 1964: 153).

Accommodation was provided initially in hotels and rooming houses in the early days. After the Anglo Boer South African War miners brought their families to settle in Johannesburg and occupied detached and semi-detached mineworker cottages as well as British designed row houses. African workers either resided in compounds or in outbuildings on white occupied premises (Brink 2008: 8). Subsequently a commercial spine developed along Main Road in Fordsburg which was along the route of the horse drawn tram.

Fordsburg had its own Market Square together with a Market Building, see Figures 6 and 8. There was a daily morning market on the Square and it was the headquarters of the strikers during the 1922 Rand Revolt (Smith 1971: 321). Many political meetings were also held on the Square.



Figure 6 (top left) – Fordsburg Market buildings circa 1905 (Museum Africa, Collection 916.82)

Figure 7 (top right) – Fordsburg Main Road (Barnett Collection, Photograph TRA14)

Figure 8 (bottom left) – Market buildings (Barnett Collection, Photograph JHB20)

Fordsburg became a multi cultured melting pot of the working class and due to its proximity to the Malay Location there was mingling between all races. Although Fordsburg was officially considered a white designated suburb, it also included and housed a sizeable Indian community by the 1930s. Brink (2008: 10) noted that this was mostly due to necessity as overflow from the already overcrowded neighbouring Pageview.

The history and identity of Fordsburg can be defined by the predominant community that resided in the area at the time. I have chosen to divide these periods of time in terms of the Mining Camp Era, the Indian Era and the Post-Apartheid Era. Communities straddle these periods and are not necessarily confined to one period alone.

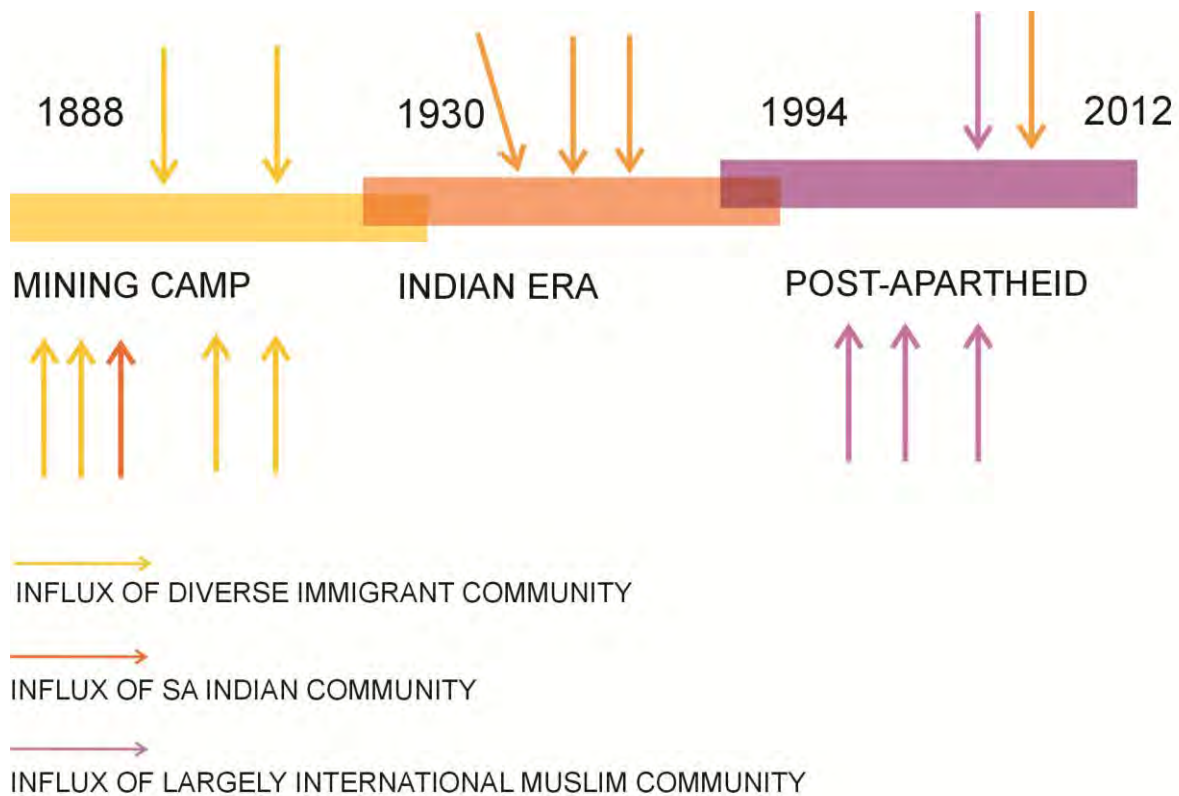


Figure 9 – Diagram of different periods and influx of people over time in Fordsburg

2.4 FORDSBURG – THE MINING CAMP

The early history of Fordsburg was defined by the predominantly working class nature of its inhabitants who were mostly associated with the neighbouring mines or services to these miners.

Afrikaans speaking rural migrants settled in Johannesburg mainly due to the economic effects that the Anglo Boer South African War had on farming on their rural lifestyle. Many found refuge in the relatively poor area of Fordsburg (Brink 2008: 14). They succumbed often to economic destitution, prostitution and alcoholism.

The English speaking community of Fordsburg were mostly immigrant miners from England, Ireland and Australia. Many of these men were skilled artisans and had come from a strong trade union background. Fordsburg would shortly after working hours and every Saturday night transform into a boisterous suburb with rivalling pubs and hotels (Norwich 1987: 103).

Similarly many Jewish refugees from Eastern Europe and particularly from Russia, Lithuania and Latvia arrived in Johannesburg and settled in white working class areas like Fordsburg. Brink (2008:16), explains that owing to their limited resources they often began as peddlers or participated in the liquor and prostitution trade. Skilled Jewish artisans found ample opportunity in Fordsburg and by 1904 a synagogue was built for its congregation (Sachs 1972: 224), see Figure 10. Dr Jack Zidel, son of the last minister of the Fordsburg Hebrew Congregation, records that the majority of the Jewish population of Fordsburg came from Lithuania which gave it an Eastern European *shtetl* atmosphere (Sachs 1972: 225).



Figure 10 – Opening ceremony at Fordsburg Synagogue 1906 (Sachs 1972: 98)

The Lebanese community likewise found a home Fordsburg and the neighbouring suburb of Mayfair. Consequently the former Dutch Reformed church in Mint Road was recycled into a Maronite Catholic Church in 1936 (Mahomed 2006:70).

Early Fordsburg was faced by hardships such as the dynamite explosion in 1896 which affected the slum areas of Fordsburg, Burgersdorp and Vrededorp. The Anglo Boer South African War broke out in 1899 and had led to the mass exodus of residents leaving behind only the destitute (Brink 2008:20).

Johannesburg's cab driving industry was centred in Fordsburg. Many men with no mining experience survived through the transport industry which had grown with the emerging city of Johannesburg. Until 1902 the city was served by horse drawn cabs and tramways and drivers who mostly resided in the area of Fordsburg and Burghersdorp. These men ranged in backgrounds from the Cape Malays, Afrikaners, Jews to the British. This suggested that in the late 1800s residents in Fordsburg were "bound by close social and economic ties, which crossed over racial lines" Brink (2008: 21). They often formed associations and held various meetings and strikes on Fordsburg Square particularly when their business were undermined by the new public transport policy implemented by the British government. However the industry declined with the introduction of electric trams in 1906. (Brink 2008: 22).

Further strikes included those of 1913 which was due to unfavourable working conditions at the mines. However the 1992 Rand Revolt or Red Revolt strike would affect Fordsburg the most.

In early January 1922, a strike was declared due to mine owner intentions to lay off workers and remove the colour bar. This would have allowed black workers to take on skilled positions reserved for white workers only (Brodie 2008:130). A general strike was called on 10 March after talks had faltered and 25 000 miners stayed away from work. It degenerated quickly into violent mob action and a revolt against the government with the capture of municipal buildings, police and power stations. Within a week Prime Minister General Smuts had declared martial law and the military was called in to control the shooting and fighting in the streets of Johannesburg (Callinicos 1985: 82).

Fordsburg played an important role in the setting of the strike. Trade unions were highly active in the area owing to the dominance of its mining and working class inhabitants. Strike leaders used the market buildings as the local strike headquarters and defence lines were drawn around the Market Square. Trenches were dug along the boundaries to provide cover for shooting defence against the advancing government troops (Herd 1966: 100), see Figure 11. The nearby police station was set alight and left as "a monument to the temporary triumph of the insurrection" (Krickler 2005:183) and Fordsburg became a virtual no-go area for armed forces. Ultimately only the army was able to restore state authority in Fordsburg.



Figure 11 – Trenches in Market Square Fordsburg 1922
(Museum Africa, Collection 331.892, PH 2005-11623)

Early on the morning of the 14 March, notices were strewn via aeroplane warning residents of an impending offensive later that day. Refugees flooded out of the suburb and Fordsburg was subsequently heavily shelled by armed forces (Krickler 2005: 267). By the afternoon the strikers were defeated and the strike was called off on the 17th after days of armed struggle, leaving hundreds of people dead or wounded and many more detained. The Revolt's two communist leaders had committed suicide within the striker's stronghold at the Market Square buildings.



Figure 12 (top) – Market Square, Fordsburg after occupation by government forces, 14 March 1922 (The Star 1922)

Figure 13 (middle) – Looted and damaged stores, Fordsburg (The Star 1922)

Figure 14 (left) – Shelled buildings Fordsburg 1922 (Museum Africa, Collection 331.892)



Figure 15 (top) – Burned out police station in Fordsburg 1922

(Museum Africa, Collection 331.892, PH 2005-11606)

Figure 16 (bottom) – Main Road, Fordsburg 1922
(The Star 1922)

The far reaching effects of the strikes were only felt in the next elections when the Smuts government lost its white worker support. A new Pact Government was voted in with promises to bring back “law and order to the country and control communists and agitators” (Callinicos 1985: 82).

2.5 THE INDIAN COMMUNITY AND ERA

Initially Indian labourers arrived in the British colony of Natal in the 1860s as indentured labourers. They were followed by many Gujerati traders and hawkers from western India, who emigrated on their own expense from the 1870's onwards (Brink 2008: 11). These so called "Passenger Indians" came to South Africa as British subjects and under the ordinary laws of the colony with the prospect of trade (Bhana 1990: 23). With the discovery of gold, Indians appeared in significant numbers in Johannesburg which prompted the Transvaal Government to pass Law 3 of 1885 which made provision for separate residential and trading areas for '*Koelies, Arabieren, Maleiers en Mohomedaansche onderanderen van het Turksche rijk*' (Bhana 1990: 77). Approximately 1 000 licensed hawkers, traders and peddlers operated in Johannesburg at the time (Brink 2008: 12). See Figure 17.



Figure 17 – Indian hawkers in Johannesburg Market Square (Kallaway 1986:69)

After the war, a new ordinance in 1906, the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance and the Asiatic Registration Act, further restricted Indians who were now required in the Transvaal to carry a registration certificate. Brink (2008: 12), explains that these prohibited conditions were the background "against which Mahatma Gandhi, then a young lawyer, developed his ideas of passive resistance to racial discrimination and unjust laws, *Satyagraha*, involving non-violent non-compliance with offending laws."

The first forced removals in fact took place with the destruction of the Coolie Location. President Kruger had allocated the Coolie Location as an area for Asians. By 1896 almost half of Johannesburg's Asian population was living there as well as in Brickfields. The remainder resided in Fordsburg and central areas in town (Desai 1967:1). The British Government however had intended to redevelop the area and the Coolie Location was declared insanitary. The City Council was faced with the relocation of the remaining Indian and African residents but with the outbreak of the bubonic plague in 1904, the inhabitants were evacuated and the area burnt to the ground, see Figure 18. Itzkin (2000: 51) notes that Gandhi believed that the obliteration of the Location ultimately was the objective of the municipality and that they "had used the unsanitary conditions caused by their own neglect as a pretext for removing an unwanted residential area." By the end of the year the area was renamed Newtown and declared a commercial zone.

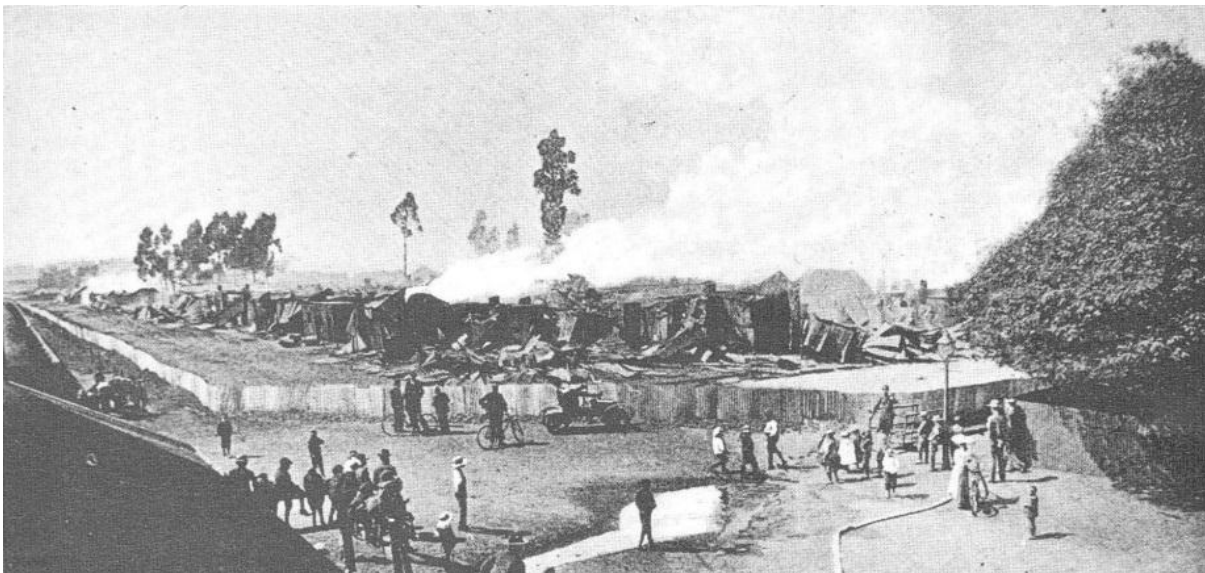


Figure 18 – Burning of the Coolie Location 1904
(Kallaway 1986: 32)

Gandhi had organised various passive resistance campaigns when after the War, the Governor of the Transvaal, Lord Milner had introduced new restrictive acts which affected all Asians. These laws prohibited any further immigration of Asians into the Transvaal and required them to carry a registration certification at all times. Gandhi worked with a leading Islamic organisation in Johannesburg, The Hamidia Islamic Society, which comprised of mostly Muslim merchants. He often spoke at their meetings and promoted the use of passive resistance tactics to oppose racial discrimination and unjust laws. In 1908, at the Hamidia Mosque in Newtown, Gandhi called on Indians to burn their voluntary registration certificates after repeal against the Asiatic Act was turned down. Some 3000 Indians

gathered outside the Mosque in August of that year and certificates were ceremoniously burnt (Itzkin 2000:55).



Figure 19 – Burning of certificates in front of the mosque 1908
(Kallaway 1986: 95)

Figure 20 summarises pertinent events and laws which affected Indians living in Johannesburg and the South African context.

During the 1920s till the 1940's anti-Indian sentiment was rife and extended from English speaking whites in Natal to Afrikaner nationalists in the Transvaal. Social historian, Duphelia-Mesthrie (2000: 15) has elaborated that this was mostly due to white traders and chambers of commerce who were threatened by Indian traders and particularly their monopoly in rural areas. Asians had to be granted trading licenses to operate and during this time one of many laws, regulations and taxes were promulgated to restrict and control their lives, population and economic growth within South Africa.

The Asiatic Land Tenure Act in 1932 confined Indians to business within designated areas. Only after pressure from community leaders and the Transvaal Indian Congress was it recommended that certain areas of Johannesburg were exempt. These areas included Denver, Jeppe and Fordsburg. Ebrahim Mahomed (2006:76), a town planner, felt that this was influenced by the already established Indian character of these areas. In Fordsburg social- cultural amenities such as prayer facilities, community halls, schools, cinemas and

trading areas were clearly in existence. These were often linked with the existing Indian community of Pageview.

Duphelia-Mesthrie (2000: 18) emphasised that the National Party would enact further legal restrictions from the late 1940s which would adversely affect all South Africans until the first democratic elections of 1994. The most significant of them was the Group Areas Act of 1950 which would define areas for each racial group to live and trade in and would trigger mass removals of people who were deemed residing in the incorrect areas.

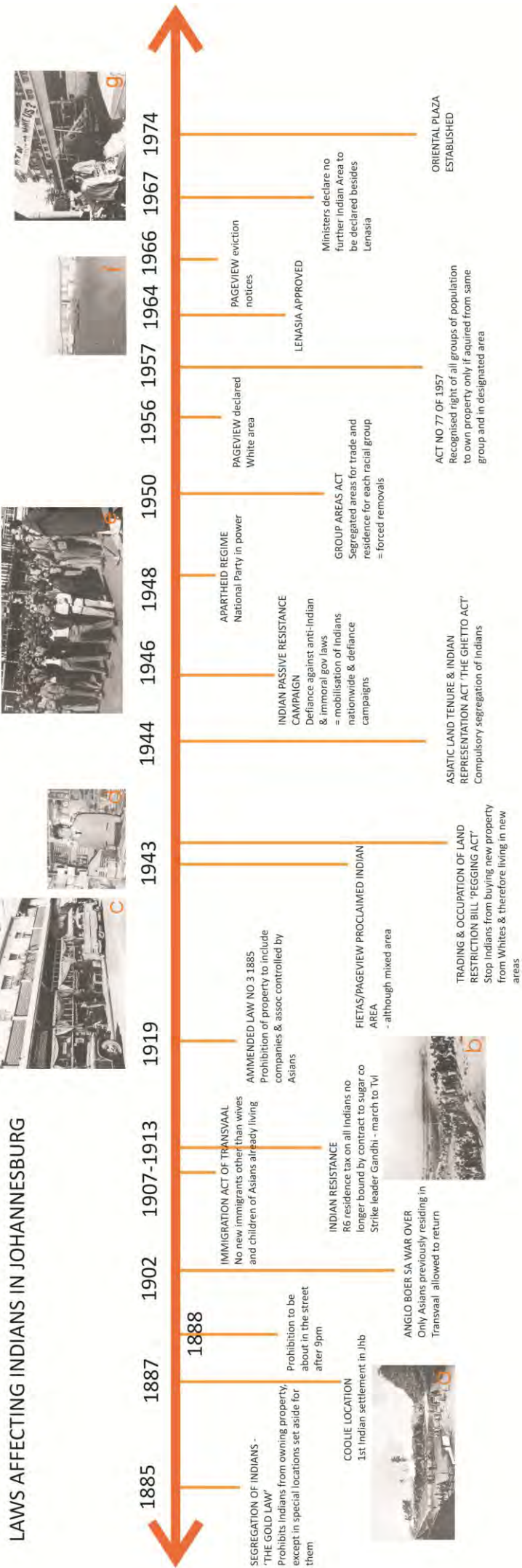


Figure 20 – Diagram of pertinent events and laws affecting Indians in Johannesburg

Political struggles dominated from the 1950s. A defiance campaign was launched in 1952 to protest against unjust laws enforced by the Government. Thousands had gathered at Red Square in Fordsburg to listen to James Moroko, president of the African National Congress (ANC), and Yusuf Dadoo, head of the South African Indian Congress to launch the Defiance Campaign in Johannesburg (Brink 2008: 25). The campaign enabled thousands of South Africans to resist apartheid through non-violent protest and many were imprisoned. This culminated in the drafting of a Freedom Charter adopted in 1955 in Kliptown (Duphelia-Mesthrie 2000: 24).



Figure 21 – A Defiance Campaign meeting, 1952 (Callinicos 2000: 145)

The Group Areas Act enforced during apartheid greatly restricted residential rights of Indians. This had led to overcrowding in prescribed Indian areas. Urban geographer, Keith Beavon (2004: 191) elaborated that at the outbreak of World War Two there were 14 000 Indians living in Johannesburg, almost half of whom lived in small stands within the Pageview. Shops along 14th Street attracted not only local clientele but white shoppers from all over Johannesburg. Soon after the National Party came into power, Pageview was declared a white group area in terms of the 1950 Group Areas Act. Indian, African, Chinese and coloured residents were forcibly removed from Pageview during the 1960s and 1970s and the vibrant commercial 14th Street was destroyed with it (Carrim 1990:91).



Figure 22 – Protestation against Forced Removals in Pageview (Carrim 1990: 135)

The local authorities instead decided to create an Indian business centre in Fordsburg to address this loss, naming it the Oriental Plaza, in the mid-1970s. Indian traders had no real option but to relocate to the Plaza and it was initially met with much protestation. The urban fabric of Fordsburg was considerably marked by the demolition of large areas of Fordsburg, including residential, to make way for the Plaza, see Figure 23. Beavon (2004:194) observed that although the Plaza has succeeded commercially today, it has not diminished the injustices that were endured.



Figure 23 – Proposed Site for the Oriental Plaza (Dunlop, Heywood & Co 1965)

Beavon (2004: 213) explained that in terms of race zoning in place by 1976, Indian people within central Johannesburg had legal access to housing in either already overcrowded Fordsburg or the remote area of Lenasia. Many Indians found alternative accommodation in greying Hillbrow and the poor white area of neighbouring Mayfair. A ruling made in 1982, known as the Govender case, revoked the eviction of an Indian family from their house in Mayfair, it stated that unless alternative accommodation was found the family could not be evicted.

Researcher Pickard –Cambridge (1988: 17), explained that this made it impossible for the government to enforce segregation and evictions became lengthy legal processes. Many middle income Indian families were consequently able to move from Fordsburg into Mayfair. Mayfair was located adjacent to Fordsburg and Indians desperate for accommodation near existing Indian communities and mosques were willing to pay higher rentals than Afrikaners (Beavon 2003: 218).

In 1983 the government made a partial concession when it declared parts of the supposedly white suburb of Fordsburg an Indian area. This included parts of Newtown, Burghersdorp and an eastern part of Mayfair (Pickard-Cambridge 1988:8). This precipitated into redevelopment within Fordsburg by the Indian community and, according to the Johannesburg City Council, an increase in construction of residential buildings (Mahomed 2006: 79).

2.6 POST- APARTHEID FORDSBURG

Although Fordsburg has been associated with many different communities since its inception, it has for many years been linked to Johannesburg's Indian community. Since post-apartheid South Africa, there has been an influx of new immigrants particularly from the south Asian subcontinent. Mahomed (2006: 68) perceived this as an entrenchment of Fordsburg as an Indian/south Asian ethnic enclave. The original Indian community of Fordsburg, who was no longer restricted to apartheid era residential areas, began to move out into formally 'white only' suburbs.

Today a visitor's response to Fordsburg would not be unlike that of Capetonian, Faranaaz Parker's (2010):

“The first time I went to Fordsburg, I experienced a culture shock of sorts. Victorian-style buildings stacked up against modern apartment blocks, a main road clogged with shops and stalls, chain restaurants beside no-frills eateries with food and decor straight out of India, and a night market where flowing dresses in rainbow colours, foreign music, evangelical videos, exotic spices and strange-looking vegetables are sold.”

Parker (2010) surmises from interviews that there no longer is a homogenous Fordsburg community. Communities from the rest of Africa include those from Somalia, Zambia, Tanzania, Angola and Nigeria. They are attracted to established Muslim communities and business opportunities. Likewise immigrants from Pakistan, India and Bangladesh have also made Fordsburg their home.

Fordsburg has simply retained its historical appeal to a new set of immigrants. It is perceived as an established suburb full of opportunity while still being rooted in Johannesburg’s history.

CHAPTER THREE THE HISTORICAL LANDSCAPE

3.1 TOWNSHIP ESTABLISHMENT

Fordsburg, not unlike the rest of Johannesburg, has undergone countless changes since its establishment. This urban morphogenesis over the decades may offer details and patterns of the historic urban environment and community life within Fordsburg.

The human landscape generated in Fordsburg reflects culture in some way. This historical landscape can be demarcated into both an official and vernacular one. Architect and cultural landscape historian, Paul Groth (2008:431) defined the official landscape as relatively unchanging and are usually standardised and imposed. On the other hand the vernacular landscape is temporary, flexible and local by nature. An understanding of these landscapes would entail recognition of the people who built them, their circumstances and cultural context (Lewis 1979: 23).

Therefore an insight into the landscape created in Fordsburg begins with a reading of the initial mappings and visual records of the area. Early maps of Johannesburg reflect the establishment of Fordsburg in 1888. This can be seen in the 1890 plan of Johannesburg, see Figure 25. Early plans reflect Fordsburg in an isolated sector beyond the western edge of the mining town of Johannesburg. The suburb was roughly triangular in shape and although it was a suburb, it functioned as a satellite town to Johannesburg and the neighbouring mines (Radford 1987). The proximity of a number of operating mines can be clearly seen to the south. Figure 24 taken in the 1910s clearly illustrates closeness of the mines and mine dumps to one of the main transport roads within Fordsburg. The working class nature of Fordsburg is further evident in its location to the predominantly Afrikaans area of Brickfields, as well as the Kaffir and Coolie Locations which can be seen to the north.

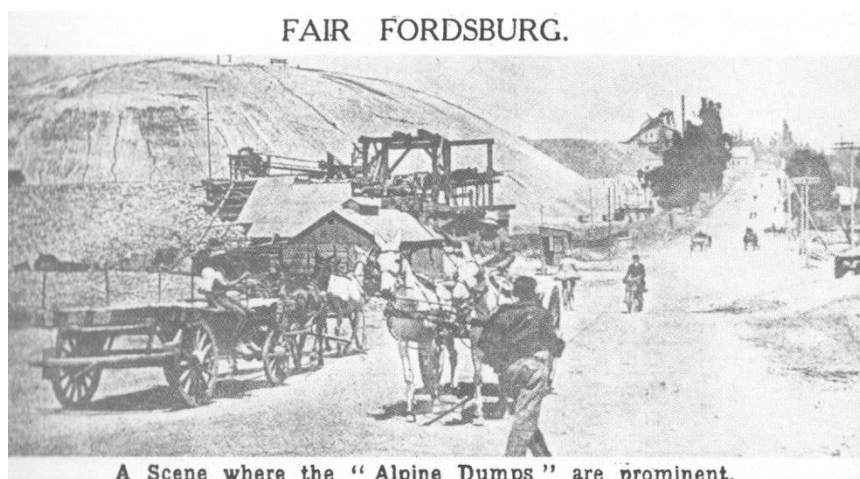


Figure 24 – Fordsburg in the 1910s and the proximity to the mine dumps (Clarke, 1999: 12)



1890



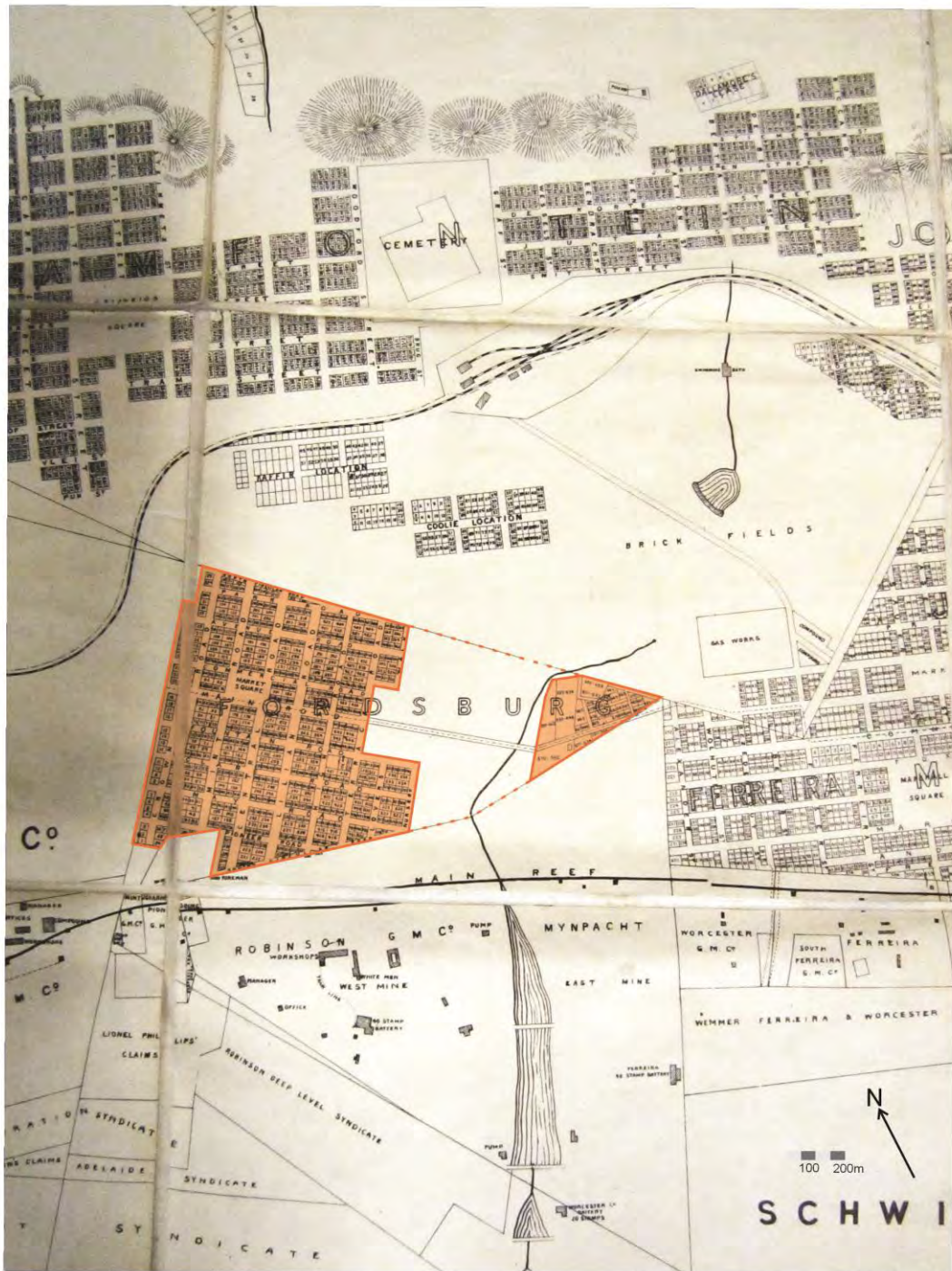
Plan of Johannesburg & Suburbs, 1890, Waterlow & Sons Ltd, London (Museum Africa, Map 2007- 1097)

Figure 25

The early mining suburb of Fordsburg is depicted in plans of 1894 and 1897, see Figures 26 and 27. The grid iron street layout is centred on the Market Square. Johannesburg based architect and historian Clive Chipkin (1993: 13), interprets Johannesburg as the conversion of *uitvalgrond* into “small, uniform, saleable blocks of real estate” with no defined sense of place. Chipkin viewed this grid –line layout as a perfect *tabula rasa* for the creation of a new township and market economy. Fordsburg reflects similar urban layout intentions.

These earlier maps reflect an undefined and undeveloped area toward the east. This was most likely the vicinity of the Fordsburg Dip. It was viewed in the early days of Johannesburg by Jan Eloff as a “dangerous swamp” (Smith 1971: 163) and was therefore most likely left undeveloped. Smith (ibid), notes that a stream flowed across the road which probably originated from Brickfields and flowed to the Robinson Mine.

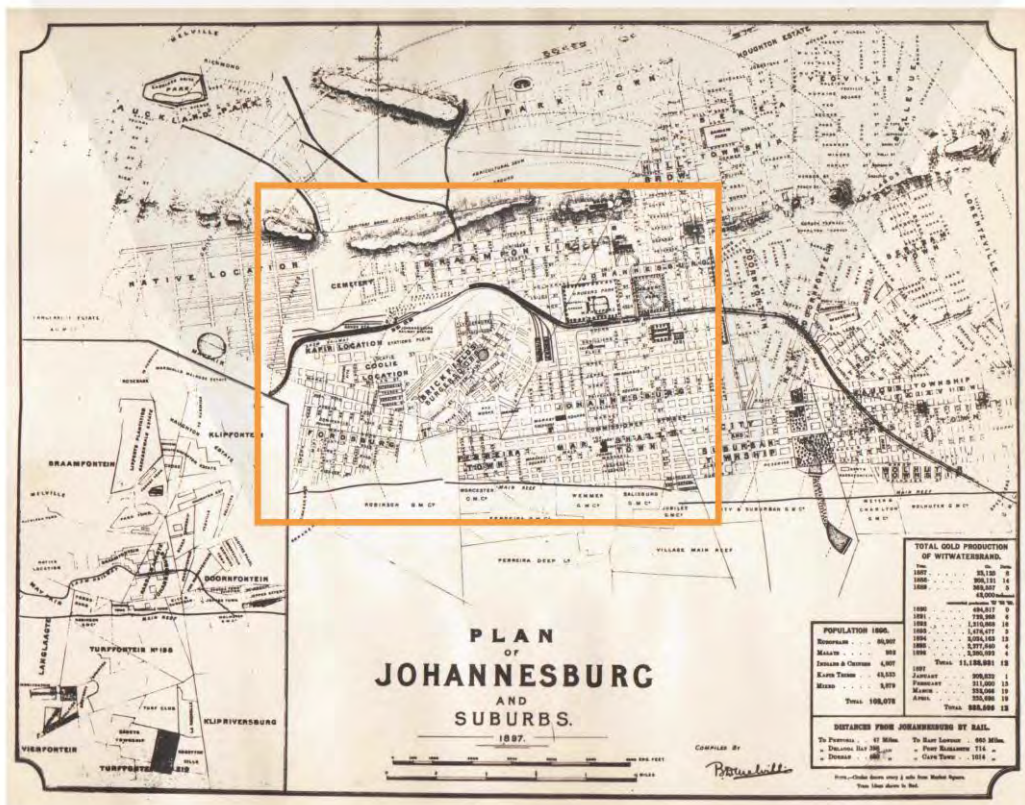
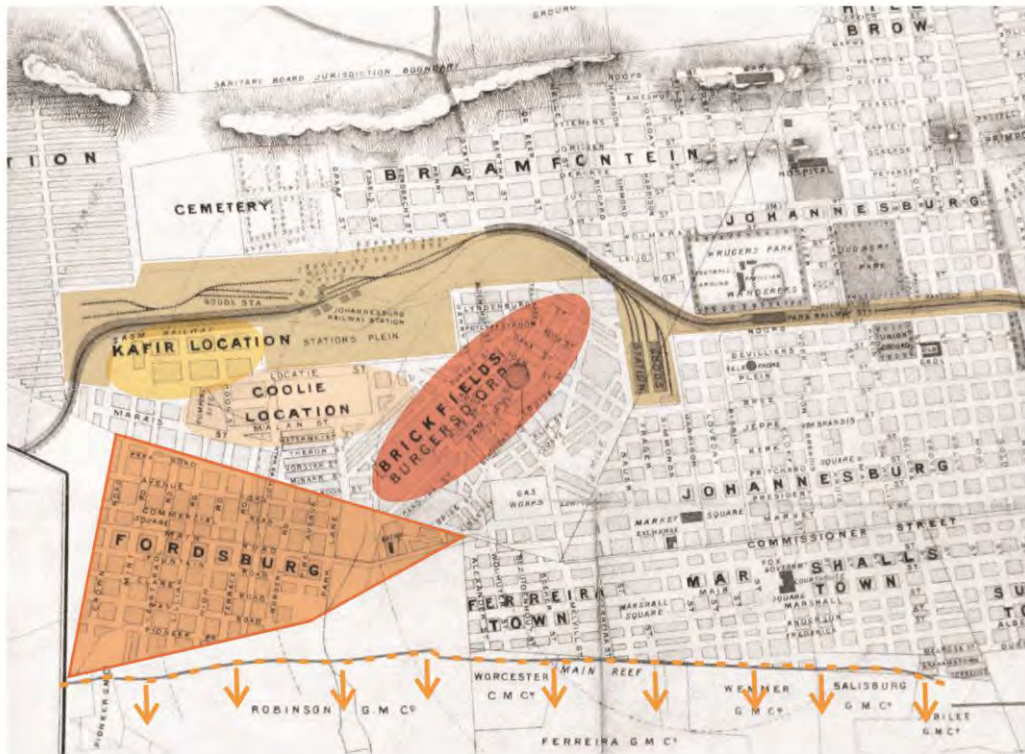
The east west road, marked in orange in Figure 27, runs parallel to the Main Reef and linked the gold claims and original mining encampments (Chipkin 1993: 12). It essentially followed the outcrop of where the gold reef came to the surface and where Main Reef Road runs along today. Another key feature is the railway lines, which were clearly defined to the north of Fordsburg. Later expansion would greatly impact and eradicate the Locations as well as the Brickfields area.



1894

Plan of Johannesburg & Suburbs, 1894, Standard & Digger News Co Ltd
(William Cullen Library Archives, University of Witwatersrand)

Figure 26



1897

Plan of Johannesburg & Suburbs, 1897, focus on Fordsburg context
 Grocutt and Sherry Publishers SAR
 (William Cullen Library Archives, University of Witwatersrand)

Figure 27

Goads 1910 insurance maps of Fordsburg give us further clues into the nature of the fabric and use of the buildings, see Figure 28. A photograph (Figure 29) taken during the strikes in 1922, give an additional visual record of the area. Early Fordsburg was a suburb made up of relatively temporary housing. Many of the early houses were wood and iron structures which can be seen in the metal clad buildings in Goad's mapping. Only at the turn of the early century can British influence be seen with Edwardian semidetached and freestanding houses made of fired brick (Brink 2008: 9).

The frontality of the buildings are further evidence of the earlier Victorian influenced Johannesburg city. Most building structures were positioned on the street edge, many with verandas or possibly cast iron arcades. There is a clear distinction and hierarchy between the public street frontage and the more private inner spaces and informal back yards.

The working class district of Fordsburg was within walking and cycling distance to the mines. The natures of its predominantly white, male residents were catered for in the hotels, rooming houses, bars, billiard rooms and canteens evident in the insurance maps.

Commercial development was and still is found along Main Road, which was then along the route of the tram (Brink 2008: 8). Likewise retail and trade were located particularly surrounding the Market Square, see Figure 29. Business structures were well built and often two to three storeys high (Radford 1987). Many hotels accommodated a bar and billiard saloon downstairs with accommodation on the first floor of buildings. The mining town culture of Johannesburg can be clearly read through this.

The official landscape, as described by Groth, can similarly be defined in Fordsburg as that of the post office, police station and churches which are interspersed between the urban fabric. Likewise the Market Square can be included as part of this official landscape. Some of these buildings and entities still exist today with only gradual incremental changes.

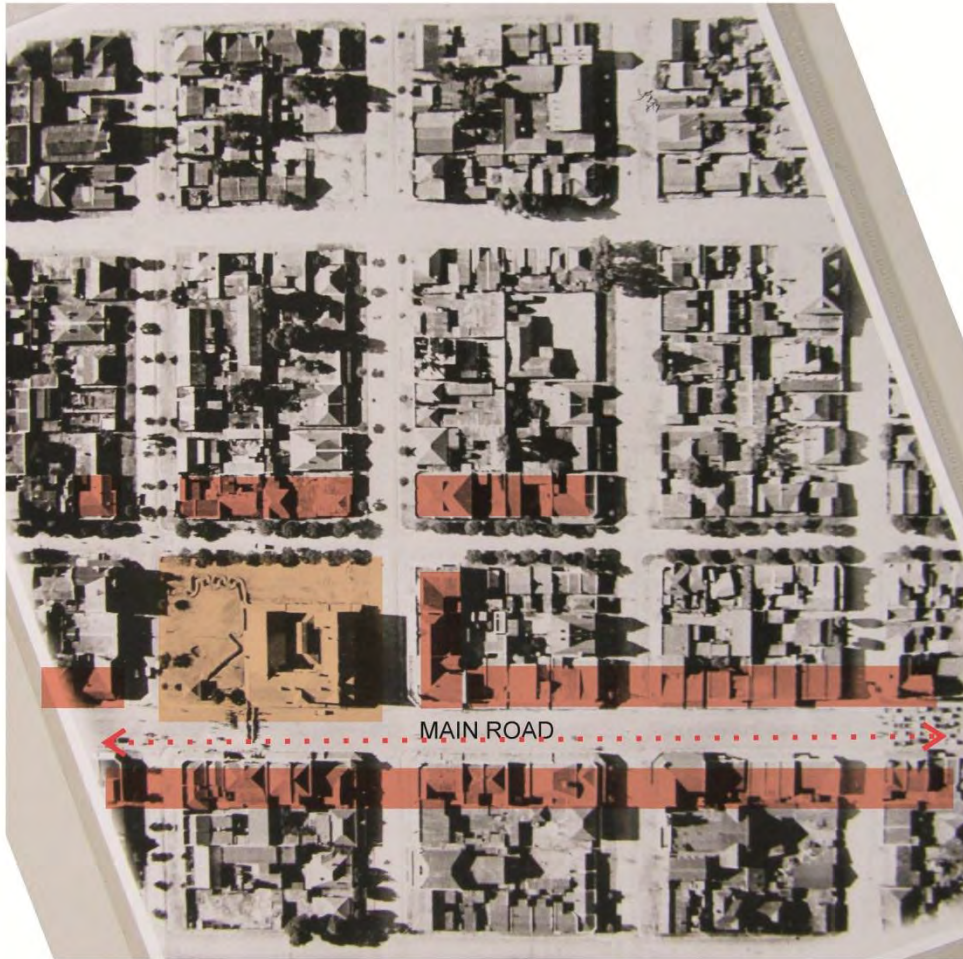
Fordsburg can be viewed as Groth's definition of an area of 'first settlement' (2008: 450). It was very much a suburb of the migrant working class which is evident particularly in Goad's insurance maps



Insurance Plan of Johannesburg, 1910, Chas E Goad
(William Cullen Library Archives, University of Witwatersrand)

1910

Figure 28



-  COMMERCIAL ROAD
-  BUSINESS
-  MARKET SQUARE

Figure 29

3.2 GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

By 1935 Fordsburg had densified as a suburb although it is still relatively isolated from any built fabric in the west, see Figure 30. The south has remained predominantly mining with the beginning of some industrial buildings although probably mining related.

Aerial photographs provide further evidence of the layout and evolution of Fordsburg from the 40s. Photographs taken in 1941 and 1952, Figure 31 indicate slow, incremental change with a further increase in density and industry within the area. Fordsburg was still however relatively integrated with the Johannesburg inner city to the east.

The writer Achmat Dangor recalls growing up in Fordsburg during the 50s:

“I grew up in the 1950s, in a suburb called Fordsburg, located on the western edge of the city. From my grandmother’s corrugated-iron and wood house, which dated back to Fordsburg’s old mining days, I could walk to school, to the market, to the cinemas, the sport fields, the dairy, the shops, to the mosque or any number of Christian churches if I so wished. There were even safe places in which to play truant from school.” (Dangor 1998: 359)

On the other hand long-time resident and academic Ebrahim Mayat reminisces about relocating to Fordsburg as a child after being forced removals from the Johannesburg inner city:

“It wasn’t easy to come in the 50’s. From the steps of Ma’s house we could see all the way down Park Road to the highway. There were rows of residential houses, two bedroom houses. The Plaza cut off Park Road, most of those people had to move to Lenz. The whole area was residential.” E Mayat (Interview 13/10/2012)

By the late 60’s the suburb was characterised by a number of light industrial premises and warehousing particularly in the south and eastern ends, see Figure 32. Another noticeable revision was the introduction of the highway which symbolically defined the outer edges of a more industrial Fordsburg and Newtown.



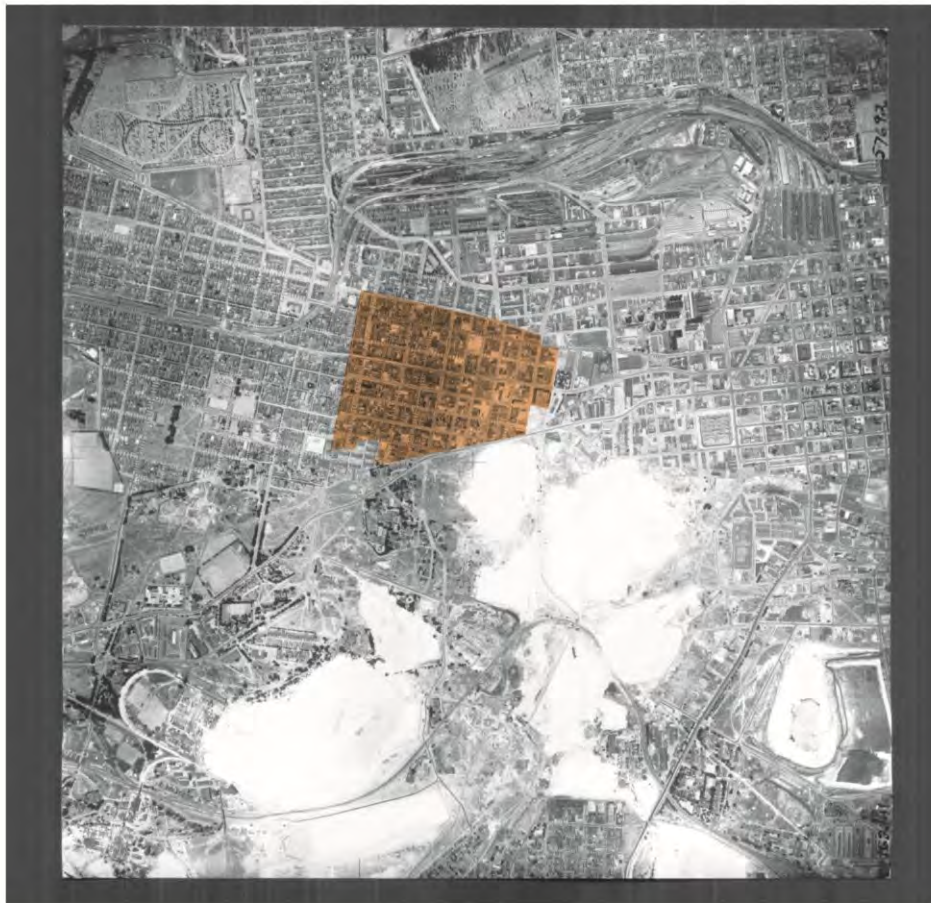
0 300m



1935

Johannesburg, 1935, Department of Lands, Central Mapping Office, Pretoria
(William Cullen Library Archives, University of Witwatersrand)

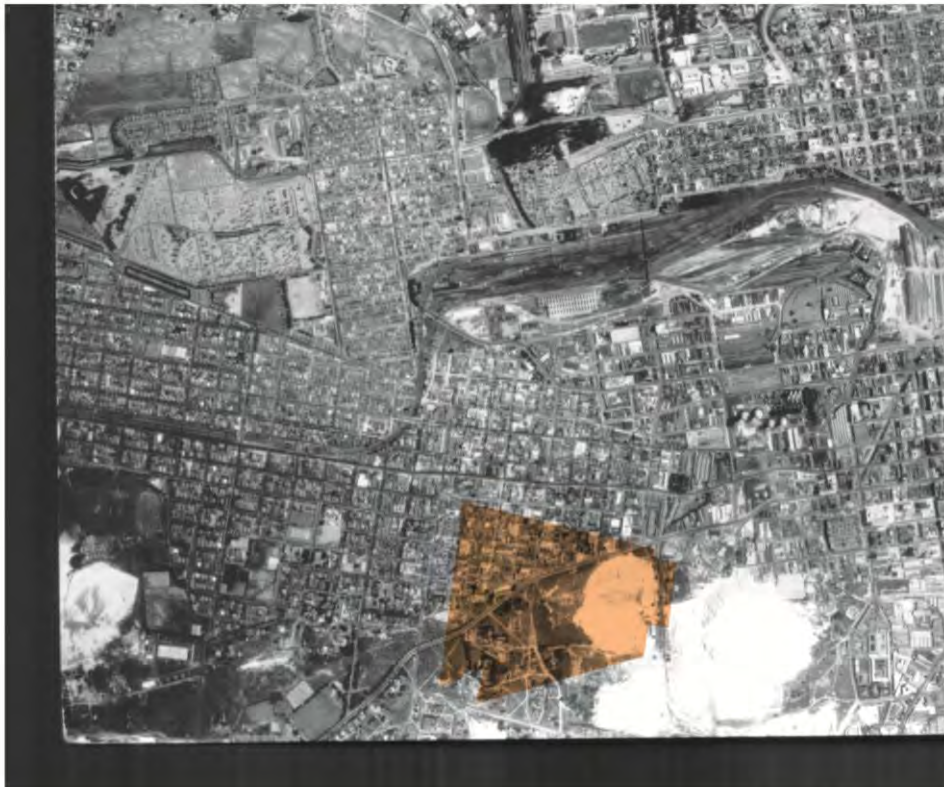
Figure 30



1941

0 200m

Aerial of Johannesburg with Fordsburg highlighted 1941, Flight Plan 1621, Flight 11, Photograph 57610 (NGI)



1952

0 200m

Aerial of Johannesburg with Fordsburg highlighted 1952, Flight Plan 314, Flight 005, Photograph 44497 (NGI)

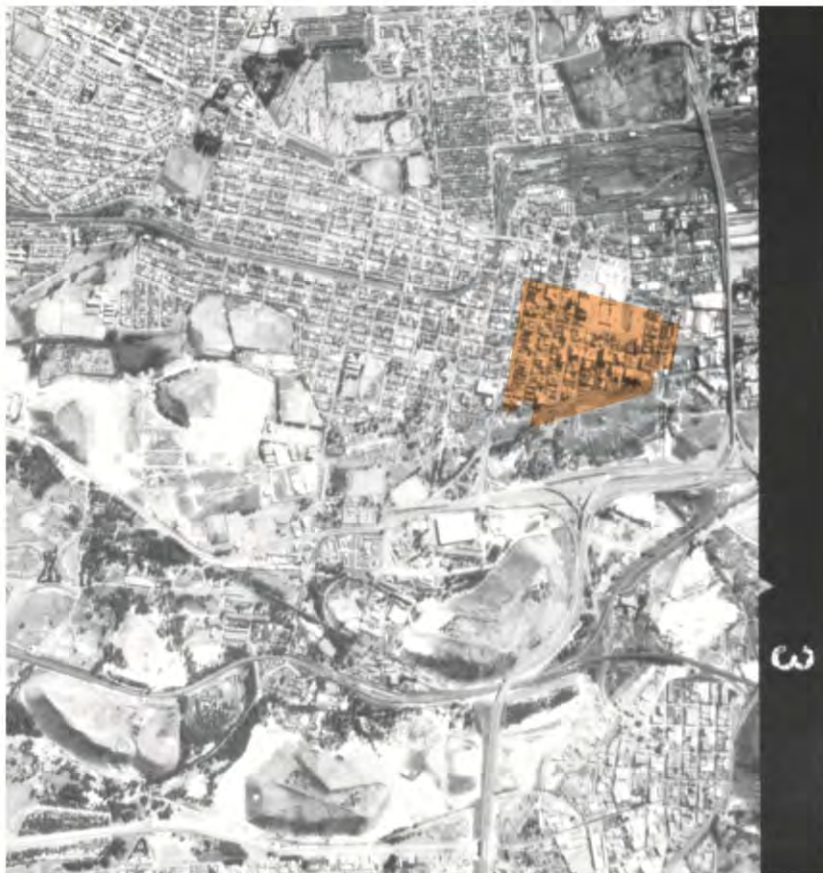
Figure 31



1968

Aerial of Johannesburg with Fordsburg highlighted 1968/69, Flight Plan 603, Flight 022, Photograph 08098 (NGI)

Figure 32



1976

Aerial of Johannesburg with Fordsburg highlighted 1976, Flight Plan 755, Flight 003, Photograph 00299 (NGI)

Figure 33

3.3 TRANSITION

The 1970s had a significant influence on the built fabric of Fordsburg. A largely residential and mixed use area was demolished to make way for the construction of the Oriental Plaza. The 1976 aerial, Figure 33, demonstrates clearly the new infrastructure of the Plaza. The highway has similarly carved into more of the mining area

Dino Badroodin, a long-time businessman in Fordsburg recalls:

“Fordsburg was semi industrial before with factories and garages. The mines were still operative then and also brought business to the area. The bicycle shop in the 60’s and 70’s relied on this trade. Today it is more residential with a lot more business and retail over time.” D Badroodin (Interview 7/11/2012)

Manufacturing and industrial sectors within Johannesburg underwent rapid expansion during this period. Fordsburg was visibly impacted by this with noticeable development in this segment (Carrim 1990:147). This facilitated further development in the commercial sector.

An academic urban design study undertaken in the late 80s by Sorrel (1989), clearly reflected the influence of these changes, see Figure 34. The Oriental Plaza imposes significantly on the fine grain of the suburb and bridges across Avenue Road. It occupies approximately 15 city blocks of Fordsburg.

By the early 1990s evidence of mining land was disappearing and by the early 2000s the mine dumps had mostly disappeared, see Figure 35. This was to be replaced by factories, warehouses and retail. The disappearance of the mine dumps was due to an increased land value and the ability to extract further minerals from them. Increased land value was most likely due to their proximity to the inner city and commercial viability of replacing small scale development. The trend in Fordsburg itself was a loss of fine grain with the incremental demolitions of various smaller buildings to be supplanted with high-rise accommodation, larger retail premises or parking lots.



FIGURE GROUND



1989

Fordsburg Figure Ground Study, 1989
(Sorrel 1989:100)

Figure 34



1991

Aerial of Johannesburg with Fordsborg highlighted 1991, Flight Plan 952, Flight 003, Photograph 04117 (NGI)



0 200m



2002

Aerial of Johannesburg with Fordsborg highlighted 2002, Flight Plan 498/393, Flight 005, Photograph 01025 (NGI)

0 200m

Figure 35

3.4 LANDSCAPE MUTATION

The typical land subdivision within Fordsburg has mutated over time. Original stands maximised street frontage particularly those facing onto commercial roads. Over time this fine grain has been eaten away with a proliferation of larger commercial enterprises taking up considerably larger areas of the suburban block. Figure 36 diagrammatically represents these changes.

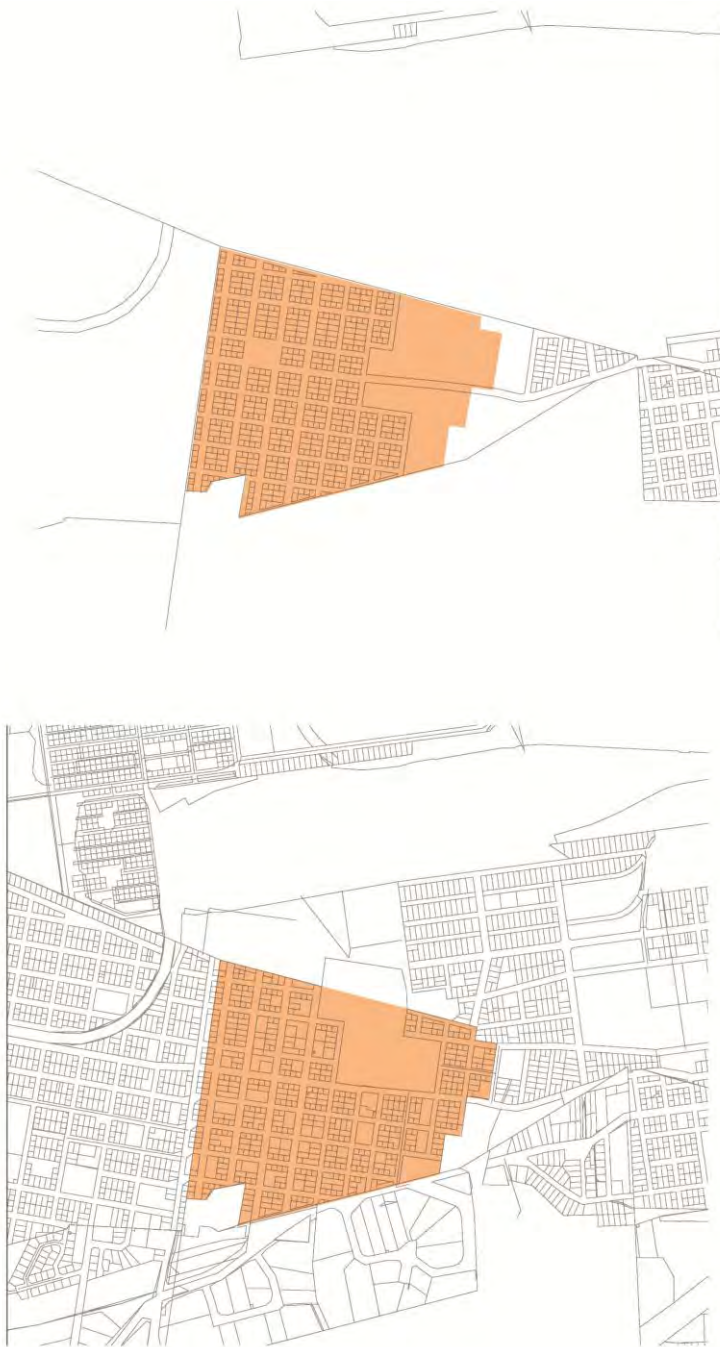


Figure 36 - Fordsburg circa 1890 (above) & circa 2012 (left)

Figure 37 illustrates the changing built fabric of Fordsburg. Although all these structures are contemporary, Fordsburg has retained a mix of buildings which add to the richness of the landscape.



Figure 37 – Examples of residential accommodation in Fordsburg

3.5 THE EVERYDAY LANDSCAPE

The everyday and 'ordinary' landscape refers to the seemingly generic landscape of the city. Groth (1988:41) finds them a valuable text for social and cultural history and an insight into neglected urban history. Ordinary landscapes highlight the pluralistic nature of cultures and their meaning.

Generic buildings and their social groups make up a distinctive cultural landscape where inhabitants have a sense of belonging. The term landscape in this sense is used as the interaction and relationship of people or a community's lives within a setting (Groth 2008). This everyday interaction of ordinary people provides a platform for an understanding of connections and significance within an area and its buildings. Meinig (1979: 6) regards these landscapes "as symbolic, as expressions of cultural values, social behaviour, and individual actions worked upon particular localities over a span of time." The landscape can be seen as a deciphering tool in understanding meaning and significance.

The city itself is conceived over an extended period of time. Associations are often linked to parts of the city within its surroundings creating memories and images soaked in meaning. American urban planner Kevin Lynch (1960:2) observed that inhabitants rarely "have little sense what a setting can mean in terms of daily delight or a continuous anchor for their lives, or as an extension of the meaningfulness and richness of the world." It is only in retrospect that we and the inhabitants may realise the significance of our everyday landscape and the role it can play.

3.6 THE CITY AS A SOCIAL TEXT

Lefebvre's approach of the city as a social text is echoed in Groth's more pragmatic slant. In Lefebvre's *Writing on Cities*, cities are viewed as centres of social and political life. The urban fabric contains not only institutional spaces but appropriated spaces for entertainment which allows for the "consumption of space" culturally (Lefebvre 1996: 73). These centres of consumption in Fordsburg are reflected in Mint Road and Fordsburg Square. They fulfil the original, traditional role of city cores as a centre for commercial, religious, intellectual and political activities.

The historic city, viewed by Lefebvre, is no longer seen as a whole but rather as fragmented and consumed as an illogical set of spaces (Lefebvre 1996:148). The cultural consumption of Fordsburg is evident in the attraction of visitors to the area, whether for food, the

picturesque, the exotic or the spectacle. The everyday of Fordsburg can therefore be compared to Lefebvre's ideology of a city as a product and an area of consumption (1987: 9).

Lefebvre interpreted spaces of everyday experience as 'spaces of representation' and was influenced by both culture and history (Merrifield 2006: 109). In Lefebvre's *Production of Space* these spaces are perceived as alive where "it embraces the loci of passion, of action and of lived situations, and thus immediately implies time" (Merrifield 2006: 110). These spaces allow for *spatial practices* within these lived realities where everyday interaction takes place and ultimately connect places and people. Robinson (1998: 165) interprets this into the South African context where these 'abstract spaces' may often be contradictory and fragmented yet still form part of a unified city space. The concept of 'representational space' may further allow for the potential of change within a diverse South African milieu offering continuously new possibilities of interaction and reimagining of spaces and the everyday.

The concept of the everyday furthermore, illuminates the past (Lefebvre 1987: 10). This framework of everyday, with its almost timeless repetitions sets up a contradiction of monotonous cycles yet with ever changing realities. Importance of this everydayness varies and gives the observer clues to the existence or absence of constants within daily lives.

As Robinson (1998: 170) notes newly arrived immigrants create their own spaces in the city. Fordsburg's, not unlike the rest of Johannesburg's, urban space is continually being reused and reconstructed. This is particularly evident in the further commercialisation and densification along Mint Street and Fordsburg Square. The conceived spaces envisioned by the dominant and official authorities are continuously being refashioned and the everyday is in flux.

Fordsburg throughout the decades has constantly been an area of change. Although the communities that have resided there have fluctuated, the everyday function and quality has remained constant. These appropriated spaces of consumption have remained throughout particularly in the vicinity of the square. The continuity of these spaces and their consumptive uses enable Fordsburg to retain a sense of continuity and therefore historical significance.

CHAPTER FOUR THE CONTEMPORARY LANDSCAPE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

I applied a case study approach to this dissertation and undertook an analysis of the built environment. Key buildings and sites were identified with historic, cultural, social and/or architectural significance. I was guided by feedback gained from numerous interviews of residents and heritage practitioners in the compilation of the mappings. Similarly I consulted earlier heritage assessments, surveys and studies.

Mappings of Fordsburg were divided into periods defined in the historical analysis in Chapter 2, namely the mining camp era and the Indian era. The Rand Revolt was a defining moment in the history of Fordsburg with notable sites particular to it. I therefore compiled a separate mapping of the Rand Revolt. Similarly mappings specific to the Indian community and era were divided into two sections. One related to buildings and sites of resistance while the other to those of the everyday environment.

A short synopsis on the designated buildings has been given to provide a general overview. I demarcated buildings and sites within the general context of Fordsburg. This applied generally to extant building stock.

Figure 38 is a mapping of the current Fordsburg context indicating land subdivision and major movement routes.

Figure 39 and 40 is a montage of photographs of contemporary Fordsburg street scenes

Figure 41 is a mapping of heritage resources defined by the Mining Camp Era

Figure 42 defines heritage resources specific to the 1922 Rand Revolt

Figure 43 is a mapping of the Indian Community or Era related to sites of resistance

Figure 44 on the other hand relates to the everyday landscape of the Indian Community or Era

FORDSBURG CONTEXT



Figure 38

FORDSBURG STREETSCAPE



MINT ROAD



FORDSBURG SQUARE



CROWN ROAD



THE BIOSCOPIES

FORDSBURG STREETSCAPE



MAIN ROAD NORTH



MAIN ROAD SOUTH



THE ORIENTAL PLAZA



THE HAMIDIA MOSQUE

THE MINING CAMP ERA



Figure 41

THE RAND REVOLT

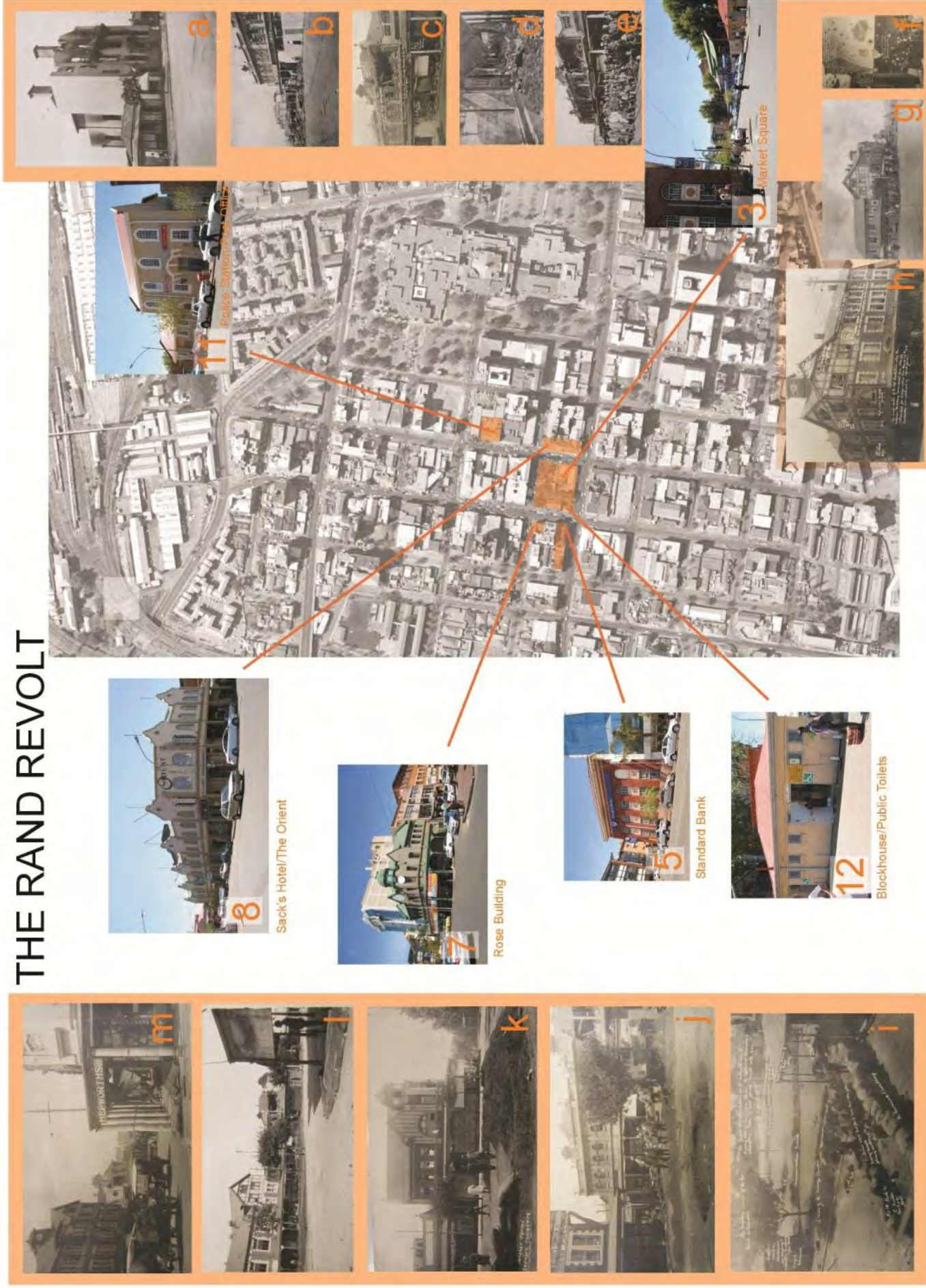


Figure 42

THE INDIAN COMMUNITY/ERA - SITES OF RESISTANCE



Figure 43



THE INDIAN COMMUNITY/ERA - THE EVERYDAY

Figure 44

4.2 SIGNIFICANT BUILDINGS AND SITES

A more detailed historical and significance overview of a selection of identified buildings and sites follow. These were identified as significant through the interview process as well as through various historical assessments and surveys.

Significance is understood using terms defined in South African heritage legislation. Cultural significance in the context of my research, which is a statement of value, is defined using these categories:

- Importance in the community or pattern of South Africa's history
- Rarity in terms of South Africa's cultural heritage
- Potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of South Africa's cultural heritage
- Importance in demonstrating characteristics of a particular class of South Africa's cultural places
- Aesthetic significance
- Importance in demonstrating technical or creative achievement
- Strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group
- Strong or special association with a life or work of a person, group or organisation of South African historical importance

(National Heritage Resource Act 1999:14)

1 Bree Street Indian Primary School (BIGS)

'BIGS' is situated on Bree Street, Fordsburg and was an Indian only school. Although no existing plans can be found, it is believed that the school dates from the early 1900s. 'BIGS' was initially only a primary school but an adjoining high school was built next to it in the 1940s (Carrim 1990: 41). The school still functions today.

The school is of social, cultural and historical significance to the community with most Indian children who grew up in the Fordsburg and Pageview area having been schooled here. The building itself has architectural significance and is a good relatively unaltered example of Edwardian institutional architecture. It is an integral part of the early Fordsburg townscape with its corner turret being a typical example of early Johannesburg architecture.

2 Hamidia Mosque

The mosque dates back to 1906 when the Hamidia Islamic Society was established. In 1908, Gandhi called on Indians to burn their voluntary registration certificates, after repeal of the Asiatic Act was turned down, at the mosque. Some 3000 Indians gathered outside the mosque in August of that year and certificates were ceremoniously burnt (Itzkin 2000:55). Itzkin (ibid) highlights that this kick-started the renewal of Gandhi's *Satyagraha* campaign of non – violence, or what is commonly referred to as the passive resistance campaign.

The mosque was extended in 2002 and today serves a multicultural Muslim population. A memorial designed by artist Usha Seejarim, flanks the mosque and commemorates this pivotal event (Newtown Heritage Trail). The mosque is therefore of social, cultural, historical and spiritual significance. It also has a strong association with life and work of Gandhi. The mosque's minaret is an important landmark to the greater Fordsburg area.

3 The Market Square

The Fordsburg Market Square was planned with the layout of the township of Fordsburg in 1888 as was customary of the time. Smith (1971: 321) recorded that a daily morning market was held here in the 1890s. The Square was the site of the headquarters of the strikers during the 1922 Rand Revolt when the adjoining market buildings were shelled. It ceased being a market square after the strike and the market buildings were demolished (RAU 1977: 61).

During the 1940's the African Mineworker's Union held mass meetings on the Square since gatherings were illegal on mining property and hostels (Callinicos 1993: 97).

Fordsburg Square is of social, cultural and historical significance. Today Fordsburg Square has resumed its role as a market square with daily markets that extend well into the night during weekends. The market is predominantly run by a post-apartheid immigrant community. Parts of the Square has however been recently roofed by the Johannesburg City Council which has compromised the quality of the space.

4 Mynpacht Hotel (Former)

This corner building was one of oldest standing hotels in Johannesburg City. It was one of the four historical Fordsburg hotels which surrounded the Square (RAU 1977). The date on the gable of the building, now removed, was 1896.

It functioned as a bar and restaurant, the Monk's Inn and Red Lantern, well into the 1980s (Woodgate 1985). It is of architectural and historical significance. The building today houses various restaurant and commercial activities.

5 Standard Bank Building

The current building dates from 1939 and is by the prominent Johannesburg architects, Stucke, Harrison and Smail (RAU 1977). It replaces an earlier Standard Bank building which was standing during the 1922 Rand Revolt. (The original market building was also designed by Stucke).

During the 1922 Rand Revolt, the Fordsburg Commando of Strikers forced the bank to close down. Riflemen from the commando used the building as a base from which they were able to fire at all the street corners (Standard Bank 2012). Standard Bank is therefore of architectural and historical significance.

6 Fordsburg Hotel

This former hotel dates from 1912 by architect H William (RAU 1977). It was one of the four corner historical hotels in the Fordsburg area. It is part of a group of early Fordsburg buildings which form a continuous streetscape to the main commercial road. It is of architectural and historical significance. The building is currently used for commercial purposes.

7 Rose's Building

The building was designed by Hill Mitchelson in 1905 for E Rose (RAU 1977). It suffered damage during the 1922 Rand Revolt. It is a good example of architecture at the transition between the Victorian and Edwardian eras, with a cast-iron veranda and corner turret (Meiring 1986: 96). It is a highly identifiable landmark building and has strong associations with the Rand Revolt. Rose's building is therefore of architectural and historical significance. It functions today as a doctor's surgery on the ground floor.

8 Sacks Hotel / Orient Hotel

S Sack originally had a small shop on the corner of Main and Central in 1892 and built a hotel in 1903 as he acquired more adjoining stands. The middle section is the oldest standing hotel in Johannesburg and the only known example of work done by pioneer architects Reid and Green (RAU 1977). "Sacks is a veritable landmark" in Fordsburg (Meiring 1986: 97) and it has been subsequently converted into the Orient Hotel.

The hotel is of both architectural and historical significance.

9 Presbyterian Church / Divine Bakery

The Presbyterian Church dates back to the necessity of a church for Scottish artisans who lived in Fordsburg at the time and was opened in 1896 (Horowitz 1980). It is of architectural and historical significance and is one of two identifiable church buildings within Mint Road's streetscape.

It functions today as a bakery and a mezzanine layer has subsequently been installed.

10 Dutch Reformed Church / Maronite Catholic Church

The Maronite Catholic Church was, until the 1990s, used by the Johannesburg Lebanese community. It was previously a Dutch Reformed Church and dates to 1903. It was designed by architect G Kroon (NMC). The church is of architectural and historical significance as well as of social and spiritual significance to the Lebanese community. Together with the Presbyterian Church (Divine Bakery), it is the other distinctive church along Mint Road's streetscape. Services no longer take place at the building and it is no longer being used.

11 Fordsburg Police Station / Fordsburg Post Office

The former Fordsburg police station was a three storey building which suffered extensive damage during the 1922 Rand Revolt. It dates back to 1898 and was built by the *Department Publieke Werken – Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek* (Artefacts 2013). It was subsequently repaired with the removal of the damaged top storey. The building is of architectural and historical significance.

It functions today as the Fordsburg post office.

12 Public Toilets

The public toilets were built in 1914 in the south western section of the square. The strikers used the building as a block house during the 1922 Rand Revolt. It also displays the only example of the first form of the city's coat of arms from 1907 before it was changed in 1939 (RAU 1977). The toilets are of historical significance.

13 The Oriental Plaza

The Oriental Plaza shopping centre was established in 1974 by the government to accommodate Johannesburg's Indian traders who were forcibly removed from the shopping district of 14th Street, Pageview (De Souza 2007: 2). Large tracts of

residential and semi industrial blocks were demolished to make way for the building. Rhodes-Harrison, Hoffe and Partners simplified a design originally proposed by Leach, Rhodes and Walker in the 1960s.

The Oriental Plaza still functions as a vibrant shopping hub. It is of social, cultural and historical significance.

14 Red Square

Red Square was an open community square. During the 1940s and 1950s it was a political meeting place and site for numerous defiance campaigns. Notable speakers at Red Square included Mandela, Dr Dadoo and Dr Moraka (Callinicos 2000: 145).

The Oriental Plaza was however built over it during the 1970s. The Red Square still holds social, cultural and historical significance. It also has a strong association with historical figures and political organisations.

15 Solly's Fish & Chips

The Ackhalwaya family bought the shop in the late 1950s and retained the name Solly's from the previous owner (Kara, 2010). It is renowned from its early days in Fordsburg as well as the origination of the Akhalwaya's take away shops.

“In my day, Fordsburg was the place to be for non-whites in Johannesburg. Youngsters used to come to the cinema or the dance halls and then stop at Solly's corner on their way home. We used to stay open until 1am on Saturday nights. Sadly, very few of the old places still exist.”
Yunus Akhalwaya (2010)

The shop is of social significance to the community.

16 The Planet Hotel

The hotel was a venue for dances and dinners during its heyday in the 1960s and included patrons such as Nelson Mandela (Callinicos 2000: 97). It is therefore of social and historical significance through its association with historical figures. It is a landmark corner building.

Today the Planet Hotel has been refurbished and functions as an executive hotel.

17 The Avalon

The cinema building was one of the many known 'bios' in the surrounding Fordsburg and Pageview area circa 1948 - 1968. The Fordsburg bioscopes were considered to be the elite cinemas and were the venue for social events (Carrim 1990: 75).

"Bioscopes were quite a thing in Fietas ... I mean these were big social events. Going to the bios was a major social event on Saturday nights. You needed to book your tickets well in advance. Everybody used to dress up for the occasion. It was a time and place where everybody could check everybody else out. We never had a dating system, so it was at the bios you saw who you liked."

Y Patel (Carrim 1990: 75)

It is of social and historical significance. The Avalon is one of three cinemas, together with the Lyric and Majestic which existed along Central Road. The cinemas were all landmarks along the streetscape.

It has been converted for retail use.

18 The Lyric

The Lyric cinema was owned by the Hassim Brothers and was part of the landmark sites of black South African culture. It is of social and historical significance.

The building is no longer identifiable as a cinema and has been modified into a block of flats.

19 The Majestic

The Majestic is the last surviving independent cinema of Fordsburg. It is of social and historical significance.

20 Mia's Building and Adjacent Bree Street Shops

Circa 1920s these corner buildings are a good example of ground floor retail and first floor residential. Both buildings have retained their small shops, colonnades and upstairs balconies. They represent a continuity of the historical townscape. The buildings are of social significance to the Fordsburg community as well as being of historical and architectural significance.

CHAPTER FIVE IDENTITY AND MEMORY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Identity is the term used to describe a sense of self within a particular social community. In the context of Fordsburg; ethnicity, community and culture are perceived to be an important part of identity and subsequently impact heritage values. Identity is intertwined with notions of community. A sense of self is formed through these understandings and is often linked to a specific area. This formation of identity is defined by shared histories, cultures, values and prejudices that permeates a community and can bind and strengthen it.

Identity is also defined by the relationship of an individual within a socially distinctive group. Psychoanalyst Erik H Erikson popularised contemporary usage of the term identity. Erikson conceived it as a term 'located' not only in the core of an individual but likewise in communal culture. Identity therefore is established through a process of these two identity streams. It is shaped by the interaction of the individual within their surrounding social setting (Gleason 1983: 914). Identity in this sense is a progression whereby an individual discovers "what groups are significant for him, what attitudes concerning them he should form, and what kind of behaviour is appropriate" (Ibid 916).

Historian, Gleason (2006: 194) elaborates on the identity crises and the need to affirm an ethnic identity within the American context. This examination of the relationship between the individual and society was profound in terms of the American national identity. Not only did it lead to the evolution of movements grounded in ethnic consciousness but directly resulted in tensions between national and ethnic identities. Gleason (2006: 195) concluded that it had consequently become more desirable to affirm an ethnic identity than simply an American one. Similarly the discourse of identity is pertinent in understanding the case of transitory Fordsburg within both the apartheid and post-apartheid setting. The need for the assertion of an ethnic versus a national identity has vacillated in different eras and their political environment.

The concept of ethnicity was abused within apartheid South Africa where policy was employed to segregate people into specified areas based on ethnicity. This often constructed form of identity was imposed on existing communities. The removal of imposed identity in post-apartheid South Africa has resulted in the emergence of a new national one. This is however juxtaposed with an internalised conflict of identity, where citizens no longer restricted by national law have to define their identity within a new South African context.

With the breakdown and blurring of boundaries along the lines of race, Johannesburg citizens have instead dispersed into what Bremner (2002) terms, “scenic enclaves”. These collections of fragmented yet juxtaposed parts of the city are instead defined by idealised images. Developers alternatively “construct urban places appealing to the desire, nostalgia or paranoia of people who can pay to be there.” Today newer ethnic enclaves are instead defined by recent immigrants arriving to the city. Fordsburg however with its historically established Indian and Muslim heritage is already considered as an ethnic enclave. This very quality has attracted newer immigrants predominantly from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and North Africa. Similarities based on culture, religion, language and customs have reaffirmed Fordsburg as an enclave (Mahomed 2006: 68).

5.2 CULTURE AND IDENTITY

Culture fuels the collective identity of portions of the city. Sociologist Zukin (1995: 1), refers to culture as a source of images and memories and is symbolic of ‘who belongs’ in specific places. It further plays a leading role in urban development as a basis for the role of local heritage and historic preservation in the creation of tourist attractions. Indirectly it establishes a community identity often based in political history. This is apparent in Fordsburg where the community has played a considerable role in the identity of the area and where designated historical sites have political overtones.

Zukin (1995: 294) agrees that urban spaces can be interpreted from many viewpoints and their many users. What is culture to some may take the form of ‘repression’ to another. Ethnic shopping markets as generated in Fordsburg can act as both a catalyst for integration as well as for exclusion and therefore takes on a hybrid quality.

Johannesburg inner city based tour operator Jo Buitendach conducts regular tours in Fordsburg:

“I like the people there. I think the people who go on my tours like a bit of the Orientalism which is created. They like to see the spices, eat the food at the market, and buy stuff from the shops.” J Buitendach (Interview 17/09/2012)

This view is in stark contrast to that of long-time resident Ebrahim Mayat:

“I don't like the square; it's an imitation 'souk'. The Plaza has a nice atmosphere, although I was against it initially. Even the Mosque is not the same, the congregation has changed.” E Mayat (Interview 13/10/2012)

Varying and often conflicting views on the authentic character of Fordsburg are inevitable. It is not purely found and restricted to the bustling 'ethnic' markets in the Square but equally in the forgotten structures, in the residual homes and churches which have endured alongside the newer commercial enterprises. The 'uniqueness' of Fordsburg has in fact always relied on the interaction between various influences and what social scientist and geographer Doreen Massey refers to as “global forces” where this local character is a product of wider geographical contacts (Massey 1995: 183). This results in a multiplicity of readings of a place and its past which may conflict particularly in what should be preserved and retained for the future. According to Massey (1995: 186), the concept of identity is in the process of continuous formation and influenced by the dominant histories which are represented and told. It is also however a combination of many histories derived from many places.

5.3 HYBRID URBANISM

AlSayyad, a cultural studies professor in the built environment, in his writings in *Hybrid Urbanism* addresses the term hybridity and hybrid urbanism in the postcolonial context. The term hybrid was originally used to refer to the offspring of two different species of plants or animals and would therefore result in a new creation made up of diverse components. The mixing of these two parts results in a new hybrid whether it is within linguistics, culture, politics or urbanism.

AlSayyad refers to philosopher Homi K Bhabha's definition of hybridity. Bhabha does not view hybridity as simply a synthesis of components, but rather as the creation of a “third” or “in-between” space where “elements encounter and transform each other” (AlSayyad 2001: 7). This is relevant within the Fordsburg environment where the colonial subject essentially has hybridised the original sites of the colonisers. The new hybrid with its multiplicity of origins can challenge the existing dominant authority and established norms. Bhabha views this process as “mutual contamination” and these third spaces essentially become displaced, peripheral spaces and potential sites of resistance. He further argues that this is often inevitable where two divergent cultures are forced to coexist and encounter each other (Alsayyad 2007:7).

The Fordsburg urban setting is interesting in terms of its transitory nature and later dominance by an Indian minority subculture. The area is seen as a historically transitional space. As noted in Chapter Two, Fordsburg has always traditionally been a working class suburb which has continuously undergone urban and social change. Fordsburg is a site for the emergence of hybrid urbanism, where a minority subculture is forced to interact with a dominant culture. Rather than assimilation, the hybrid urbanism that emerges is one of 'negotiated multiculturalism' as termed by AlSayyad (2001: 8). The survival of the minority culture relies on its ability to hybridise, through daily interactions with the dominant culture, while still maintaining its own identity. These daily interactions are crucial in both everyday space and practices, particularly in the commercial activity within Fordsburg Square and its environs.

5.4 HYBRID FORDSBURG – A CULTURAL ENCLAVE?

Fordsburg can be viewed within a hybrid urban context. The similarities found between Fordsburg and Chinatown has been used as a means to interpret Fordsburg's hybridity (Toffa (2008) and Mahomed (2006)).

The Californian Chinatown is a manifestation of the need of Chinese immigrants to create a built environment particular to their culture and society (Yip 2001: 67). Many Chinese immigrants had to turn to trade and commerce as a means of survival. Opportunities were limited to them and further restricted by racial discrimination and legalities. The Californian Alien Land Law of 1913 in North America effectively did not allow most Chinese Americans to own land (Yip 2001: 75). Consequently within the North American environment, common building types were altered to a new set of needs. This facilitated Chinese immigrants in adapting to their new alien home. Chinatowns, in this context, are perceived as physical built environments where the hybridised cultures of immigrant Chinese are expressed in their newly adopted countries. This is not unlike the Indian community during apartheid era Johannesburg

The immigrant Chinese community in California were unable to express their architecture or notions of place making and resorted to a hybrid solution (Yip 2001: 71). Toffa (2008: 27) views both Chinatown and Fordsburg as hybrid physical environments that are a response to prejudice, discrimination and exclusion. This is particularly evident in the new wave of recent immigrants, who in post-apartheid South Africa arrived from the Indian subcontinent and North Africa. These immigrants have consequently occupied buildings which have a typically multipurpose commercial nature.

Likewise, as San Francisco's Chinatown is often the first stop for many Chinese immigrants (Yip 2001: 70), so too has Fordsburg been for immigrants from the Indian subcontinent. These new arrivals often seek to join either established relatives or acquaintances from their native town.

Mahomed (2006) argued that Fordsburg can be perceived as a cultural or 'ethnic' enclave. New immigrants settle within these established enclaves where the environment has a sense of familiarity and they are more likely to find a job. The ethnic enclaves of American Chinatowns are considered as "zones of transition" and an area of not only residence, commerce and tourism but also as a centre for cultural community (Mahomed 2006: 20). Fordsburg equally, with its rich history of immigrant communities, has been reaffirmed as an ethnic enclave of sorts. Furthermore the establishment of the Oriental Plaza as an 'Indian' shopping centre has reinforced this. Recently, with the popularity of Mint Road and Fordsburg Square, the suburb has been reaffirmed as an enclave where new interactions and hybrid spaces are being created.

Shahid Chohan, a Pakistani immigrant and businessman identifies with Fordsburg:

"I came here because of the people and restaurants here. It's all on this side. It's good to stay with all our people, in Mayfair and Fordsburg. It's more comfortable here, closer to town. I feel safer here." S Chohan (Interview 5/11/2012)

Figures 45, 46 and 47 illustrate street scenes around Fordsburg Square. Ground floor retail has been subdivided from originally larger business premises to facilitate smaller retail opportunities. Most of these shops have been rented out to Pakistani immigrants and landlords have capitalised on this revival. Street pavements have been maximised for advertising and informal trading. Previously light industrial buildings have been remodelled into residential apartments or business spaces. Buildings have adapted to a more multipurpose use allowing for greater flexibility to users.

Fordsburg's urban spaces are the result of a layering of hybridity. Buildings are hybridised through adaptation and modification of the existing fabric, with a mixture of new uses shoehorned into spaces designed for other purposes. Historical buildings are juxtaposed against newer ones resulting in a fusion of urban fabric. Similarly established residents interact daily with newer immigrants, creating an evolving community. The resulting hybridity is another layer that shapes the identity of Fordsburg.



Figure 45 (top), Figure 46 (middle) and Figure 47 (bottom) – Hybridised space within traditional suburb of Fordsburg in the vicinity of Fordsburg Square

5.5 CULTURAL HYBRIDITY?

Hybrid urbanism is inevitable within the post-colonial urban setting and the arena of globalisation. Fordsburg has similarly developed through a past of interactions and connections with other places and cultures. Cultural hybridity is effectively created, experienced and represented within the space of everyday urbanism and practice. Hybridity can be deemed as a catalyst for cultural change and the subversion of dominant discourses (Dinath 2006: 40). Cultures, identities, spaces and the city itself are continually mutating and hybridising.

Russian philosopher Bakhtin's notion of organic hybridity, although used within the framework of language, can apply here. Historically languages have evolved with "inadvertent borrowings, appropriations, exchanges and interventions" (Dinath 2006: 43). Equally Fordsburg has throughout the decades been continuously exposed to countless communities. Each in turn has left their mark on the place making and urban practices within the arena of the everyday. This organic hybridisation occurs unconsciously and contributes to the evolution of urban spaces.

Dinath (2006: 45) notes that immigrants in their new environment do not merely replicate or assimilate into the dominant culture. Cultural assimilation in this scenario can be perceived as threatening to the identity of the immigrant. What emerges rather is an interaction with their new environment resulting in the formation of an unconscious hybridity. This contested everyday negotiation, although unconscious, has occurred throughout the history of Fordsburg. It challenges traditional notions of pure multiculturalism, with the parallel coexistence of cultural wholes, without the inevitability of hybridisation. The concept of an ethnic enclave as considered in Fordsburg is questioned by the concept of a hybridised space.

Sandercock, an urban planning theorist, reflects on the metaphor of the relevance of relegated voices from the frontiers, borderlands and margins. She observes that users of the city with multiple identities, such as American writer Anzaldua, are "not only inhabiting borderlands, but perpetually travelling, traversing the boundaries/frontiers between classes, races, cultures" (Sandercock 1995:81). These transforming cultures, traditions, surroundings and everyday practices have resulted in a hybrid condition in the city and are reflected in the microcosm of Fordsburg. Sandercock (1995) recognises this as a blurring of boundaries where societies search for new meanings alongside the old.

Urban hybridity constructs a new home in alien territory for immigrants. This new meaning of home is seen as “that place which enables and promotes varied and ever-changing perspectives, a place where one discovers new ways of seeing reality, frontiers of difference.” (hooks 1990:148 quoted in Sandercock 1995:82)

Perceived notions of Fordsburg therefore can vary between outsider views of an existing ethnic enclave juxtaposed with resident views of an everyday hybridity. Views are relative to the vantage point from which they are observed and are both potentially valid.

5.6 THE IDENTITY OF BUILDINGS

Buildings can take on an identity of their own. American philosopher Nelson Goodman (1985: 6), in his essay “How Buildings Mean” highlights how non-architectural associations are fundamental in the way people understand and think about buildings. A building, regardless of its features, design or use, may represent a historical event or symbolise or exemplify a concept.

An example of this would be Fordsburg’s distinctive shopping complex, the Oriental Plaza. It was regarded by many as a “showpiece of apartheid” (Fraser as quoted by Mohamed 2006: 77) and a reminder of its injustices, particularly by those who had been evicted from their shops in Pageview. Traders were forced into the Plaza where shops were not only allocated to them, but were regulated and inspected by the authorities (Carrim 1990: 145). Negative connotations only subsided after traders were able to buy their shops as sectional title units reinstating a sense of ownership and control. Subsequently the Oriental Plaza began to thrive owing to its central location and variety of goods on offer.

When buildings or environments take on a positive meaning, whether tangible or intangible, they are more likely to be conserved. Support for the conservation of “the familiar and cherished scene” has grown particularly in the UK (Grenville 2007: 447). Archaeologist and conservationist Jane Grenville further investigates the role the built environment plays in the formation of identities. Grenville refers to sociologist Giddens’ concept of ontological security. Giddens argues “that humans require social structures in order to give them a sense of order and continuity which in turn allows them a measure of confidence about who they are and how to behave” (Grenville 2007: 448). This constancy of the surrounding physical environment is interlinked with the role of self-identity. Furthermore a certain level of familiarity cultivates confidence within an individual and ironically an acceptance of a degree of change. On the other hand a more extensive level of change would effectively

dislodge a sense of security. Grenville (2007: 451) equally argues that this would occur in the loss of familiar buildings or habitats and exacerbate the transient nature of the external world.

Excepting the dramatic impact the Oriental Plaza has had on the layout of Fordsburg, the rest of the suburb has remained relatively unchanged in terms of its fine grain. Incremental changes have occurred over time with the reuse of existing buildings. It is only recently, within the past ten years, that substantial densification has occurred. Urban renewal, with the new influx of immigrants and interest in the area, occurred. The significance of the environment and cityscape no longer lies in pure aesthetic and historic terms but additionally in the realm they play in the contribution to everyday identity (Grenville 2007: 455).

The importance of the historic environment has however been neglected with little consideration or regulation. Historic building stock has mostly been retained for economic reasons with little consideration in terms of preservation. Current trends in redevelopment have occurred due to a demand and interest from recent immigrants. Since heritage conservation centres on issues of identity whether along political, ethnic or religious lines, conflict is inevitable. The everyday identity has shifted amongst established users and more recent ones.

The acknowledgment of heritage has been neglected by the majority of residents in Fordsburg. Eric Itzkin, Deputy Director of Immovable Heritage at the City of Johannesburg, concurs on what little relevance the heritage to Fordsburg has for its residents. Itzkin (Interview 22/10/2012) thinks that it is possibly due to the fact that new communities do not identify with the existing heritage and have little nostalgia for the built environment.

Subsequently the change in the makeup and identity of residents has brought about a shift in outlook. As long-time resident, Ebrahim Mayat observed:

“Fordsburg has had a change in mind set and in values. It affects the poetics of space; therefore one doesn’t conserve what you condemn. It has mutated.”

E Mayat (Interview 13/10/2012)

Mayat is referring to French philosopher, Gaston Bachelard’s phenomenological interrogation of the meaning of space. Mayat reflects on how Fordsburg’s spaces are locations for memory and that with a change in demographics, there is a subsequent change in experiences and threat to that memory.

5.7 URBAN MEMORY

Urban memory refers to the idea of memory, together with its distortion and apparent contestation within the context of the urban city and its built environment. This includes traces and fragments of memory held in the built form.

Urban memory, as defined by architect and historian Anthony Vidler (1992: 177), was easy to define in the traditional city where citizens were able to identify with the past and present within the reality of the protected environment of the city. Memory becomes a myth linked to a place and may be real or invented. The city and its physical environment enable recollections of the past. As Italian architect Aldo Rossi argues, a city remembers through its buildings and the set of experiences enacted there. The city with its preservation of buildings is comparable to the human mind and the preservation of memories. Urban memory therefore can be anthropomorphic, the city is realised “as a physical landscape and collection of objects and practices that enable recollections of the past and that embody the past through traces of the city’s sequential building and rebuilding.” (Crinson 2005:xii).

German theorist Andreas Huyssen (2000), reasons that remembrance of the past anchors our identities and that memory and forgetting are in fact interlinked. It is subject to change, whether political, generational or individual but it is always transitory. Our own identity is constructed through our memories and narrative of the past. Fordsburg is filled with these moments of memories that are being forgotten or renegotiated.

Our sense of identity and connection to the past is linked to the notion of the embodiment of memory in sites of memory (Nora 1987: 7). Our current society is no longer directly connected to the past and we therefore cultivate these places of memory to link us to the past. The ability to recall and identify with the past gives our lives meaning and value (Lowenthal 1985: 41). Memory is subjective, open to manipulation, appropriation, and of course forgetting. On the other hand, history is the representation of this past and is critical of it. Fordsburg as a working class suburb has mostly been marginalised in terms of the traditional history of Johannesburg. To a large degree it has embodied the memories of minorities or so called ethnic groups which were deemed unimportant within the narrative of the city.

Fordsburg was, and to some extent still is, made up of a heterogeneous society. These different communities all retain their own sets of memories and significant sites. This far more fragmented collection of values is often only defined by a specific group of people and

therefore more likely to disappear or be lost. This is in contradiction to a more homogenous society where memories, sites and values are shared between a greater collective and subsequently less likely to be forgotten or erased.

Existing buildings and urban spaces which act as sites of memory can be analysed historically but can only be enriched and gain significance through memories. Fordsburg has still retained some of its original building stock, as well as remnants of the Market Square. These act as catalysts for the collection of micro histories and further trigger recollection of lost spaces and memories. Collective memory of cultural history and the past enhance links to a community and develop our identities. The collective memory of a group can encourage the remembrance of particular narratives as well as legitimising a group.

Dr Ismail Mayat, who practiced as a doctor in the area for over 30 years reflects on Fordsburg:

“Memories of Fordsburg are always tinged with fatalism, they are bittersweet.”
I Mayat (Interview 28/09/2012)

He recalls a ‘lost space’ in Fordsburg, the Red Square which was obliterated with the construction of the Oriental Plaza:

“My favourite/distinctive part was the Red Square, it was where you used to meet everyone or wait around before catching the tram; play games or cricket. Nothing since has replaced the character of the Square which was the local centre for everyone.” I Mayat (Interview 28/11/2012)

Newer residents and generations to Fordsburg will not have recollections of this space. With the displacement of older residents, memories of these sites will disappear together with their significance.

5.8 THE IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE

LP Hartley wrote in his novel *The Go-Between*, “The past is a foreign country, they do things differently there”. For an immigrant it is the present that is foreign and rather the past that is home, even if it is a lost one. Identity assumes a plural nature; that of the adopted country and of the one left behind (Rushdie 2006). It is also partial, where not dissimilar to hybridity, identity belongs to neither. Immigrants from the Indian subcontinent are not entirely cut off from their roots in Fordsburg. A sense of belonging is cultivated and the individual may not suffer a complete displacement, although still romanticises their homeland (Lowenthal 1985: 42).

New immigrants to Fordsburg are forming different memories and significance in the area. A subsequent layer of significance has been added to Fordsburg Square. Shahid Chohan, a Pakistani immigrant and entrepreneur talks fondly of Fordsburg and the importance of the Square for him and other immigrants:

“I have only had a good experience here; it’s a very social area. The Square is the main part of Fordsburg, it brings people together. People can meet here after a long time of not seeing each other, it is a meeting place.” S Chohan (Interview 5/11/2012)

Recent development in the suburb has occurred at a faster pace from the mid 90s and this has had a greater impact on the rate of change. A new immigrant population has been a catalyst for transformation in Fordsburg. Older sites of significance have either evolved or been lost. On the other hand established and newer sites have gained new meaning; this has generated new memories and potential heritage resources.

Identity and heritage are intertwined concepts. It allows for the recognition of diverse voices in the understanding of heritage (Russell 2010: 39). With the creation of hybrid identities, new interpersonal relationships and the introduction of new influences; Fordsburg will mutate and adapt itself to current residents and users. However as artist Hannelie Coetzee acknowledges:

“It’s important to the people who have a resonance with it (heritage). Fordsburg has had a steady flow of different people. Heritage must be lived in and people allowed to know about it. It scratches into taboos.” Coetzee (Interview 17/09/2012)

CHAPTER SIX THE LANDSCAPE OF SIGNIFICANCE

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Significance is determined by the value placed on something by someone or a broader community. The question over what heritage should be conserved is essentially one about what value is placed on it and by whom. The interview process became a means of understanding and interpreting the significance and values placed on Fordsburg's urban fabric.

I conducted interviews with selected individuals from diverse backgrounds as a qualitative measure. Varying sets of interviews and observations garnered have provided differing perspectives between academics and heritage practitioners with that of past and present residents of the area. I ran the interviews in a semi structured manner to allow for a guided conversation rather than a restrictive one. The following individuals were interviewed:

- Badroodin, D. Interviewed 7 November 2012.
Businessman, local historian and former resident of Fordsburg for approximately 40 years.
- Buitendach, J. Interviewed 17 September 2012.
Tour operator and owner of Past Experiences Tours. Buitendach has run experiential and historically based tours in Fordsburg for the past 3 years.
- Chohan, S. Interviewed 5 November 2012.
Entrepreneur and Pakistani immigrant. Chohan has resided in Fordsburg and currently is the Chairman of the Fordsburg Square Market Traders Association. He has been associated with Fordsburg for the last 12 years.
- Coetzee, H. Interviewed 17 September 2012.
Artist. Coetzee has installed an urban artwork piece in Fordsburg in 2010 that explores her family heritage in the area.
- Dinath, Y. Interviewed 24 October 2012.
Town and regional planner, researcher and consultant. Dinath has conducted extensive research in the area as part of her academic work. As a city official she was also involved in municipal projects in the area of Fordsburg.
- Itzkin, E. Interviewed 22 October 2012.
Deputy Director of Immovable Heritage at the City of Johannesburg.
- Mayat, E. Interviewed 13 October 2012.
Established resident of Fordsburg for approximately 40 years.

- Mayat, I E. Interviewed 28 September 2012.
Former resident and doctor based in Fordsburg for approximately 35 years.
- Prins, H. Interviewed 22 October 2012.
Johannesburg based architect and heritage consultant for the past 60 years.

I designed questions as leaders for the interview process so that they would act as a catalyst from which conversation was allowed to flow. Questions ranged from general impressions and imagery of the area of Fordsburg to personal interpretations of significance. This basic office type interview invited the subject to consider the environment of Fordsburg and what values they placed on it. Subjects that I broached included whether the interviewee had any past associations or connections with Fordsburg and its historical environment. I also probed what impact the changing environment of the suburb had. I made particular reference to the enquiry of what within the built environment was worth preservation.

The role of historical and cultural associations within the urban context is important in verifying the linkages between perceptions and values placed upon it. This has enabled interviewees to identify certain significant elements or buildings that have provided a sense of continuity and distinctive character (Lynch 1972).

Overall I comprehensively interviewed and recorded eight people. From this I was able to map the significant sites each individual identified. It is from these that meaningful patterns emerged and constants were able to be acknowledged. My own observations and study of Fordsburg were further supplemented and triangulated through responses obtained. This additional insight has been invaluable in establishing themes and realising the significance of Fordsburg.

6.2 INTERVIEW MAPPINGS

Mappings of the eight participants follow together with some notable insights. The mappings are organised initially from a heritage and academic viewpoint to that of current users and residents both established and recent.

ERIC ITZKIN:

Eric Itzkin is the current Deputy Director of Immovable Heritage at the City of Johannesburg. Not only is Itzkin mindful of the rich history of Fordsburg but he is also acutely aware of the transient nature of its heritage. Itzkin views on the significance of Fordsburg are representative of the city's official stance on the area. Furthermore the history of Fordsburg holds a special interest to Itzkin and he can often be found among the food stalls and streets of the area. Itzkin's acknowledgement of the heritage of Fordsburg extends beyond the architectural and historical value and includes its social and cultural significance.

"I am obviously aware of the historical scatterings from as far back as the 1890's. The 1922 strike was very prominent but is not formalised to any large extent. Fordsburg was a white working class suburb with a sub focus of resistance. The history is covered over, like the Red Square which the Plaza covered. It was a prominent gathering site but has no recognition." E Itzkin (Interview 22/10/2012)

Itzkin notes that Fordsburg has significance in many spheres. These range from early working class history and communities to that of the struggle and the Black social scene. He personally identifies with the social and cultural heritage of Fordsburg pertaining to the 1980s. The preservation of the heritage of Fordsburg concerns Itzkin. Owing to the absence of an identifiable landmark, there have been no official declarations of heritage resources in Fordsburg. Instead the modest area of Fordsburg has recently suffered a loss in the existing built fabric; Itzkin feels that this will have a bigger impact on the significance and character of Fordsburg.

As a city official he recognises heritage resources defined in a recent survey undertaken for the City of Johannesburg by Elsabe Brink (2008). This is an extensive list and covers a wide range of resources within the general Fordsburg area. Significant buildings and sites include:

Fordsburg Square

Public Toilets

The Orient Hotel

Standard Bank

Shalimar Delights Building

Fordsburg Post Office

Mynpacht Hotel

Mint Road

Main Road

Red Square

Premier Milling & Prices Candle Factory

The Cinemas: Majestic, Lyric and Avalon

Hamidia Mosque

Bree Street Retail Shops / Mia's Building

Maronite Church

Presbyterian Church / Divine Bakery

Rose's Building

Bree Street Indian School

The Planet Hotel

Solly's Corner

Gundelfinger Warehouse

The Railway Compound

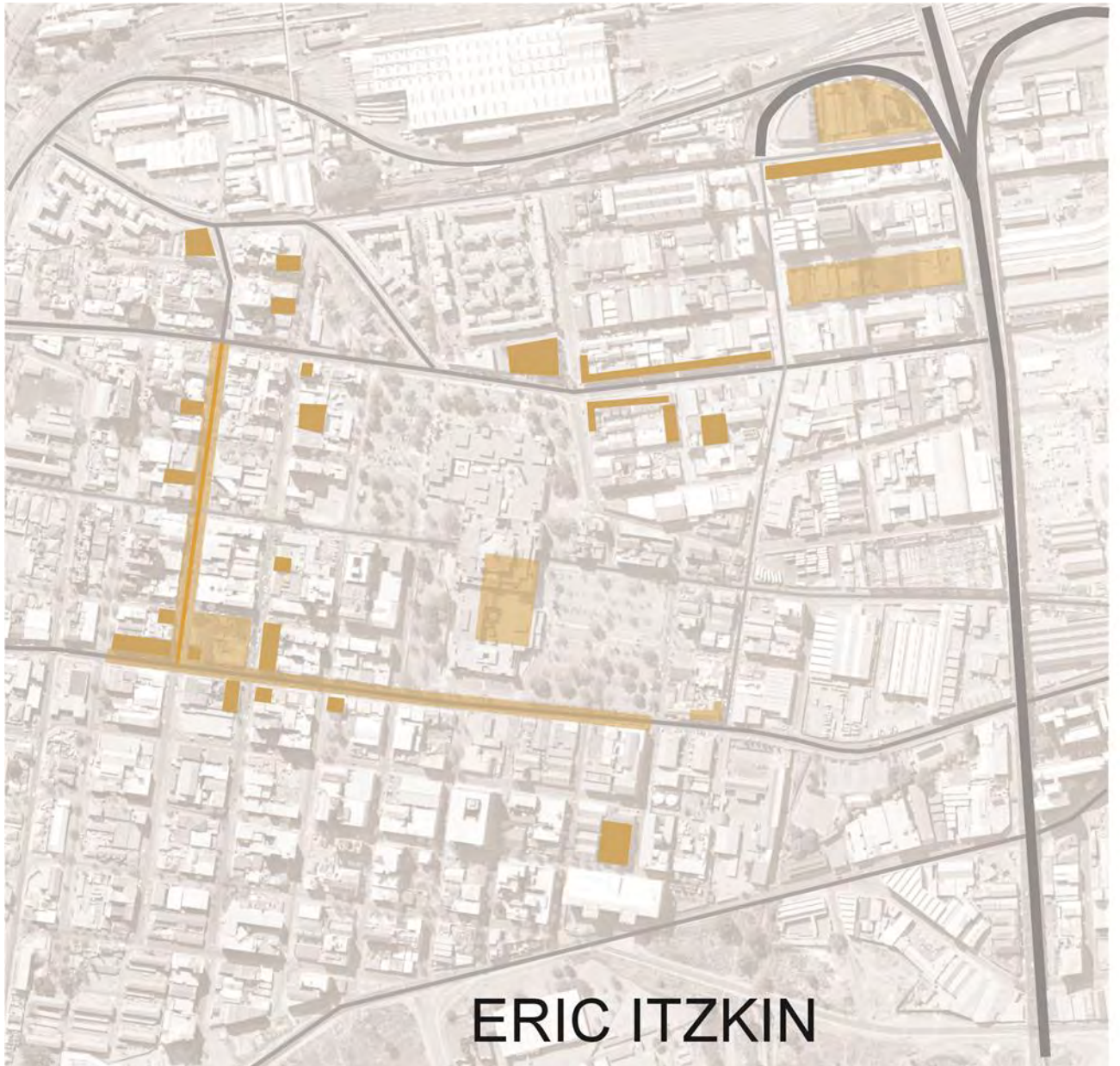


Figure 48 – Mapping of significant buildings and sites identified by Eric Itzkin

YASMEEN DINATH:

Yasmeen Dinath is a town planner with experience in Fordsburg from both an academic and professional level. She is fascinated by the richness in buildings, usage and history of the area.

“My favourite thing is the mix of use, the residential between the industrial buildings. The layering over time. That intrigues me.” Y Dinath (Interview 24/10/2012)

Dinath has conducted academic research in Fordsburg specifically pertaining to the understanding of culture and identity. Her previous work for the City of Johannesburg has included dealings with the suburb and Fordsburg Square.

Dinath notes that Fordsburg mostly has significance to established families who have a background or grew up in the area. Similarly many residents of Johannesburg have strong memories and associations with shopping at the Oriental Plaza.

Dinath would like to see recent heritage commemorated or preserved together with their successive layers of history. She feels that some of the corner buildings should particularly be celebrated. However Dinath notes that a lack of urban design and planning could negatively impact on Fordsburg and threaten both its desirability and sustainability.

Significant buildings and sites identified:

Fordsburg Square

Public Toilets

Fordsburg Post Office

Bree Street Retail Shops / Mia's Building

Bree Street Indian School

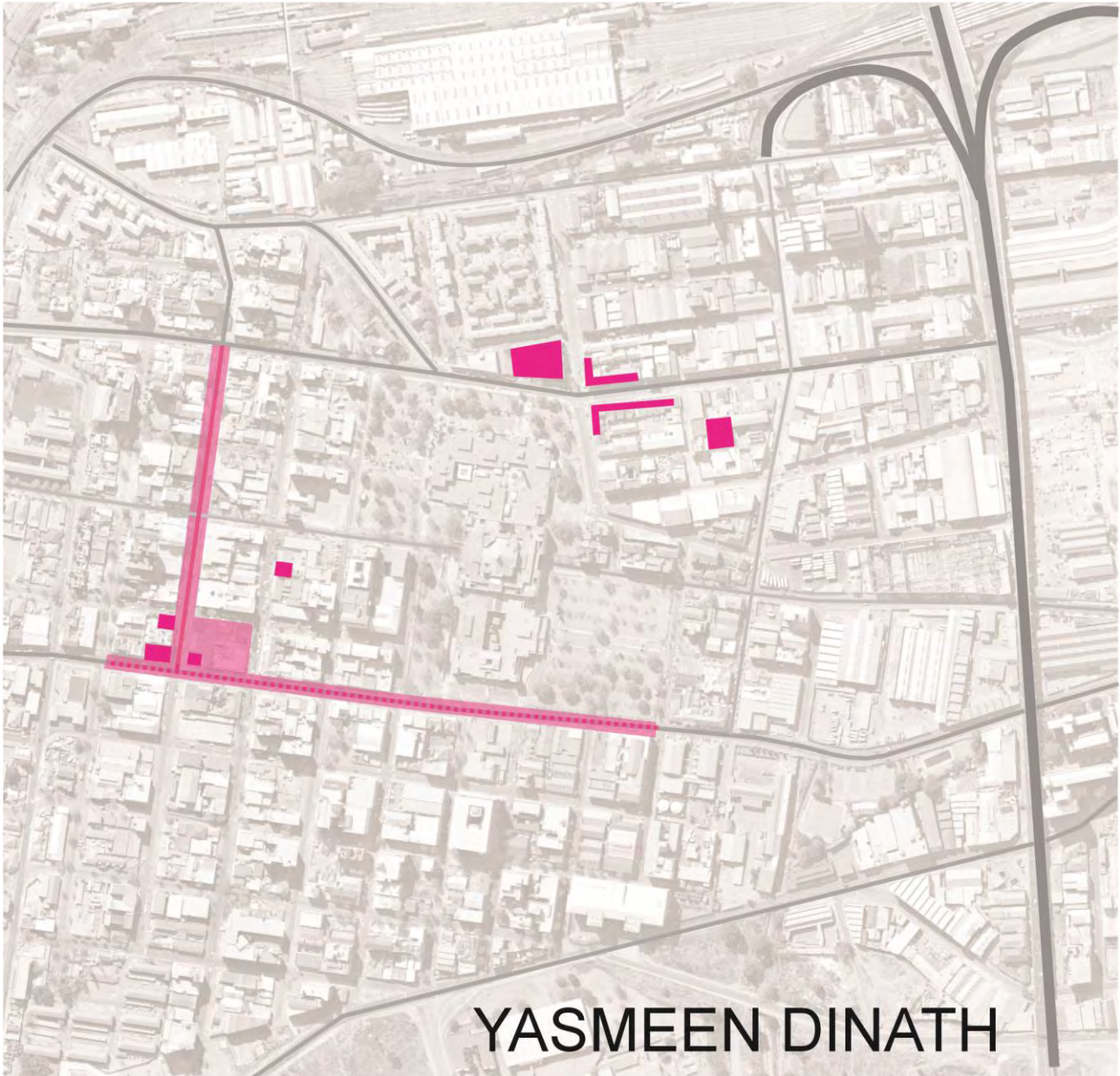


Figure 49 - Mapping of significant buildings and sites identified by Yasmeen Dinath

HANNELIE COETZEE:

Hannelie Coetzee is a visual artist specialising in the realm of public artwork. Her urban art projects often relate to heritage and her Afrikaner ancestry. Fordsburg provides a direct linkage to Coetzee's heritage. In 2010 an installation of hers was transferred onto the side of a building in Fordsburg. It is a stone-mosaic portrait of Coetzee's maternal great-grandmother and is known as *Oumagroontjie*, who used to queue for food rations in Fordsburg after the Anglo Boer South African War.

Through her art piece Coetzee questions ideas of connectedness, belonging and history. For Coetzee *Oumagroontjie* reflects her "embeddedness as an Afrikaner, of being here and staying here" (Bosman 2011). Coetzee views her artwork as a means of strengthening and exploring her heritage. Fordsburg has provided a direct link to this heritage and her artwork is a means of commemorating this connection. For her the significance of Fordsburg lies in its connection with her own family heritage and identity.

Coetzee feels that her artwork in Fordsburg has a broader appeal and that it recognises the resilience of all women in Johannesburg at the time. The public interaction of her artwork is viewed as a means of interrogating heritage. Coetzee notes that:

"It's important to the people who have a resonance with it. Fordsburg has had a steady flow of different people. Heritage must be lived in and people allowed to know about it. It scratches into taboos." H Coetzee (Interview 17/10/2012)

Significant buildings and sites identified:

Fordsburg Square

Main Road

Building on the corner of Lilian and Main Road



Figure 50 – Art Installation by Hannelie Coetzee, Corner Lilian and Main Road Fordsburg



Figure 51 - Mapping of significant buildings and sites identified by Hannelie Coetzee

JO BUITENDACH:

Jo Buitendach is a young tour operator who focusses on the inner city of Johannesburg. Fordsburg appeals to Buitendach not only as a tourist destination but also as a welcoming and exotic area which is steeped in history yet right in the middle of Johannesburg.

“I love Fordsburg; in a past life I must have had a connection to this place. It’s a very welcoming area; people want to show you what’s here. There’s a lot in the buildings and then the culture.” J Buitendach (Interview 17/10/2012)

Buitendach does identify with historical events that took place during the 1922 Rand Revolt. This has significance to her family particularly her great uncle who fought in the Revolt and her grandparents who were witness to it. Furthermore Buitendach has fond childhood memories of shopping for material art the Oriental Plaza.

Significant buildings and sites identified:

Fordsburg Square

Public Toilets

Red Square

Hamidia Mosque

Fordsburg Post Office

Bree Street Retail Shops / Mia’s Building

Fordsburg / Fietas Subway Artwork

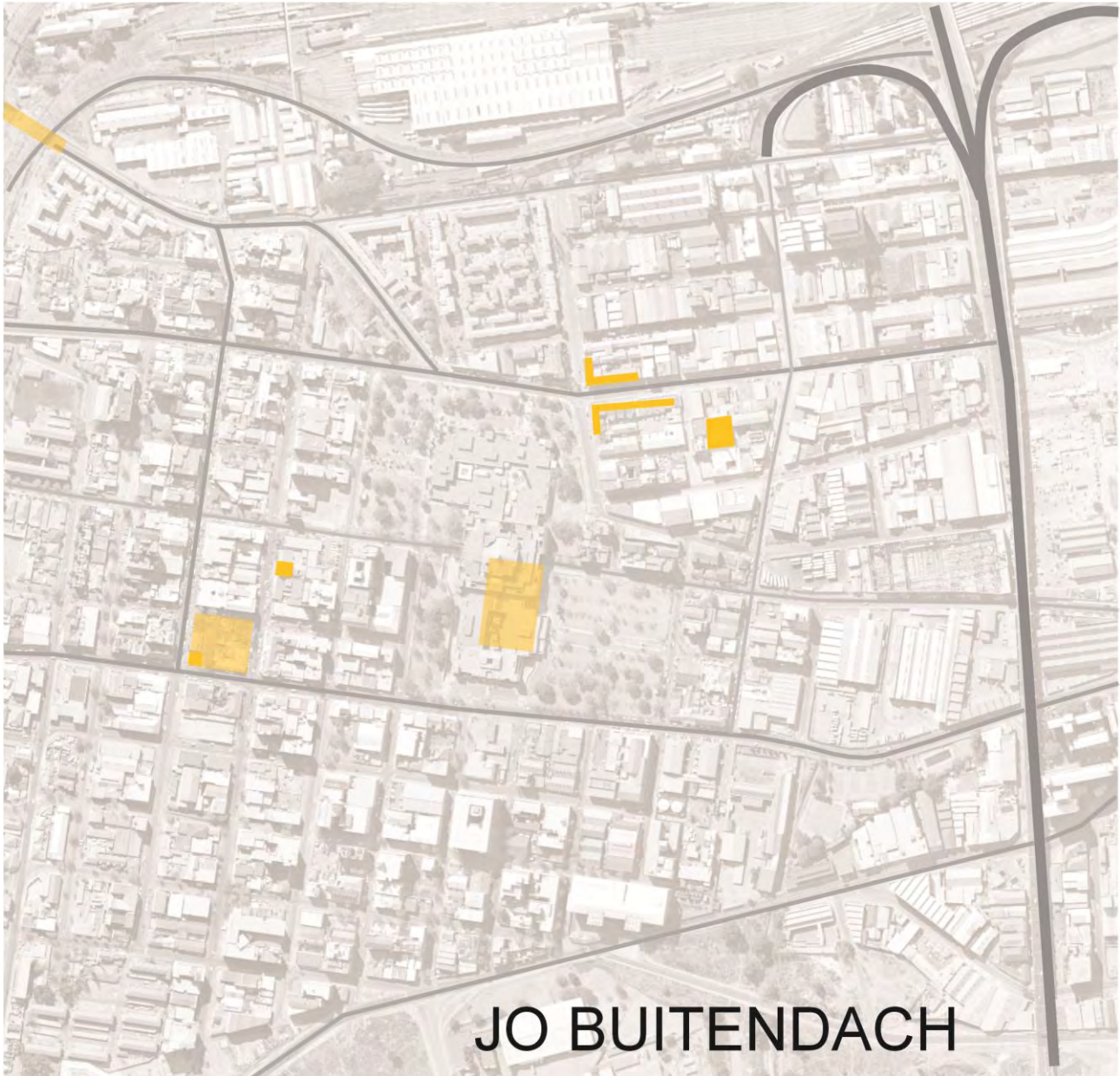


Figure 52 - Mapping of significant buildings and sites identified by Jo Buitendach

DR IE MAYAT:

Dr Mayat moved to Fordsburg with his parents and siblings in the late 1960s and has practiced in the area throughout his medical career. Although he no longer resides in the area, he still has family who do and retains strong links to it. From his surgery along Mint Road, Dr Mayat has observed the changing nature of Fordsburg, its redevelopment and turnaround in demographics.

“The changes today were quite obvious in terms of the demographics of my patients then:

Initially most of my patients were from the residential area of Fordsburg before the development when they were evicted for the Plaza. After that I had a lot of patients from Vrededorp and 14th Street which also all has changed. Then most of them came from Mayfair; Lebanese, Chinese and Indian people. I also had a lot of industrial patients, workers with injuries or illnesses. Later people who originally had some connection to Fordsburg through family would come to me; it became a destination even though they no longer lived in the area.”

Mayat (Interview 28/09/2012)

The significance of Fordsburg for Dr Mayat lies in the social and cultural aspect of the suburb. Memories relating to his family, practice and daily interactions within Fordsburg carry significance. Although he fondly reminisces about aspects and spaces within Fordsburg such as the Red Square and his medical practice, Dr Mayat has never felt a sense of belonging to the area. This was most likely due to the forced removal of his family from the inner city of Johannesburg to Fordsburg due to the Group Areas Act.

Dr Mayat recognises that Fordsburg has evolved considerably from its earlier residential nature, but he still identifies with significant buildings and streetscapes relating to this period.

Significant buildings and sites identified:

Mint Road

Orient Hotel

Main Road

Red Square

Fordsburg Square

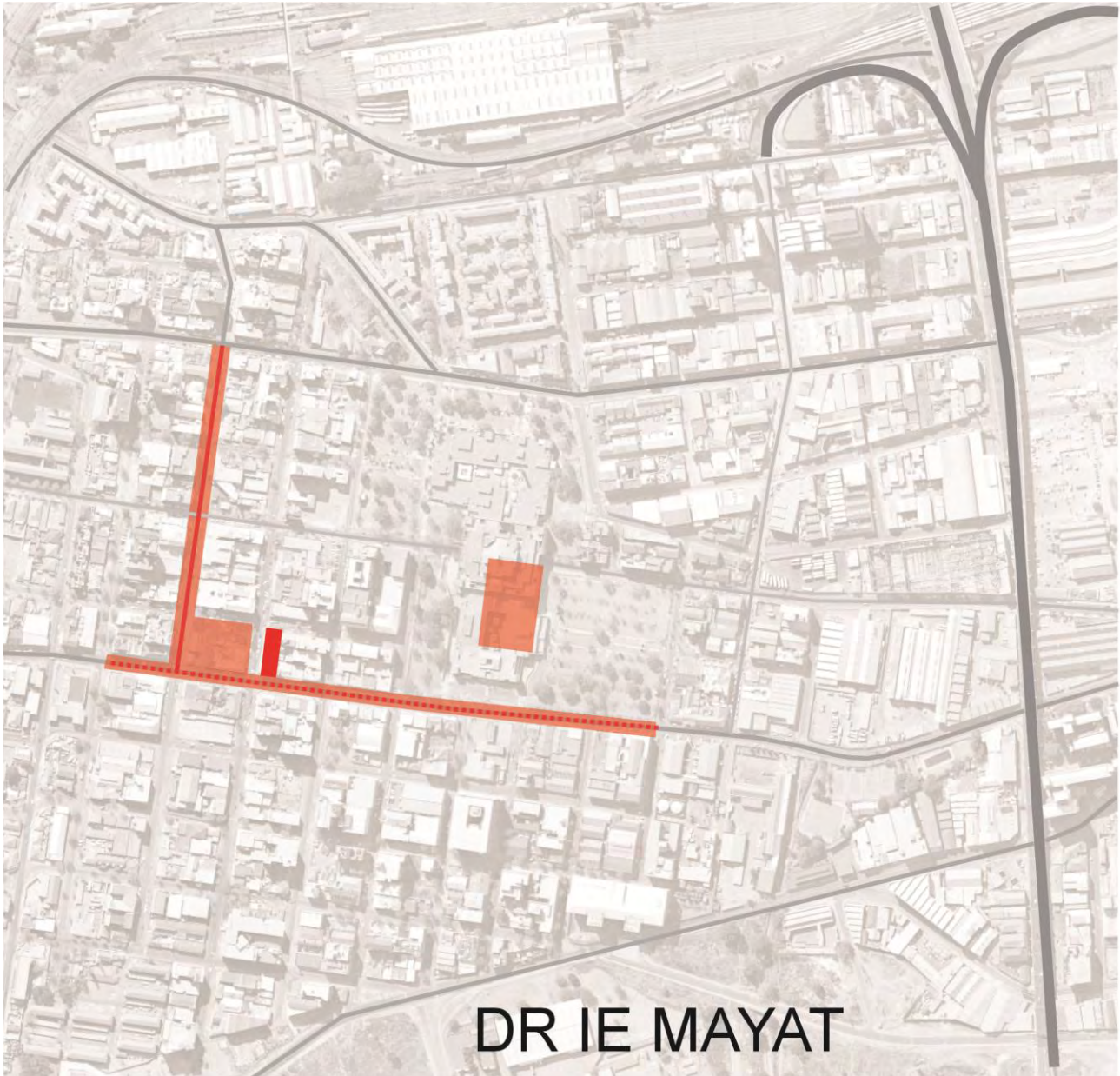


Figure 53 - Mapping of significant buildings and sites identified by Dr IE Mayat

DINO BADROODIN:

Dino Badroodin is a long term resident and history buff of Fordsburg. He has witnessed the changes within Fordsburg from a semi industrial area in the 1960s into a commercial immigrant hub. He has personally been involved in the redevelopment of the Fordsburg Square since the inception of his restaurant on it and therefore identifies with the Square and its immediate environs the most.

Badroodin stressed the importance of Fordsburg Square as a public open space and the preservation of the distinctive historical buildings surrounding it. He would like to 'restore' and reinstate the Square back to its earlier Victorian appearance, creating a more tangible sense of history and perceived heritage. He remarks that:

“People are generally not interested in heritage here.

The classics, heritage and culture are all going. There was a strong heritage here before.” D Badroodin (Interview 8/11/2012)

However Badroodin is optimistic that the area can be improved and its heritage retained and appreciated.

Significant buildings and sites identified:

Fordsburg Square

Public Toilets

Orient Hotel

Standard Bank

Shalimar Delights Building

Building on the corner of Lilian and Main Road

Fordsburg Post Office

Mynpacht Hotel

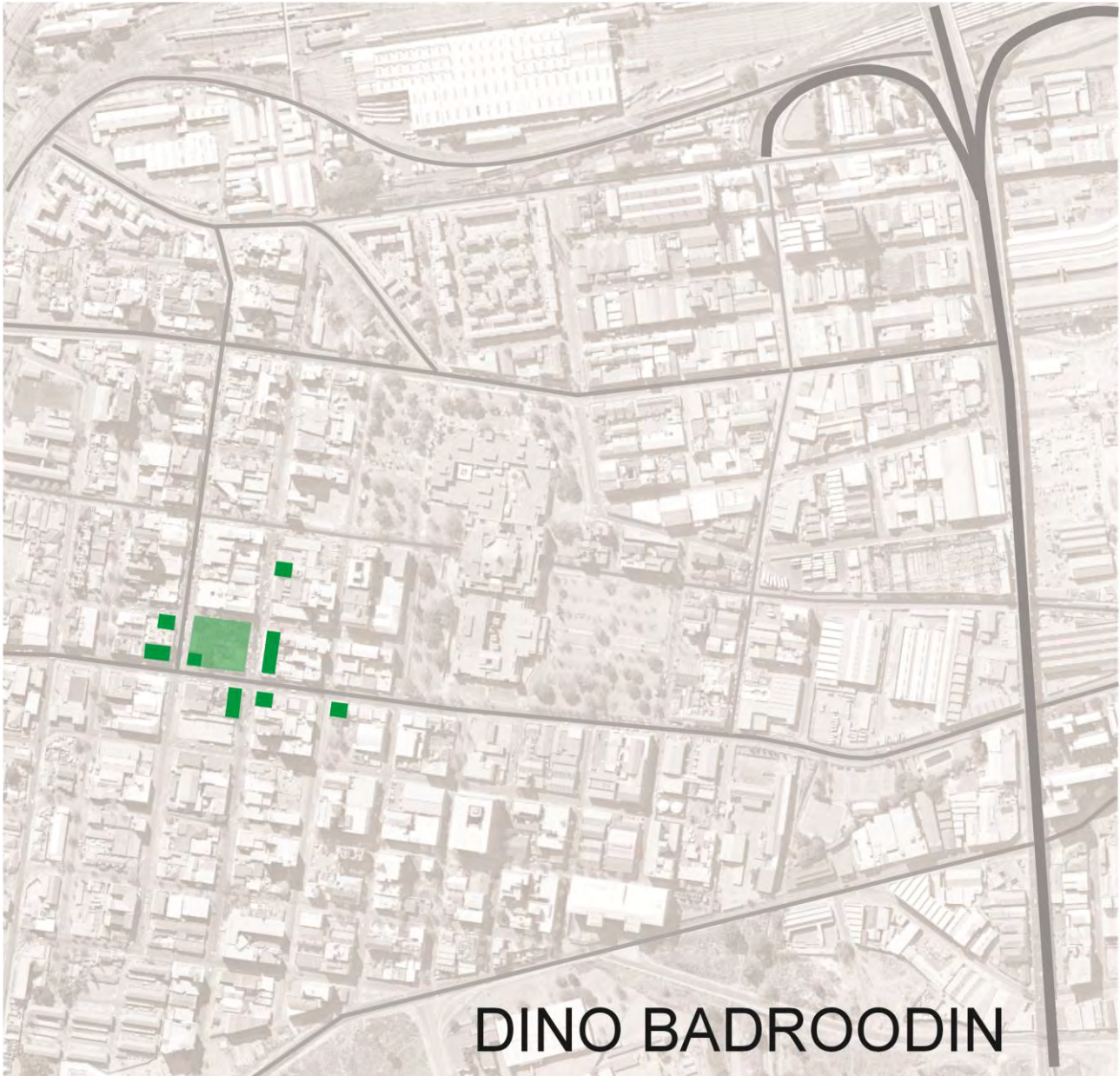


Figure 54 - Mapping of significant buildings and sites identified by Dino Badroodin

EBRAHIM MAYAT:

Ebrahim Mayat has lived intermittently in Fordsburg from the late 1960s till presently. He is fondly able to recall his childhood memories of the area throughout the 70s and 80s.

Mayat's Fordsburg was known for its social life of cinemas, dancing, jazz clubs and fish & chip shops. He believes that that era epitomised the heyday of Fordsburg and identifies with most with those sites.

“Saturday afternoons were jazz sessions. The shops closed at 1 and there was a holiday atmosphere. The cinema's started at 2, some of the clubs in the afternoon. Fordsburg was teeming with activity. I have fond memories of Fordsburg and I often curse the Plaza.” E Mayat (Interview 13/10/2012)

The significance of Fordsburg for Mayat resides in the cultural and social realm. Although most sights and buildings from that era have disappeared, Mayat would conserve very little of the remnants. For Mayat these remaining structures no longer hold any significance. Instead they are a sad reminder of an aspect of Fordsburg's lost heritage.

Mayat still has a sense of belonging and attachment to Fordsburg. However he is disheartened by the changes that have occurred and the influx of new immigrants who disregard the area and simply see it as a stepping stone onto something better.

Significant buildings and sites identified:

The Majestic Cinema

The Lyric Cinema

The Avalon Cinema

Hamidia Mosque

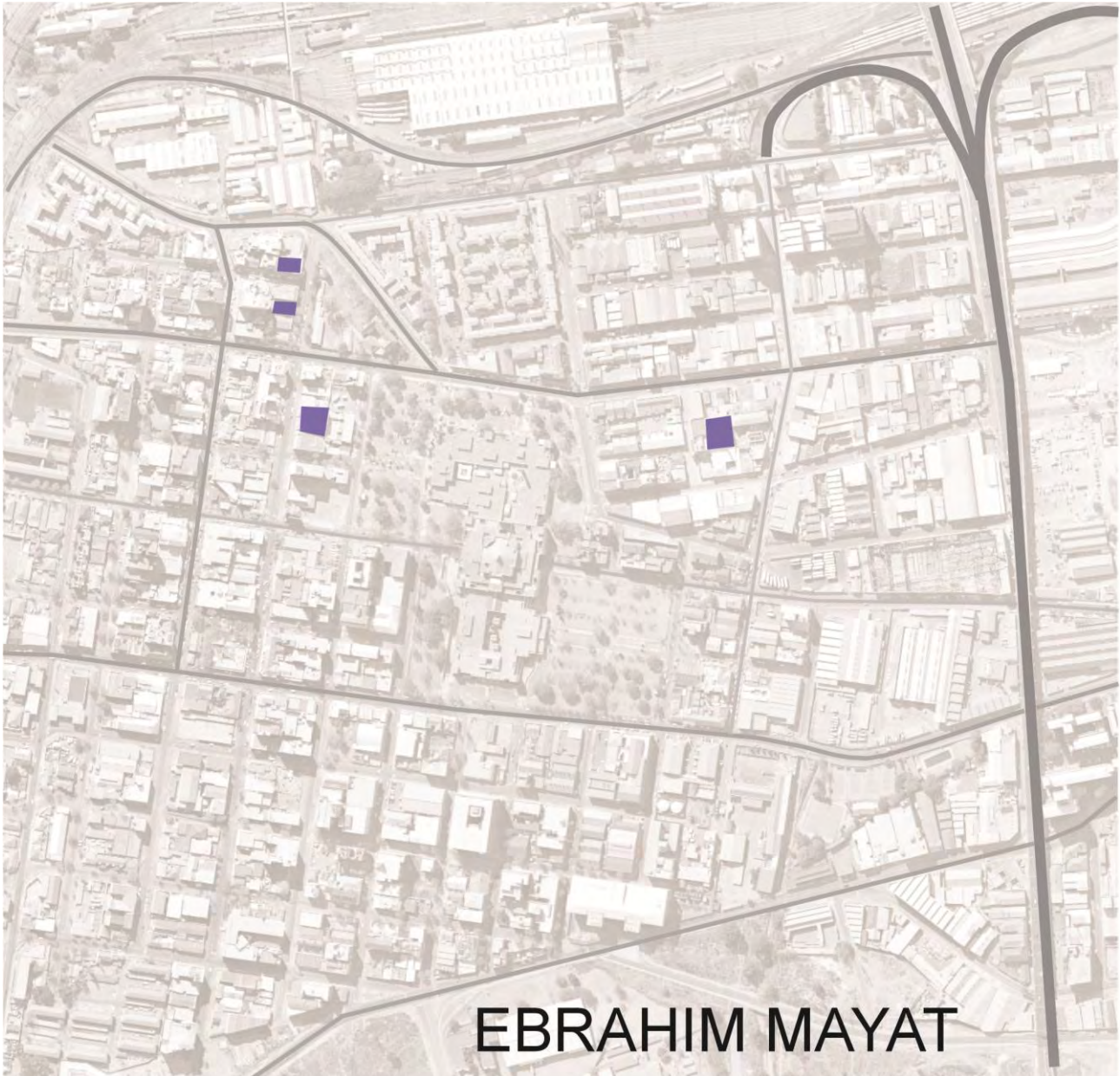


Figure 55 - Mapping of significant buildings identified by Ebrahim Mayat

SHAHID CHOCHAN:

Shahid Chohan is an established member of Fordsburg's immigrant community and originates from Pakistan. He is an integral member of the running of the market within the Square and feels that the immigrant population has helped develop Fordsburg into what it is today.

Chohan's interaction with Fordsburg revolves mainly around the Square and Mint Road and these are therefore the sites that he relates to the most. The significance for Chohan is predominantly cultural and social; he is able to identify with the communal aspect of Fordsburg which resonates with him.

"Fordsburg is like magic. People who used to stay here still come back and visit. It's not just Indian people who come." S Chohan (Interview 5/11/2012)

Chohan is unexpectedly aware of the history of Fordsburg and perceives it as a draw card to the area. He remarked that the history of an area is an important characteristic of a place and as a result would conserve notable historical buildings that he is aware of. Moreover despite the noticeable changes made by immigrants he would like to retain the character of Fordsburg particularly the area surrounding the Square.

Significant buildings and sites identified:

Fordsburg Square

Public Toilets

Fordsburg Post Office

Standard Bank

Rose's Building

Mint Road

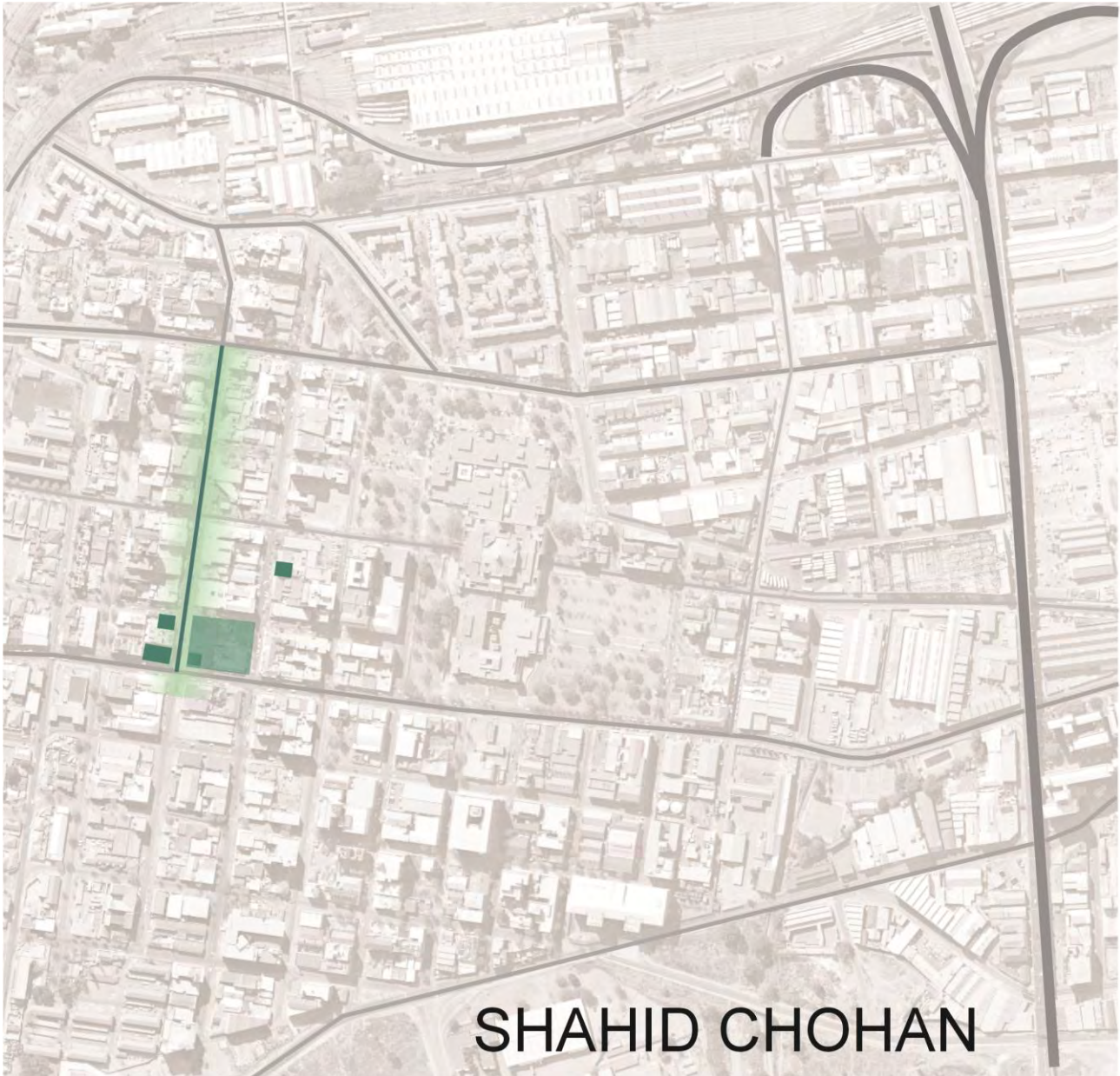


Figure 56 - Mapping of significant buildings and sites identified by Shahid Chohan

6.3 MAPPING OUTCOMES AND INTERPRETATIONS

I graphically represented and documented sites that resonated with individuals interviewed. This resulted in a diagrammatical mapping of various significant sites within Fordsburg and the immediate surrounding area. These sites either embodied historical, cultural or social significance to the participants who felt that they warrant preservation. I combined all the identified sites into a single graphic. Sites that were noticeably repeated and identified three or more times were additionally demarcated, see Figure 57.

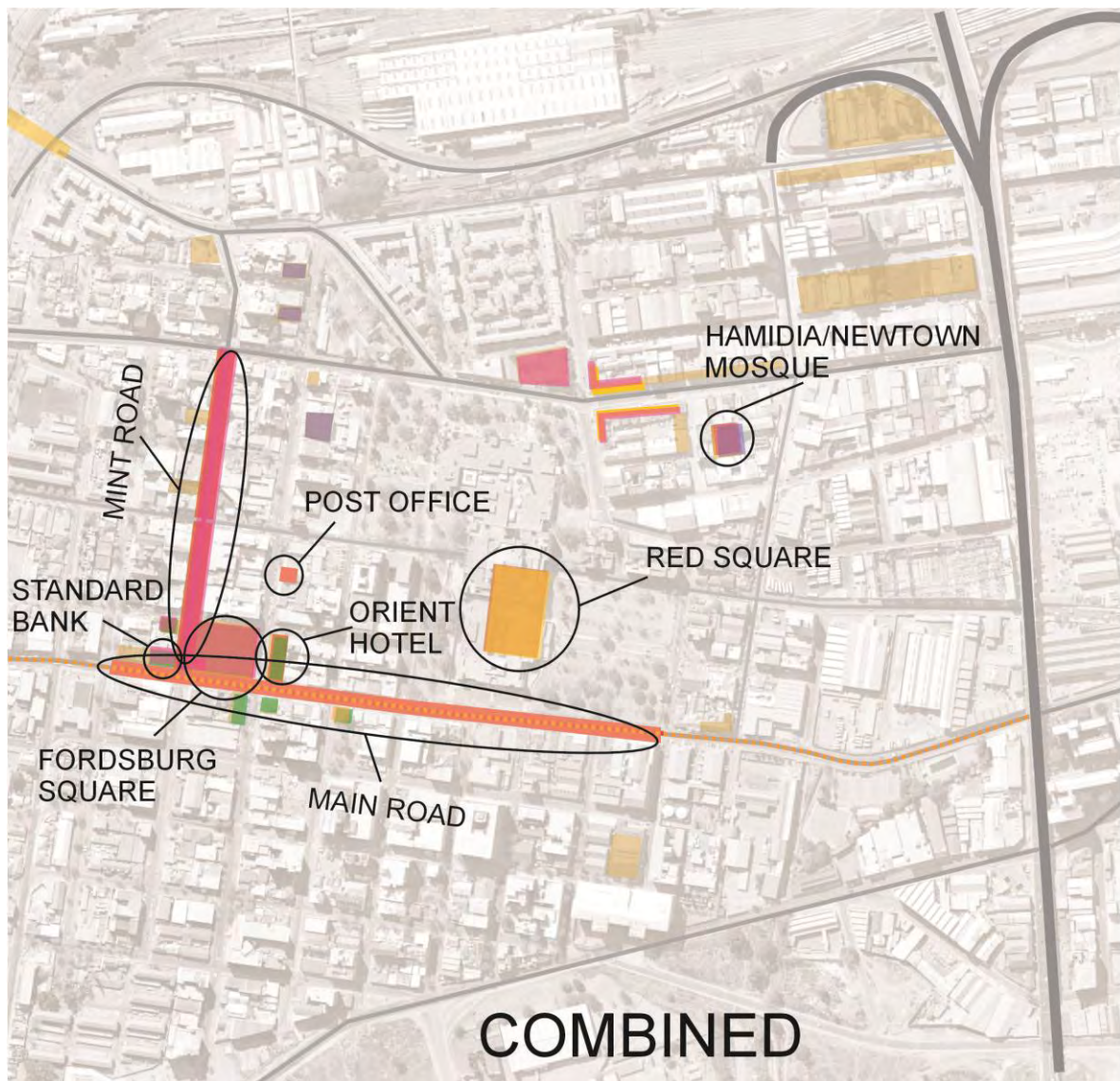


Figure 57 – Combined mapping of significant buildings and sites identified by interviewees

Significant sites noted by heritage practitioners and professionals were more widespread and comprehensive whereas residents were more specific. Numerous sites were identified with notable recurrences. The Fordsburg Square was acknowledged by virtually all participants. This is not unexpected since it has historical, social and cultural significance.

The Square has been a constant throughout the evolution of Fordsburg. It resonates with established residents as a public space around which daily interactions would occur. Recently it has been incorporated into the realm of post-apartheid immigrants. The formalised market is predominantly run by the immigrant community and has provided a new focus and draw card to Fordsburg. The hybridised space of Fordsburg Square has become a site of 'negotiated multiculturalism' (AlSayyad 2001:8) and is a landmark within the context of Fordsburg.

The historically significant toilet block was mostly associated with the square. Most participants who were aware of the background of Fordsburg Square were conscious of the role the block played during the 1922 Rand Revolt.

Fordsburg Square, although a constant within the landscape, no longer reads as an open square. New structures for trading, a restaurant in a train carriage and a roof canopy structure has compromised the openness of the square.

The second most mentioned buildings were the post office and the mosque. Both these utilitarian buildings have similarly been anchor structures throughout the history of the suburb. The post office and its former use as a police station has throughout its lifespan contained a utilitarian use as well as an institutional one. As part of the historical landscape, it can be defined as a reflection of an official one (Groth 2008:241). This basic form and style of the building, despite being severely damaged during 1922, has mostly remained unchanged.

The Hamidia Mosque likewise is a functional building that has played a role in the daily lives of community. It has effectively served the Muslim community of Fordsburg and the surrounding area as a place of worship, teaching and gathering. Again these seemingly ordinary buildings defined by Groth's everyday and generic landscape have become entrenched within the daily lives of both residents and users of Fordsburg. It is therefore foreseeable that they have become an integral anchor of the built fabric and a continuous presence. Furthermore the Mosque can be regarded as part of the symbolic landscape which represent and expresses cultural values and social behaviours (Meinig 1979:6). Residents of Fordsburg, past and present, identify with the Mosque and it has become an integral part of Fordsburg's community and cultural practices. Initially it had forged a strong

collective identity of the Johannesburg Indian Muslim community. However with the change in demographics in the area, the function of the Mosque has remained albeit for a newer Muslim immigrant population.

Other notable buildings were the Orient Hotel and the Standard Bank. Both these buildings further instil the importance of the generic landscape. The Orient is one of the oldest remaining historical hotels in the suburb and illustrates the early mining history of Fordsburg. Standard Bank likewise has occupied the same site for well over a hundred years. It is important to note that both buildings occupy corner buildings which were prominent in the cityscape of Johannesburg. Furthermore both buildings flank Fordsburg Square from its earlier market days. Therefore these structures are integral parts of the public square and any associations with it.

Another lesser known public square which was mentioned was Red Square. Although this space no longer exists, it is still a vital memory for many inhabitants particularly those who had some relationship with it. The Red Square was often a site for political meetings and gatherings throughout the 1940s and 1950s. However it has been built over during the construction of the Oriental Plaza during the 1970s. Despite its political significance it is perhaps its cultural significance that has been recognised. Intangible spaces such as Red Square are a site of untold history. However with the changing demographics of Fordsburg residents, the square may soon be relegated into the realm of memory and values associated with it disappear.

Alternative but key spaces that were additionally identified by many participants were both Mint and Main Roads themselves. The streetscape is potentially what is being referred to here. Since Fordsburg has very few landmark buildings and most structures are of a modest scale it is the character of the streetscape that is being acknowledged.

Johannesburg architect and heritage practitioner, Herbert Prins (Interview 22/10/2012) appreciates the difficulty associated with heritage resources in Fordsburg. He feels that there are only a handful of buildings that warrant conservation on heritage significance grounds but that thoroughfares and zones created in roads like Mint and Main should rather be considered as conservation areas. Prins regards the buildings within their context and as a grouping to be of greater value than any particular building, more attention should be paid to infill buildings which may detract from this existing significance. Prins is troubled by the prescriptive nature of the application of heritage law imposed on an area like Fordsburg; he feels that it is the context of these resources and social linkages that are of greater importance. A set of broader guidelines relating to a defined Fordsburg conservation area may alleviate this conflict.

Itzkin affirms that Fordsburg's heritage requires careful consideration and should not impede its growth (Interview 22/10/2012). He elaborated that:

“Fordsburg is such a varied area, there's place for selective preservation which will allow for redevelopment around it. It has character. Heritage is being created all the time. There's a cultural exchange between the transnational and local Indian culture.” E Itzkin (Intervie 22/10/2012)

With changing values and communities new sites of heritage are continually being created. Although the Oriental Plaza was not designated specifically as a heritage resource, it was mentioned during the majority of interviews conducted. Despite the initial negative reaction to the construction of the Oriental Plaza and the relocation of displaced traders from Pageview during the 1970s, many Johannesburg residents today have warm memories of the shopping complex. The artificial creation of an 'Oriental Bazaar' and internalised shopping complex was a relatively new idea at the time and initially suffered financially (De Souza 2007:7). The success of the Oriental Plaza is perhaps partly to the subsequent sectional title ownership of individual shops in the 1980s, enabling traders to have a sense of control, as well as its association with clothing and textiles. In the future, it may potentially be defined as a heritage resource.

The synchronicity of these recurrent sites between all or most interviewees suggests that their significance extends beyond that of individual experience or memory. Value has been attached to them and they are of significance as heritage resources to people's understanding, memories and interaction with Fordsburg. They have possibly even transcended individual memories to become the anchors for the memory and identity of the greater Fordsburg community.

CHAPTER SEVEN CONCLUSION

Fordsburg's history is one steeped in a landscape of rapid urban and social change. This working class suburb holds a legacy of the everyday existence of diverse communities within the multifaceted city of Johannesburg. The transient nature of residents and shifting communities has resulted in a townscape of rapid urban and social change with a layered significance within the environment.

Diverse and often conflicting views on the character and significance of Fordsburg are inevitable. The multiplicity of readings and the resonance of sites within Fordsburg is a result of the divergent influences and communities that have interacted with it.

Community, culture and values form an identity. The identity or sense of self within a particular social community has an impact on how it perceives and identifies heritage values. Identity is intertwined with notions of community. The formation of identity is defined by shared histories, cultures, values as well as associations with specific areas. Gleason (1983: 914) argues that identity is shaped by an individual's interaction within their social setting. He further elaborates that this is crucial in the affirmation of ethnic identity. A collectively defined community identity, with shared values, cherishes specific sites. The need for the assertion of ethnic identity is important within the transitory nature of Fordsburg.

Interactions between communities similarly create hybrid urban contexts where cultures, identities and spaces continually mutate. Bhabha views hybridity as a space where elements encounter and transform each other" (AlSayyad 2001:7). New hybrid sites become significant through the creation of new uses and meaning. Fordsburg itself can be viewed as within this hybrid urban context where the resulting organic hybridity, as defined by Bakhtin (Dinath 2006), is simply another product of new interactions.

Transforming cultures, traditions, surroundings and everyday practices are evident in the microcosm of Fordsburg where recent immigrants have created a cultural hybrid condition. Sandercock (1995) recognises the blurring of boundaries where communities search for new meanings alongside the old.

The remembrance of the past as Huyssen (2000) reasons anchors our identities. Memory and forgetting are interlinked and are subject to change. Memories and narratives of the past forge our identities and equally are being forgotten or renegotiated. Nora's sites of memory (1987:7) are an embodiment of our sense of identity and connection with the past. Fordsburg's sites of memory have embodied memories of marginalised minorities or ethnic

groups which were neglected in the traditional narratives of the history of the city of Johannesburg.

Despite Fordsburg's continual evolution and transient nature, the landscape of the ordinary has been retained. From its early establishment as a working class residential suburb, Fordsburg's urban fabric has progressed into an amalgam of commercial and industrial spaces interlaced with houses and apartment blocks. The everyday spaces of interaction in Fordsburg's streets, squares, shops and public facilities have been ever present.

Through this dissertation I had intended to explore whether any constants within Fordsburg's urban environment had gained cultural significance and if they had become anchors for memory and identity? I began with an exploration into the social history of Fordsburg and the corresponding urban landscape. Subsequently I was able to identify various noteworthy buildings and sites which were pertinent to these particular periods within Fordsburg's history. A range of views were further garnered through an interview process with selected individuals familiar with Fordsburg. Through these I was able to designate significance to these sites and buildings in and around Fordsburg particular to collective viewpoints of individuals. They were generally of social and cultural as well as historical significance.

Themes and constants emerged from mappings of these significant heritage resources. Existing buildings and urban spaces have been sites of memory and have gained significance. Sites which had retained importance throughout the existence of Fordsburg included Fordsburg Square, the bygone Red Square, the Hamidia Mosque, the post office, the Standard Bank and the Orient Hotel. Two distinctive streets were also specified, namely Mint Road and Main Road.

These constants of public spaces, arterial roads and public amenity buildings emphasise the importance of the ubiquitous ordinary landscape. The importance of the street and townscape is highlighted together with their corresponding character and ambience. Groth (1988) views the ordinary landscape as an important insight into neglected urban history. Streets comprised of modest human scaled buildings that have street frontage and feature corner buildings give Fordsburg its distinctive character. The bustle and activity found in these thoroughfares and Fordsburg Square give the suburb a lively atmosphere. These features are reminiscent of the earlier days of Johannesburg. To a large degree the grain of the area has been preserved particularly along Mint and Main Roads.

The synergy that exists in Fordsburg Square harks back to earlier days of market squares and still remains as an area of social interaction and commercial activity. Groth (1999) perceives these seemingly generic townscapes and buildings as a distinctive cultural

landscape where inhabitants have a sense of belonging. Buildings that have persisted within the impermanence of the city and have most likely factored in the everyday rituals of daily life have inevitably become constants. Lefebvre's (1987:10) concept of the everyday illuminates the past. The importance of the everyday alludes to the existence of constants within daily lives. This is true for the post office (former police station), the Standard Bank, the Orient Hotel (former Sack's Hotel) and the Hamidia Mosque. Furthermore many of these buildings and sites have strong or special associations with a community or an event in the history of Johannesburg.

Similarly the defunct Red Square, demolished to make way for the Oriental Plaza, still carries significance. However with the transient nature of Fordsburg and its changing demographics, its memory and significance may soon disappear too.

The preservation of the existing street fabric and significant sites of Fordsburg are integral in the retention of the character of its environ. Fordsburg encapsulates the urbanism of Johannesburg in its early days which is gradually disappearing. It is this very nature that adds to the appeal of Fordsburg. The suburb's heritage requires careful consideration in order not to impede growth and allow for its inevitable mutations. Similarly new sites of heritage are continually being created by fluctuating communities and need to be acknowledged. The appropriation of these spaces allow for new cultural significance. It is only through public awareness and an understanding of heritage based on values and significance that Fordsburg will be protected against the gradual loss and disintegration of established built fabric which will otherwise be mourned in retrospect.

REFERENCES

ARCHIVAL

Barnett Collection. Historic Manuscripts Department, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Chief Directorate: National Geo-Spatial Information. Van Der Sterr Building, Rhodes Avenue, Mowbray, Cape Town.

Museum Africa Picture Collection. Museum Africa, 121 Bree Street, Newtown, Johannesburg.

National Monuments Council, National Register and Assessment Forms.

William Cullen Library Map and Plans Archive. University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

LITERARY

AlSayyad, N, ed. (2001). Hybrid Urbanism: On the Identity Discourse and the Built Environment. Praeger: London.

Ashcroft, B. et al (eds). (2006). The Post- Colonial Studies Reader. Routledge: London

Beavon, K. (2004). Johannesburg: The Making and Shaping of the City. University of South Africa Press: Pretoria.

Bhana, S and Brian, J. (1990). Setting Down Roots: Indian Migrants in South Africa, 1860 – 1911. Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg.

Bosman, N. (2011). Rooted in Africa. The Citizen: Citivibe, 18 May 2011. 1.

Bremner, L. (2002). Theme Park City. The Sunday Times, 17 March 2002. 14 – 15.

Brink, E. (2008). Heritage Assessment Fordsburg, Newtown West and Mayfair. A report prepared for the City of Johannesburg. Unpublished report

Brodie, N. (ed). (2008). The Joburg Book. Pan Macmillan and Sharp Sharp Media: Johannesburg.

Callinicos, L. (1985). A People's History of South Africa – Volume One: Gold and Workers. Ravan Press: Johannesburg

Callinicos, L. (1987). A People's History of South Africa – Volume Two: Working Life. Ravan Press: Johannesburg

Callinicos, L. (1993). A People's History of South Africa – Volume Three: A Place in the City. Ravan Press: Johannesburg

Callinicos, L. (2000). The World that made Mandela: A Heritage Tale of Significance. STE Publishers: Johannesburg

Callinicos, L. (2012). Who Built Jozi: Discovering Memory at Wits Junction. Wits University Press: Johannesburg

Carrim, N. (1990). Fietas: A Social History of Pageview 1948 – 1988. Save Pageview Association: Johannesburg

Chipkin, C. (1993). Johannesburg Style: Architecture & Society. David Philip Publishers: Cape Town.

Clarke, J, ed. (1999). The Star: An Extraordinary Century. The Star: Johannesburg.

Crinson, M, ed. (2005). Urban Memory: History and Amnesia in the Modern City. Routledge: London.

Dangor, A. (1998). Apartheid and the death of South African Cities, in Blank: Architecture, Apartheid and After, Judin and Vladislavic (eds.). David Philip Publishers: Cape Town: 358-361

De Souza, C. (2007). The Oriental Plaza. A paper prepared for Masters of Architecture (Professional), University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. Unpublished research paper.

Desai, Y and Randall, P. (1967). From 'Coolie Location' to Group Area: A Brief Account of Johannesburg's Indian Community. South African Institute of Race Relations.

Dinath, Y. (2006). Re-generating the Cultural Factory: Deconstructing Interpretations of Culture in the Hybrid City. Dissertation, Masters of Science in Town and Regional Planning, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Dunlop, Heywood & Company. (1965). Report on Proposed Indian Commercial Centre, Fordsburg – Johannesburg. Unpublished Report: Johannesburg.

Duphelia-Mesthrie, U. (2000). From Cane Fields to Freedom: A Chronicle of Indian South African Life. Kwela Books: Cape Town.

Gleason, P. (1983). Identifying Identity: A Semantic History. The Journal of American History, vol. 69, no. 4, (March): 910 – 931.

Goodman, N. (1985). How Buildings Mean. Critical Inquiry, vol. 11, no. 4, (June): 642 – 653.

Grenville, J. (2007). Conservation as Psychology: Ontological Security and the Built Environment. International Journal of Heritage Studies, vol. 13, no. 6, (November): 447 – 461.

Groth, P. (1988). Generic Buildings and Cultural Landscapes as Sources of Urban History. Journal of Architectural Education, vol. 41, no. 3, Urban History in the 1980s (Spring, 1988): 41-44.

Groth, P. (1999). Making New Connections in Vernacular Architecture. Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, vol. 58, no. 3, Architectural History 1999/2000 (September): 444-451.

Groth, P. (2008). Review Outlines for Class Lectures. University of California: Berkeley.

Herd, N. (1966). 1922 The Revolt on the Rand. Blue Crane Books: Johannesburg.

Horowitz, O. (1980). Slowly, a Church Disappears, in The Star, 11 August 1980.

Huyssen, A. (2000). Present Pasts: Media, Politics, Amnesia. Public Culture, vol. 12, no. 1: 21-38.

Itzkin, E. (2000). Gandhi's Johannesburg: Birthplace of Satyagraha. Witwatersrand University Press: Johannesburg.

Kallaway, P and Pearson, P. (1986). Johannesburg Images and Continuities: A History of Working Class Life through Pictures 1885 – 1935. Ravan Press: Johannesburg.

Krickler, J. (2005). The Rand Revolt. Johnathan Ball Publishing: Johannesburg.

Lefebvre, H. (2008). Critique of Everyday Life: Volume 1. Verso: New York.

Lefebvre, H. (1987). The Everyday and Everydayness. Yale French Studies, no. 37, Everyday Life (1987): 7 – 11.

Lefebvre, H. (2009). State, Space, World. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis.

Lefebvre, H. (1996). Writing on Cities. Blackwell Publishers: London

Lewis, P. (1979). Axioms for Reading the Landscape, in The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays, Meinig DW (ed). Oxford University Press: Oxford: 11-32

Leyds, GA. (1964). A History of Johannesburg. Nasionale Boekhandel Beperk: Cape Town.

Lowenthal, D. (1985). The Past is a Foreign Country. Cambridge University Press: Massachusetts.

Lynch, K. (1960). The Image of the City. MIT Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Lynch, K. (1972). What Time is this Place? MIT Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Mahomed, E. (2006). The Role of Ethnic Enclaves in Urban Regeneration: Fordsburg as a Case Study. Masters dissertation, Master of Science in Town and Regional Planning, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Massey, D. (1995). Places and Their Pasts. History Workshop Journal, no. 39, (Spring 1995): 182 – 192.

Meinig, DW, ed. (1979). The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Meiring, H. (1986). Early Johannesburg – Its Building and its People. Human and Rousseau: Cape Town.

Merrifield, A. (2006). Henri Lefebvre: A Critical Introduction. Routledge: New York.

Mishra, V. (2006). The Diasporic Imaginary. The Post- Colonial Studies Reader, Ashcroft, B. et al (eds). Routledge: London

National Heritage Resources Act, 1999 (NHRA). Government Gazette of the Republic of South Africa. Vol 406, 28 April 2009.

Nora, P. (1989). Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire. Representations, no. 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (Spring 1989): 7- 24.

Norwich, I. et al (1987). Some Historic Drives and Walks of Johannesburg: Written and Produced by the Johannesburg Historical Foundation. Framic Pty Ltd: Johannesburg.

Pickard – Cambridge, C. (1988). The Greying of Johannesburg: Residential Desegregation in the Johannesburg Area. South African Institute of Race Relations: Johannesburg.

Radford, D. (1987). A Conservation Study of Fordsburg – Johannesburg. A report prepared for the National Monuments Council. Unpublished report

RAU. (1977). Projek: Opname Historiese Geboue in Johannesburg – Derde Verslag Julie 1977. Ringgebied. Johannesburg: Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit.

Robinson, JR. (1998). (Im)mobilizing space – dreaming of change. Blank: Architecture, Apartheid and After, Judin and Vladislavic (eds.). David Philip Publishers: Cape Town: 163 - 171.

Rushdie, S. (2006). Imaginary Homelands. The Post- Colonial Studies Reader, Ashcroft, B. et al (eds). Routledge: London: 428 – 434.

Russel, I. (2010). Heritage, Identities and Roots: A Critique of Arborescent Models of Heritage and Identity. Heritage Values in Contemporary Society, Smith, S. et al (eds). Left Coast Press: California: 29 – 41.

Sachs, B. (1972). The Fordsburg – Mayfair Hebrew Congregation 1893 – 1964. Eagle Press: Johannesburg.

Sandercock, L. (1995). Voices from the Borderland: A Meditation on a Metaphor. Journal of Planning, Education and Research, vol. 14: 77- 88.

Sorrell, LJ. (1989). The House that Jack Built. Masters Dissertation, Masters in Urban Design, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Smith, AH. (1971). Johannesburg Street Names. Juta & Company Limited, Johannesburg.

Standard Bank. (2012). Revolt on the Rand, in Hoisting the Standard - 150 Years of Standard Bank. October 2012. The Star: Johannesburg.

The Star. (1922). Through the Red Revolt on the Rand: A Pictorial Review of Events: January, February, March , 1922. Argus: Johannesburg

Toffah, T. (2008). Urban Continuum: A Third Typology in Fordsburg. Thesis, Masters of Architecture (Professional), University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Van Onselen, C. (1982). Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand 1886 – 1914 Volume 1: New Babylon. Ravan Press: Johannesburg

Van Onselen, C. (1982). Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand 1886 – 1914 Volume 2: New Nineveh. Ravan Press: Johannesburg

Vidler, A. (1992). The Architectural Uncanny: Essays in the Modern Unhomely. MIT Press: Cambridge.

Warren, C. (2001). Qualitative Interviewing. Handbook of Interview Research, Gubrium and Holstein (eds.). Sage Publications Inc: London: 83-101

Woodgate, S. (1985). Another Grand Old Watering Hole Dries Up, in The Star, 18 May 1985.

Yip, CL. (2001). California Chinatowns: Built Environments Expressing the Hybridized Culture of Chinese Americans. Hybrid Urbanism: On the Identity Discourse and the Built Environment, AlSayyad N (ed). Praeger: London: 67-82

Zukin, S. (1995). The Culture of Cities. Blackwell Publishers Inc: Massachusetts

INTERNET

Artefacts. (2012). Post Office. INTERNET. www.artefacts.co.za/main/Buildings/bldgframes.php?bldgid=10160. Cited 3 January 2013.

Parker, F. (2010). Buttoned Up in Jo'burg. INTERNET. <http://mq.co.za/print/2010-04-01-buttoned-up-in-joburg>. Cited 20 September 2012.

Ismail, S. (2006). Character of Fordsburg Permeates the Passing Years. INTERNET. <http://mq.co.za/article/2006-10-17-character-of-fordsburg-permeates-the-passing-years>. Cited 20 September 2012.

Kara, N. (2010). Solly's Special has Them Coming Back for More. INTERNET. http://www.timeslive.co.za/sundaytimes/article734787_ece/Sollys-special-has-them-coming-back-for-more. Cited 3 January 2013.

Newtown Heritage Trail. (2012). The History of Newtown. INTERNET. <http://www.newtown.co.za/heritage/history>. Cited 28 December 2012.

APPENDIX a

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How long have you been a resident in Fordsburg?
2. Why did you decide to live in Fordsburg?
3. What is your impression of the area of Fordsburg? What first comes into your mind?
4. What do you like about Fordsburg? And dislike?
5. What is your favourite part/view(s) or most distinctive part of Fordsburg? And Least?
6. Do you feel as if you belong to this place? Do you feel you have some control over it?
7. Do you think of Fordsburg as historic? If so what?
8. What is the oldest/newest thing in Fordsburg?
9. Do you think that history/heritage is important to the people living in Fordsburg?
10. Is there anything that reminds you of your past?
11. Do you have any strong associations or a specific connection to a part of Fordsburg or its history?
12. How is the place changing?
13. Do you like/dislike the changes?
14. What part is changing the fastest/slowest? What is the most significant change?
15. Should parts of Fordsburg be preserved? Which parts should be preserved and which should be changed?

APPENDIX b

LIST OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED

Badroodin, D. (7 November 2012). Businessman and former resident of Fordsburg. Fordsburg, Johannesburg.

Buitendach, J. (17 September 2012). Tour operator and owner of Past Experiences Tours. Braamfontein, Johannesburg.

Chohan, S. (5 November 2012). Entrepreneur and Pakistani immigrant. Fordsburg, Johannesburg.

Coetzee, H. (17 September 2012). Artist. Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

Dinath, Y. (24 October 2012). Town and regional planner, researcher and consultant. University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Itzkin, E. (22 October 2012). Deputy Director of Immovable Heritage at the City of Johannesburg. Newtown, Johannesburg.

Mayat, E. (13 October 2012). Established resident of Fordsburg. Fordsburg, Johannesburg.

Mayat, I E. (28 September 2012). Former resident and doctor based in Fordsburg. Dunkeld, Johannesburg.

Prins, H. (22 October 2012). Architect and Heritage Consultant. Killarney, Johannesburg.

APPENDIX c

MAPPING CITATIONS

- Figure 20
- a The Burning of Newtown's Coolie Location. (Itzkin 2000:50)
 - b March to the Transvaal 1913. (Duphelia-Mesthrie 2000:193)
 - c Diagonal Street 1961. (Duphelia-Mesthrie 2000:61)
 - d Corner Café in Fietas. (Carrim 1990:71)
 - e Dr Yusuf Dadoo and Nelson Mandela in Johannesburg 1945. (Duphelia-Mesthrie 2000:202)
 - f Lenasia. (Carrim 1990:91)
 - g Forced Removals. (Carrim 1990:135)
- Figure 41
- a Fordsburg Synagogue. (Sachs 1972:98)
 - b Market Buildings, Fordsburg. (Barnett Collection, Photograph JHB20)
 - c Main Road, Fordsburg. (Barnett Collection, Photograph TRA 14)
 - d Central Road, Fordsburg. (Norwich 1987:105)
 - e Main Road, Fordsburg. (Barnett Collection, Photograph JHB21)
 - f Sack's Hotel 1895. (Barnett Collection, Photograph HOT5)
 - g Fordsburg, Johannesburg 1899. (Museum Africa, Photograph 916.82)

- Figure 42
- a Burnt Police Station, Fordsburg.
(Museum Africa, Section 331.892, Photograph 2005-11606)
 - b 1922 Strikes, Main Road, Fordsburg.
(Museum Africa, Section 331.892, Photograph 2005-11611B)
 - c Scenes of Violence, Fordsburg.
(Museum Africa, Section 331.892, Photograph 2001-922)
 - d Damaged Store in Market Square, Fordsburg. (The Star 1922)
 - e The Imperial Light Horse, Fordsburg. (The Star 1922)
 - f Rebel Stronghold in Trades Hall, Fordsburg.
(Museum Africa, Section 331.892, Photograph 2001-924)
 - g Trades Hall, Market Square, Fordsburg.
(Museum Africa, Section 331.892, Photograph 2005-1595)
 - h Rebel Stronghold, Trades Hall, Fordsburg.
(Museum Africa, Section 331.892, Photograph 2001-926)
 - i Trenches in Market Square, Fordsburg.
(Museum Africa, Section 331.892, Photograph 2001-923)
 - j Market Square, Fordsburg.
(Museum Africa, Section 331.892, Photograph 2006-18)
 - k Market Square showing Trenches, Fordsburg.
(Museum Africa, Section 331.892, Photograph 2006-204)
 - l Trades Hall, Fordsburg.
(Museum Africa, Section 331.892, Photograph 2005-11570)
 - m Main Road, Fordsburg.
(Museum Africa, Section 331.892, Photograph 2006-203)

- Figure 43
- a Assembly at Indian High School. (Callinicos 2000:147)
 - b Mass Meeting outside Hamidia Mosque 1908, Newtown. (Itzkin 2000: 54)
 - c The Oriental Plaza, Fordsburg 1978. (Museum Africa, Section 916.82, Photograph 2006-3319B)
 - d The Oriental Plaza Parking Lot, Fordsburg 1978. (Museum Africa, Section 916.82, Photograph 2006-3321B)
 - e Defiance Campaigners Marching with Banners, Red Square, Fordsburg. (Callinicos 2000: 146)
 - f Defiance Campaign Meeting, Red Square, Fordsburg 1952. (Callinicos 2000: 145)
 - g Fordsburg Square 1989. (Sorrell 1989:107)

- Figure 44
- a Assembly at Indian High School. (Callinicos 2000:147)
 - b The Oriental Plaza, Fordsburg 1978. (Museum Africa, Section 916.82, Photograph 2006-3319B)
 - c The Oriental Plaza Parking Lot, Fordsburg 1978. (Museum Africa, Section 916.82, Photograph 2006-3321B)
 - d Fordsburg Square 1989. (Sorrell 1989:107)
 - e The Avalon Theatre, Fordsburg. (Desai 1967)
 - f The Lyric Theatre, Fordsburg 1989. (Sorrell 1989:108)