

Distribution Agreement

In presenting this thesis or dissertation as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for an advanced degree from Emory University, I hereby grant to Emory University and its agents the non-exclusive license to archive, make accessible, and display my thesis or dissertation in whole or in part in all forms of media, now or hereafter known, including display on the world wide web. I understand that I may select some access restrictions as part of the online submission of this thesis or dissertation. I retain all ownership rights to the copyright of the thesis or dissertation. I also retain the right to use in future works (such as articles or books) all or part of this thesis or dissertation.

Signature:

Sarah Van Horn Melton

Date

Traveling Histories: Tourism and Transnationalism in the US and South Africa

By

Sarah Van Horn Melton
Doctor of Philosophy
Graduate Institute of the Liberal Arts

Anna Grimshaw
Advisor

Kevin Corrigan
Committee Member

Michael Elliott
Committee Member

Leslie Witz
Committee Member

Accepted:

Lisa A. Tedesco, Ph.D.
Dean of the James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies

Date

Traveling Histories: Tourism and Transnationalism in the US and South Africa

By

Sarah Van Horn Melton
M.A., University of Alabama, 2009
B.A., Emory University, 2006

Advisor: Anna Grimshaw, PhD

An abstract of
A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in Graduate Institute of the Liberal Arts
2017

Abstract

Traveling Histories: Tourism and Transnationalism in the US and South Africa

By Sarah Van Horn Melton

In this study, I seek to better understand the resonances of local and global histories of oppression, segregation, and violence. Through a multi-sited ethnography of three museums in the US and South Africa—the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, the Apartheid Museum, and the District Six Museum—I ask four main questions: 1) How do these histories travel, and how are they changed in new contexts?; 2) How do specific exhibition strategies mediate and express particular interpretations of complex and violent histories of race and segregation?; 3) How do the pressures and realities of a global system of cultural tourism affect these exhibitionary strategies *and* visitor interpretations of sites?; and 4) How do these sites challenge or uphold the category of *museum*?

Traveling Histories: Tourism and Transnationalism in the US and South Africa

By

Sarah Van Horn Melton
M.A., University of Alabama, 2009
B.A., Emory University, 2006

Advisor: Anna Grimshaw, PhD

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in Graduate Institute of the Liberal Arts
2017

Acknowledgements

To my ILA co-conspirators and classmates, for making me a better scholar;
To my *Southern Spaces* co-workers, for making me a better editor (and the corny magnets);
To Anandi and Meredith, for the work meetings and Brussels sprouts;
To Franky, for mentorship, friendship, and late-night runs to Coinstar;
To Chris Sawula, for teaching me about nor'easters and very tall men;
To Justin, for the dad jokes;
To Chris Sampson, for the slow somersaults;
To Brandon and Thomas, the best roommates, for the Twitter backchannel;
To Katherine, for the goth parties and brain science;
To Klee, for the years of bad dates and good bar games;
To Yasmin, for being a great big sister but a Floridian driver;
To Anna, Michael, Leslie, and Kevin, for the patient support;
To Barbara and Peter, for all the sweetness and light;
And, most of all, to my parents for the unending love—

Thank you.

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Chapter 1	
Toyi-toying in Birmingham: The Birmingham Civil Rights Institute	44
Chapter 2	
The Apartheid Museum: Making a Global Tourism Site	89
Chapter 3	
Curating and Contesting at the District Six Museum	143
Conclusion	187
Bibliography	204

Figure List

- Figure 1.** 54
Carol M. Highsmith, “Barriers,” Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, Birmingham, Alabama, 2010. Image courtesy of The George F. Landegger Collection of Alabama Photographs in Carol M. Highsmith's America, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.
- Figure 2.** 54
Carol M. Highsmith, “Barbershop,” Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, Birmingham, Alabama, 2010. Image courtesy of The George F. Landegger Collection of Alabama Photographs in Carol M. Highsmith's America, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.
- Figure 3.** 55
Carol M. Highsmith, Voices exhibit, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, Birmingham, Alabama, 2010. George F. Landegger Collection of Alabama Photographs in Carol M. Highsmith's America, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.
- Figure 4.** 56
Carol M. Highsmith, Freedom Riders bus display, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, Birmingham, Alabama, 2010. Photograph courtesy of the George F. Landegger Collection of Alabama Photographs in Carol M. Highsmith's America, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.
- Figure 5.** 56
Carol M. Highsmith, Stained glass window from 16th St. Baptist Church, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, Birmingham, Alabama, 2010. George F. Landegger Collection of Alabama Photographs in Carol M. Highsmith's America, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.
- Figure 6.** 58
Carol M. Highsmith, Jail cell, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, Birmingham, Alabama, 2010. Photograph courtesy of the George F. Landegger Collection of Alabama Photographs in Carol M. Highsmith's America, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.
- Figure 7.** 64
Entrance to the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute human rights gallery, date unknown. Courtesy of Mark Gooch Photography.

Figure 8. Anti-apartheid panel, date unknown. Courtesy of Mark Gooch Photography.	66
Figure 9. Looking toward Johannesburg from Gold Reef City. George M. Groutas, 2010. CC-BY.	93
Figure 10. Entrance to Museum showing “dom passes.” Photograph by author, 2013.	96
Figure 11. Ramp leading to Museum. Photograph by author, 2011.	99
Figure 12. Gun cage. Stanislav Lvovsky, 2013. CC-BY-NC-ND.	106
Figure 13. Final room. Photograph by author, 2011.	107
Figure 14. Table: Major countries of origin of visitors to the Apartheid Museum.	126
Figure 15. Visitor exploring the Streets exhibit. Photograph by author, 2011.	149
Figure 16. Homecoming Centre. Kaospilot Outpost Cape Town, 2015. CC-BY-SA.	150
Figure 17. Detail of the Map. Photograph by author, 2011.	152
Figure 18. Visitor walking through the site. Photograph by author, 2011.	153
Figure 19. Rod’s Room. Payam Torabi, 2010. CC-BY-NC.	155
Figure 20. Patience Watlington’s panel. Photograph by author, 2013.	159

Figure 21. 174
Road through District Six. Ben Sutherland, 2013. CC-BY.

Figure 22. 189
Replica of caravel in the Dias Museum. Joke von Niekerk, 2005. CC-BY.

Introduction

Two events bracketed the writing of this dissertation. One was a minor diplomatic incident over a museum exhibit in the Western Cape of South Africa, the other a terrorist attack in South Carolina that undermined any assertion that the US was “postracial.” Though the circumstances surrounding each were quite different, both revealed deep-seated national—and global—wounds based on legacies of racial supremacy. And, strikingly, both spoke to anxieties over how local histories were connected to global ones.

‘ In October 2012, just as I was about to begin my long-term field work in South Africa, the Dias Museum in Mossel Bay became the center of controversy when Mayor Marie Ferreira demanded the museum close its temporary travelling exhibit on *Brown vs. Board of Education*, the ruling that declared U.S. school segregation unconstitutional. Ferreira, a member of the Democratic Alliance—the main opposition party to the African National Congress—called the display “inflammatory” and argued that the exhibit’s photographic depiction of a lynching posed a “risk to the local economy” and did not “add value to the South African nation-building process.”¹ The exhibit, curated by the Smithsonian National Museum of American History, has traveled across the world. Why, then, was a single photograph of a lynching—from a different continent in the previous century—so controversial in Mossel Bay?

I began this project because I wanted to know how people talk, think, and feel about histories that still burn and flare up in unexpected ways and places. I began this project because I could rattle off statistics about the number of residents displaced during apartheid in Cape Town, about Birmingham’s hesitancy to build a civil rights memorial, but I wanted more than statistics. I wanted to understand how people made sense of these histories locally and globally. What

¹ Bobby Jordan, “Close race exhibition, says DA mayor,” *The Sunday Times*, October 28, 2012.

made people angry? How was it that I could pick up a newspaper in South Africa any day of the week and read about the legacies of apartheid, but also see an opinion piece about how the so-called Rainbow Nation needed to move on? How could I make sense of the international recognition that the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute enjoyed, while the site had to fight for funding in its own city? At the same time the District Six Museum drew visitors from across the world, the site's major grant funding was not renewed and the Museum turned to tourism as a major source of revenue. These contestations demonstrate how historical representation often coexists uneasily with the pressures of global tourism. This work examines the nexus between history, memory, and tourism as the space where the past is created and contested.

As I was finishing this study, these questions took on a tragic significance in the face of domestic terrorism. On June 17, 2015, 21-year-old Dylann Storm Roof shot and killed nine people at Charleston, South Carolina's Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church. In the aftermath, images of Roof surfaced that showed him posed with the apartheid-era South African flag. Roof's white supremacist manifesto was posted on his site, *The Last Rhodesian*.² Indeed, Roof's manifesto is openly nostalgic for apartheid:

Some people feel as though the South is beyond saving, that we have too many blacks here. To this I say look at history. The South had a higher ratio of blacks when we were holding them as slaves. Look at South Africa, and how such a small minority held the black in apartheid for years and years. Speaking of South Africa, if anyone thinks that it will eventually just change for the better, consider how in South Africa they have affirmative action for the black population that makes up 80 percent of the population.³

This invocation of apartheid was a stark reminder that the histories of civil rights and apartheid are anything but settled and, indeed, are linked in popular consciousness.

² The Last Rhodesian, accessed June 29, 2015, <http://lastrhodesian.com/>.

³ Ibid., <http://lastrhodesian.com/data/documents/rtf88.txt>.

In this study, I seek to better understand the resonances of these local and global histories of oppression, segregation, and violence. Through a multi-sited ethnography of three museums in the US and South Africa. I ask four main questions: 1) How do these histories travel, and how are they changed in new contexts?; 2) How do specific exhibition strategies mediate and express particular interpretations of complex and violent histories of race and segregation?; 3) How do the pressures and realities of a global system of cultural tourism affect these exhibitionary strategies *and* visitor interpretations of sites?; and 4) How do these sites challenge or uphold the category of *museum*?

In taking on this work, I am not particularly interested in making a tally of the ways anti-apartheid activism and the US civil rights movement are similar or different. Though I do address how exhibits make use of these histories—and places where these comparisons may fall short—I am much more intrigued by why and how these comparisons happen. As Jon Soske and Sean Jacobs note in their introduction to an edited volume on comparisons between South African apartheid and Israeli settlement, “the work of comparison requires an attentiveness to the ethical and political singularity of each space even as it attempts to generate dialogues across multiple histories of oppression and struggle.”⁴ It is these spaces of dialogue and the ways they play out at public sites that inform this work.

Site Justification

Museums are key spaces of juncture between contestation over historical production and public culture, and the recent proliferation of museums that directly address human rights history

⁴ Jon Soske and Sean Jacobs, “Apartheid Israel: The Politics of an Analogy,” in *Apartheid Israel: The Politics of an Analogy*, 2014, accessed July 8, 2015. <https://africaisacountry.atavist.com/apartheidanalogy>.

makes this study particularly salient. The contemporary move from object repositories to “issue-based” museums has been global in scale. In South Africa, the development of postapartheid sites of memory has yielded studies of the ways that museums have attempted to transform from their colonial origins to serve more diverse publics.⁵ Additionally, many of these museums are part of networks of sites that draw on both local and global human rights histories. Using case studies of the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg, South Africa, the District Six Museum in Cape Town, South Africa, and the Birmingham Civil Rights Museum, this project traces the ways that themes of violence and oppression appear and are reimagined by audiences. These museums, as three major sites of human rights history that are interconnected through formal institutional affiliations, provide ideal case studies to examine the changing nature of museums, how debates over both local and global historical narratives are manifested in exhibitions, and how the pressures of a tourist economy affect exhibits and interpretations.

The Apartheid Museum, opened in 2001, is affiliated with the Gold Reef City Casino in Johannesburg. As part of the 1995 Casino Responsibility Act, casinos in South Africa were required to include an element of “social responsibility.” The initial plans were vague: preliminary ideas included a “Freedom Park,” as well as a “cultural village” where visitors could presumably learn about the different “ethnic groups” that comprise South Africa.⁶ According to

⁵ See Annie E. Coombes, *History after Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press Books, 2003) and Steven C. Dubin, *Transforming Museums: Mounting Queen Victoria in a Democratic South Africa* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

⁶ See Lindsay Bremner’s chapter in *Desire Lines: Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-Apartheid City*, eds. Noëleen Murray, Nick Shepherd, and Martin Hall (New York: Routledge, 2007).

the museum, however, the planning committee was so taken with the U.S. Holocaust Museum that they were convinced that a similar site was needed for South Africa.⁷

The site emphasizes both a national story (the pass system, township protests over apartheid legislation) and a local one (the role of gold mining in the development of a migrant labor system). Within its intentionally imprisoning architecture—high walls, cold concrete, and barbed wire along its edge—the site makes liberal use of visual testimonies to the horrors of apartheid, including documentary footage of protests, displays of passbooks, and signs demarcating segregated spaces. Intellectually, the site is connected to the University of the Witwatersrand History Workshop through consultants and curators Luli Callinicos and Philip Bonner. The History Workshop’s focus has been the practice of social “history from below,” stressing the experience of “regular” people and communities, including 19 guidebooks for writing community and oral histories.⁸ Nevertheless, the historian’s voice remains the authority, invoked through exhibitionary techniques such as captions and the use of film with “voice of God” narration. In this study, I examine how the site positions itself as a tourist attraction and how these curatorial decisions shape the visitor experience of the site.

The District Six Museum, housed in the neighborhood’s old Methodist Mission Church, grew out of the struggle to preserve the neighborhood by and for the displaced former residents of Cape Town’s multiracial and multiethnic District Six. In its co-curatorial model, former residents serve as tour guides, weaving in their individual stories and memories with narratives of community life. Studies have noted the prominence of personal and collective memory, with

⁷ Indeed, the museum also worked with an Israeli museologist on the initial plans. Interview with Phil Bonner by author, February 17, 2013, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁸ Philip Bonner, “New Nation, New History: The History Workshop in South Africa, 1977-1994,” *The Journal of American History* 81, no. 3 (December 1994): 977–85.

items donated by former residents for “memory rooms”—reconstructed homes and spaces. Notable exhibits include a community map where residents have filled in street names and memories of places, as well as the “memory cloth” where former community members have written stories of their lives in District Six.⁹ The site is also a major tourist attraction in Cape Town, often serving as the starting point for popular “township tours” that take visitors through the suburbs that were designated for black South Africans under apartheid.

In addition to its popularity among tourists, the museum remains a popular landing place for a variety of people: foreigners seeking internships in nonprofit organizations, scholars of Cape Town, and, of course, graduate students writing their theses on the politics of public history. (Indeed, the museum has been so inundated with researchers that scholars can fill out a research affiliation request form online.)¹⁰ Most of the academic literature has focused on the making of the site, the compelling story of how anti-apartheid and anti-colonial activism led to the formation of a “community” museum in the heart of Cape Town. This dissertation takes a different approach, looking instead at the site’s relationship with the tourism economy, and how it attempts to subvert dominant narratives of Cape Town tourism, even as the museum is a part of these structures.

The Birmingham Civil Rights Institute opened in 1992, after more than a decade of planning and fundraising. Like the Apartheid Museum, the U.S. Holocaust Museum was a source of inspiration for the Institute, and Mayor David Vann was convinced that the “respectful

⁹ Ciraj Rassool, Sandra Prosalendis, and District Six Museum Foundation, *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001.)

¹⁰“Research Affiliation for Scholars,” District Six Museum, accessed July 10, 2014, <http://www.districtsix.co.za/Content/Education/Research/Affiliation/index.php>.

remembrance of horror” could play a role in reconciliation.¹¹ The BCRI’s main exhibit narrative begins with the history of segregated labor in the making of Birmingham and ends with the election of the city’s first black mayor.¹² The exhibits largely emphasize Birmingham’s role in the civil rights movement, as well as how Birmingham citizens experienced segregation. In one of the only studies of the Institute, historian Glenn Eskew argues that the BCRI felt pressure to make civil rights history “palatable,” with a narrative that “celebrates the moral righteousness of nonviolent protest, the potential of interracial unity, and the success of qualified integration.”¹³

In addition to this “progressive Whiggish” narrative of the U.S. civil rights movement, the BCRI makes explicit connections to other human rights struggles, with the final exhibition space devoted to events as diverse as South African anti-apartheid protests, anti-communist struggles in Poland, and the Tiananmen Square protests in China. The South African story is foregrounded in these comparisons, and the site has an ongoing youth exchange program with the Apartheid Museum. This study examines the BCRI’s self-conceptualization as a historical site and how the international comparisons with South African history rupture the traditional category of “museum.”

These three sites exemplify different approaches to constructing historical displays and defining the institution of a museum. The Apartheid Museum and the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute largely rely on historians as intellectual authorities and actively incorporate

¹¹ Odessa Woolfolk, “BCRI History,” Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, accessed April 13, 2012, http://www.bcri.org/information/history_of_bcri/history.html.

¹² The “Pittsburg of the South,” as Birmingham was known, grew quickly after the Civil War due to the city’s thriving coal-based economy.

¹³ Glenn Eskew, “The Birmingham Civil Rights Institute and the New Ideology of Tolerance,” in *The Civil Rights Movement in American Memory*, eds. Renee C. Romano and Leigh Raiford (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2006), 29.

multisensory and multimedia displays. In addition, both sites have featured exhibitions on international human rights, including a temporary exhibit on South African anti-apartheid activist Helen Suzman at the BCRI and a traveling display on the *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision at the Apartheid Museum. Though the District Six Museum's exhibitions are largely focused on South African forced removals, the museum is a founding member of the International Sites of Conscience, has hosted traveling exhibitions about other issues of global social justice, and receives about half of its visitors from outside South Africa. Each site emphasizes both local and global human rights, making these case studies ideal for comparing how museums and visitors make meaning of history.

The existing scholarship on South African museums largely examines the representation of new state history through exhibition, with an emphasis on how the Truth and Reconciliation Commission remains the touchstone for talking about memory as historical source in postapartheid South Africa.¹⁴ Other work has documented how new museums have arisen and older sites have responded to the end of the apartheid era, marking a departure from exhibitionary strategies that either ignored marginalized histories or displayed them as primitive.¹⁵ There is very little scholarship on US museums of civil rights, and the scant existing sources emphasize the history of sites like the BCRI and offer little in the way of analysis or interpretation.¹⁶ Through these case studies, this research will examine how global history is

¹⁴ See Robyn Kimberely Autry, "Desegregating the Past: The Transformation of the Public Imagination," Ph.D dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 2008; Jennifer Patton Rabley, "Displacement: The Impact of Forced Removal on Memory Reconstruction at the District Six Museum and Beyond," Ed.D thesis, Columbia University, 2005.

¹⁵ Dubin, *Mounting Queen Victoria*; Coombes, *History After Apartheid*.

¹⁶ Owen J. Dwyer, "Interpreting the Civil Rights Movement: Contradiction, Confirmation, and the Cultural Landscape," in *The Civil Rights Movement in American Memory*, 5–27; Eskew, "The Birmingham Civil Rights Institute."

made and circulated among three interconnected sites.

Literature Review

This project expands upon and departs from several areas of study: 1) museum studies, 2) the anthropology of tourism, and 3) public history and public scholarship.

As theorist Didier Maleuvre argues in his study of nineteenth and twentieth century European museum culture, museums are key participants in a “historical production of history.”¹⁷ Maleuvre is interested in the “*essentially* historical” role of museums in defining histories. “Historiographic through and through,” he contends, “museums thereby beg the question of their historical appearance, of the role they fulfill toward history, in history.”¹⁸ In this study, I draw on work that examines the museum’s historiographic role: the way these sites have historically been understood, but also the way they have shaped our understandings of history.

The field of museum studies has attempted to delineate how a museum’s intellectual underpinnings influence its exhibitionary and programmatic choices. This scholarship has questioned the governmental nature of these sites and the place of marginalized histories—particularly those that have been defined as a society’s “other”—within them.¹⁹ This logic argues that museums act as disciplinary institutions of power, as spaces that sketch the contours of belonging. Scholars have noted, for example, that much museum architecture draws from neo-classical forms that echo imperial Rome. Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach argue that this architectural rhetoric is a way of delineating notions of citizenship, arguing that, “those who pass

¹⁷ Didier Maleuvre, *Museum Memories: History, Technology, Art* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1999): 9.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

through [museum] doors enact a ritual that equates state authority with the idea of civilization.”²⁰

In this rendering, the museum is an agent of civilization and of citizenship, determining who belongs and who does not. The technologies of display (in Duncan and Wallach’s example, museum architecture) reinforce and serve as proxies for state power. Scholarship on the relationship between colonialism and museums, for example, has noted the juxtaposition of natural science and ethnographic collections in anthropological museums, and the subsequent rationalization of conquest and dehumanization.²¹ Likewise, art historians have studied how colonial museums of art and ethnography displayed art and objects from colonized places to distinguish the culture of the colony from that of the Other.²²

Conversely, other scholars have defined museums as sites where the interpretation of displays can be negotiated rather than prescribed.²³ More recent scholarship has theorized these sites less as centers of governmentality and more as spaces of multiple obligations, interests, and publics.²⁴ Moreover, though many museums have ignored marginalized histories or displayed them as otherness, members of these groups have used these institutions through collaborative

²⁰ Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach, “The Universal Survey Museum,” *Art History* 3, no. 4 (1980): 450.

²¹ Donna Haraway, “Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908-1936,” *Social Text* 11 (Winter 1984): 19–64.

²² Annie Coombes, “Museums and the Formation of National and Cultural Identities,” *Oxford Art Journal* 11, no. 2 (1988): 57–68.

²³ Ivan Karp, introduction to *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*, eds. Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer, and Steven Levine (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1992): 1–18.

²⁴ James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997); Edward M. Bruner, *Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2005); Corinne A. Kratz and Ivan Karp, introduction to *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, eds. Corinne A. Kratz, Lynn Szwaja, Tomas Ybarra-Frausto, and Ivan Karp (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006): 1–33.

exhibits and community sites to negotiate representation.²⁵ With the display of contested and traumatic histories at the fore of contemporary museum studies, this project examines how the construction of exhibits informs interpretations of history.

Historian Dipesh Chakrabarty has articulated a bifurcated model of pedagogic and performative museums that attempts to delineate the consequences of these exhibitionary approaches. Noting the nineteenth-century belief that becoming a democratic citizen—that is, “possessing and exercising rights”—called for education through institutions such as libraries, museums, and exhibitions, Chakrabarty argues that this assumption still underscores much commemorative activity.²⁶ At the same time, he notes that many sites have rejected this approach, opting instead to adopt a performative model. Borrowing Homi Bhabha’s language, Chakrabarty contends that a performative site assumes that a citizen “is not someone who comes or is produced at the end of an educational process;” rather, to be human is already to be political.²⁷ People do not require education to receive rights, since these rights are inherent in being human.

Pedagogic sites, by contrast, “privilege the capacity for abstract reasoning” in the visitor. Chakrabarty uses the organizational schematics of the library and zoological garden as examples, arguing that these sites require the visitor to arrange objects in an order that has little to do with their “natural” distribution, but rather involves a conceptual, invented mode of association.²⁸

²⁵ Cuauhtemoc Camarena and Teresa Morales, “Community Museums and Global Connections: The Union of Community Museums of Oaxaca,” in *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, eds. Corinne A. Kratz, Lynn Szwaja, Tomas Ybarra-Frausto, and Ivan Karp (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006): 322–346.

²⁶ Dipesh Chakrabarty, “Museums in Late Democracies,” *Humanities Research* 9, no. 1 (2002):

5.

²⁷ *Ibid.*,

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

(Indeed, Chakrabarty offers the District Six Museum as an exemplar of the performative site, citing the importance of sensory and embodied knowledge in its displays.²⁹)

The growing number of sites of historical memory—exemplified by consortia like the International Sites of Conscience—points to a shift in museum practice from repositories of objects (Chakrabarty’s pedagogic model) towards institutions that take issues of human rights (the performative model) as their frameworks.³⁰ With 260 member sites in 39 countries across six continents, the museums of the International Sites of Conscience are dedicated to “remembering past struggles for justice and addressing their contemporary legacies.”³¹ Building on this global shift in museum practice, this project argues that museums, as spaces of convergence between contested histories and visitors (who both consume these histories and produce their own understandings), are ideal sites to analyze historical production, public reinterpretation, and the global reach of history.³²

In order to examine how history is produced in the museum, I draw on scholarship that has demonstrated how exhibitions are not neutral territory, but carry with them implied values. Work in art history has examined how the display of objects affects their interpretive possibilities. Michael Baxandall, in his influential *Patterns of Intention*, famously argued that “we do not explain pictures: we explain remarks about pictures—or rather, we explain pictures

²⁹Chakrabarty, “Museums in Late Democracies,” 10.

³⁰ Paul Williams, *Memorial Museums: The Global Rush to Commemorate Atrocities* (London: Berg Publishers, 2008).

³¹ International Sites of Conscience, “About Us,” 2011, <http://www.sitesofconscience.org/about-us>.

³² Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

only in so far as we have considered them under some verbal description or specification.”³³

These descriptions are not merely *ekphrasis*. That is, objects do not speak for themselves but exist within the interpretive frameworks—cultural, analytical, material—that viewers bring.

“What we actually explain [about art],” continues Baxandall, “seems likely to be not the unmediated picture but the picture as considered under a partially interpretative description. This description is an untidy and lively affair.”³⁴ We can extend Baxandall’s interest in the epistemological work of description to scholarship that has examined how museums arrange exhibits to elicit visitor reactions.

Literary historian Stephen Greenblatt offers two distinct models for understanding museum exhibits: *resonance* and *wonder*. Greenblatt defines the terms:

By resonance I mean the power of the displayed object to reach out beyond its formal boundaries to a larger world, to evoke in the viewer the complex, dynamic cultural forces from which it has emerged and for which it may be taken by a viewer to stand. By wonder I mean the power of the displayed object to stop the viewer in his or her tracks, to convey an arresting sense of uniqueness, to evoke an exalted attention.³⁵

In Greenblatt’s argument, museum displays that seek to contextualize an object in its historical and cultural contexts are participating in a framework of *resonance*, while those that attempt to emphasize the uniqueness of an object are trying to evoke *wonder*. Greenblatt identifies boutique lighting—“a pool of light that has the surreal effect of seeming to emerge from within the object rather than to focus upon it from without”—as one of the primary display mechanisms for

³³ Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985): 1.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

³⁵ Stephen Greenblatt, “Resonance and Wonder,” in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, eds. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991): 42.

eliciting this sense of wonder.³⁶ Greenblatt's focus on aesthetics as a key component of museum meaning-making was key for subsequent research that took seriously the "poetics" of exhibitions.

Drawing on Greenblatt, Corinne A. Kratz's research on the "rhetorics of value" in museum display explores how exhibition elements like light, text, and space form a museological grammar and signal certain relationships to the visitor.³⁷ Work on the making of museum displays has examined the contests over content, noting how the organizational structure of museums often influences what kinds of exhibits are permitted.³⁸ Patricia Davison's study of the controversial "bushman diorama" at the South African Museum, conducted in 1989, included a visitor study that indicated that audiences desired more inclusive museums, even if they did not want the diorama dismantled.³⁹ This work demonstrates that exhibitions, audiences, and organizational history are tightly linked. These studies have made key contributions to our understanding of how exhibits convey unstated assumptions about value, as well as how museum structure and display are often connected. Yet, while some of this research includes brief examinations on audience reaction, these studies focus largely on a semiotic analysis of museum display. This dissertation takes the concerns of tourism and the tourist economy—largely missing from semiotic-focused work—as a major factor in museum policy and decision-making.

³⁶ Greenblatt, "Resonance and Wonder," 49.

³⁷ Corinne A. Kratz, "Rhetorics of Value: Constituting Worth and Meaning through Cultural Display," *Visual Anthropology Review* 27, no. 1 (2011): 21–48.

³⁸ See Edward Tabor Linenthal, *Preserving Memory: The Struggle to Create America's Holocaust Museum* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); Sharon MacDonald, *Behind the Scenes at the Science Museum* (London: Berg, 2002); and Cathy Stanton, *The Lowell Experiment: Public History in a Postindustrial City* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006).

³⁹ Patricia Davison, "Material Culture, Context, and Meaning: A Critical Investigation of Museum Practice, with Particular Reference to the South African Museum," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1991.

This dissertation examines both curatorial intentions and audience responses to examine how the tourist economy is created and sustained. The relationship between museum display and tourism cannot be understood without a consideration of the “experiential complex” of museums.⁴⁰ Drawing on Pine and Gilmore’s notion of the “experience economy,” in which the engagement of the audience is the product, Martin Hall argues that the trend towards customization, media-driven and digital exhibitions, and simulation in museums emphasizes audience interaction.⁴¹ This privileging of audience experience can partly be seen in the trend towards “market research” among museums. Linking visitor experience with economic impact, this research employs surveys and marketing plans to attempt to understand what visitors want to experience at museums, how to best deliver these experiences, and how to assess the economic success of these strategies. Organizations like the American Association of Museums, for example, publish guides to help museums both “educate the public as well as build audience and revenue” by “target[ing] key audience segments, prioritiz[ing] resources, lay[ing] out a chronological action plan, creat[ing] monitoring points, and set[ting] up an evaluation process.”⁴² My research suggests that the tourist economy is not only important for the making of exhibits by museums, but for the creation of tourist publics that circulate interpretations of history. By “tourist publics,” I refer to the diverse publics—across geographies, ages, races, etc.—that are created through participation in tourist activities like visiting museums. Drawing on the work of

⁴⁰ Martin Hall, “The Reappearance of the Authentic,” in *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, eds. Corinne A. Kratz, Lynn Szwaja, Tomas Ybarra-Frausto, and Ivan Karp (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006): 70–101.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*; Joseph Pine and James H. Gilmore, *The Experience Economy: Work Is Theater & Every Business a Stage* (Cambridge: Harvard Business School Press, 1999).

⁴² Thomas Aageson, “Market Value: Five Steps to an Effective Museum Marketing Plan,” *American Association of Museums*, 1999, accessed April 4, 2012, http://www.aamus.org/pubs/mn/MN_JA99_EffectiveMarketingPlan.cfm.

scholars like John Urry, I argue that we can examine tourism as a system that brings together concerns of historical and cultural representation and capital through the acts of travel and exchange.⁴³

Tourism and Heritage Studies

I am not only interested in how these institutions advocate for and contest interpretations of history, but in how they are linked to *industries of history*. I draw on and depart from work that offers a critical engagement of historical tourism. Historian David Lowenthal's scholarship, for example, draws distinctions between heritage and history. "History explores and explains pasts grown ever more opaque over time," he argues, while, "heritage clarifies pasts so as to infuse them with present purposes."⁴⁴ The role of heritage, in Lowenthal's estimation, is to help us understand the present through the past. Heritage takes history and makes it present-, rather than past-, facing.

To draw bright lines between heritage and history, I contend, is to ignore the constructed nature of both. I draw here on the work of scholars like Jerome de Groot and Raphael Samuel who have examined how history is repurposed by heritage sites and "amateur" historians alike.⁴⁵ These works argue that a vibrant contemporary interest in heritage is evidence of the "living practice" of history. Despite the limited scope of Lowenthal's critique, the notion of a present-focused past can be an illuminating way to understand how history is constructed for tourism.

⁴³ John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: SAGE, 2002).

⁴⁴ David Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past: The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (New York: Free Press, 1996): xi.

⁴⁵ Jerome de Groot, *Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Popular Culture* (London: Routledge, 2008); Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (Verso: New York, 1994).

The anthropology of tourism has taken the acts of travel and cultural exchange as its subject, investigating how culture is performed and packaged for tourists.⁴⁶ This work has been especially cognizant of how historical narratives are reshaped for tourist consumption.⁴⁷ These studies have largely emphasized the production of tourism and the economic relationships between hosts and guests, rather than visitor reception, and has largely rendered audiences as homogenous consumers of cultural production, regardless of the type of site or visitor demographics.⁴⁸ Moreover, this research largely fails to account for domestic audiences, with the unstated hypothesis that all visitors are non-locals, though visitor research disputes this assumption. 36% of visitors to the BCRI in 2002-2003, for example, were from the Birmingham metropolitan area.⁴⁹ This project allows for a more fine-grained analysis of the circulation of historical ideas in a tourist environment.

Work on the anthropology of tourism provides an important framework for museum studies scholarship. Edward Bruner's research on cultural tourism has noted that contested narratives reveal deep-seated anxieties over who has the right to tell history, but that even in so-called "official" sites of memory, the "traveler's and the local's understanding does not always

⁴⁶ See Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976); Valene L. Smith, *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989); Edward M. Bruner and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Maasai on the Lawn: Tourist Realism in East Africa," *Cultural Anthropology* 9, no. 4 (November 1994): 435–70; Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*.

⁴⁷ Richard Handler and Eric Gable, *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 1997).

⁴⁸ Smith, *Hosts and Guests*.

⁴⁹ Adrian Cowan, Charles Cowan, and Brian Atkins, "The Economic Impact of the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute on the Birmingham MSA and the State of Alabama," *Analytic Focus*, 2004, accessed April 10, 2012, <http://www.analyticfocus.com/app/data/models/document/8f4d818aab1a1ed16827d636fe0096f7.pdf>.

correspond with the producer's intention."⁵⁰ The communication of historical narrative is not a one-way street, and, as Bruner argues, "tourist and native are not fixed slots."⁵¹ While Bruner argues for a more nuanced approach to tourist studies, his work—and the work of the anthropology of tourism more broadly—generally focuses on the production of cultural narratives. Nonetheless, Bruner provides an important link between the anthropology of tourism and museum studies by emphasizing the importance of audiences in tourism. By questioning the fixed categories of "tourist and native," Bruner disrupts earlier paradigms of tourist studies and offers a way to reimagine audiences as created through the circulation and reinterpretation of historical narrative.

This circulation and reinterpretation of histories is particularly pronounced in diasporic cultural tourism, or tourism that promises the visitor a "link" to a geographically dispersed heritage. As I argue in this study, many of these sites draw connections to black diasporic experience. I draw on scholarship on tourism of the Jewish and African diasporas to examine how these global connections are made, how these heritage practitioners attempt to draw in international visitors, and how local groups respond to this kind of tourism.

Diaspora itself can be difficult to define, given its amorphous and rhizomic nature. Literary scholars Marianne Hirsch and Nancy K. Miller write that "the very definition of diaspora depends on attachments to a former home and, typically, on a fantasy of return."⁵² They acknowledge, however, that this "fantasy" may be "defer[ed]...in favor of a practice of 'dwelling

⁵⁰ Bruner, *Culture on Tour*, 12.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Marianne Hirsch and Nancy K. Miller, "Introduction," in *Rites of Return: Diaspora Poetics and the Politics of Memory*, eds. Marianne Hirsch and Nancy K. Miller (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 3.

(differently) in a global network of interchange and circulation.”⁵³ For Hirsch and Miller, diaspora is inherently about both movement and the memory of place—and the attempt to reconcile the two.

Indeed, this “in-betweenness” characterizes much of the dominant scholarship about diaspora. Political scientist William Safran describes a six-fold model of diaspora that includes: 1) dispersion from the homeland, 2) the maintenance of a memory of a homeland, 3) feelings of alienation in one’s host country, 4) the belief that one will return to the ancestral country or region, 5) a commitment to the “restoration or maintenance” of a homeland, and 6) a group identity based on a continued relationship with a homeland.⁵⁴ In response, anthropologist James Clifford argued that diaspora cannot be reduced to an “ideal type” and notes that the Jewish diaspora informs much of Safran’s analysis.⁵⁵ Rather, Clifford maintains, the concept of diaspora “involves dwelling, maintaining communities, having collective homes away from home” to create “alternate public spheres, forms of community consciousness and solidarity that maintain identifications outside the national time/space in order to live inside...”⁵⁶ For Clifford, the “alternate public sphere” (a term borrowed from Paul Gilroy) is the space where diasporas are created, enacted, challenged, and maintained.

Gilroy, who theorized the concept of the “black Atlantic” in 1993, contended that we can “take the Atlantic as one single, complex unit of analysis...and use it to produce an explicitly

⁵³ Marianne Hirsch and Nancy K. Miller, “Introduction,” 3.

⁵⁴ William Safran, “Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homelands and Return,” *Diaspora* 1, no. 1 (1991): 84.

⁵⁵ James Clifford, “Diasporas,” *Cultural Anthropology* 9, no. 3 (1994): 306.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 308.

transnational and intercultural perspective.”⁵⁷ For Gilroy, the Atlantic provided a perfect “unit of analysis” because of the “economic and historical matrix in which plantation slavery...was one special moment” that linked African, European, and American cultures.⁵⁸ Gilroy’s transnational framework, which focuses on cultural diffusion and diasporic practices, has become hugely influential, inspiring scholarly and popular analysis of countless other global histories.

Indeed, transnationalism is key for understanding how black histories are constructed and commemorated in the U.S. context. The notion of a black diaspora has long had immense power in American political, social, and cultural life. Many scholars point to Alex Haley’s 1976 novel *Roots* and the subsequent television miniseries as a key catalyst for black Americans to learn more about their African heritage. The series tells the story of Kunta Kinte, played by Levar Burton, a Mandinka warrior who is sold into slavery and brought to the U.S. Haley based the story on his own family history and conducted archival research on slave ships, giving the series an “authenticity” based on both historical methodologies and a powerful personal narrative.⁵⁹

The explosive popularity of DNA testing promises another kind of authenticity: a biological connection to a “genetic diaspora.” The proliferation of phenomena like Henry Louis Gates Jr.’s *African American Lives* series on U.S. public television attest to a popular desire to “find oneself” through science. In the 2006 program, African American celebrities like Chris Tucker and Oprah Winfrey took DNA tests and conducted archival research to learn more about where their families originated. Often, the results were surprising—Gates’ genetic analysis

⁵⁷ Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993): 15.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Marianne Hirsch and Nancy K. Miller, “Introduction,” in *Rites of Return: Diaspora Poetics and the Politics of Memory*, 1.

suggested that he was “50 percent European.”⁶⁰ Such results point to the instability of biological race and suggest that diaspora perhaps has more power as a cultural and memorial category than a genetic one.

Others acknowledge the pain of diaspora and the difficulty of return. In her memoir *Lose Your Mother*, Saidiya Hartman reflects on her own experiences as an African American in Ghana researching the popular memory of slavery. Hartman writes of the pain of being called *obruni*, a term usually reserved for whites but can be applied to any foreigner.⁶¹ Despite her initial idealistic notions of homecoming, Hartman recounts the words of fellow expatriate African Americans. “When you really *really* realize you are not African,” one expat tells her, “it’s the loneliest moment of your life...it’s how you adjust yourself to that loneliness that matters, not how you adjust to Africa.”⁶² One Ghanaian implores Hartman that, “the naiveté that allows folks to believe they are returning home or entering paradise when they come here has to be destroyed.”⁶³ By the end of her journey, Hartman has learned to reconcile these shattered romantic notions of return with the powerful longing of diaspora through political engagement. She chooses to claim “the ongoing struggle to escape, stand down, and defeat slavery in all of its myriad forms.”⁶⁴ This struggle is not about the politics of the nation-state, but “a dream of

⁶⁰ Marianne Hirsch and Nancy K. Miller, “Introduction,” 2.

⁶¹ Though, as Jemima Pierre notes in *The Predicament of Blackness: Postcolonial Ghana and the Politics of Race* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), *obruni* can also be a term of endearment. Pierre argues that this use—“my light/white person”—is evidence of how ingrained preferences for white skin and ideals of beauty are among contemporary Ghanaians.

⁶² Saidiya V. Hartman, *Lose Your Mother: A Journey Along the Atlantic Slave Route* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2008), 45-46.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 234.

autonomy...a dream of an elsewhere, with all its promises and dangers, where the stateless might, at last, thrive.”⁶⁵

Unlike diaspora, touristic travel is a temporary state—indeed, the temporality of tourism is one of its defining features.⁶⁶ Yet both diaspora and tourism simultaneously expand and contract historical and cultural differences. In *Tours that Bind*, for example, sociologist Shaul Kelner examines how American Jewish identity is constructed and mediated through Birthright tours, a form of “homeland” tourism that brings young Jewish Americans to Israel. Kelner hypothesizes that these tours serve as “diasporic-building enterprise[s]” that “emphasize the closing of a distance rather than the fact that the element of distance is the essential defining feature of the relationship.”⁶⁷ This “closing of distance” is present in multiple sites that I visited in this study, through events like Mandela Day at the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute and film screenings on “Palestinian apartheid” at the District Six Museum.

Most of the diasporic connections I observed were based on experiences of a black diaspora. Literature on cultural tourism and black diaspora has largely centered on sites of the transatlantic slave trade, particularly Ghana’s slave castles. Much of this work has focused on the relationship between tourists from the black diaspora and Ghanaians. Edward Bruner argues that while “most Ghanaians...are not particularly concerned with slavery,” black American tourists to Ghana “want the castles to be as they see them—a cemetery for the slaves who died in the dungeons’ inhuman conditions while waiting for the ships that would transport them to the

⁶⁵ Hartman, *Lose Your Mother*, 234.

⁶⁶ Clifford, “Diasporas,” 308.

⁶⁷ Shaul Kelner, *Tours that Bind: Diaspora, Pilgrimage, and Israeli Birthright Tourism* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), xx.

Americas.”⁶⁸ Bruner goes on to detail the tensions between diaspora tourists and Ghanaians, ranging from whether or not the castles should be cleaned to the dress of tourists. Ultimately, Bruner contends, these arguments revolve around who has claim to the castle’s histories and legacies. Likewise, Christine Mullen Kreamer has examined the resonance of the transatlantic slave trade at Ghana’s Cape Coast Castle among Ghanaians, African Americans, and other international tourists. Kreamer concludes that Ghanaians and African Americans often clash over the “right” way to preserve the site (should the castle be kept “dark” or cleaned and protected against the coastal salt air?), with some African Americans “express[ing] a desire to ‘educate’ Ghanaians about the slave trade, including African complicity.”⁶⁹

While Bruner and Kreamer emphasize the distance between black American tourists and Ghanaians, Jemima Pierre argues in *The Predicament of Blackness* that:

Ghanaian identity formations...may not yield the same engagement with slavery...as those of some diaspora blacks, yet this does not mean that this historical event is any less significant for the Ghanaian population... The encounter with diaspora blacks shows the ways in which localized meanings of the racialized (Black) Ghanaian self is, and always has been, constructed through a complex set of overlapping histories that are set within transnational understandings of race and Blackness.⁷⁰

Pierre contends that these tourist sites have already been shaped by “images of transnational Blackness, particularly conceptions of Black American-ness.”⁷¹ That is not to say, of course, that tensions between diasporic and continental Africans do not exist, but rather that African tourist sites are informed by local and global notions of race and commerce. Indeed, much of the

⁶⁸ Bruner, *Culture on Tour*, 104.

⁶⁹ Christine Mullen Kreamer, “Shared Heritage, Contested Terrain: Cultural Negotiation and Ghana’s Cape Coast Castle Museum Exhibition ‘Crossroads of People, Crossroads of Trade,’” in *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, eds. Ivan Karp, Corinne A. Kratz, Lynn Szwaja, and Tomás Ybarra-Frausto (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006): 456.

⁷⁰ Jemima Pierre, *Predicament of Blackness*, 157.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 166.

conflict in Bruner, Kreamer, and Pierre's accounts stems from the perception that diasporic blacks have material advantages over their African counterparts—or, according to one of Pierre's informants, are “lucky” to have “escaped” Africa.⁷² Pierre's analysis attempts to disrupt some assumptions about *how* blackness is constructed and understood at slave trade sites of tourism, but still underscores that the experience of race is contested—and yet informed—through transnational notions of what it means “to be black.”⁷³

This study examines diaspora through the lens of cultural tourism. Here, I am interested in how sites construct exhibits and events for global audiences that may or may not have personal connections to diasporic cultures. This work examines how travel and distance—whether through tourism or diaspora—are interwoven into museum exhibits and shape our understandings of history.

Memory and History

At the core of this work is a belief that history and memory play an integral role in how we understand ourselves and the world around us. As historians Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen concluded after conducting a massive survey of U.S. households in the early 1990s, people cling to history because of their personal identification with it, often through family histories. Rosenzweig and Thelen note that people were most interested in understanding larger historical contexts through their own stories—how family genealogies are connected to larger

⁷² Pierre, *Predicament of Blackness*, 154.

⁷³ See also Bayo Holsey, *Routes of Remembrance: Refashioning the Slave Trade in Ghana* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

histories of migration, for example.⁷⁴ For Rosenzweig and Thelen, this “personalization” of history is linked to the interplay between individual and collective memory.

What is meant by “collective memory?” Sociologist Jeffrey Olick has examined two distinct “cultures of memory” that attempt to understand how and why groups remember. One definition places the individual at the center, with collective memory as “the aggregated individual memories of a members of a group.”⁷⁵ Olick calls this conceptualization the “collected memory” approach and associates it primarily with psychological studies that are most interested in how the individual fits into group patterns, but argues that this approach misses certain commemorative contexts.⁷⁶ The other approach, which Olick terms the “collective memory” method, aims to analyze the way institutions and events shape memory, such as why certain histories are valued more than others. With this perspective, we can better examine “mythology, heritage, and the like, either as forms or the particular.”⁷⁷

The question of how history and memory are connected (and differ) has vexed scholars for decades. Pierre Nora coined the phrase *lieux de memoire* to describe “sites of memory” that contemporary societies erect in place of “real memory” practices. Nora was particularly concerned with the effect of modernity on memory, and argued that the turn towards archiving arose from a paucity of “authentic” memory. History, Nora argued, is the attempt to “suppress and destroy” memory through its technologies.⁷⁸ In his seven volume study of memory and

⁷⁴ Rosenzweig and Thelen, *The Presence of the Past*.

⁷⁵ Jeffrey K. Olick, “Collective Memory: The Two Cultures,” in *The Collective Memory Reader*, eds. Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011): 225.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 226.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 227.

⁷⁸ Pierre Nora, “Between History and Memory: Les Lieux de Memoires,” *Representations* 26 (1989): 9.

history in France, Nora is primarily concerned with how modernity has “separated memory off from the customs, rituals, and traditions which it quietly inhabited in the premodern world...by insisting that memory declare its presence through external signs.”⁷⁹ For Nora, modern societies lack (an unspecified) organic unity, and instead construct monuments, memorials, and museums to create national identities.

In his configuration, moreover, history and memory are both intertwined and irreconcilable: memory as subjective practice and history as supposedly objective truth. Nora, of course, is keenly aware that this “objectivity” is constructed upon notions of the superiority of academic knowledge, and this epistemological authority is suspect. But history and memory need not be seen as divergent. The very practice of historiography is a clear indication that history is constantly being negotiated and constructed. Oral historical methodology further blurs the lines between history and memory, using memories as sources of academic historical knowledge.⁸⁰

For scholars who study collective memory, the relationship between the past and the present is likewise vexed. Olick and other scholars in the field of memory studies have argued that memory is deeply connected to the problems of the contemporary, not necessarily the past. Sociologist Maurice Halbwachs contended that individual memory is a function of collective

⁷⁹ Nancy Wood, “Memory’s Remains: *Les Lieux de Memoire*,” *History and Memory* 6, no. 1 (1994): 127.

⁸⁰ Indeed, some scholars assert that the academic genre of oral history has used memory uncritically, relying on testimonies as data rather than as part of a more complex matrix of social and cultural influences. See Gary Minkley and Ciraj Rassool, “Orality, Memory and Social History in South Africa,” in *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa*, eds. Sarah Nuttall and Carli Coetzee (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1998).

memory.⁸¹ Halbwachs posited that memory is deeply communal—not simply individual—and reflects the needs of the present.

We preserve memories of each epoch in our lives, and these are continually reproduced; through them, as by a continual relationship, a sense of our identity is perpetuated. But precisely because these memories are repetitions, because they are successively engaged in very different systems of notions, at different periods of our lives, they have lost the form and appearance they once had....

It seems fairly natural that adults, absorbed as they are with everyday preoccupations, are not interested in what from the past is now irrelevant to these preoccupations. Is it not the case that adults deform their memories of childhood precisely because they force them to enter the framework of the present?⁸²

Memory, in this formulation, is simultaneously communal, of the present, and always in flux.

The global nature of contemporary tourism allows us to examine how memory moves across time and space. As literary scholar Julia Creet argues, “memory provides continuity to the dislocations of individual and social identity...and yet contemporary theories of memory have mostly considered memory *in situ*, and place itself as a stable, unchanging environment.”⁸³

Public history provides an opportunity to consider the flows of historical memory.

In the discipline of history, scholars have debated the ethics and quandaries of creating history with and for the public. Theorists have recognized the power inherent in writing history, noting that historiography itself is an enterprise of legitimizing some knowledge and delegitimizing other epistemologies.⁸⁴ Scholarship on the production of history has also

⁸¹ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 39.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 47.

⁸³ Julia Creet, “Introduction: The Migration of Memory and Memories of Migration,” in *Memory and Migration: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Memory Studies*, eds. Julia Creet and Andreas Kitzmann (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 3.

⁸⁴ Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1975); Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).

emphasized debates on authority, with key historiographical questions asking what the role of the public should be in making and interpreting historical narrative. Social history has attempted to produce histories “from below” that capture the experiences of “everyday” people, often relying on sources like oral histories to give voice to subjects. These scholars have acted in response to previous historical approaches that viewed history from the perspective of “great men” or as a series of collisions between “top-down” processes of capital and labor with little consideration for how these struggles play out in people’s lives.⁸⁵

Postcolonial and subaltern studies have critiqued this line of social history as merely additive—inserting previously marginalized histories into the pantheon of academic history—rather than a self-reflexive examination of the process of historical production itself.⁸⁶ Historical anthropologist David William Cohen has called for scrutiny of the “struggles for control of voices and texts” in the production of history.⁸⁷ He urges an examination of the interaction and possible disjunctions between public and academic sites of historical production. Ironically, these debates have largely taken place within the confines of academia. Locating these questions of historical production at the site of the museum, I argue that we must seriously consider public experiences of historical narratives and examine why audiences are drawn to visit and engage with historical interpretations.

The study of publics and audiences is fraught with problems of generalization and

⁸⁵ E.P. Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Vintage, 1966); Paul La Hausse, “Oral History and South African Historians,” *Radical History Review* 1990, no. 46–47 (1990): 346–56.

⁸⁶ Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (New York: Beacon Press, 1997).

⁸⁷ David William Cohen, *The Combing of History* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1994): 244.

vagueness. Recent literature has attempted to apply Habermasian concepts of the public sphere to museum studies, questioning the nature of museum “publicness” and the role of museums in civil society.⁸⁸ This work addresses museums on a macrolevel, but pays little attention to the politics of making displays. Michael Warner’s notion of publics is instructive for understanding the ways that museums imagine their audiences. Warner asserts that publics are created through address, and are constituted “in relation to texts and their circulation.”⁸⁹ This emphasis on text and movement is key for the formation of this study, which foregrounds museums that circulate both local and global narratives of segregation, apartheid, and struggle. Warner’s definition allows for flexibility, and does not restrict publics demographically or through predefined identity categories. Simultaneously, this definition characterizes audiences as created through mutual engagement and the circulation of ideas. In this work, I build on Warner’s theory of circulation to suggest that tourism both serves as a conduit of ideas about history and shapes what can be said about history. In this work, I ask if tourism can both participate in the creation of publics but also constrain the possibilities of historical interpretation.

Several studies have attempted to examine the construction of audiences and the circulation of ideas around pieces of public scholarship. Corinne Kratz examines the audience receptions of her portraits of the Okiak in Kenya as they traveled from galleries from Nairobi to Atlanta to Michigan. Kratz notes that most visitors commented in some way on the representation of Africans, rather than the construction of the exhibition itself, proposing that

⁸⁸ Jennifer Barrett, *Museums and the Public Sphere* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011).

⁸⁹ Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York: Zone, 2005), 66.

audiences may take for granted the authority or structure of an exhibit.⁹⁰ Likewise, Ciraj Rassool and Leslie Witz's study of two exhibitions of South African family portraits shown in the Netherlands and Pretoria, South Africa attempts to examine how publics were constructed at each site. Amsterdam's Tropenmuseum was attempting to remake itself as a "multicultural" site that examined histories of Dutch colonialism, and the exhibitions were "presented as South Africa representing itself to audiences in the Netherlands."⁹¹ Rassool and Witz's work demonstrates that the construction of audience is intimately tied to institutional history and politics. This research indicates that more work is required to better understand the interplay between museum exhibits, visitor interpretation, and the construction of audiences.

As Julian Bonder notes in his essay "Memory-Works: The Working Memorials," the root of the word "memorial" derives from the Latin *moneo*—to warn—"and thus signifies something that serves to warn, or remind with regard to conduct of future events."⁹² The imperative to *never forget* pervades each of the sites in this study, but each institution draws on different intellectual traditions and exhibitionary strategies. These strategies inform decisions about the design and content of these sites—and how each engages a future-oriented politics.

Literature on the circulation of historical meaning has examined the ways that actors have used the memory of historical events to advocate for social change. This field has acknowledged that ways that memory is employed through imagery to create affective experiences of empathy

⁹⁰ Corinne A. Kratz, *The Ones That Are Wanted: Communication and the Politics of Representation in a Photographic Exhibition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 214.

⁹¹ Ciraj Rassool and Leslie Witz, "South African Family Stories – Tropenmuseum," accessed March 4, 2012, <http://tropenmuseum.nl/-/MUS/20254/Tropenmuseum/Collection/Collection-Publications/Publications-Archive/South-African-family-stories>, 73.

⁹² Julian Bonder, "Memory-Works: The Working Memorials," in *A Companion to Public Art*, eds. Cher Krause Knight and Harriet F. Senie (London: Wiley-Blackwell, forthcoming).

and to inspire social action. In this research, I draw on work from memory and memorial studies to interrogate the relationship between visitor engagement and exhibition strategies. Drawing on the work of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, recent memorial studies scholarship contends that memorial culture can function to generate “future-oriented connections.”⁹³ As I note in my discussion of these sites, there is often an impulse to direct the visitor to some sort of action at the end of museum sites—voting, writing petitions, or just considering the implications of social activism.

Audience engagement at sites takes many forms, from urging visitors to take direct action to evoking emotional responses through exhibitionary styles. Architectural scholarship on memorial forms has taken up the question of how artistic choices can influence audience interpretations of sites—and how sites can either invite or foreclose future action using affective exhibition strategies. “Memorials,” scholars of design Quentin Stevens and Karen A. Franck argue, “are discursive constructs. Designers shape mute materials to evoke people, events, ideas and places from the past to shape the emotions and experiences of audiences in the present.”⁹⁴ As Stevens and Franck note, however, visitors will bring their own experiences and interpretations to a site—and may not engage in interpretive work at all. The authors note that, despite designers’ intentions to generate emotional reactions, public spaces can be sites for a “rather surprising range of activities beyond commemoration,” including playing, relaxing, or communing with friends.⁹⁵ The intention of emotional engagement, in other words, does not always translate to predictable visitor responses.

⁹³ Adrian Parr, *Deleuze and Memorial Culture: Desire, Singular Memory and the Politics of Trauma* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008): 17.

⁹⁴ Quentin Stevens and Karen A. Franck, *Memorials as Spaces of Engagement: Design, Use and Meaning* (New York: Routledge, 2016): 139.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 110.

While scholars like Stevens and Franck are interested in the gap between intended design and actual use, other scholars of memorials, museums, and memory studies have interrogated how contemporary memorialization can foreclose political action. Marita Sturken for example, argues that U.S. memorial practices are inextricably linked to consumerism, noting the proliferation of souvenir “kitsch” at sites of tragedies like Oklahoma City. For Sturken, the obsession with consuming history and historical spaces is not only a symptom of a larger American preoccupation with material wealth and status, but a way to maintain “the investment in the notion of American innocence.”⁹⁶ Teddy bears at Oklahoma City and snowglobes at Ground Zero obfuscate America’s role as an imperial power and allow the nation to remain “innocent.” It is through the production and consumption of kitsch and other souvenirs that tourists reaffirm their belief in American innocence and show support for the victims of these actions. Consumption, thus, becomes a kind of memorialization—a small-scale, individualistic action of remembrance.

Likewise, Harriet Senie contends that contemporary American memorialization depoliticizes potentially controversial histories. She notes that the Vietnam Veterans Memorial was explicitly designed to focus solely on the (American) victims, rather than to examine the causes—or effects—of the war. In her examination of memorials at Oklahoma City, Columbine, and the World Trade Center site, Senie concludes that, “by focusing primarily on the victims, memorials to these events succeed in separating them from the event that caused their death.”⁹⁷ For Senie, this separation forecloses the possibility of political action. She notes, for example,

⁹⁶ Marita Sturken, *Tourists of History: Memory, Kitsch, and Consumerism from Oklahoma City to Ground Zero* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007): 7.

⁹⁷ Harriet F. Senie, *Memorials to Shattered Myths: Vietnam to 9/11* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016): 10.

that issues of gun control, social isolation, and psychological disorders appear nowhere in the official memorialization of the Columbine High School shootings. Instead, “the built memorial is little more than a place marker...[with] nearly exclusive spiritual interpretations that focus overwhelmingly on the martyrdom of the victims.”⁹⁸

In this study, I examine memorialization that is both explicitly political and affective. For the museums in this work, the affective potential of history can be a tool for creating, not discouraging, political reflection and action. Moreover, these sites do not seek to avoid detailing difficult histories or assigning blame. Scholars of visual rhetoric have examined how social change and affective representation can be linked. In *Memorial Mania*, art historian Erika Doss delineates the types of emotional responses—from grief to anger to fear—that contemporary memorials elicit. Doss is especially interested in how the dominant artistic form of minimalism is connected to these affective potentials. Jane Gaines, using the framework of “political mimesis” to describe how documentaries attempt to produce social change, notes that film can “make a struggle visceral” and go “beyond the intellectual” to create feelings of anger, sadness, or motivation in the body.”⁹⁹ My work draws on this scholarship to illustrate how sites of difficult, contested, and sometimes traumatic histories use affective exhibition strategies to encourage visitor contemplation—and even direct action.

At the center of these incitements to action, I contend, is a desire to link histories across disparate geographic and temporal terrains. To examine how these museums make connections between these “traveling histories,” I turn to scholarship that has examined the stakes of comparative histories, as well as their political uses. In what he terms “multidirectional

⁹⁸ Senie, *Memorials to Shattered Myths*, 119.

⁹⁹ Jane Gaines and Michael Renov, *Collecting Visible Evidence* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 91.

memory,” Michael Rothberg argues that memory and identity, while connected, do not always directly correspond and are sometimes expressed in unexpected ways. Rothberg cites the cross-referencing of the traumatic memory of the Holocaust by many different movements for social justice as a prime example of how history and memory can be taken up in vastly different contexts.¹⁰⁰ I draw on Rothberg’s work to ask how global histories are tied together, both in museum creation and visitor interpretation.

Previous scholarship has demonstrated how historical actors linked global struggles for human rights to local conditions, and vice versa. Recent work has explored the connections between the anti-apartheid movements in South Africa, the anti-colonialism struggles in Namibia, and the civil rights movement in the U.S.¹⁰¹ The documentary series *Have You Heard from Johannesburg?* similarly focuses on global apartheid resistance, with special attention to the ways in which U.S. civil rights leaders actively opposed the regime.¹⁰² My research asks how sites of human rights cross-reference global events in their displays of local struggles through affective museum experiences.

In recent years, several prominent studies have examined historical transnational black activism. Penny Von Eschen explores the historical contexts of racialized solidarity movements in her study of black American anti-colonial movements, *Race Against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937-1957*. This mid-twentieth century Pan-Africanist organizing, Von

¹⁰⁰Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2009).

¹⁰¹ Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Defying Dixie: The Radical Roots of Civil Rights: 1919-1950* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2008); Carol Anderson, *Bourgeois Radicals: The NAACP and the Struggle for Colonial Liberation, 1941-1960* (New York NY: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

¹⁰² Connie Field, *Have You Heard From Johannesburg?* Clarity Films, 2010.

Eschen argues, was less about cultural or geographical affiliations and more about a shared sense of oppression. Likewise, Carol Anderson's work on the NAACP's international policies demonstrates that the organization's more radical work took place on the international stage during the Cold War era. While the organization's domestic work was greatly constrained in the oppressive political climate, the NAACP lent support to anti-colonial struggles in South Africa, South-West Africa (present day Namibia), Somalia, Libya, and Eritrea.¹⁰³ These studies reveal a long lineage of U.S.-based global solidarity movements that viewed race as a primary organizing principle. Drawing on this scholarship, I explore how global solidarity is a major ideology that these sites employ through exhibitionary practices and programs.

Methodology

In his 2010 commentary in *Museum Anthropology*, curator Nicholas Thomas, reflecting on the contemporary role of the ethnographic museum, muses:

I am interested in how we (i.e. curators of ethnographic collections) conceive of what we are doing if our institutions are embedded less in academic anthropology and more in a domain of public engagement . . . What kinds of knowledge underpin the interpretation of collections? What method does that interpretation involve, and what knowledge does it generate?¹⁰⁴

As I spent time at each of these sites, I often found myself returning on these questions. Each site has its own intellectual background and methods of interpretation, geared at generating different forms of knowledge. In conceptualizing this study, I wanted to understand how museums made decisions about the curation and interpretation of histories.

¹⁰³ Carol Anderson, "International Conscience, the Cold War, and Apartheid: The NAACP's Alliance with the Reverend Michael Scott for South West Africa's Liberation, 1946-1952," *Journal of World History* 19, no. 3 (2008): 297-326.

¹⁰⁴ Nicholas Thomas, "The Museum as Method," *Museum Anthropology* 33, no. 1 (2010): 6.

While issues of museum content are integral to this study, I also wanted to see these sites from the perspectives of staff and visitors. Accounting for these diverse viewpoints necessitated an interdisciplinary approach that draws from ethnographic and archival methodologies. This research focuses on three areas of museum theory and practice, each requiring different materials and kinds of analysis: 1) organizational history and structure, 2) museum content and exhibitionary styles, and 3) museum audiences and tourism networks.

Sharon Macdonald's ethnographic study of contemporary science museums, *Behind the Scenes at the Science Museum*, remains one of the only monograph-length works to examine the institutional culture of museums and the decision-making process behind exhibit curation. Macdonald employs a number of methodologies that I draw upon: observation of museum staff and visitors, semi-structured interviews, and archival research. Crucially, Macdonald also takes into account visitor motivations for coming to an exhibit. Her primary finding was that visitors often come to a museum because it is part of a "day out," a "part of leisure activity set apart from ordinary daily practices."¹⁰⁵ Moreover, what visitors noticed or "took away" from a site was sometimes quite different from the curatorial intent. I use Macdonald's work as a framework for exploring both curatorial intent and visitor interpretation.

Likewise, Richard Handler and Eric Gable's study of Colonial Williamsburg was key for designing this study. As Handler and Gable note, much museum research focuses on the finished product of exhibits. As a result, they argue, "most research on museums has proceeded by ignoring much of what happens in them."¹⁰⁶ That is, relatively little of museum research "focuses on the museum as a social arena in which many people of differing backgrounds continuously

¹⁰⁵ Sharon Macdonald, *Behind the Scenes at the Science Museum*, 223.

¹⁰⁶ Richard Handler and Eric Gable, *The New History in an Old Museum*, 9.

and routinely interact to produce, exchange, and consume messages.”¹⁰⁷ In addition to this focus on organizational ethnography, Handler and Gable also concentrate their research on a period of transition, as Colonial Williamsburg was trying to incorporate more social history into its exhibits and reenactments. For this study, which follows both emerging and changing sites, the emphasis on an organization in flux was instructive.

I also draw heavily on the critical practices of archivists in the Global South like Verne Harris, the archivist for Nelson Mandela’s papers. A central theme of Harris’s work is the necessity for what he terms *hospitality* in archival practice. As Harris explains, he conceptualizes his duties as an archivist in terms of Derrida’s view of justice:

For me, any attempt to heed the call to justice is fundamentally about hospitality. It is, at once, to reach for what is not known (for what is, possibly, unknowable), and to reach out to those excluded or marginalized by prevailing relations of power.¹⁰⁸

How do we make our work a work of justice? How do we practice a hospitality to otherness, a hospitality to every other? (For every other is equally worthy of our hospitality.) The challenge, clearly, is an impossible one. We can close our ears to the call of justice, set ourselves manageable yardsticks, busy ourselves with standards and methodologies and procedures. Or we can reach for the impossible, in doing so understanding why the work of the archivist is mourning.¹⁰⁹

This notion of hospitality is instructive; both the subject matter of these museums and my ethnographic approach demand this treatment. The histories these museums tell are fraught with violence, trauma, and political anxiety. As a researcher, it is my duty to never lose sight of these atrocities—indeed, part of my work is also to mourn. In addition, I remain indebted to the staff members at these museums for their incredible generosity and have endeavored to approach this

¹⁰⁷ Richard Handler and Eric Gable, *The New History in an Old Museum*, 9.

¹⁰⁸ Verne Harris, *Archives and Justice: A South African Perspective* (Chicago: The Society of American Archivists, 2007), 5.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 77.

work with the same hospitality they showed me.

At the core of this project were the observations I conducted at each site. From 2010 to 2013, I spent approximately four months at each museum.¹¹⁰ On a typical day, I spent part of my time observing visitors interact with the exhibits and each other. I used the observations to formulate questions about the site for museum staff and others who were involved in the planning of exhibits.

I began my research by tracing organizational history in order to determine how each site conceptualized its mission and place vis-à-vis other national and international museums. I analyzed museum archival documents, including minutes from organizational meetings and documents detailing the production of exhibits. Archives of local newspapers such as the *Birmingham News, Mail & Guardian*, the *Cape Times*, the *Sowetan*, *Die Beeld*, and *Die Burger* also contain stories about the opening of museums and special exhibits, and I used these sources to assess local receptions of the sites.

Semi-structured interviews with museum staff members focused on public programming, education, and exhibit design, providing key information about how each site understands its audiences and attempts to engage them through events and exhibitions. I also interviewed academics and others involved in the planning of each site to elucidate the relationship between the intended museum narratives and their displayed forms.

Museum content and exhibitonary styles was key for understanding how each site constructed historical narratives through displays. Expanding upon the methodology developed by Corinne Kratz, I documented and analyzed exhibit elements and architecture,

¹¹⁰ My observations and analysis reflect the concerns of the sites at the time of the research—an organization can change rapidly, and any conclusions are a product of a specific set of temporal circumstances.

reading them against each other to discern the narratives they create.¹¹¹ I examined how exhibits appeal to a multifaceted audience that consists of visitors with varying levels of knowledge (and interest) about each site's historical focus. Questions for my analysis included: What level of knowledge do displays assume? What authorial voice is used—one that invites interpretation, or one that simply states names and dates? In examining these displays, I was interested in: 1) how narratives of human rights history are created from the interplay of exhibit elements, and 2) how museum displays attempt to engage audiences from multiple backgrounds.

Museum documents like guestbooks and comment cards were important in identifying how audiences understood each site, and which exhibits and aspects of the museums were most salient for them. While I had initially intended to conduct surveys and interviews with visitors, I quickly discovered that this approach would be difficult to implement, as many visitors were part of organized tours with limited time at each site. Documents such as door-takings (how many people enter the museum each day) provided quantitative information about the volume and geographic origins of visitors. This research was uneven; not every site kept these records. While I was able to analyze over 800 comment cards at the Apartheid Museum, the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute had only a few cards for certain exhibits. The District Six Museum also kept guestbooks, but the space for comments was quite small. To supplement this work, I reviewed visitor comments at sites like Tripadvisor.com. These documents were useful for understanding not only what visitors thought about each site, but also for mapping tourist networks: what other sites tourists tended to visit and how these museums compared to other similar sites.

At times, I grappled with the ethics of this research. Museum staff sometimes spoke

¹¹¹ Kratz, "Rhetorics of Value."

bluntly about their employers, revealing tensions about the sometimes precarious (and underfunded) world of museum work. I chose not to include these conversations, as I did not want to jeopardize anyone's employment or exacerbate any existing issues.

In addition, my interpretations do not always align with the views of the sites and their staff members. Interpretation is, of course, a prerogative of research. But what is my obligation as a researcher to sites that represent and co-curate with vulnerable, marginalized communities? In this work, I have endeavored to remember that these histories are difficult, painful, and often contested. As a central tenet of my thesis, I note that museums are subject to a number of pressures—financial, political, and organizational. In disentangling some of these pressures, I hope to ground my observations and interpretations in the realities of museum life.

Finally, there are times that I draw upon my experiences outside the museums to make sense of larger political and cultural contexts. It bears mentioning that I am a white woman from the US South, and I grew up in an environment where the struggles of the civil rights movement were clearly not over. I vividly remember debates about whether or not Georgia should remove the Confederate battle flag from its state flag, the rallying cries of “heritage, not hate!” in my high school hallway when the flag was finally removed. Negotiating the presence of the past in everyday life is not merely an academic exercise for me, it is part and parcel of how I have understood who I am.

I also acknowledge that my subject position doubtlessly affected how people interacted with me. As a beneficiary of higher education, I was able to access museum spaces and talk to professionalized staff about the intellectual underpinnings of their work. My background as a white woman from the US provided openings for South Africans to compare our nations' legacies of racialized oppression—and perhaps shut down conversations about race, as well.

When I have drawn on my personal experiences in this research, I have attempted to recognize my own positionality and set of cultural assumptions.

Chapter structure

Each chapter takes up a different case study and examines different aspects of how the category of “the museum” is changing in a moment of global tourism.

Chapter 1 (Toyi-toying in Birmingham):

This chapter examines the interplay between global and local histories at the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute. I interrogate how the BCRI positions itself vis-à-vis other sites of conscience, particularly its decision to distance itself from the term museum. I then turn to the site’s emphasis on international struggles, especially its exhibitionary and programmatic focuses on apartheid history.

In particular, I examine the BCRI’s decision to incorporate international comparisons into its exhibition space. This shift has been accompanied by a desire—and need—to set the site apart from other emerging civil rights memorial institutions. As staff members described to me, the internationalization of the BCRI is a self-conscious attempt to mark the Institute as “not just” a black history site, but an attempt to show that Birmingham’s history is globally significant. What makes international comparison so salient for the BCRI? Why has the Institute chosen to focus on apartheid history? What are the consequences for how the site conceptualizes itself?

Chapter 2 (Apartheid Museum)

This chapter turns to the question of tourism and the consequences of its international reach. Here, I am interested in how the Apartheid Museum conceptualizes itself as an international tourist destination and how this decision informs the site's exhibits and programs. Moreover, I position the museum as firmly embedded in other contemporary memorialization practices and aesthetics through the site's use of architecture and design.

I argue that these exhibitionary strategies help create a global public tourist sphere that links the Apartheid Museum to sites of conscience. Using the museum's comment cards and websites for tourists like Tripadvisor, I examine how the site markets its exhibits to international audiences and how these audiences respond. How successful is the museum as a site of cultural tourism? What understandings do visitors bring, and how do they interpret the museum?

Chapter 3 (District Six Museum)

In the final case study, I explore how the District Six Museum has attempted to reconceptualize itself as a tourist site. At the time of this research, the museum was faced with a shrinking budget and a rapidly gentrifying Cape Town. In response, the museum increasingly found itself relying on visitor revenue, an uncomfortable position for a site that had historically resisted co-option into Cape Town's tourist economy.

In this chapter, I explore how the museum has attempted to reposition itself in this shifting landscape. Through interviews with staff and observations of the new initiatives the museum has undertaken, I examine how the site takes part in (and resists) the global tourist economy. How might a museum reframe itself within these constraints while simultaneously challenging them?

Conclusion

This chapter returns to Mossel Bay and the Dias Museum. I examine the aftermath of the *Brown vs. Board of Education* exhibit and look more closely at the mayor's reaction. Here, I draw together the major questions raised in this dissertation—what is the role of a museum in memorializing global stories of violence and unrest? What makes these international comparisons so salient? How do the constraints of tourism affect museum displays?—and suggest that the case of the Dias Museum is instructive for thinking through the (sometimes unexpected) consequences of public history. This chapter also looks to examples like the new National Center for Civil and Human Rights in Atlanta, and the ways that issues of human rights may be exhibited in the future.

Finally, I turn to contemporary social justice movements in the US and South Africa such as Black Lives Matter and #FeesMustFall. How do these movements take their inspiration from the struggles commemorated at these sites, and how do they differ in their approach? What can these sites tell us about how future social justice struggles might develop?

Chapter 1

Toy-toying in Alabama: The Birmingham Civil Rights Institute

...I saw the Berlin Wall come down, when I saw the students in Tiananmen Square, when I saw the Polish shipyard workers and when they were all singing, 'We Shall Overcome,' I knew that what we did in Birmingham not only had an impact on human rights in the South of the United States, but really made an impact on the entire world.

-Andrew Young

The words of Andrew Young, the eminent civil rights leader, former mayor of Atlanta, and U.N. ambassador, greet visitors as they enter the human rights gallery of the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute (BCRI) in Birmingham, Alabama. The gallery's opening panel, entitled "Birmingham: From Civil Rights to Human Rights," explicitly links the U.S. civil rights movement to global struggles for social justice. Though the exhibition hall includes panels about Tiananmen Square, Darfur, oil protests in Nigeria, and anti-communism in Poland, apartheid history occupies a privileged position in the Institute's exhibitions and programming.

Why does a site, ostensibly dedicated to the history of Birmingham and U.S. civil rights, devote a considerable amount of its space and resources to representing global histories—and apartheid in particular? To this end, I invoke Edward Said's famous question of whether "theory in one historical period or national culture becomes altogether different for another period or situation."¹¹² When Said revisited this question years later, he reflected:

...The first time a human experience is recorded and then given a theoretical formulation, its force comes from being directly connected to and organically provoked by real historical circumstances. Later versions of the theory cannot replicate its original power, because the situation has quieted down and changed, the theory is degraded and subdued, made into a relatively tame academic substitute for the real thing.¹¹³

¹¹² Edward Said, *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983): 226.

¹¹³ Edward W. Said, "Traveling Theory Reconsidered," in *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000): 436.

Said contends that theory—that is, the specifics of human experience drawn into an explanatory framework—loses power as it changes place, a result of becoming further removed from the historical specificities that produced it. But what of history that travels? As James Clifford reminds us, “traveling theories” exist in differential structures of power, namely the “unequal spaces of postcolonial confusion and contestation.”¹¹⁴ That is, theories—and histories—are taken up by people with different access to cultural and financial capital. As sites of historical representation, museums are fitting places to examine how histories are made and remade along differential lines of geography, power, and authority.

The BCRI is an institution in the global north that has chosen to extend its exhibitionary and programmatic work beyond the immediate, local story of the Birmingham civil rights movement and into the global sphere of broadly defined “human rights” histories. As I began to research how the Institute presented these human rights histories, I noticed that South African apartheid was featured prominently in the site’s exhibits and programming. By following the trajectories of apartheid history as it travels through the public spaces of the BCRI, this work explores what happens to apartheid history when it is taken out of the South African context. The BCRI’s international focus, I argue, invokes a model of world history that takes struggles (and solidarity) against racialized oppression as its basis for global comparison.

This chapter is organized into several sections. I first examine the history of the BCRI in the context of African American historical commemoration. I then turn to the institution itself, interrogating the site’s exhibitionary strategies, layout, architecture, and civil and human rights content. Ultimately, I ask what it means to serve as a global institution of human rights and to

¹¹⁴ James Clifford, “Notes on Theory and Travel,” *Inscriptions* 5 (1989), accessed January 5, 2012, http://culturalstudies.ucsc.edu/PUBS/Inscriptions/vol_5/clifford.html.

claim to represent world history. How are the Institute's exhibits organized, and what do the site's exhibitionary strategies tell us about its interpretation of civil rights? How does the site tell stories of human rights struggles? What are these stories, and how do they work with (or against) the civil rights frame in the rest of the site?

This study builds on previous scholarship in the fields of tourism studies, public history, as well as studies of memory and diaspora. Expanding upon the work of geographers like Derek Alderman, I explore how the BCRI has created itself as a tourist site in the context of other museums of civil rights and black history. I draw on the public historical work of Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, for example, to examine how the "personalization" of history shapes collective memory and how the Institute embraces—and challenges—popular collective memory of the civil rights movement. Finally I turn to the work of scholars like Paul Gilroy and Christine Mullen Kraemer to interrogate the Institute's appeal as a site of diasporic blackness, and how this touristic desire shapes visitor perceptions of the human rights exhibits.

African American Museums in the US

The BCRI's mission to "promote civil and human rights worldwide through education" is both a continuation and a departure from the stated aims of earlier sites dedicated to African American history.¹¹⁵ In her article, "Memory, Mythos, and History," Fath Davis Ruffins traces

¹¹⁵ Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, "Birmingham Civil Rights Institute," accessed May 1, 2013, <http://www.bcri.org>. For the sake of clarity, I have limited my discussion here to a general sketch of the history of black museums. For an excellent discussion of how black history and art appeared (or remained absent) in traditionally Eurocentric U.S. museums, see Bridget R. Cooks, *Exhibiting Blackness: African Americans and the American Art Museum* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011). Mabel O. Wilson's *Negro Building: Black Americans in the World of Fairs and Museums* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012) makes an especially important intervention, drawing attention to the participation of black Americans in one of the primary antecedents of contemporary museums: Worlds Fairs.

the trajectories of black history museums, noting that historic houses and museums at historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) comprised the bulk of black history sites through the early twentieth century.¹¹⁶ (In particular, Ruffins highlights that Frederick Douglass's home became the first black historic house upon his death in 1896.)¹¹⁷ Though Ruffins notes that HBCUs were often founded (and funded) by white philanthropists, museums, archives, and libraries at these institutions became the major institutional repositories for black cultural and intellectual heritage before 1950.¹¹⁸

The influence of the civil rights movement and global anticolonial sentiments marked a sharp shift in black museum practice in the 1960s. Ruffins estimates that over ninety African American museums were founded between 1950 and 1980, a dramatic increase from the thirty or so that existed previously.¹¹⁹ The late 1960s and early 1970s saw a rise in the amount of government funding available for cultural heritage (largely spurred by President Johnson's Great Society initiatives), and many of these new sites adopted an Afrocentric, Pan-African focus.¹²⁰

Ruffins argues that Pan-Africanism, the intellectual tradition that emphasizes political, social, and cultural solidarity across the African diaspora, was a primary philosophical underpinning of many black museums from the 1960s to the 1990s (when her analysis ends), noting that a primary purpose of many of these sites was to "make some of the political debate, progressive performance style, and Pan-Africanist rhetoric available to the community at a grass-

¹¹⁶ Fath Davis Ruffins, "Mythos, Memory, and History: African American Preservation Efforts, 1820-1990," in *Museums and Communities*, eds. Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer, and Steven D. Lavine, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992): 506-611.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 516-17.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 528.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 557.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 568.

roots level.”¹²¹ Sites like the Pan African Historical Museum USA in Springfield, Massachusetts, “where African culture and African-American history converge to paint a full picture of Black history,” are emblematic of the Pan-African approach.¹²² These sites explicitly link African American and African history and art and employ a global, diasporic curatorial strategy. It was within this milieu that professional organizations like the Association of African American Museums (AAAM), founded in 1978, began to form.

By the late 1980s and early 1990s, however, a new category of “black museums” began to emerge: the civil rights museum. Most of these museums have largely focused on national, local, or regional histories of the civil rights movement—many geographically-focused—with many of the earliest sites of memorialization centered on the figure of Martin Luther King, Jr. The King Center for Nonviolent Change in Atlanta, Georgia, the first major memorial to King, was established by Coretta Scott King in 1968.¹²³ The King Center complex remains a major attraction today, with over 700,000 visitors in 2012.¹²⁴ Despite this success, it was over two decades before the next major civil rights museum emerged in Memphis.¹²⁵ The National Civil Rights Museum (NCM) in Memphis, Tennessee is also largely dedicated to King’s history and legacy; part of the display includes King’s preserved room at the Lorraine Motel from the night he was shot in 1968, though the museum also has a general timeline of events in the national

¹²¹ Fath Davis Ruffins, “Mythos, Memory, and History,” 566.

¹²² “About Us,” Pan African Historical Museum USA, accessed March 8, 2016, <http://pahmusa.mysite.com/aboutus.html>.

¹²³ The Martin Luther King Center, “About the King Center,” accessed May 2, 2013, <http://www.thekingcenter.org/about-king-center>.

¹²⁴ Debbie Ann Doyle, “The National Parks and the Value of History,” *Perspectives on History* 51, no. 5 (May 2013): 12.

¹²⁵ The site’s reputation suffered somewhat in the 1990s due to feuds between the King family and the National Park Service. For more on the history of the King Center, see Robyn Autry, “Desegregating the Past: The Transformation of the Public Imagination.”

civil rights movement.¹²⁶ The site opened in 1991 amidst some protests—Jacqueline Smith, a domestic worker who had lived in the Lorraine Motel since 1976 and was evicted to make space for the museum, accused the site of becoming a “Disney-style attraction” that focuses more on making money than on alleviating poverty.¹²⁷ Despite these objections, the National Civil Rights Museum remains a fixture on civil rights tourism routes, drawing in an estimated 220,000 visitors in 2010, and undergoing a \$27.5 million renovation in 2012.¹²⁸

Since these early sites, civil rights museums and memorials have appeared across the U.S., with an increasing focus on global histories. Cities like Greensboro, North Carolina (the International Civil Rights Center & Museum, founded in 2010), Atlanta, Georgia (the National Center for Civil and Human Rights, opened in 2014), and Birmingham, Alabama have constructed museums that not only commemorate the U.S. civil rights movement, but international social justice struggles. A 2012 *New York Times* article, noting the trend towards “internationalizing” exhibits, termed these sites as “the next phase” of the civil rights narrative.¹²⁹

How does the BCRI fit into this landscape? The Institute’s global focus must be understood in relationship to previous sites of black history, but also as an integral part of its mission from the start. It is also striking that the BCRI chose to call itself an “institute,” rather than a museum.

¹²⁶ For an overview of the main exhibits, see Amy Wilson, “National Civil Rights Museum,” *The Journal of American History* 83, no. 3 (1996): 971-976.

¹²⁷ Jacqueline Smith, “Why Boycott the Civil Rights Museum,” accessed May 3, 2013, www.fulfillthedream.net. See also Owen Dwyer and Derek Alderman’s discussion of Smith’s protest in *Civil Rights Memorials and the Geography of Memory* (Chicago: Center for American Places, 2008), 45.

¹²⁸ Jennifer K. Gorsche, “Civil Rights Makeover in Memphis,” *The Architect’s Newspaper*, January 6, 2011, accessed May 3, 2013, <http://archpaper.com/news/articles.asp?id=5074>.

¹²⁹ Kim Severson, “New Museums to Shine a Spotlight on Civil Rights Era,” *New York Times*, February 19, 2012, accessed May 3, 2013, www.nytimes.com/2012/02/20/us/african-american-museums-rising-to-recognize-civil-rights.html.

As I discuss below, this identification is a way the Institute has chosen to set itself apart from other sites of memory.

Civil Rights at the BCRI

While the National Civil Rights Museum was taking root in Memphis, some Birmingham residents were planning their own museum. The idea of a Birmingham civil rights museum originated with David Vann, the city's mayor who served from 1975 to 1979. Vann had visited Israel's Yad Vashem (the state's Holocaust memorial) and believed that a site of public commemoration could help promote racial reconciliation in the United States.¹³⁰ When Richard Arrington, Jr. became Birmingham's first black mayor in 1979, he took up Vann's proposal and made the civil rights museum a priority during his twenty-year tenure.

Throughout the early 1980s, the Birmingham Civil Rights Museum Study Committee—a core group of six historians and civic leaders—drafted the conceptual framework for the Institute and garnered support for the initiative.¹³¹ The city found property near the site of the 1963 16th Street Baptist Church bombing and set aside the area for the site's future development.¹³² After the city pledged to invest nearly \$3 million in the project, Mayor Arrington appointed a task force to help design the Institute.¹³³

The very name of the site was an initial point of debate. The task force eventually settled on the name of “institute” rather than “museum” because, in the words of chairwoman emerita

¹³⁰ Glenn Eskew, “The Birmingham Civil Rights Institute and the New Ideology of Tolerance.”

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 30. As Eskew notes, though permanent exhibitions were always a part of the site's vision, the name “Institute” was used in lieu of “museum” to convey a living history.

¹³² Odessa Woolfolk, “BCRI History,” Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, accessed May 18, 2013. http://bcri.org/information/history_of_bcri/history4.html.

¹³³ Eskew, “New Ideology of Tolerance,” 41.

Odessa Woolfolk, they wanted the name to invoke, “an action-oriented establishment,” rather than a passive repository of the past.¹³⁴ To implement this vision, the task force enlisted the services of landscape architecture firm Grover Harrison Harrison and Grover Mouton to design memorial space at Kelly Ingram Park. For the BCRI building itself, the task force accepted a proposal from architects Bond Ryder James, while Boston group Joseph A. Wetzel designed the installations. The task force contracted with the American History Workshop to develop the site’s content—a group that has also provided work for the Lower East Side Tenement Museum (one of the founders of the International Sites of Conscience network), the National Underground Railroad Freedom Center in Cincinnati, and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.¹³⁵

Despite this work, getting further financial support proved difficult. Under the banner of anti-tax activism, Birmingham residents twice voted down bond issues to fund the Institute. There was opposition on a variety of fronts: in addition to the anti-tax movement, some residents were wary of exposing Birmingham’s racism to the world, while others believed the money could be better spent on direct charitable giving or neighborhood improvements.¹³⁶ The future of the project was uncertain until the city issued general revenue bonds that subverted a voter referendum.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ Woolfolk, “BCRI History,” http://bcri.org/information/history_of_bcricri/history4.html.

¹³⁵ Ibid.. “American History Workshop: Projects,” American History Workshop, accessed May 18, 2013, <http://www.americanhistoryworkshop.com/projects.htm>.

¹³⁶ Woolfolk, “BCRI History,” http://bcri.org/information/history_of_bcricri/history5.html.

¹³⁷ Despite this initial success, the BCRI has, like many cultural institutions, faced its share of funding shortfalls. For its first year of its operations, for example, the BCRI relied on the Birmingham city government to cover 47% of its budget. (“Birmingham Civil Rights Institute Audited Financial Statements,” Robert Corley Papers, Box 4 of 23, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute Archives, Birmingham, Alabama.) The Institute also faced significant funding challenges during the 2008-2009 fiscal year and lost 40% of its staff to layoffs. In recent years, the Institute has become more solvent, most notably receiving a \$100,000 donation from the financial holding company BB&T in 2013. (Madison Underwood, “Birmingham Civil Rights

After nearly a decade of negotiation with a city that, in the words of Woolfolk, “recoiled at the thought of summoning up old images of fire hoses and police dogs,” the BCRI opened its doors in November 1992.¹³⁸ Concurrently, the city declared the area surrounding the Institute to be a civil rights district, in the hopes of creating a cultural tourism precinct. The Institute is located close to iconic black businesses like the Carver Theater, and adjacent to Kelly Ingram Park, the site of the famous 1963 protests where Birmingham police and firemen turned firehoses and dogs on marchers—many of whom were children.¹³⁹ In their design, the BCRI and the surrounding district were intended to invoke a sense of place. For Kelly Ingram Park, for example, the designers’ imperative was to create “a park that looked like it belonged in Birmingham and ‘was of this place,’ not Boston, Atlanta, Cincinnati, or Paris.”¹⁴⁰ The BCRI was thus conceived to be a distinct site from other emergent civil rights museums.

In spite of its early political and financial difficulties, the Institute has become a mainstay for tourists and an integral part of Birmingham’s cultural sector over the past twenty years.¹⁴¹ The BCRI receives around 140,000 visitors each year and is rated the number one attraction in Birmingham on the travel site Tripadvisor.com. In 2012, the BCRI was named the Attraction of

Institute Lands \$100,000 Donation for 2013 Education and Outreach,” *AI.com*, October 27, 2012, accessed May 18, 2013,

http://blog.al.com/spotnews/2012/10/birmingham_civil_rights_instit_11.html.)

For a history of the BCRI’s funding struggles, see “Yes Vote Is a Step Forward,” *Birmingham News*, July 6, 1986. See also Odessa Woolfolk, “BCRI History,” Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, www.bcri.org/information/history_of_bcri/history.html.

¹³⁸ Woolfolk, “BCRI History,” http://bcri.org/information/history_of_bcri/history5.html.

¹³⁹ Woolfolk, “BCRI History,” http://bcri.org/information/history_of_bcri/history6.html.

¹⁴⁰ “The Healing of a City by Design,” *Birmingham Business Journal*, 1992, 11.

¹⁴¹ Financial stability is still a primary concern, however: in 2009, facing a sharp downturn in funding, the BCRI lost 40% of its employees. In the last few years, the Institute has begun to rebuild its staff, albeit slowly.

the Year by the Alabama Tourism Department.¹⁴² The site hosts a myriad of activities, ranging from National Endowment for the Humanities summer workshops on the Birmingham civil rights movement to civic outreach and school education programs, amounting to 12 to 15 events each month.

Most visitors come to the Institute for the civil rights exhibits, which confront the viewer with everyday realities of life in the Jim Crow South.¹⁴³ The museum's route is largely prescribed for the visitor, beginning with a film that details the post-Civil War founding of Birmingham and early labor struggles in the steel town, nicknamed the "Pittsburg of the South." In particular, the film's narration highlights the unequal treatment of black and white workers, an emphasis that continues as the projector screen ascends and the visitor is left facing segregated water fountains.

¹⁴² Mia Watkins, "Birmingham Civil Rights Institute Named Attraction of the Year," *Birmingham News*, August 30, 2012, accessed January 4, 2013, http://www.al.com/entertainment/index.ssf/2012/08/birmingham_civil_rights_distri.html.

¹⁴³ Nearly all surveys and comment cards list the civil rights exhibits as the primary reason for visiting the BCRI.



Figure 1. Carol M. Highsmith, “Barriers,” Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, Birmingham, Alabama, 2010. Image courtesy of The George F. Landegger Collection of Alabama Photographs in Carol M. Highsmith's America, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.



Figure 2. Carol M. Highsmith, “Barbershop,” Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, Birmingham, Alabama, 2010. Image courtesy of The George F. Landegger Collection of Alabama Photographs in Carol M. Highsmith's America, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.

This first room is largely dedicated to life in segregated Birmingham: visitors can walk through a replica of a black church, examine a comparison of textbooks in white and black schools, or listen to a jukebox that might have played music in a black nightclub. These exhibits show not only the fundamental inhumanity of segregation, but also the thriving businesses and cultural institutions that black Birminghamians were able to build in spite of these gross inequalities.

The Institute is also keenly aware of the complexities of racial discourse in the 1950s and 1960s. In an exhibit entitled “Confrontations,” a visitor is confronted with panes of glass with

sandblasted images of people of different races, genders, and ages. The boutique lighting, shining directly above the figures, creates a ghostly effect as the etched lines become transparent.



Figure 3. Carol M. Highsmith, Voices exhibit, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, Birmingham, Alabama, 2010. George F. Landegger Collection of Alabama Photographs in Carol M. Highsmith's America, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.

Speakers from the ceiling play a cacophony of voices, each commenting on the “race problem.” One voice complains that we should “put them back on a boat to Africa;” another asserts that God intended the races to be separate. A few speakers decry the inequalities that segregation produces, but most are hostile. Even a couple of black voices express their wish to stay out of political arguments—the museum’s corrective to the notion that all black Birminghamians were civil rights activists. Through the interplay of images and disembodied

voices, the BCRI gives the visitor a sense of the confusion, anger, and denial that infused racial discourse, complicating more prevalent narratives of victims and heroes.



Figure 4. Carol M. Highsmith, Freedom Riders bus display, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, Birmingham, Alabama, 2010. Photograph courtesy of the George F. Landegger Collection of Alabama Photographs in Carol M. Highsmith's America, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.



Figure 5. Carol M. Highsmith, Stained glass window from 16th St. Baptist Church, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, Birmingham, Alabama, 2010. George F. Landegger Collection of Alabama Photographs in Carol M. Highsmith's America, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.

The Institute then delves into the “classical” period of the civil rights movement with a series of dual timelines that represent chronologies at the national and local levels between the 1954 *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision and the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Major events like the Montgomery bus boycott and King’s March on Washington appear in these galleries. Through the use of dual chronologies, the visitor is constantly reminded that the civil rights movement took place across the nation and consisted of more than court decisions.

Much of the civil rights exhibition continues in an experiential vein, with exhibits of KKK robes and other reminders of the threats and realities of violence. A replica of the burned-out

Freedom Riders' bus is accompanied by haunting news coverage of the mob that greeted the protestors in Anniston, Alabama in 1961.¹⁴⁴ Further down, one of the windows from the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church is on display, the missing panes a stark reminder of the dynamite blast that killed Addie Mae Collins, Carole Robertson, Cynthia Wesley and Denise McNair on September 15, 1963.¹⁴⁵ These exhibits are iconic and deeply affective; museum volunteers report that many visitors are moved to tears and publicly reflect on their own memories and experiences of the civil rights era.

Unlike other contemporary civil rights museums, the BCRI does not center its exhibits on the figure of Martin Luther King, Jr. From the start, the museum wanted to emphasize the contributions of civil rights "footsoldiers," and much of the Institute's displays focus on the leadership of Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth, rather than King.¹⁴⁶ The one exception is the jail cell display, meant to recreate the experience that King would have had while writing his famous "Letter from a Birmingham Jail." Despite the Institute's intentions to deemphasize King, this display remains extremely popular among visitors. In my observations, the jail cell was one of the most engaging for visitors, with many stopping to listen to the entire recording of King's letter. Likewise, many people left offerings of money or notes by the exhibit. While it was not uncommon to hear visitors having conversations throughout the galleries, many people became quiet and contemplative when they reached the jail display. Though the BCRI actively seeks to

¹⁴⁴ The Freedom Riders were a group of civil rights activists, organized by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), who were attempting to test the 1960 *Boynton v. Virginia* ruling that declared illegal the segregation of interstate public transportation. Groups of protestors rode through southern states, meeting arrest and violence along the way. See Raymond Arsenault, *Freedom Riders: 1961 and the Struggle for Racial Justice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

¹⁴⁵ See Diane McWhorter, *Carry Me Home: Birmingham, Alabama, the Climactic Battle of the Civil Rights Revolution* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2001).

¹⁴⁶ Odessa Woolfolk, interview by author, December 21, 2012.

tell other narratives about civil rights, visitor experiences do not always align with the site's intentions.

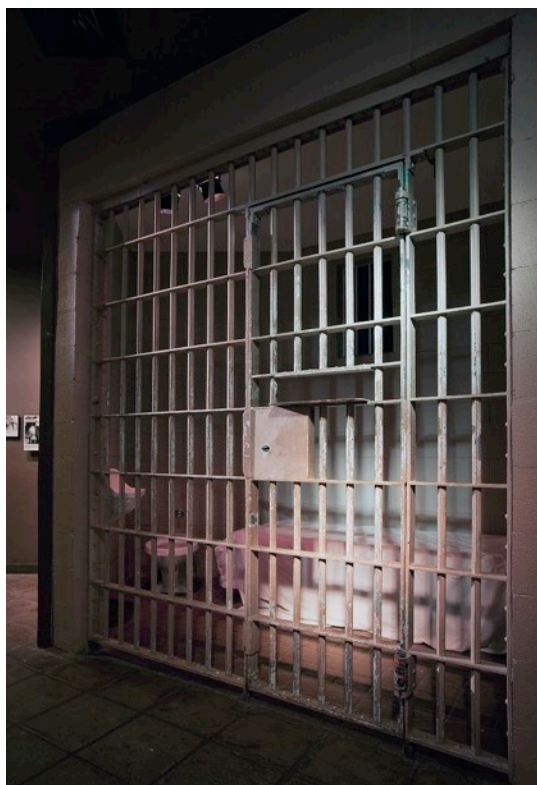


Figure 6. Carol M. Highsmith, Jail cell, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, Birmingham, Alabama, 2010. Photograph courtesy of the George F. Landegger Collection of Alabama Photographs in Carol M. Highsmith's America, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.

The civil rights galleries conclude with a replica of Mayor Arrington's office, complete with desk drawers filled with notes and papers. By extending the timeline of the civil rights movement to the 1980s, the BCRI challenges the predominant timeline of the movement, which begins with the 1954 *Brown vs. Board of*

Education decision ends with the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.¹⁴⁷ Like the Institute's attempt to focus its exhibitions on footsoldiers and lesser-known civil rights activists, the Arrington display demonstrates the BCRI's desire to break from more traditional

¹⁴⁷ Recent scholarship has also lengthened the timeline of the "classical" civil rights movement, most notably with Jacquelyn Dowd Hall's notion of the "long civil rights movement." See Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," *The Journal of American History* 91, no. 4 (2005): 1233-1263.

conceptualizations of the movement. By choosing to make Arrington's office the final civil rights exhibit, the site reaffirms its emphasis on the importance of Birmingham as a major locus of activism.

Once the visitor leaves the civil rights galleries, however, the Institute's narrative shifts from a local one to a global one. While it is possible to bypass the human rights gallery, visitors are meant to see the exhibition as a continuation of the civil rights exhibits. Both spatially and thematically, the Institute intends for the human rights exhibit to serve as a coda. In this formulation, human rights become a logical—almost inevitable—result of the civil rights movement. This, I argue, is one of the foundations of the BCRI's human rights gallery: civil rights can and should be understood as part of larger movements for human rights.

Human Rights at the BCRI

Even in its genesis, the Institute looked to global histories and sought to create educational programming and exhibitions around international human rights struggles. Programmatically, the Institute has long emphasized a connection to South Africa. At a notable conference in 2002 entitled "Transformative Justice: From Conflict to Resolution and Healing," former South African President F.W. De Klerk and Bishop Desmond Tutu delivered keynote addresses. The purpose of the conference was to examine the "racial divide," and to see how societies could "move past racism." In an interview with the *Tuscaloosa News*, Dr. Horace Huntley, a professor at the University of Alabama at Birmingham and former director of the BCRI's oral history program, argued that the conference was useful because, "segregation was just as entrenched

here as apartheid was there.¹⁴⁸” This conference remains a cornerstone for the site’s demonstrated commitment to drawing together South African and U.S. histories—photographs from the event even appear in the exhibition halls.

The Institute has also maintained a commitment to a permanent human rights exhibition. While most of the Institute’s space is devoted to the local and national civil rights movement, the BCRI has maintained a global human rights gallery at the end of the museum since 1994. This original human rights gallery was intended to tie together the civil rights movement that “influence[d] the course of human rights” and “the international dimension of the struggle for freedom and justice.”¹⁴⁹ This initial gallery highlighted the stories of several victims of human rights abuses, taken from Amnesty International cases.¹⁵⁰ From the start, South Africa had a prominent part in this gallery. The gallery featured the story of Antabi, a young black South African exiled in Botswana, who was paralyzed when the state’s South African Defense Force members raided her family’s home and shot her. Antabi’s panel featured an excerpt from her life history.

I was born in exile and we’ve been living in exile all my life... The fear started I think with exiles in ’85 when the South African government crossed the border into Botswana and raided 12 South African homes—which was very unexpected and very shocking—and killed, you know, about 20 South Africans, and walked out of the country saying “we’ll be back.”

So in 1986, the following year, June 14, they did come back, only this time they just came back to our house, they raided our house. I was shot seven times, my aunt was killed, my uncle was shot in the arm. I was 12 years old.

¹⁴⁸ Matt Ehlers, “Forum to Address Racial Divide,” *The Tuscaloosa News*, April 15, 2002, accessed January 13, 2013, <http://txstage.ny.atl.publicus.com/article/20020415/NEWS/204150322?p=1&tc=pg>

¹⁴⁹ Birmingham Civil Rights Institute Guide to Exhibitions, 2002. Birmingham Civil Rights Institute Archives, Dr. Lawrence J. Pijaux, Jr. Records, Box 6, Folder 9.

¹⁵⁰ Chris Danemeyer, interview by author, November 1, 2012.

It doesn't matter how old you are. You're black. You're South African. That's all that matters...it's really sad, but it's the truth...¹⁵¹

After I got shot, I thought to myself, well, I have a choice. I could either hate, or I could either turn this into a positive thing, and you know do something positive about it.

When I speak to students or when I speak to people, sometimes I can look into their eyes and I can see the changed I've made and I highly doubt that I could have the same effect on people if I was very bitter.

I definitely get angry. I think that's what pushes you forward. I've had enough of this, this is wrong.

Apartheid can very easily dehumanize people and I really don't want to be dehumanized. I wanna carry on hope and I wanna show people there's something beyond hate.¹⁵²

Antabi's story was accompanied by a photograph of her in her wheelchair, taken by Chris Danemeyer, one of the exhibit's graphic designers. Danemeyer, a consultant from Boston, explained that the human rights gallery was intended to be deeply affective and tactile. The human rights "stories" were broken down into several categories (gendered violence, political oppression, etc.) and accessible by a touch screen with a graphic of a hand. Visitors would touch the hand on the screen and choose which stories they wanted to learn more about. Antabi's story, an example of "political oppression," is at once harrowing and uplifting. The excerpts chosen from her life history emphasize her refusal to be a victim ("I don't want to be dehumanized"), but also her acute awareness of the power of shaping her narrative to persuade her audience. She recognizes the importance of not being "bitter," and her story ends (literally) on a note of hope.

¹⁵¹ A white South African in exile was also killed in this raid. Antabi's use of the term "black" here may represent a political use of the racial categorization as a way to reject white supremacy.

¹⁵² Planning documents, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute Archives, Robert Corley Papers, Box 5.

The dueling emphasis on “hope” and “oppression” was reinforced by the site’s decision to use the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) as its framework for the gallery. The document, crafted after World War II by an international coalition headed by Eleanor Roosevelt, was intended to prevent further “barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind.”¹⁵³ With the horrors of the Holocaust still fresh, the UDHR outlined thirty articles that included such far-reaching rights as the right to assembly and the right to equal pay for equal work. These rights are roughly grouped into categories that detail the fundamental freedoms of the individual, individual civil and political rights, religious and public rights, and social, economic, and cultural rights. The document is non-binding, though it has served as the foundation for international human rights covenants, laws, and discourse since its 1948 adoption by the UN General Assembly.

For the BCRI, the declaration provided a way to talk concretely about the violation of human rights, but also to demonstrate international resistance to these abuses. The staff also recognized, however, that the document was limited in its effectiveness and international adoption. “We view the UDHR as an aspirational document,” BCRI archivist Laura Anderson told me.¹⁵⁴ Having the UDHR as a framing device was useful because of its symbolism and notoriety—it holds the Guinness World Record for the most translated document in the world—but clearly its aims have not been realized.¹⁵⁵ The site began to rethink what kind of framing devices might best suit the space.

¹⁵³ “Universal Declaration of Human Rights,” United Nations, accessed May 24, 2013, <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/>.

¹⁵⁴ Laura Anderson, interview by author, October 10, 2012.

¹⁵⁵ “The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is the Most Universal Document in the World,” Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, United Nations Human Rights, accessed May 25, 2013, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/pages/WorldRecord.aspx>.

By 2007, the leadership of the Institute wanted to renovate their human rights gallery. Stories like Antabi's were no longer as current, since apartheid had ended. Moreover, BCRI staff expressed a sense that the gallery was too "dark" and did not emphasize the kind of activism necessary to successfully oppose rights abuses. In 2009, the BCRI opened a redesigned human rights gallery, a space designed to inspire visitors—particularly younger audiences—to focus on collective resistance to injustice.¹⁵⁶ In its design, the gallery invokes the aesthetics of graphic novels, with brightly colored panels and font that mimics the hand-drawn style of comic books. This aesthetic was intended not only to visually distinguish the human rights gallery from its older counterpart, but also from the civil rights exhibits, which are largely monochromatic to evoke newspapers and contemporary media of the 1950s and 60s.¹⁵⁷ Gone are the touchscreens and dark photographs of "victims;" the new gallery is entirely stylized and colorful. There is no more focus on stories of individuals, but instead a handful of "case studies" of countries that struggled against human rights abuses.

In 2007, the Institute began conducting research to determine which human rights case studies to include. Staff began to survey human rights experts, and even placed a query on a listserv for human rights scholarship, asking for "three significant people, places, events, or movements related to the concepts of race/ethnic discrimination, religious intolerance, or state sanctioned oppression." Anti-apartheid movements came up consistently in responses.¹⁵⁸ The Institute eventually decided to include the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo in Argentina, the Tiananmen Square protests, anti-oil protests in Nigeria, anti-communist movements in Poland,

¹⁵⁶ Archivist Laura Anderson, interview by author, October 10, 2012.

¹⁵⁷ Chris Danemeyer, interview by author, November 1, 2012.

¹⁵⁸ Sylvea Hollis, <shollis@bcri.org>, "Quick Survey Question," in H-Human-Rights, 29 November 2007.

and the 1994 Rwandan genocide. These movements are largely contemporary—post 1960s—and global in reach, with three on the African continent.



Figure 7. Entrance to the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute human rights gallery, date unknown. Courtesy of Mark Gooch Photography.

The periodization and geographic focus of the human rights gallery is significant. Andrew Young's quote, which frames the gallery, draws an unbroken chronology between the U.S. civil rights movement and global human rights struggles. Below Young's quote, panel text invokes a

moral justification for the exhibit:

What happened here in Birmingham shows that it is possible to overcome oppression. We must remember this as rights continue to be denied, ignored, and abused around the globe. By speaking up and lending our support to the oppressed, we are doing our part to create a world in which all human beings are free, equal, and treated with dignity.

In this configuration, Birmingham is not only a source of inspiration for future generations, but provides an imperative to act. We commemorate Birmingham, by this logic, not merely to remember, but to become activists for other social justice movements. Moreover, the gallery's focus on Africa—and South Africa in particular—draws implicit comparisons between African and diasporic resistance to oppression, particularly experiences of colonization. The twin

imperatives of solidarity and action are crucial to understanding the representation and reception of South African history in the Institute.

South Africa in the BCRI

South Africa's prominence in the human rights gallery is not confined to these case studies. As the visitor enters, a motion-triggered video plays, and New York-born poet Shariff Simmons performs a spoken-word piece about Birmingham and global struggles for human rights. As images of protests flash across the screen, Simmons sings, "Hold hands with me...through the fight against apartheid and the will of Mandela...from the shanties of Soweto...a melody rings." Nearby, the sounds of The Special A.K.A's "Nelson Mandela" emerge from the sound booth exhibit on the use of music in social justice movements. These media-saturated spaces are filled with images and sound that reference apartheid.

The South African case study panel appears near the end of the gallery. The panel, which consists of three, fifty word paragraphs that establish a cursory history of apartheid, also includes video of protest news footage. The video screen is intended to resemble the illustrations on the panel, almost appearing to be part of the "graphic novel" of the panel.¹⁵⁹ In this way, the video, text, and graphics of the exhibit are intended to create a cohesive narrative of apartheid resistance. The aesthetics are crucial to the purpose of the exhibit, which, as the gallery reminds us, is to inspire future action.

¹⁵⁹ Comprehensive Plan for Exhibit 81: "Voices from the Front Line," p. 144. Unsorted archival materials, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, Birmingham Alabama.



Figure 8. Anti-apartheid panel, date unknown. Courtesy of Mark Gooch Photography.

Along with the panel images of the 1976 Soweto uprisings and white policemen attacking crowds of black South Africans, the text underscores the site's focus on collective action as effective resistance. The text reads:

The roots of racism in South Africa go back to 1652 when the Dutch first arrived (the British came in 1820). Segregation becomes the official policy in 1948, when the white government institutes apartheid. The black majority is denied access to white facilities and cannot vote, hold a strike, or marry someone of a different race.

Groups like the African National Congress (ANC) challenge apartheid through strikes, boycotts, and demonstrations. Protestors are

harassed, arrested, and even killed. In the 1970s, a new organization called the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) re-energizes the black community. In 1976, BCM leads a children's protest in the ghetto of Soweto. Hundreds die, intensifying pressure on the government.

Whites and blacks continue to clash. The government declares a state of emergency in 1985. The crisis sparks anti-apartheid protests and boycotts around the world. In 1989, the government initiates peace talks with Nelson Mandela, the long-imprisoned leader of the ANC. By 1994, apartheid has ended, and Mandela is elected president.

The panel draws implicit parallels between life under U.S. segregation and South African apartheid. The emphasis is on experiences of segregation, particularly the petty apartheid of restrictions on personal movement and civic rights like voting and organizing. Indeed, grand

apartheid, the government restructuring of the nation into “homelands” for black South Africans, does not appear in this narrative, despite being the most dramatic and egregious example of South African “social engineering.” The role of the African National Congress is highlighted, and the election of Nelson Mandela is celebrated as the triumphant end of apartheid.

The parallels in U.S. civil rights history and the South African anti-apartheid movement are further underscored by the panel’s construction of racialized identities. In this narrative of apartheid resistance, South Africa is imagined entirely along black and white lines. There is no mention of the apartheid laws that affected people who were categorized as “Indian” or “coloured,” no recognition of multiracial (and explicitly nonracial) anti-apartheid alliances. The experiences of South Africans who do not fit easily into the categories of black and white disappear, and the labels of victim and oppressor are neatly overlaid onto racial classifications.

Confining South African history to a racial binary elides some of the messier, violent details of apartheid resistance and complicity, such as the clashes between ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) supporters in the 1980s and early 1990s. According to estimates, more South Africans died during the political violence that surrounded the CODESA negotiations to end apartheid (1990-1993)—*after* Mandela was released from prison—than in the entire period between 1948 and 1991.¹⁶⁰ Neither does violent resistance to apartheid appear in this narrative. “Whites and blacks continue to clash,” but this “clashing” violence is always implied to be state-driven. In the depictions of “strikes, boycotts, and demonstrations,” there is no mention of Umkhonto weSizwe or Poqo, no hint of necklacing of suspected political informants.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ Report from the South African Institute of Race Relations, quoted in Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 3rd ed (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001): 248.

¹⁶¹ This is not to suggest that all resistance to apartheid was nonviolent. Indeed, many scholars, such as Stephen Zunes, argue that nonviolent resistance was more widespread and effective than

Moreover, the overall emphasis on non-violence does not account for a long history of self-defense and armed resistance within the U.S. civil rights movement which does not appear in the civil rights exhibit space.¹⁶²

Instead, the exhibit's arc of apartheid resistance ends on a celebratory note with Mandela's election in 1994. This sense of triumphalism is not unique to the South African exhibit (or to civil rights museums in general); as Glenn Eskew notes, the BCRI generally embraces a "Whiggish progressivism of the American master narrative."¹⁶³ This "master narrative" contends that history proceeds teleologically, becoming "better" with each generation.¹⁶⁴ Doubtlessly, one would consider the defeat of apartheid to be of great significance. But this narrative does not account for the difficulties of governing in a post-conflict society. NGOs and political commentators are fond of enumerating the problems of post-apartheid South Africa: gendered violence, xenophobia, HIV/AIDS, unemployment, crime levels. Sensational as much of this rhetoric often is, the triumphalism of both the BCRI's apartheid and civil rights exhibit makes the site ill-equipped to examine these issues.

World History as Human Rights

The BCRI's purpose as an Institute, however, is less about specific historic circumstances and more about the twinned goals of solidarity and activism. History, here, is an edict to action.

violent action. See Stephen Zunes, "The Role of Nonviolent Action in the Downfall of Apartheid," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 37, no. 1 (1999): 137–169.

¹⁶² Akinyele Omowale Umoja, *We Will Shoot Back: Armed Resistance in the Mississippi Freedom Movement* (New York: New York University Press, 2013).

¹⁶³ Eskew, "New Ideology of Tolerance," 29.

¹⁶⁴ Anthropologist David Scott calls this type of rosy anti-colonial historical narrative "romantic," in opposition to the tragic framework that often envelops post-colonial disappointments. See *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004).

In this way, the Institute's framework for world history is one that sees histories of abuses as the basis for global comparison. Though the UDHR is no longer the focus of the human rights gallery, an enlarged version of the document is still displayed prominently at the room's entrance. The looming presence of the UDHR helps underscore an interpretation of human rights in a liberal, universal context. This approach is not without its limitations; much academic work has critiqued the underlying assumptions of this framework, grounded in Enlightenment ideas of the universality of cultures. As anthropologist Liisa Malkki notes:

there are dangers in trying to connect the world via a universal human subject—that is, privileging a form of international solidarity that abstracts away from specific political circumstances and regional histories, and from different forms of subjectivities.¹⁶⁵

In her work, which focuses on the politics of humanitarian intervention, Malkki concludes that this framework can “reduce the participants in a complex and meaningful historical process to generic, nakedly human objects.”¹⁶⁶ Malkki's critique asserts that these discourses can become problematic when they fail to acknowledge that cultural and historical specificities produce their own ethical norms.

The UN has, however, crafted many resolutions and declarations in recent years that attend to more cultural and historical specificities. The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, for example, attempts to enshrine both individual and collective rights, in response to criticism that many indigenous societies are organized along collective rather than individual lines.¹⁶⁷ Other UN documents, such as the 1990 Convention on the Rights of the Child, attempt to codify the rights of vulnerable groups that were not enumerated in the original

¹⁶⁵ Liisa Malkki, “Things to Come: Internationalism and Global Solidarities in the Late 1990s,” *Public Culture* 10, no. 2 (1998): 432.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 432.

¹⁶⁷ United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, October 2, 2007, accessed June 14, 2013. <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N06/512/07/PDF/N0651207.pdf>.

UDHR. Though the site acknowledges the limitations of documents like the UDHR (recall that Anderson called it “a noble ideal,” but recognized that it was limited in its application), the BCRI ultimately chooses to (literally) frame its human rights discourses with it.¹⁶⁸

The BCRI takes a broad, humanist view of history that distinguishes it from previous “black history” museums. Atlanta’s APEX Museum (African American Panoramic Experience), for example, aims to “interpret and present history from an African American perspective in order to help all American and International visitors better understand and appreciate the contributions of African Americans to America as well as the world.”¹⁶⁹ Founded in 1978, the APEX Museum has a deliberately Pan-Africanist focus. One of the site’s current exhibits includes “Africa: The Untold Story,” that promises visitors a sweeping display that includes the history of the pyramids, a walk through the “door of no return” that slaves passed through when they left Africa, and stories from the Underground Railroad.¹⁷⁰ This approach is profoundly different from the BCRI’s approach. Though, as I argue below, the Institute does make diasporic historical connections, the site consciously includes international stories that are not African. Instead of choosing an explicitly Pan-Africanist focus, as APEX has, the BCRI attempts to present itself simultaneously as a site that extends its reach beyond “just” black history, as well as a site that foregrounds the history of racial injustice in Birmingham.

Moreover, the site’s participation in global organizations like the International Sites of Conscience reaffirms its conceptualization of world history as human rights history. As opposed to earlier visions of world history that conceived of global histories as stories of military

¹⁶⁸ Laura Anderson, interview by author, October 10, 2012.

¹⁶⁹ The APEX Museum Home, “Mission Statement,” accessed June 14, 2013, <http://www.apexmuseum.org/>

¹⁷⁰ APEX Museum, “Current Exhibits,” accessed June 14, 2013. <http://www.apexmuseum.org/currentexhibits.html>.

conquest or exploration, this world history framework looks at the conjoined consequences of systems of colonialism, oppression, and political repression.

“World history” as a category of analysis has appeared in various guises in academia (as “Western Civ,” for example) but gained disciplinary recognition with the 1983 formation of the World History Association as an affiliate of the American Historical Association.¹⁷¹ Pomeranz and Segal link the recent interest in world history to a number of more recent historiographic developments, including the rise of subaltern studies and environmental histories that challenged the nation-state as the primary unit of historical analysis.¹⁷²

Noting world history’s preoccupation with academic legitimacy, historian Leslie Witz writes, “World history and public history...meet each other as constantly attempting to secure and mark their space as academic pursuits by adhering to professional standards.”¹⁷³ Witz continues, however, by issuing a challenge: to think of public history, not in the dynamic of historian-as-authority and public-as-audience, but rather as a site of contestation between methodologies and “genres of knowledge formation.”¹⁷⁴ Witz is concerned with the convergences in how public history and world history are constructed, and the assumptions about power and legitimacy these frameworks bring.

Using human rights as the basis for a public historical approach privileges a world historical approach. A world history of human rights takes violent oppression (and resistance to it) as its basis, marking a departure from modes of world history that focus on military feats (as,

¹⁷¹ Kenneth Pomeranz and Daniel A. Segal, “World History: Departures and Variations,” in *A Companion to World History*, ed. Douglas Northrop (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2012): 18.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁷³ Leslie Witz, “Meetings of World History and Public History,” in *A Companion to World History*, ed. Douglas Northrop (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2012): 100.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 101.

Witz notes, is the case at the Anniston, Alabama Berman Museum of World History) or even histories of colonization and expansion. Because the category of “human rights” is so broad, a public historical approach often places an emphasis on specific events—the Holocaust, the apartheid era, or the bombing of the Birmingham 16th St. Baptist Church. The exhibitionary effect is that these “events” are displayed and—explicitly or not—compared.

“At times,” Premesh Lalu writes of the “history as event” model of historical production, “the discussion has degenerated into a comparative analysis of violence, a quantification and squaring up to its relative intensities.”¹⁷⁵ In practice, the BCRI’s human rights exhibition model can be disjointed at best and can invite comparison of atrocities at worst. The BCRI’s exhibitionary pastiche places anti-oil protests in Nigeria next to the genocide in Darfur and anti-communist activism in Poland. A visitor might wonder what these panels have in common—the events depicted span different continents and decades. I found myself, for example, searching for explanations of these juxtapositions, for similarities that might explain their placement. In the absence of a clear curatorial strategy, I began to compare the “severity” of each, wondering why certain events were included and others were not. While the Institute may intend for its human rights section to “inspire” with the rhetoric and aesthetic of global solidarity, the “event” approach can ironically invite divisive comparison.

Internationalizing the BCRI

How does the BCRI understand the connection between civil and human rights? In this section, I will examine the Institute’s strategies for “going global,” as well as the implications for

¹⁷⁵ Premesh Lalu, *The Deaths of Hintsa: Postapartheid South Africa and the Shape of Recurring Pasts* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2009): 263.

its exhibitionary strategies. Finally, I turn to the global connections that visitors themselves make.

The comparison between civil rights and human rights has a long trajectory with historical precedent; Malcolm X famously urged black Americans to start thinking in terms of human rights to make “a case for the United Nations” along the lines of the anticolonial petitions in Africa and Asia.¹⁷⁶ Likewise, Martin Luther King, Jr.’s famous “Letter from a Birmingham Jail” refers to these decolonization efforts as progressing with “jetlike speed toward gaining political independence,” while lamenting that the U.S. was “creep[ing] at horse-and-buggy pace toward gaining a cup of coffee at a lunch counter.”¹⁷⁷ Both Malcolm X and King saw the wave of decolonization in the international arena—and particularly the promise of the U.N. as an enforcer of human rights—as a poignant comparison to the obstinacy of U.S. segregation.

On a local level, the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, the Birmingham-based organization led by Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth, also opted for this broader language, and declared that, “any first RIGHTS are HUMAN RIGHTS.”¹⁷⁸ Comparisons to South Africa were also common among major leaders; one of the site’s promotional pamphlets quotes the Reverend Joseph Lowery calling Birmingham the “Johannesburg of the South.”¹⁷⁹ The point of these drawing these comparisons in the exhibit, one former board member told me, is to inspire

¹⁷⁶ Malcolm X, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X: As Told to Alex Haley* (New York: Ballantine, 1992), 179.

¹⁷⁷ Martin Luther King, Jr., “Letter from a Birmingham Jail,” reproduced at Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Global Freedom Struggle, accessed May 16, 2013, http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/index.php/encyclopedia/documentsentry/annotated_letter_from_birmingham/.

¹⁷⁸ “The Original Declaration of Principles,” quoted in the *Birmingham Historical Society Newsletter* (June 2006): 2.

¹⁷⁹ Pamphlet from “The BCRI at 20” exhibit, 2012. Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, unsorted collection, Birmingham, Alabama.

visitors—particularly young people—and to show the kind of massive organization it takes to make a social movement successful. These are lessons the Institute believes to be cross-cultural.¹⁸⁰

Noting the trend towards “internationalizing” exhibits in civil rights museums, cultural geographer Owen Dwyer suggests that “the connections drawn to the worldwide struggle for human rights shift attention away from the contemporary and local toward the spectacular and global.”¹⁸¹ Dwyer argues that civil rights museums generally avoid exhibits that address “contemporary, local racism” and instead focus on the “national, general, and otherwise distant past.”¹⁸²

In their comprehensive study of civil rights memorials, Dwyer and Derek Alderman recount some of the early debates over whether the BCRI should be a civil rights site or include comparative human rights exhibits.¹⁸³ The fear in Birmingham, they suggest, was that civil rights might be seen as “too partisan.”¹⁸⁴ The invocation of the term “partisan” implies that the site might depict Birmingham’s history negatively, or focus solely on the contributions of black Birminghamians. A global human rights framework, by contrast, could shift the focus to geographically or temporally distant events.

Yet, the BCRI’s international focus is strategic for reasons beyond local politics. During interviews, employees suggested that the emphasis on human rights is also part of the Institute’s desire to avoid becoming “just another” black history site, implying that the BCRI wanted to set

¹⁸⁰ Former BCRI board member Dr. Robert Corley, interview by author, November 14, 2012.

¹⁸¹ Owen J. Dwyer, “Interpreting the Civil Rights Movement,” 18.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

¹⁸³ Dwyer, Owen J., and Derek H. Alderman, *Civil Rights Memorials and the Geography of Memory*.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 62.

itself apart from well-known civil rights museums in Memphis and Atlanta. As Head of Communications Melissa Snow-Clark told me, the site's publicity has tried to make clear that the Institute is an international site, despite general public perceptions that the BCRI is a "civil rights museum."¹⁸⁵ Some employees expressed frustration at the perception that the Institute was only for those interested in black history, especially as the site has expanded its programming and permanent exhibition space to include a more global focus. The director education, Sam Pugh, mentioned in mock dismay that he was tired of having local schools request programs on "George Washington Carver, black inventors, you know, all that stuff," instead of civil rights.¹⁸⁶ These frustrations reflect the institution's desire to engage these narratives differently from the "great man" model that largely pervades black history curricula at the primary and secondary levels. Given the site's dedication to the "footsoldiers" of the civil rights movement, this resentment is predictable. The global focus allows the site to market itself as a destination for anyone interested in social justice issues—not "merely" black history.

Dwyer and Alderman note that the rise of civil rights tourism is a mixture of commercial enterprise and activism, and to be sure, there is a large market for civil rights tourism in Alabama alone.¹⁸⁷ The state of Alabama's tourism department, for example, has heavily marketed a civil rights trail. The trail, proposed in 1990 by Congressman John Lewis, originally consisted of a fifty mile designated highway between Montgomery and Selma, intended to honor the memory of the iconic 1965 Selma to Montgomery march.¹⁸⁸ Since then, the trail has grown to include

¹⁸⁵ Melissa Snow Clark, interview by author, November 8, 2012.

¹⁸⁶ Samuel Pugh, interview by author, October 10, 2012.

¹⁸⁷ Dwyer and Alderman, 75.

¹⁸⁸ The march, led by King, is also known as "Bloody Sunday" because of the violence against protestors, which included police-led assaults with tear gas and clubs. For more on John Lewis's role in the commemoration of the march, see Glenn T. Eskew, "Selling the Civil Rights

museums and monuments in Montgomery, Birmingham, Selma, and Tuskegee.¹⁸⁹ In 2013, the department even released a smartphone app that includes biographies of civil rights leaders, maps of civil rights sites, a timeline, photographs, and a calendar of events.¹⁹⁰

The financial implications are significant: according to a 2004 report from a Birmingham research group, visitors spent nearly \$5.7 million in the area between 2002 and 2003 while visiting the site.¹⁹¹ The Institute draws a geographically diverse constituency: while only 4% of visitors during this time period were international, about 48% were from states other than Alabama.¹⁹² These visitors spent over \$3 million in lodging alone, and about \$1.8 million while dining at restaurants.¹⁹³ The Department of Tourism hopes to leverage this potential, while also noting the profound importance that visitors attach to this history.

Moreover, heritage professionals are also key players in crafting a global narrative for Alabama's history. Explaining that civil rights sites have enormous educational benefits, Lee Sentell, the chair of the Alabama Tourism Department, was quick to draw broader connections. Sentell explained that the goal of the civil rights trail was to inspire future generations, much as “[civil rights footsoldiers] helped inspire others who were oppressed—from South Africa, to

Movement Through Black Empowerment in Selma, Alabama,” in *Destination Dixie: Tourism and Southern History*, ed. Karen L. Cox (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2012): 169.

¹⁸⁹ Visit Alabama, “Alabama Civil Rights Museum Trail,” accessed May 14, 2013, <http://www.visitalabama.org/activities/tours-and-trails/alabama-civil-rights-museum-trail/>.

¹⁹⁰ Ana Rodriguez, “Alabama Tourism Department Launches ‘Civil Rights Trail’ Smartphone App,” *AL.com*, April 12, 2013, accessed May 14, 2013, http://www.al.com/living/index.ssf/2013/04/alabama_tourism_department_lau.html.

¹⁹¹ Analytic Focus, LLC, “The Economic Impact of the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute on the Birmingham MSA and the State of Alabama,” 2004, 1, accessed May 14, 2013, <http://www.analyticfocus.com/publication/29>

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

Poland, to China.”¹⁹⁴ For Sentell and others invested in civil rights tourism, sites like the BCRI have the possibility of reaching—financially and educationally—far beyond the borders of Alabama.

Beyond economic justifications, however, are specific rationales for the BCRI’s global focus, particularly on South Africa. “The Birmingham Civil Rights Institute,” Robert Corley, a founding member of the Institute’s Board of Directors, explained to me, “is as close as we [in Birmingham] get to a truth commission.”¹⁹⁵ Truth commissions—particularly South Africa’s TRC—loom large in discourse around memorialization and social justice, even though the Commission and its outcomes remain controversial. Some scholars, like Richard Wilson, argue that the process ignored localized conceptions of justice that were much more punitive in favor of a broader agenda that promoted a false sense of unity.¹⁹⁶ Likewise, anthropologist Fiona Ross maintains that the discursive practices of the TRC’s testimony diminished the role of women in favor of state-building, casting them as “mothers of the nation.”¹⁹⁷ These arguments frame the TRC as ignoring the needs of South Africans to promote an image of a “new” nation that has addressed its past. Historian Deborah Posel categorizes the TRC’s approach as less of a history and more of a “moral narrative” that has been crafted “according to particular strategies of inclusion and exclusion...with little explanatory or analytical power.”¹⁹⁸ These claims are not

¹⁹⁴ Rodriguez, “Alabama Tourism Department Launches ‘Civil Rights Trail’ Smartphone App.”

¹⁹⁵ Robert Corley, interview by author, November 12, 2012.

¹⁹⁶ Richard Wilson, *The Politics of Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Legitimizing the Post-Apartheid State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

¹⁹⁷ Fiona Ross, *Bearing Witness: Women and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa* (London: Pluto Press, 2003).

¹⁹⁸ Deborah Posel, “The TRC Report: What Kind of History? What Kind of Truth?” in *Commissioning the Past: Understanding South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, eds. Deborah Posel and Graeme Simpson (Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press, 2002): 148.

uncontested: scholars like Nicky Rousseau and Madeline Fullard refute these contentions and draw upon their own experiences as TRC staff members to portray a much more nuanced portrait of the TRC process. They note, for example, that much criticism centers on the hearing process, even though that was a comparatively small part of the Commission's work.¹⁹⁹

In spite of this academic debate, some activists maintain that truth commissions can play an important role in racial justice in the U.S. Citizens in Greensboro, North Carolina, for example, formed a truth commission based on the TRC to investigate the 1979 Greensboro Massacre, where five labor activists who were attempting to organize black laborers were shot by members of the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazi Party.²⁰⁰ After the hearings, one of the Greensboro Commission's recommendations was for increased public memorialization of the event, particularly at the city's International Civil Rights Center and Museum.²⁰¹ These kinds of initiatives suggest that there is still a profound sense of an unfinished civil rights movement. One of the final civil rights panels at the BCRI, for example, includes details about civil rights "cold cases" that have recently been solved by law enforcement.²⁰² The invocation of South Africa in post-civil rights rhetoric suggests that the country's model of transitional justice is seen as a way to fulfill the promises of the civil rights movement. It is unclear if activists are familiar with these debates, but these invocations reflect a persistent faith in the power of truth commissions to bring these promises to fruition.

¹⁹⁹ Madeline Fullard and Nicky Rousseau, "Uncertain Borders: The TRC and the (Un)making of Public Myths," *Kronos* 34, no.1 (2008): 181-214.

²⁰⁰ Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission, "November 3," accessed May 13, 2013, <http://www.greensborotrc.org/november3.php>.

²⁰¹ Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *Final Report*, p. 201, accessed May 13, 2013. http://www.greensborotrc.org/overall_recs.pdf

²⁰² In 2013, the BCRI co-hosted a conference with the FBI on law enforcement and civil rights—perhaps a bit ironic given the role of the FBI in infiltrating civil rights groups, and, most notoriously, their surveillance of Martin Luther King, Jr.

The BCRI's institutional programming has also attempted to bridge U.S. and South African histories on an individual level. For many staff and participants in the site's programming, the South African connection is a strong, emotional one, and the topic of race in South Africa and the U.S. emerged often in my interviews. A major frame of reference was a 2011 youth exchange program with the Apartheid Museum that allowed Birmingham students to meet South African students in Johannesburg and vice versa. Staff from the Mandela House, Nelson Mandela's former home in Soweto from 1946 to 1962, contacted the BCRI after finding their website. After obtaining funding from a U.S. Department of State's Museums and Community Collaborations Abroad grant, the museums worked on developing a youth exchange program, building on local programming in Johannesburg and the BCRI's youth leadership initiatives. When museum staff from the Institute went to South Africa to finalize the details, however, they discovered that the Apartheid Museum, a well-known site of anti-apartheid commemoration, had assumed management of the Mandela House and had inherited responsibility for the exchange program—though the Apartheid Museum had heard nothing about it until BCRI representatives showed up!

Despite these initial organizational difficulties, the Apartheid Museum worked with BCRI staff to implement the program, which culminated in the two transatlantic trips. In preparation for the trip, the students held reading groups via Skype and discussed Nelson Mandela and Steve Biko's autobiographies. The BCRI also held public viewings of the 2010 seven-part documentary *Have You Heard from Johannesburg?*, which chronicles the global anti-apartheid movement. The Birmingham exchange was planned to coincide with a traveling exhibit on Helen Suzman, the white anti-apartheid leader in South Africa's Parliament, and the

BCRI's celebration of Mandela Day on July 18, 2011. The Mandela Day celebration included children's activities, street vendors, free admission to the museum, and a volunteer booth where people could sign up for various local civic activities. The exchange program participants also performed monologues and songs that coalesced around themes of overcoming oppression—particularly race-based oppression. The focus of these performances was youth activism across geographical borders.

In both portions of the exchange, students took part in explicitly cross-cultural programming that was intended to highlight the connections between the two countries. The South African trip coincided with First Lady Michelle Obama's visit to the country during Youth Day, the June 16th holiday that commemorates the start of the 1976 Soweto uprisings. As part of the commemorative activities, the students saw Michelle Obama speak at Soweto's Regina Mundi Church, a key site for anti-apartheid organizing. In both the U.S. and South Africa, then, histories of oppression continually crossed physical and figurative boundaries—whether through an expatriate South African dance troupe, Michelle Obama's commemorative visit, or the celebration of a South African holiday in the U.S.

Curious about the intent and effects of this exchange, I asked BCRI staff why they felt the program was important. For the Birmingham students, almost all of whom were black, BCRI staff spoke of the liberating experience of stepping off the plane and finding themselves in a country where they were no longer in the minority.²⁰³ For the US students, the staff suggested, being surrounded by people who both looked like them and had a history of sustained violence enacted against them was powerful. And for the South African students, staff at the Apartheid

²⁰³ Director of education Ahmad Ward, interview by author, October 9, 2012.

Museum told me, there was a kind of relief in discovering that countries other than South Africa had experienced racialized oppression.²⁰⁴

But what of those who took a peripheral part in the activities, like the audiences at the Mandela Day performance? Without the background knowledge of the youth participants, some in the audience came to interesting interpretations of cultural convergence between the U.S. and South Africa. Audience members at Mandela Day, for example, were especially intrigued by the performance by the Umdabu Dance Company, a troupe “dedicated to the preservation and presentation of traditional and contemporary South African history and culture.”²⁰⁵ The dancers sang anti-apartheid songs while performing a *toyi-toyi*, a kind of high march that was often performed during protests. After the dancers left the stage, several Birmingham politicians who were speaking at the event drew connections between “stepping” in African American fraternities and the kinds of movements the dancers had been making.

At first, I was taken aback by these comparisons. In that moment, I believed that the *toyi-toyi* had become a cultural link between the U.S. and South Africa, even if the audience could not understand the protest chants. I interpreted these comments as a kind of decontextualization of the political act of the *toyi-toyi* and believed the audience was making the dance into a kind of cultural artifact—even though *toyi-toyi* is still very much a common sight at South African protests, and the South African exchange participants immediately joined in when they recognized it. For these members of the audience, the *toyi-toyi* was interesting because it reminded them of their own participation in the world of black fraternal organizations, not

²⁰⁴ Emilia Potenza, interview by author, February 7, 2013. For a discussion of how U.S. histories circulate in South Africa, see chapter 3.

²⁰⁵ Umdabu South African Dance Company Facebook page, accessed May 27, 2013, <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Umdabu-South-African-Dance-Company/213744258666264?id=213744258666264&sk=info>.

necessarily because of its function as a protest tool. As I discovered while researching the history of step, however, the performances have likely African antecedents. Though the roots of step are unclear—some scholars of dance history claim that the movements originated with South African gumboot dancing—Elizabeth Fine argues that the dance's origins likely range from such disparate sources as Irish jigs, minstrel shows, and Western and Central African dances.²⁰⁶ Interestingly, Fine also notes that contemporary step teams have "linked forces with dancers in South Africa and the United Kingdom to use the dance traditions of Africa, the Caribbean, and the United Kingdom to foster intercultural dialogue."²⁰⁷ Both step's origins and its contemporary uses, then, are fluid and transnational. What I had initially interpreted as depoliticization had a stronger diasporic link than I had understood and created an opportunity for solidarity through expressive movement.

Solidarity and Memory

The BCRI's programming offers insight into how tourism can link personal histories with larger solidarity movements. Audience connections to African cultural expressions at the Mandela Day celebration can be understood in the ways that the site makes political and cultural linkages between African and African American histories—even as the site attempts to claim universality in its mission. My interviews with BCRI staff about the BCRI's South African programming suggested that the site constructs a notion of solidarity between the U.S. and South Africa based upon histories of white supremacy. As political theorist Juliet Hooker notes, this

²⁰⁶ Elizabeth Fine, *Soulstepping: African American Step Shows* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 92.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 93.

kind of solidarity has a paradoxical nature for those interested in progressive political change.

Hooker writes:

...Existing racial injustice and inequality pose a fundamental obstacle to the development of solidarity, while it is also precisely the absence of such solidarity that makes it seem improbably, if not impossible, that racial justice will ever be achieved...Political solidarity is thus supposed to transcend race, yet solidarity continues to be powerfully delimited by race.²⁰⁸

Despite the notion that the task of solidarity should be, in Fanon's words, "to explain the other to myself," Hooker identifies that solidarity is still circumscribed by our racialized experiences.²⁰⁹

In the same way, the kind of solidarity that the exchange participants described (and was cultivated by programmatic elements like the performance of "struggle" songs) was based on a common denominator of oppression.

For the BCRI, solidarity is a powerful tool with which to examine historical contexts. As Odessa Woolfolk told me, the site sees human rights as "the international application" of the Birmingham struggle. There is, for Woolfolk, a "universality of dealing with race and ethnicity" that is based on perceived common histories.²¹⁰ This conception of racialized solidarity is clear from BCRI staff member reflections and the site's interpretation of South African history, but the question of audience interpretation and motivation is murkier. Do audiences interpret the BCRI's exhibit and programming through the lens of racial and historical solidarity? In the example of the Mandela Day event, political solidarity was reinscribed by notions of identity. At the event, the history of apartheid traveled to the U.S. as a performance, a dance to which audience members assigned their own meaning. For the city councilmen, however, this meaning is still

²⁰⁸ Juliet Hooker, *Race and the Politics of Solidarity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009): 5.

²⁰⁹ Frantz Fanon, quoted in Hooker, *Race and the Politics of Solidarity*, 9.

²¹⁰ Odessa Woolfolk, interview by author, December 21, 2012.

deeply rooted in an element of black identity, the performance of step. While the theme of the event was ostensibly about solidarity, personal experiences and identity were interwoven into a larger political context. The event underscored a major theme in the BCRI's representation of rights: the personal can be a conduit to the global.

The BCRI's approach to representing the past illustrates the fluidity of the categories of history, memory, time, and space. The site links the past and the present, crafting arguments about continuities and parallels across geographies and time. In the BCRI's South African panel (and, indeed, throughout the human rights gallery) the site makes use of the aesthetics of protest to draw explicit connections to contemporary problems. In a particularly visually striking move, for example, the museum juxtaposed one of Bull Connor's tanks used to quell anti-segregation protests in Birmingham with the panel on Tiananmen Square. Designer Chris Danemeyer, commenting on the explicitness of the parallel, remarked that, "if you miss that one, I don't know what to tell you."²¹¹ Likewise, visitors are invited to draw comparisons between what they have learned at the site and their own experiences at the end of the gallery. A series of panels, clearly aimed at young visitors, asks if they have ever stood up to a bully or made a stand against something they felt was wrong. Through this direct engagement, the site attempts to link the individual visitor to the past, the present, and their larger communities through their own memories and experiences.

Cultural tourism, then, can illuminate the complexities—and the keen sense of in-betweenness—of diasporic experience. The BCRI's engagement with diaspora emphasizes political solidarity and aims to close the "diasporic gap" that Bruner, Kreamer, and Pierre note. Examining the BCRI's content and programming in the context of diaspora offers valuable

²¹¹ Chris Danemeyer, interview with author, November 2, 2012.

insight into both the site's production and reception, as the site taps into a diasporic memory, both overtly and covertly.

The Institute holds an annual Juneteenth celebration, the commemoration of the end of slavery that was first celebrated in 1865. While the site holds that the “celebration not only focuses on African American freedom, but also celebrates liberty and justice for *all* cultures,” the event's web page features a group of women performing a dance in western African dress.²¹² This juxtaposition also illustrates the site's ongoing tension between its status as a “black history” site and its aspirations to be more globally focused—at least on cultures of the African diaspora.

Booking the Umdabu dancers for Mandela Day was an attempt to foster diasporic cultural exchange, particularly because the dance troupe places special emphasis on preserving traditions that they believe are at risk of disappearing. As the troupe's founder Jomo Xulu explained, the performances have a spiritual dimension, as “these dances connect us to our ancestors.”²¹³ The group's executive director Asha Xulu goes further, echoing the need to preserve:

All cultures are under attack because everything has become so westernized... we are telling the story of our people and it has to be done with honor and respect because if we don't, if we don't keep it alive, one day it will be gone.²¹⁴

By including the Umdabu dancers, the BCRI was providing an “authentic” African cultural experience, bolstered by the presence of the South African students, for its celebration of an

²¹² “Juneteenth Culture Fest,” Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, accessed May 26, 2013, http://bcri.org/events_activities/annual_events/juneteenth.html.

²¹³ Brett Buckner, “Keeper of the culture: Umdabu Dance Company to perform traditional South African dance at the Ritz on Saturday,” *Anniston Star*, September 24, 2010, accessed May 27, 2013, http://www.annistonstar.com/view/full_story/9639652/article-Keeper-of-the-culture--Umdabu-Dance-Company-to-perform-traditional-South-African-dance-at-The-Ritz-on-Saturday

²¹⁴ Ibid.

African leader. These moments provided a direct link to South African cultural expressions for audience members who felt a connection to Mandela—politically, culturally, or both.²¹⁵

For the students who participated in the exchange program, these diasporic connections were clear. John Plump, the father of Birmingham participant Jhanna Plump, explained to the *Birmingham News* that the program was important, not only for the education she received, but because she learned about her own past. “Our daughter's experiences have been extremely diverse,” Plump said, “and the pilgrimage to Africa has been an eye-opener for her to help her truly understand the significance of not only her American roots but also her African roots.”²¹⁶

Byrrh Bryant, one of the Birmingham students, called the program “the best thing that ever happened [to him],” because he both “broadened [his] knowledge of African history” and “built friendships.”²¹⁷ The intellectual and deeply personal connection to Africa was a constant theme for program participants.

Divergences

“Oh, apartheid was way worse!” Michelle Craig, the coordinator of youth programs laughed when I asked if she thought there were any major differences between the U.S. and

²¹⁵ As historian Robert Vinson notes, there is a long history of diasporic exchange between black Americans and the amaZulu. Vinson notes that these connections were fostered through nineteenth century travel, university exchange programs, and Zulu performers in American circuses and exhibitions. See Robert Vinson and Robert Edgar, “Zulus, African Americans and the African Diaspora,” in *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present*, eds. Benedict Carton, John Laband, and Jabulani Sithole (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu Natal Press, 2008): 240–249.

²¹⁶ John Brimley, “Birmingham students draw historical parallels after trip to South Africa,” *Birmingham News*, June 25, 2011, accessed May 26, 2013, http://blog.al.com/spotnews/2011/06/post_656.html.

²¹⁷ International Legacy Youth Leadership Project pamphlet, unsorted archival material, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, Birmingham, Alabama.

South Africa.²¹⁸ One of the Birmingham students concurred: "The kids here were beaten with batons and water hoses, but in South Africa, you would be shot. It was much more gruesome," Jhanna Plump told the *Birmingham News*.²¹⁹ Even as the BCRI attempts to draw connections to global struggles for human rights, there is a sense among staff and those associated with the site that there are significant divergences between U.S. and international histories.

Despite the site's embrace of narratives of global solidarity and diasporic memory, the Institute has created an exhibit that lacks engagement with global histories—ironic, given its desire to make clear that the Birmingham struggle was internationally relevant. Instead, the site's South African narrative elides the violence of the anti-apartheid struggle, culminates with the election of Mandela, and does not account for postapartheid realities. There is a deep irony to this approach, given that the civil rights movement itself disrupted ideas about American moral supremacy. Timothy Minchin, a professor of North American history at Australia's La Trobe University, notes that his students often make this connection. "Familiar with claims that the United States is the most democratic country on earth," Minchin reflects, "[my students] are fascinated to learn that many American citizens were denied the most basic rights until comparatively recently and that a great deal of inequality remains to this day."²²⁰ Without due consideration of how narratives about the civil rights movement might challenge (or underscore) U.S. assertions as the world's beacon of democracy and justice, Minchin's point is lost.

Yet, for some visitors to the site, potential divergences are less important than the power of learning about other international stories. One visitor to a 2001 temporary exhibit about the

²¹⁸ Michelle Craig, interview by author, November 8, 2012.

²¹⁹ John Brimley, "Birmingham students draw historical parallels," *Birmingham News*.

²²⁰ Timothy Minchin, "Exploring the 'American Obsession' Down Under: Teaching Civil Rights History in Australia," *Journal of American History* 96, no. 4 (2010): 1106-1107.

1956 Hungarian Revolution—a largely student-led revolt against Soviet-imposed policies—was moved to opine, “It’s good to see there is a perspective of human rights AROUND THE WORLD[sic]!” Perhaps most telling, however, was the student who came to the BCRI as part of a “black college tour,” who wrote, “The fact that there were problems with cultures other than African Americans made it very interesting.”²²¹ For this young black student, learning about global histories challenged the perception that the U.S. was unique in its struggles against oppression. Like Minchin observes, human rights stories can be a way to challenge U.S. exceptionalism and place the civil rights movement in a wider historical context.

What do the BCRI’s global exhibits and programming offer? Though I have been critical at times of the site’s approach to comparative history, these visitor comments and my observations of BCRI events reveal that these encounters can engender powerful feelings of solidarity. And, as staff note, the inclusion of international struggles can be a practical way to broaden a site’s visitor base and opportunities for programming and funding. These strategies and concerns are not unique to the BCRI; the District Six Museum, for example, is currently exploring ways to bring more visitors to the site to ensure its sustainability. As I explore in the next chapter, the Apartheid Museum’s *Brown vs. Board of Education* and Mandela exhibits had a similar goal of creating global possibilities of solidarity through tourism—and also revealed that histories of racialized oppression (even from across the Atlantic) are still politically contentious.

²²¹ BCRI unsorted archival material.

Chapter 2

The Apartheid Museum: Making a Global Tourism Site

After the opening of Johannesburg's Apartheid Museum in 2001, director Christopher Till recounted his lofty goals for the site.²²² Positioning the museum as the “conscience” of South Africa, Till explained that, “We want to give a sense of what really took place in a country that is still finding its soul.”²²³ The Apartheid Museum, then, was to become a “truth-telling” place, where the horrors of South Africa's state-mandated segregation and “social engineering” could finally come to light. Built for a cost of 80 million Rand (around \$8,000,000), the museum has quickly become, according to architectural critic Lisa Findley, “the ‘official’ apartheid museum” in the eyes of many tourists, with a focus on a national narrative of the rise, resistance to, and fall of apartheid.²²⁴

Undeniably, the Apartheid Museum has become one of the city's major tourist attractions, drawing over 100,000 visitors per year.²²⁵ Solly Krok, the well-known South African

²²² The first museum to claim the title of “Apartheid Museum” was in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth. Though the site in Johannesburg eventually used the name, the Red Location Museum opened in Port Elizabeth. The museum closed in 2014 after community protests over the area's lack of housing and infrastructure. See “PE Residents Force Anti-Apartheid Museum to Close,” *News24*, July 31, 2014, accessed December 12, 2016, <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/PE-residents-force-anti-apartheid-museum-to-close-20140731>.

²²³ Rachel Swarns, “Oppression in Black and White: South African Museum Recreates Apartheid,” *The New York Times*, December 10, 2001, accessed September 22, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2001/12/10/arts/oppression-in-black-and-white-south-african-museum-recreates-apartheid.html>.

²²⁴ Findley dismisses this claim of “officialness,” noting that South Africa has never curated a state narrative. Lisa Findley, “Red and Gold: A Tale of Two Apartheid Museums: Places: Design Observer,” *Design Observer*, February 21, 2011, accessed September 22, 2013, <http://places.designobserver.com/entry.html?entry=24779>.

²²⁵ The travel site Lonely Planet ranks the Apartheid Museum as the number one attraction for Johannesburg. See Lonely Planet, “Johannesburg Attractions: Apartheid Museum,” accessed September 22, 2013, <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/south-africa/gauteng/johannesburg/sights/museum/apartheid-museum>.

entrepreneur who conceptualized the Apartheid Museum after a trip to Washington, D.C.’s Holocaust Museum, made plain the site’s role as a global tourist attraction. "Racism is alive and well," Krok said. "We also want to create a must-see tourist destination. One of our goals is to attract African-Americans and make it a pilgrimage."²²⁶

From the outset, then, the creators of the Apartheid Museum envisioned the site as part of global tourist networks. This chapter explores the intersection of public memory, tourism and memorialization that imagines its publics as progressive global citizens. Literature on public history and tourism has grappled with these issues, most notably in the consideration of Holocaust memorial sites. Here, I draw on Michael Rothberg’s work on multidirectional memory—the notion that histories, like the Holocaust, can be used comparatively across different cultural contexts—to situate the Apartheid Museum in the matrix of global human rights tourism.²²⁷ Alison Landsberg’s study of the spread of mass media likewise argues that mass media can enable empathy—or “prosthetic memory”—for the historical experience of others.²²⁸

Scholarship on tourism has also attempted to understand both how historical narratives are created and how tourists engage sites of memory. Holocaust memorialization is again an important touchstone for this work, as this history is traumatic, contested, and informs contemporary public policy. In his study of the making of the US Holocaust Museum, for example, Edward Linenthal reveals the contestations over which histories to represent (how

²²⁶ Chris McGreal, “‘We Have Children Here Who Don’t Believe Apartheid Happened,’” *The Guardian*, December 12, 2001, accessed September 21, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/g2/story/0,3604,617231,00.html>.

²²⁷ Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory*.

²²⁸ Alison Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

much square footage should the extermination of Roma receive?), as well as questions about who has the authority to make decisions about representations of history.²²⁹ Erika Doss's *Memorial Mania* attempts to understand why so many sites of memory have recently proliferated. Doss argues that we have begun a new kind of memorialization, one that is not reticent to explore and expose historical trauma. She also points to a trend in decentralizing historical authority in her discussion of the September 11 Digital Archive, a site that accepts crowd-sourced contributions, and asserts that every submission is a contribution to the historical record, whether it is "factual" or not.²³⁰ I return to this question of historical authority and authorship later in this chapter as I explore the politics and poetics of "truth-telling" in the museum.

Unlike the District Six Museum and the BCRI, which commemorate place-specific struggles, the Apartheid Museum aims to offer a comprehensive, national history of apartheid. And, despite using the title "museum," the site has relatively few artifacts—nearly all the exhibits are media-based.²³¹ The site's media-heavy presentation aims to create an "experience" of apartheid, in what Martin Hall terms the "experiential economy" of tourism.²³² Given the Apartheid Museum's massive tourist draw and exhibitionary techniques, the site provides a useful counterpoint to this research's other case studies in examining how sites of memory define

²²⁹ Linenthal, *Preserving Memory*.

²³⁰ Erika Doss, *Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010): 73.

²³¹ An important exception is the Casspir that foregrounds part of the site. Both the District Six Museum and the BCRI maintain physical collections.

²³² Hall is deeply critical of the experiential economy of the Apartheid Museum. In a 2005 article with anthropologist Pia Bombardella, they write, "for those investing large money in the new entertainment business, reliving apartheid is another ultimate experience, an attraction, not quite a snuff movie, but in the same league." Martin Hall and Pia Bombardella, "Las Vegas in Africa," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 5, no. 1 (2005): 17.

themselves. I argue that the site's dual objectives as both a memorial museum and a global tourist attraction uneasily coexist, particularly as the Apartheid Museum attempts to make connections to other international histories. How is the museum's goal of "truth-telling" interpreted by domestic and international audiences? How do visitors respond to these exhibitionary strategies? What might these contestations and reinterpretations tell us about how history travels in spaces of commerce and commemoration? To explore this question, I explore how the Apartheid Museum has created and curated exhibits for these diverse audiences.

Site History

At first glance, Johannesburg's Gold Reef City is an unlikely space for a museum about the horrors of apartheid. Built on one of the city's old gold mines, the site is located 8 kilometers south of Johannesburg's central business district and is only accessible via the M1 highway. In addition to the Apartheid Museum, the Gold Reef City complex houses an amusement park and a casino.



Figure 9. Looking toward Johannesburg from Gold Reef City. George M. Groutas, 2010. CC-BY.

The site was not always the intended home for a museum about the history of apartheid. Not long after the country's first democratic elections, the Akani Egoli consortium—Gold Reef City—proposed a casino and an amusement park at the location. As part of the 1996 National Gambling Act, casinos were required to include an element of “social responsibility.” The initial plans were vague. Preliminary ideas included a “Freedom Park,” as well as a “cultural village” where visitors could presumably learn about the different “ethnic groups” that comprise South Africa. According to the museum, however, the planning committee was so taken with the US Holocaust

Museum that the entrepreneurial Krok brothers were convinced that a similar site was needed for South Africa.²³³

The museum's connection to Gold Reef City ensured that the site was well-resourced—at least during construction, which was entirely financed by Akani Egoli. At present, however, the site operates as a Section 21 company, a not-for-profit organization, with a separate board of trustees and financial structure.²³⁴

Solly Krok was no stranger to controversy when he conceptualized the Apartheid Museum. Along with his brother Abe, the Krok family made its fortune selling skin-lightening creams to black South Africans in the 1970s.²³⁵ And, as director Christopher Till notes, the site's origins are certainly the matter of some contestation. "The original idea was a cultural village, the diverse people of South Africa, a very wishy-washy nebulous kind of thing," Mr. Till said. "But we decided we did not want a Disney World experience."²³⁶ From the start ideas about historical veracity and authenticity were paramount.

So, too, was the belief that apartheid could not be displayed in a "Disneyfied" setting. The site's architecture and exhibits work in tandem to attempt to illustrate the horrors of the apartheid regime and the long term, large-scale struggle against it. Architect Lindsey Bremner describes the site as made of "unrefined, hard, neutral materials—red brick, steel, raw concrete, and intentionally crude detailing. It is institutional, industrial, and un-domestic. Its spaces are

²³³ Phil Bonner, interview by author, February 17, 2013.

²³⁴ "About the Museum," Apartheid Museum, accessed December 3, 2013, <http://www.apartheidmuseum.org/about-museum-0>.

²³⁵ Noëleen Murray, Nick Shepherd, and Martin Hall, *Desire Lines: Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-Apartheid City* (London: Routledge, 2007): 100.

²³⁶ Swarns, "Oppression in Black and White."

dungeon-like—dull, grey, somber, devoid of natural light.”²³⁷ The form of the museum is, indeed, part of the site’s argument. The affective architectural experience is meant to make material a political system, one that “worked on the human body as the prime object and target of its power.”²³⁸

Unlike other sites of anti-apartheid commemoration, the Apartheid Museum is not location-specific—its proximity to the casino and amusement park is solely a reflection of the museum’s funding structure. And yet, as curator of exhibits and education Emilia Potenza notes, the museum is also deeply embedded in Johannesburg’s changing landscape and economy. The city’s pale yellow mine dumps, long a fixture of the southern part of Johannesburg, are being re-mined. The Apartheid Museum is part of this shift, an economic topography that is changing to embrace tourism and service sectors.²³⁹

Apartheid Exhibits

The site’s permanent exhibits build a comprehensive narrative of oppression and resistance that balances the local and the national, the precolonial with the hypercontemporary. As the site’s main historical consultant Phil Bonner remarked, the museum is intended to be both a national site but reflective of the city of Johannesburg.²⁴⁰ Winding down the notoriously congested M1 from the city center, mine dumps dot the landscape, a reminder of the heavily industrialized Witwatersrand. The columns at the front of the site bear words meant to represent the “pillars” of the new constitution—Freedom, Responsibility, Respect, Equality, Diversity, Reconciliation,

²³⁷ Lindsey Bremner, “Memory, Nation Building, and the Post-apartheid City,” 89.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 91.

²³⁹ Emilia Potenza, interview by author, February 7, 2013.

²⁴⁰ Phil Bonner, interview by author, February 17, 2013.

Democracy. From the start, then, the museum emphasizes that a national story—one that culminates with a massive transformation at the state level. The exhibits are largely chronological, beginning with Khoisan rock art and ending with a display of the post-apartheid flag and national anthem.



Figure 10. Entrance to Museum showing “dom passes.”
Photograph by author, 2013.

At the front gate, visitors are randomly assigned tickets as *blankes* or *nie blankes*²⁴¹ (whites or non-whites) and enter through two separate doors. In an interview with historian Phil Bonner, he mused that he had been opposed to the entrance, not wanting to reproduce these apartheid-era racial classifications.²⁴² Indeed, the iconic entryway was almost an accident. The museum changed its entrance shortly before

opening due to the abbreviated construction timeline. (The speed of the museum’s design and

²⁴¹ This “sorting” concept is drawn from the U.S. Holocaust Museum. Visitors to the Holocaust Museum are given “classification cards” that mark them as a member of a victimized group during the Holocaust.

²⁴² Phil Bonner, interview by author, February 17, 2013.

execution was remarkable—the museum had to be completed within eighteen months, an astonishing timeline for any exhibit, let alone a brand new site.) Each of the entrances includes images of ID cards or “dom passes,” establishing from the start that the state was intimately involved in racial categorization. The cage-like structure lends a sense of imprisonment and claustrophobia, a reminder of the sweeping nature of apartheid.

A large photograph of a “racial classification board” hangs at the end of the entrance alongside a placard that gives statistics on how classifications could shift. “By 1966,” the caption reads, “over 12 million racial classifications had been entered into the national population register.” These classifications, however, were anything but stable. A list from an article from the March 21, 1986 issue of the *Star* explains that “1985 had at least 1000 ‘chameleons’”:

- 702 coloured people turned white.
- 19 whites became coloured.
- One Indian became white.
- Three Chinese became white.
- 50 Indians became coloured,
- 43 coloureds became Indian.
- 21 Indians became Malay.
- 30 Malays went Indian.
- 249 blacks became coloured.
- 20 coloureds became black.
- Two blacks became “other Asians”.
- One black was classified Griqua.
- 11 coloureds became Chinese.
- Three coloureds went Malay.
- One Chinese became Coloured.
- Eight Malays became Coloured.
- Three blacks were classified as Malay.
- No blacks became white and no whites became black.

These displays provide a counterpoint to the architectural rhetoric of an imposing, totalizing system. We are reminded that, in fact, apartheid was tremendously messy to implement and enforce and encountered significant resistance.

After leaving the entrance area, visitors walk up a ramp to the site's main entrance. The ramp is dotted with life-sized figures mounted on mirrors, allowing visitors to see themselves in the reflection.²⁴³ Set in reliefs along the ramp are various images of early colonial South Africa, including Khoisan rock art drawings of violent encounters between indigenous South Africans and white settlers. While these images may seem disconnected from the twentieth century system of apartheid, they establish a centuries-long timeline of resistance to systems of colonization.²⁴⁴

²⁴³ This strategy is not entirely dissimilar from the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute's "Voices" room. See Chapter 2 for more details.

²⁴⁴ Likewise, see chapter 2 for a discussion of how the BCRI's exhibits challenge the traditional periodization of the U.S. civil rights movement.

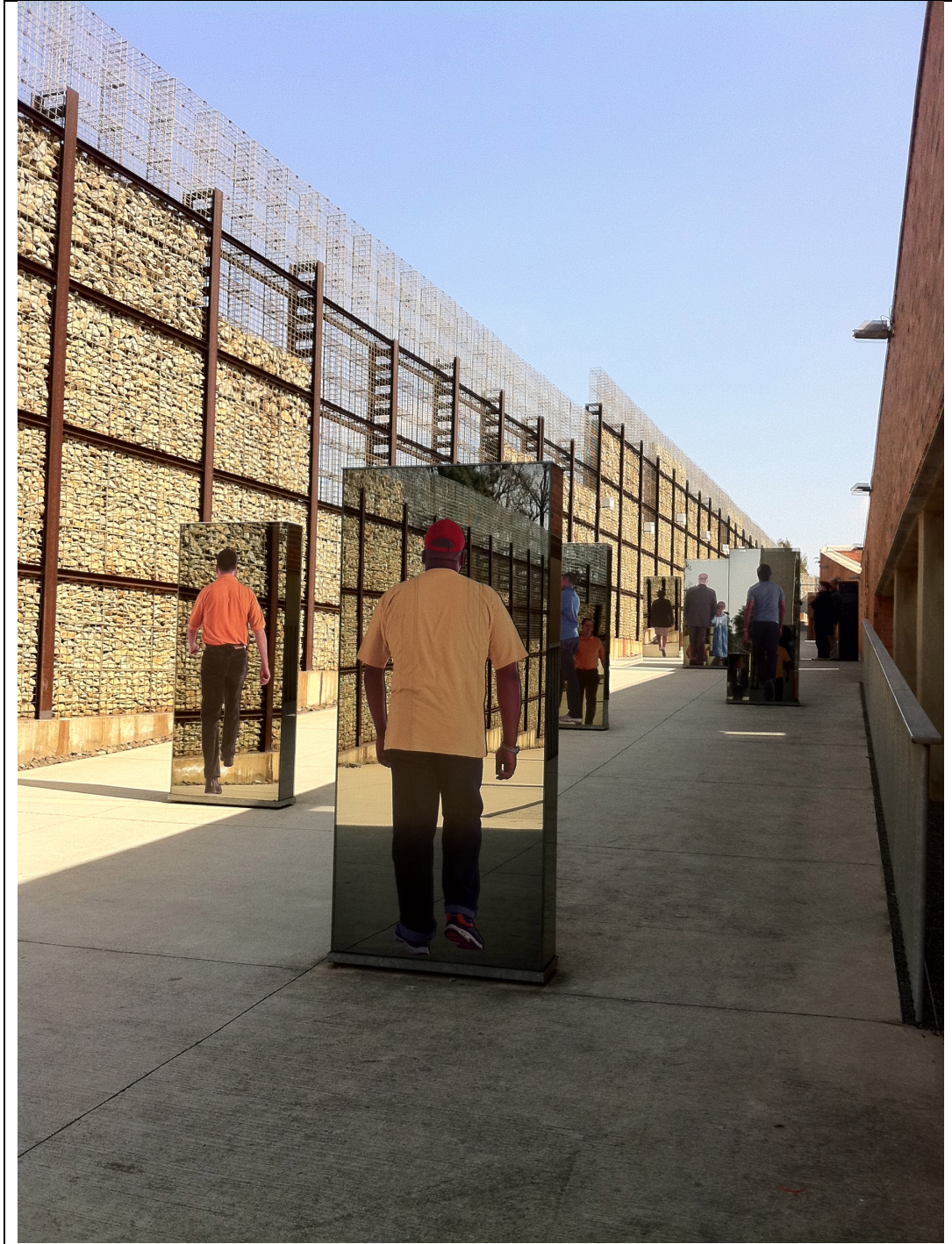


Figure 11. Ramp leading to Museum. Photograph by author, 2011.

Once inside the museum, a large mural of the city of Johannesburg in the 1880s surrounds the front entrance. Johannesburg's white-walled gold mines, we learn, provided 27% of the

world's gold through the nineteenth-century. South Africa's rapid industrialization—spurred by the discovery of diamonds near Kimberley in the 1860s and the gold rush on the Witwatersrand in 1886—helped to create systems of segregated labor that formed the foundation of apartheid's restrictions on movement and work.

Memory boxes line the walls of the site's entrance. These glass-enclosed displays contain objects—books, family photographs, letters—from the lives of Johannesburgers who lived in the city from the late nineteenth century to the contemporary era. Demonstrating the vast diversity of South Africans (children of Chinese laborers and prominent Afrikaner politicians share space in these boxes), these displays also underscore the salience of memory in postapartheid South Africa. The site's choice to incorporate memory into this exhibit is a striking difference from much of the rest of the museum, which is largely didactic in tone. As archaeologist Martin Hall notes, one of “the particular qualities of material culture is its polyvalency—its ability to mean different things to different people at the same time.”²⁴⁵

Memory here is made tangible. In a museum otherwise saturated with print, televisual, and digital media, these boxes are a notable exception, one of the spaces in which objects are foregrounded. For a site that must reinforce its authority to speak about apartheid, the artifacts of memory boxes are paramount. The Apartheid Museum, after all, is a wholly new institution with no previous significance of the site during the apartheid era, unlike other South African memorial spaces—the Hector Pieterse memorial and the District Six Museum as two major examples of the latter.

²⁴⁵ Martin Hall, “Earth and Stone: Archaeology as Memory,” in *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa*, eds. Sarah Nuttall and Carli Coetzee (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1998): 189.

After passing through the lobby with the memory boxes, visitors are directed to view a twenty-minute documentary film before entering the main exhibition areas. Like the rock art displays outside the museum, the film sets up a narrative of a long-standing resistance to colonization. Covering 2500 years of South African history, the film begins with the 1948 elections that brought the National Party to power and marked the official start of apartheid. Prime Minister D.F. Malan's edict that apartheid was "given by the architect of the universe" frames the opening: what did Malan mean, and what were apartheid's antecedents?

The film positions resistance and conflict as a timeless South African issue. "This was the land of the eland," the film's narrator intones over images of rain and rock paintings. Indigenous South Africans had the power to call the rain, the narrator explains, and the newly arrived Bantu-speaking farmers asked for their help. But these relationships were strained as more farmers and white settlers arrived. "Soon," the narrator continues, "the bushmen's time was coming to an end," and they became "the people of the mist." Interspersed with recurring imagery of rain, the film frames the San as people of the past—an extinct part of an anti-colonial legacy. Given the site's earlier framing of San rock art as resistance, this conclusion is puzzling and seems out of step with the site's larger focus on the continuity of defiance against colonialism.

Violence, in the film's conceptualization, is also a key element in South Africa's colonial history. By the mid-seventeenth century, we learn, Europeans had brought slaves from Sri Lanka, Indonesia, and "other lands"—primarily Dutch colonies in Southeast Asia and the Pacific. The obverse of violence, however, was more violence. "Slave owners slept in fear," the narrator ominously intones, before detailing the story of a slave who killed her child after being raped by her master. She was sentenced to death. This, we are told, is the "story of black slave and white master" that continues to plague South Africa. By bringing these histories to the fore,

the film lays the groundwork for one of the museum's major arguments: the legacies of colonialism and its violence are still very much a part of South Africa's present.

From here, the film marks the early colonial period only with brief mentions of historical events. The British seizure of the Cape Colony in 1806, the Great Trek, and frontier wars between the British and Xhosa receive passing mentions. The discovery of diamonds at Kimberley and the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand, however, are foregrounded as major moments in the founding of the apartheid state because of their role in the development of a migrant labour system. The film uses these events to illustrate the antecedents of apartheid that were in place well before 1948.

The opening film is followed by a series of exhibits that detail life in South Africa prior to the start of the apartheid era, and the overall emphasis is on segregation and labor. Visitors learn, for example, that Johannesburg city officials used public health panics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century to justify "quarantining" black laborers and other forms of segregating the city. Other opening exhibits highlight the multiracial laboring force, such as the 70,000 Chinese laborers who were brought to work on the railroad system.²⁴⁶

The progressive intellectual backdrop of the Apartheid Museum's exhibits can be seen in the site's connections between economics and nationalism, as well as the emphasis on trade unions and the role of the Communist Party in resisting white nationalism. The opening exhibits showcase the danger of conservative nationalism, and the rise of Afrikaner nationalism receives special attention, with a media-rich exhibit that includes Afrikaner propaganda films and archival

²⁴⁶ The museum notes that most of these workers were sent back to China as a result of "yellow peril" panics.

documents about the building of the Voortrekker Monument. Captions draw connections between economic status and political action:

In the 1930s, widespread poverty amongst whites fuelled the political movement that would bring about apartheid.

During the 1920s more and more Afrikaners drifted off the land into the cities as they found it increasingly difficult to make a living from agriculture. The world economic depression of the early 1930s, which was accompanied by the worst drought in decades, accelerated the flight from the countryside. Many of the new arrivals in the cities were unemployed or forced to work as poorly-paid factory hands. There was a housing shortage and slum living conditions were prevalent.

Early resistance movements are highlighted, including the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU). The ICU, which reached its political peak in the 1920s, is portrayed as a more radical party than the nascent ANC. The fate of the ICU is described in this caption:

Between 1924 and 1929 the ANC was eclipsed by the Industrial and Commercial Union (ICU). The ICU started life as a general trade union based mostly in the Western Cape. From around 1924 it made a decision to organise hard-pressed farmworkers and it rapidly expanded. By the late 1920s, the ICU claimed 100 000 or more members. The union took up specific cases of ill-treatment and underpayment, acting as a kind of rural watchdog affectionately dubbed 'I see you'. Organisers promised impoverished rural workers that, by supporting the ICU they would reclaim the land that had been stolen by white settlers.

Although the movement at first spread rapidly, bitter factionalism, misuse of funds and a growing disillusionment about its political limitations led to the ICU's decline. It gradually disintegrated during the 1930s.

From here, the site describes the influence of the Communist Party Under the heading of "The Communist Party Organises Workers," a text panel reads:

While the ANC was quietly and cautiously rebuilding in the 1940s, the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) was at the forefront of militant politics. Tightly organised and tireless, the CPSA's effectiveness peaked during the decade. The Party took up bread-

and-butter issues affecting the growing black urban working class. It was involved in early bus boycotts in Alexandra and anti-pass campaigns. Above all, it concentrated on trade union organisation.

The site continues its emphasis on labor, segregation, and the global view of South Africa as it describes the apartheid years. The monumental 1948 election is partially explained by the National Party's ability to win the support of white mine workers. Footage of black mineworkers stands in contrast to the triumphant imagery of the National Party, a reminder of the South Africa that was missing from the propaganda. Elsewhere, the museum uses other images of stark contrast to demonstrate the incongruity of apartheid. An exhibit on "South Africa and the Rest of the World," for example, features video clips of various world events in the 1960s: the Beatles, the moon landing, Martin Luther King, Jr. South Africa is conspicuously absent from these stories; the adjacent screen shows images of white South Africans vacationing on beaches, while black South Africans labor as domestic workers—always in close proximity to the white family, but never fully allowed to share the same spaces. The juxtaposition suggests multiple layers of isolation: the marginalization of South Africa on the international stage, and the physical and psychic isolation of segregation.

The bulk of the rest of the museum's exhibits focus on the implementation and effects of apartheid, often emphasizing the immense state apparatus that the system required. The titles of some 200 laws cover the back wall of one room, creating an exhibit that is both visually and spatially overwhelming.

Notably, the museum does not shy away from depicting violent resistance to apartheid. Considerable space is dedicated to the Rivonia Trial, where Mandela was and nine other ANC leaders were convicted of sabotage sentenced to prison. In his speech at the Trial, Mandela defended the use of violence:

I do not however, deny that I planned sabotage. I did not plan it in a spirit of recklessness, nor because I have any love for violence. I planned it as a result of a calm and sober assessment of the political situation that had arisen after many years of tyranny, exploitation, and oppression of my people by the whites...

... We felt that without sabotage there would be no way open to the African people to succeed in their struggle against the principle of white supremacy. All lawful modes of expressing opposition to this principle had been closed by legislation, and we were placed in a position in which we had either to accept a permanent state of inferiority, or to defy the Government. We chose to defy the Government. We first broke the law in a way which avoided any recourse to violence; when this form was legislated against, and when the Government resorted to a show of force to crush opposition to its policies, only then did we decide to answer violence with violence.²⁴⁷

Likewise, the site devotes considerable space to the violence of the 1980s and 1990s. A twenty-minute documentary takes up the issue of deadly clashes between the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the ANC. One jarring image depicts a man being necklaced—set aflame with a tire around his neck—after he was accused of being an informant for the IFP. One of the film’s interviewees blithely defends the practice, arguing that it helped to “deter informants.”

Nor does the site ignore the turmoil of the early 1990s, described as a “quasi-civil war.” More South Africans died in political violence between 1990-1993 than in the previous decades of apartheid combined. The museum decided to depict this era by emulating its chaos and massive upheaval through sound, video, and images. A triptych of screens displays different videos of the political violence around the CODESA negotiations. Consisting of montages of news footage, the videos depict militia training exercises among far-right groups like the Volksfront and the 1992 Boipatong Massacre, when IFP-aligned hostel dwellers—allegedly aided by white police forces—killed 46 people, mostly women and children. In the aftermath, the

²⁴⁷ Nelson Mandela, “I am prepared to die,” Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory, accessed December 6, 2013, http://db.nelsonmandela.org/speeches/pub_view.asp?pg=item&ItemID=NMS010.

ANC suspended talks with the National Party, believing that they had been involved in the attacks. The museum supports the notion of a “third force,” with a caption informing visitors that “liberation movements were being destabilised by what, in effect, was a quasi-civil war supported by government forces.” In highlighting these moments, the site does not conform to the “miracle narrative” of the end of apartheid but instead shows a complicated, violent struggle.

The chaos of this section, with its images and audio of violence, resolves with a simple exhibit of guns inside a cage. The accompanying caption begins with Mandela’s pleading for South Africans to “throw [their] weapons into the sea.” The weapons on display were collected and melted down, leaving a twisted mound of metal.



Figure 12. Gun cage. Stanislav Lvovsky, 2013. CC-BY-NC-ND.



Figure 13. Final room. Photograph by author, 2011.

The museum's major displays end here.²⁴⁸ The final sections of the museum are minimally curated, consisting of a room with daily newspapers posted. In the background are large, iconic images of postapartheid South Africa: Nelson Mandela and Francois Pienaar at the 1995 Rugby World Cup, the South African Airways logo with the new national flag. The juxtaposition of contemporary newspapers with triumphant imagery of the postapartheid nation makes clear a narrative

of progress. Likewise, in the museum's final room, visitors hear the new national anthem (an anthem that combines Xhosa, Zulu, Sesotho, Afrikaans, and English verses of the hymn "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika" and the former anthem, "Die Stem van Suid-Afrika"), pass by the new South

²⁴⁸ At the time I conducted this research, a Truth and Reconciliation exhibit was under development and opened in 2014.

African flag, and see the “pillars of the Constitution” again. These symbols of nationalism complete the site’s narrative, as visitors leave the darkened space of the museum and reenter the open veld.

Authority and Authorship

University of the Witwatersrand historian Philip Bonner was involved with the Apartheid Museum since its founding. As a co-curator, Bonner’s role was to develop a “script” for the site that told of the development, implementation, and resistance to apartheid on a national level. Bonner’s scholarship reflects a commitment to public history.;He has served as an historical consultant and executive producer to the six-part documentary series *Soweto: A History*, shown internationally. It was while working on this project that Bonner met Angus Gibson, the museum’s primary documentary filmmaker.

During his tenure at the University of the Witwatersrand, Bonner was a primary organizer of the Wits History Workshop. The Workshop, founded in 1977 in the aftermath the Soweto student uprisings, has roots in the social history movement of the 1970s and 1980s.²⁴⁹ Formed in response to the dominant “structuralist Marxism in which human activity and agency barely figured at all,” the Wits History Workshop began to explore a research agenda that included critically examining “popular consciousness and popular culture,” as well as an interest in “engaging the wider community” through what became termed “popular” history. Oral histories

²⁴⁹ For a detailed history of the Workshop, see Philip Bonner, “New Nation, New History,” *The Journal of American History*.

became especially important sources of evidence, serving as a perceived corrective for the absence of black African perspectives in earlier historical approaches.²⁵⁰

The historiographical work of the Wits History Workshop can be seen in the Apartheid Museum's exhibits. The site's emphasis on material conditions is emblematic of the Workshop's social historical focus on the interplay between economics, politics, and individual experiences. The prominence of radical trade unionism and Communist Party organizing—along with the lament over the ICU's decline—mark the influence of the History Workshop. Moreover, by highlighting anti-apartheid political activity that was separate from the ANC, the site can argue that it does not present an ANC-centric version of history—though that criticism still occasionally appears in visitor comments and reviews of the museum.

In addition to these curatorial choices, the Apartheid Museum has given its exhibits a specific authorial voice: that of the omniscient historian. This voice is present in the caption describing apartheid's system of classification:

Every facet of apartheid was rooted in its system of racial classification. After 1950, all citizens were officially classified as 'native', 'coloured' or 'white' (later extended to include 'Asian' as a separate racial category). Those who were classified as 'whites' were guaranteed a lifetime of privilege. As members of a supposedly inferior race, 'coloureds' were consigned to lower positions on the scale of economic and political opportunity. But they were considered superior to 'natives' who were almost all relegated to lives of exploitation, poverty and hardship.²⁵¹

²⁵⁰ Some scholars have taken issue with social historians' uses of oral histories. Ciraj Rassool, for example, contends that oral history was often seen as merely a "supplemental source" because of the fallibility of human memory. History, by contrast, consisted of sources that "provide the larger context of public events, of political and constitutional, economic and institutional developments." See Ciraj Rassool, "Power, Knowledge and the Politics of Public Pasts," *African Studies* 69, no. 1 (April 2010): 83. See also chapter 4 for a more detailed analysis of other forms of publicly engaged historical practice in South Africa.

²⁵¹ "Classification" exhibit text, unsorted archival material, Apartheid Museum, Johannesburg, South Africa.

A defining feature of this caption—as well as most others at the site—is the use of the passive voice. “Natives” may have been “relegated to lives of exploitation, poverty, and hardship,” but the visitor learns little about who or what perpetrated these systems of oppression. The effect is a disembodied, agentless account of historical “facts” with little specificity.²⁵²

In fairness, this selection is from the main part of the caption, while the caption’s subtext provides more detail in an active voice. The museum is so text-heavy—the site recommends allotting five hours for a visit if one wishes to read all the text—that these bolded main sections are intended to serve as guideposts for those with limited time.²⁵³ (In my observations, some visitors did stay for over an hour, but no one stayed for five!) Moreover, despite the caption’s singular voice, the Apartheid Museum’s text was, in fact, written by multiple authors. On some panels, black electrical tape has been placed over the caption author’s name. This literal erasure of authorship makes the intellectual labor of caption writing invisible and creates a unified historical voice. The text-heavy space, combined with the uniform historical voice, lends the site a sense of authority and expertise.

Likewise, the site typography is largely uniform, with almost all titles, subtitles, and text set in a sans serif font. As Robin Kinross argues in “The Rhetoric of Neutrality,” typography is “often telling, in that it indicates the ideas and beliefs that inform the process of design.”²⁵⁴ Moreover, Kinross explains, sans serif fonts have been associated with cleanness, minimalism, and neutrality. When the London North-Eastern Region train timetables were redesigned after

²⁵² In my fieldwork, I often observed this voice in exhibits. The BCRI, for example, often employs this voice, though that site also makes liberal use of oral histories and other exhibitionary tactics.

²⁵³ Though the museum calculates that a visitor who reads only the bolded captions will still spend between an hour and a half and two hours at the site.

²⁵⁴ Robin Kinross, “The Rhetoric of Neutrality,” in *Design Discourse: History/Theory/Criticism*, ed. Victor Margolin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989): 135.

1928, for example, the typeface was changed from serif to Gill Sans. The justification was that the typeface was “so ‘stripped for action...that it is the most efficient conveyor of thought.’”²⁵⁵ The typeface at the Apartheid Museum, like the site’s use of passive voice, conveys a sense—however subtle—of a neutral voice. As Kratz argues in “Rhetorics of Value,” these choices are “powerful both because they are felt in many ways (and may seem ‘natural’) and because they encapsulate the authority of their institutional embedding.”²⁵⁶ The site’s chosen typeface underscores its historical authority through the seemingly ‘natural’ display style of its font.

The site’s architecture also makes an argument about the nature and origin of apartheid. As Thorsten Deckler, Anne Graupner, and Henning Rasmuss write in their volume about South African architecture, the museum’s use of industrial materials reflect the labor that Johannesburg was built on. Their description of the site reads:

The container for the story of our violent history was built in a neglected and highly charged landscape on the edge of the city. The building design responds to these conditions by turning its back on the immediate street context and facing the silhouette of Johannesburg’s city skyline in the distance...

The use of natural plaster and stone in steel cages with rusting frames completes the pared-down, industrial quality of the museum. The ascetic use of materials is a gesture to the harsh landscape of industry. The design consciously avoids any literal reference to ‘African’ architecture but prefers to rely on a suggestion and conceptual manipulation of form, color, and texture to achieve its presence and identity.²⁵⁷

Like the site’s use of typeface, the architecture employs a style of minimalism that serves multiple functions. It not only hearkens back to Johannesburg’s industrial roots, but it also enables the visitor to project their own interpretations and affective responses.

²⁵⁵ Robin Kinross, “The Rhetoric of Neutrality,” 136.

²⁵⁶ Kratz, “Rhetorics of Value,” 25.

²⁵⁷ Thorsten Deckler, Anne Graupner, and Henning Rasmuss, *Contemporary South African Architecture in a Landscape of Transition* (Cape Town: Double Storey Books, 2006): 39–41.

As art historian Erika Doss notes, minimalism has become almost de rigeur for contemporary commemoration. The style has become so popular, she writes, that many “artists and critics feel that minimalism is, in fact, the only adequate art style for today’s memorials, and in particular, for the commemoration of traumatic histories.”²⁵⁸ The root of this now-prevalent memorial style, Doss argues, lies in the “assumptions of abstract art’s utopian possibilities as a ‘witness to the unrepresentable’ and an agent of radical change.”²⁵⁹ In the absence of large amounts of text, more minimal exhibits invite contemplation and personal reflection.

It is not only the internal space of the Apartheid Museum that is part of the museum experience, however. The site’s position in the city of Johannesburg affects how visitors perceive the space. From its relatively isolated location to its shared space with the Gold Reef Casino, the location of the Museum is a key part of the way visitors understand the site.

Making Exhibits, Making Place

Within the city of Johannesburg, the Apartheid Museum occupies a unique space, one coded as safe—and under constant surveillance. Physically distant from population centers like central Johannesburg, the affluent, mostly-white northern suburbs, and the massive sprawl of the mostly-black Soweto, the site is an anomaly amongst the city’s patchwork of shopping malls, Victorian buildings, and skyscrapers. Embedded within a larger tourist complex that includes the Gold Reef Casino and the Gold Reef City amusement park, visitors must pass through a security gate before entering the museum grounds, where they are given a daily parking pass. This gate is the first measure of security; entrance procedures also include a bag check. The high gates that

²⁵⁸ Doss, *Memorial Mania*, 123.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 124.

surround the building serve the dual purpose of creating an architecturally imposing space—invoking the surveillance of apartheid—and keeping unwanted entrants out of the site.

I contemplated this irony on my first visit to the museum in 2011. Was there something incongruous about a site that documented the problems of a surveillance state while simultaneously employing the same technologies? I kept this thought in mind while visiting the museum the first time and was particularly fascinated by the outdoor Robben Island exhibit. The jarring juxtaposition of the fortress-like walls and the re-created Robben Island cell, an exhibit from the Robben Island Museum, set amongst gravel meant to invoke the island's rock quarries, was particularly striking. A fortress within a fortress, the Robben Island exhibit—some 800 miles from the actual Robben Island—felt particularly confining, even on a cloudless, winter Johannesburg day. I walked away from the exhibit wondering what to make of this recreation of the iconic prison in the city of Johannesburg.

There is little doubt that the city of Johannesburg faces the perception of a dangerous city. Architect Lindsay Bremner explains that the perception of Johannesburg is framed by narratives of danger.

[The] experience of the city is shadowy, masked by a disdain for the urban (and love of the suburbs), a deep fear of the heterogeneous and a horror of middle age—all qualities of downtown Johannesburg. The Johannesburg to which most people aspire is the homogenous shopping malls and Tuscan style villas in the city's northern suburbs. Downtown lies outside the frame.²⁶⁰

To grapple with this perception is to understand with the quandary the Apartheid Museum finds itself in, even as it is geographically distant from the downtown area. I often talked to staff

²⁶⁰ Lindsay Bremner, "A Quick Tour Around Contemporary Johannesburg," in *From Jo'burg to Jozi: Stories About Africa's Infamous City*, Heidi Holland and Adam Roberts, eds. (Johannesburg, Penguin Books, 2006): 54.

members about crime in the country, many of whom lamented the statistics that seem to be common knowledge—a national murder rate that is four and half times the global average, a sexual assault rate that is among the highest in the world.²⁶¹ Casually, I mentioned my discomfort with the series of gates, walls, and guard dogs that form the matrix of South African security systems in affluent areas—though these systems are often not present in less affluent parts of the country. We spoke of the US security state, marked by full body airport scanners and fears of the foreign and unfamiliar. I was convinced that the anxieties of each state could map neatly onto these friction points—one nation determined to keep out the vague threat of “terrorism,” the other convinced that the threat came from within.²⁶²

My next visit, two years later, complicated this tidy characterization. When I brought up my feelings about the museum’s security measures during this visit, I learned that the museum had been targeted in an armed robbery just a few months prior to my arrival. No one was hurt, but staff members were understandably upset and shaken, particularly since the perpetrators were never caught, and many staff members believed there was evidence of insider knowledge.

The apparition of violence was an ever-present part of my time in Johannesburg, always threatening but never quite appearing. In *After Mandela*, American journalist Douglas Foster writes of his experiences living in South Africa. When he told colleagues that he planned to spend half his time in Cape Town and half in Johannesburg, reactions were nearly universal.

²⁶¹ Africa Check, “FACTSHEET: South Africa’s Official Crime Statistics for 2012/13,” *Africa Check*, accessed November 4, 2013, <http://www.africacheck.org/reports/factsheet-south-africas-official-crime-statistics-for-201213/>.

²⁶² These characterizations are, of course, imprecise and incomplete. South Africa has famously faced problems of xenophobia, most notoriously the 2008 acts of violence that killed over 60 foreign-born residents, and the U.S. has its own tradition of gated communities and private security firms.

When I initially set off to South Africa, relatives and acquaintances typically asked how much time I would *get* to spend in Cape Town and how many days I would be *required* to work in Johannesburg. Everybody asked if I was sure I would be safe. “You’ll hate it. It’s a real *pit*,” a longtime friend, a foreign correspondent told me. “Hope you get out alive.”

The perception of Johannesburg as dangerous and undesirable dogged Foster, even though the only act of violence he experienced—a mugging—happened in Cape Town. (Indeed, the 2013 national crime statistics indicated that the murder rate was almost twice as high in the Cape Town area as in Johannesburg—though murder is still relatively rare and only comprises 2.5% of violent crime in the country.)²⁶³ The negotiation between perceived danger and sensationalistic coverage can be exhausting; my family and friends in the US peppered me with anxious questions about my living arrangements in Johannesburg but assumed that Cape Town was safer.²⁶⁴ Like Foster, the closest brush I had with violence was in Cape Town, when a friend was shot in the shoulder during an attempted carjacking. These moments, anecdotal as they are, disrupted these pre-conceived notions of the geographies of violence in South Africa.

The sense of danger and violence is layered onto the museum and reinforces the emotional tenor of the exhibits—themselves about violence and danger. Given this complicated interplay of space, race, and perceived danger, how does the Apartheid Museum position itself—and its place in Johannesburg—to both domestic and international visitors? Using my survey of just over 700 visitor comment cards from 2010–2012 and literature on South Africa’s tourism

²⁶³ Lizette Lancaster, “Crime Stats: Where Murder Happens in South Africa,” *Mail & Guardian*, September 19, 2013, <http://mg.co.za/article/2013-09-19-where-murder-happens-in-south-africa/>.

²⁶⁴ Perhaps unsurprisingly, this perception of “safety” is almost always racially coded. See chapter 4 for a discussion of the way that space is racialized, both historically and in the present, in Cape Town.

sector, I next analyze South African visitor perceptions of the site—particularly its stated aim of “truth-telling.”²⁶⁵

Domestic Visitor Perceptions

Tourism in South Africa operates in a vexed space. Though there are multiple campaigns to attract foreign tourists to the country, geographers Garth Allen and Frank Brennan argue that decades of apartheid and fear of crime “have effectively hobbled the development of tourism in the country.”²⁶⁶ While Statistics South Africa’s most recent study indicates that tourism is a lucrative sector, contributing 103.6 billion Rand to economy (or around 2.9% of the total GDP), most revenue (57%) comes from domestic, rather than international tourists.²⁶⁷

Likewise, the Apartheid Museum sees more domestic than international visitors—a statistic that was initially surprising for me, given the relatively high cost of entry of 80 Rand (approximately \$6) for adults, along with the site’s inaccessibility on public transport. (By comparison, the District Six Museum charges 30 Rand for adults and is easily accessible via bus and taxi routes.) The largest number of visitors who left comments were South African, with about 25% of respondents (181 in total) indicating they were domestic visitors.²⁶⁸ The South African audience is diverse in age, language, occupation, and race. The vast majority of

²⁶⁵ It should be noted that visitor comment cards are all in English, and thus only represent a sample of museum visitors.

²⁶⁶ Garth Allen and Frank Brennan, *Tourism in the New South Africa: Social Responsibility and the Tourist Experience* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004): 45.

²⁶⁷ Statistics South Africa, “An Economic Look at the Tourism Industry,” March 26, 2015, accessed January 15, 2016, <http://www.statssa.gov.za/?p=4362>. This GDP percentage is on the higher end compared to other BRICS nations, with tourism in Brazil in 2015 comprising 3.3% of the country’s GDP, 2.1% in China, 2% in India, and 1.5% in Russia. World Tourism and Travel Council, “Country Reports,” accessed January 25, 2017, <http://www.wttc.org/research/economic-research/economic-impact-analysis/country-reports>.

comments were neutral to positive, most commenting on the comprehensiveness of the exhibits. One security guard told me that they see surges of visits from students about a month before exams, underscoring that the museum is seen as an authoritative source on this history of apartheid.

In their response cards, many visitors praised the site for its ability to generate an emotional response; many South Africans reported crying or experiencing a sense of catharsis. One young man, for example, wrote that now “we live in freedom which we have fought for.” Other visitors expressed sadness and amazement at their lack of knowledge in comments like, “I never knew 90% of what went on,” or “I wish I had been more politically aware and involved growing up in South Africa.”

Erika Doss’s study of the affective potential of contemporary memorial sites examines this phenomenon. Specifically, Doss argues that shame and grief are two of the more prominent affective experiences for visitors to contemporary sites of memory. The potential of grief, Doss, contends, “lies in its ability to mobilize political action and to orchestrate change.”²⁶⁹ Doss also argues that the affective potential of shame, “requires more than just adding previously ignored histories, [it] requires an assessment of shame’s diversity and necessity.”²⁷⁰ The challenge, Doss continues, is to “commemorate traumatic histories without perpetuating their causes or reanimating their effects.”²⁷¹ Likewise, Irit Rogoff’s work on museums of cultural difference identifies a shift towards a politics of *xenophilia* in museums. But, Rogoff charges, these exhibits are often concerned solely with increasing representation of the marginalized. As such, these sites address “neither the sources of the initial exclusion nor their traumatic effects but attempt to

²⁶⁹ Doss, *Memorial Mania*, 115.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 257.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 290.

redress the balance through strategies of compensatory visibility.”²⁷² The Apartheid Museum actively contends with these issues of representation and action, as visitor comments reflect. South Africans who feel shame or grief over not actively fighting apartheid may, the museum hopes, become politically engaged in contemporary issues.

There are, however, risks in the affect of shame in memorialization. Some visitors may grow defensive, while others may become angry over past (and present) injustices. One visitor, a Sotho-speaking student, wrote that the exhibits “created a sense of tension,” and that after visiting, she “didn’t like whites.” Museums of human rights commemoration are often acutely aware of the potential pitfalls of visitors leaving angry or ashamed, with sites like the BCRI and the Apartheid Museum ending their exhibits on hopeful notes.²⁷³ For its part, the Apartheid Museum attempts to mitigate feelings of alienation or tension by giving visitors space to reflect before leaving the site. By ending on a triumphant note with the post-1994 South African anthem and flag, the site also aims to leave visitors with a sense of hope. Indeed, other South Africans expressed a desire to see more memorialization of this kind, such as the Xhosa-speaking visitor who wrote that Cape Town, “a province which doesn’t want to change,” needs its own apartheid museum. For these visitors, shame may be uncomfortable, but it is a necessity.

Visitor complaints about the site can be divided into two broad categories: logistical and contextual. By far, the majority of complaints centered around problems with the facility itself: many visitors complained about the museum’s layout, and several others noted that some of the

²⁷² Irit Rogoff, “Hit and Run—Museums and Cultural Difference,” *Art Journal* 61, no. 3 (2002): 66.

²⁷³ See the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute chapter for a further discussion of how the site navigates its representations of difficult histories without alienating visitors.

audiovisual components were not working. General maintenance and cleanliness complaints were the second largest category of visitor logistical grievances.²⁷⁴

Complaints over the site's content were relatively rare. When I began this research, I expected to find many more visitor qualms over curatorial choices. The curatorial complaints largely broke down into visitors 1) wanting to hear more about elements of anti-apartheid history that were not included in the museum, or 2) believing that the site was too "one-sided" and pro-ANC. Several visitors wanted more representation of the anti-apartheid activism of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC). Other visitors wanted to see activists like Steve Biko and Helen Suzman featured more prominently. Still others wanted to see sport history, particularly the 1995 Rugby World Cup play a more prominent role; one visitor suggested screening *Invictus*.

Other domestic visitors took issue with a perceived "one-sidedness" of the museum's exhibits, particularly its portrayal of white South Africans. One visitor complained that white South Africans were not given enough credit in opposing apartheid, writing, "there is far too little attention to the fact the white voters were overwhelmingly against apartheid in the referendum."²⁷⁵

The site's unapologetic critique of apartheid is, indeed, confrontational at times. The museum's choice to use violent imagery is a stark contrast to many museums and sites that interpret "difficult" history. In their 1997 study of historical interpretation at Colonial

²⁷⁴ In my visits, I did often see non-functioning screens and other exhibit maintenance issues. Given the large number of screens in the museum, maintenance was indeed a challenge.

²⁷⁵ In 1992, President De Klerk held a referendum on whether apartheid should continue in which only white voters were able to participate. 68.7% of voters supported the provision to create a new constitution through negotiation with the ANC. Christopher Wren, "South African Whites Ratify De Klerk's Move to Negotiate with Blacks on a New Order," *New York Times*, March 19, 1992, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/1992/03/19/world/south-african-whites-ratify-de-klerk-s-move-negotiate-with-blacks-new-order.html>.

Williamsburg, Richard Handler and Eric Gable examine how the site attempted to address slavery. They describe the site's goal of maintaining "good vibes," noting that "one of the axioms of good vibes is that conflict and challenge should be minimized in favor of comfort."²⁷⁶ The Apartheid Museum does not, conversely, seek to comfort the visitor. There are no justifications or equivocations.

As Edward Bruner argues, sites like the Apartheid Museum raise issues of who has the "right" to tell histories. Bruner notes that both the "traveler's and local's understanding [of exhibits] does not always correspond with the producer's intentions."²⁷⁷ For visitors who accuse the museum of "one-sidedness," the museum is failing in its "truth-telling" mission. I turn now to a close reading of comments of disaffected South Africans who believe the museum is an example of "reverse racism"—an increasingly common charge against those who engage in anti-racist work, both in the US and South Africa. As claims of reverse racism have become more prominent more generally, some museum comments reflect that view. The disaffected visitors assert that the post-apartheid nation was now an oppressive state—against white South Africans. One online comment reads:

The Apartheid Museum belongs where the rest of Apartheid should be— at the bottom of the sea. This place reeks of misinformation and biased and inflammatory propaganda, and is designed to further polarise communities in South Africa (particularly school children). It is simply used to justify the reverse racial discrimination that is currently practiced in SA. How I would love to see these edifices celebrating oppression (and the subsequent "freedom from oppression") destroyed and obliterated from our landscape all together, instead of constantly being used as an excuse for not having forged the unified South Africa that we all hoped for.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁶ Richard Handler and Eric Gable, *The New History in an Old Museum*, 198.

²⁷⁷ Edward M. Bruner, *Culture on Tour*, 12.

²⁷⁸ User Bushkid0, "Apartheid Museum - Johannesburg - Reviews of Apartheid Museum - TripAdvisor," accessed November 10, 2013, http://www.tripadvisor.com/Attraction_Review-

This review, written by a white South African user of TripAdvisor, exemplifies what anthropologist Catherine Besteman describes in *Transforming Cape Town*, her study of how race shapes post-apartheid interactions in Cape Town. Besteman contends that, while most white South Africans are quick to decry apartheid, there has been little “transformation” in many apartheid-era ideas about race. (Besteman does devote a chapter to white Capetonian “transformers” who have attempted to “embark on transformative agendas that demand lifestyle changes, ideological investment, and the creation of new social worlds.”²⁷⁹ But Besteman contends these kinds of interventions are incomplete and not representative of larger attitudes among white South Africans.)

Like Besteman, I experienced the sense of an only partial “transformation.” It was common to read of “reverse racial discrimination” in newspapers, as well as claims that anyone who wasn’t black carried no favor in the post-apartheid nation. It was particularly striking to read these sentiments from South Africans who were either “born-frees” (born after Mandela’s election in 1994) or very young at the advent of democracy. Despite having few or no memories of life before 1994, these young white South Africans often invoked the spectre of apartheid: the current ANC government, for example, was just as bad as P.W. Botha.

I often found myself struggling to disentangle some of the very real problems of encroaching state power (typified by a worrying trend towards increasing government secrecy) and the underlying melancholia (not to mention racism—both subtle and bald) that accompanies

g312578-d313843-Reviews-Apartheid_Museum-Johannesburg_Greater_Johannesburg_Gauteng.html#REVIEWS.

²⁷⁹ Catherine Besteman, *Transforming Cape Town* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 192.

a loss of privilege.²⁸⁰ In complaints about the unemployment rate among white South Africans, for example, these trends were never contextualized in the larger global economic downturn—or, for the large unemployment rate among those people who may be classified as “black.” These grievances seemed to be couched in a general sense of anxiety, loss, and creeping ennui about the state of the country.

Anthropologist Thomas Blom Hansen coined the term “melancholia of freedom” to describe the sense of disappointment that pervades postapartheid South Africa.²⁸¹ Hansen argues that, two decades later, apartheid-era social structures still prevail because of the way that racialized spaces circumscribed all aspects of daily life. Moreover, Hansen contends, this sense prevails because:

...[O]ne of the most difficult problematics across postapartheid South Africa [is redefining] identities, communities, and selves within a new economy of recognition; that is to live under a new and differentiated gaze that feels unfamiliar and never fully intelligible. This differentiated gaze marks new horizons of recognition—some local, some national, and others global.²⁸²

Here, Hansen describes a sense of disappointment that is also characterized by the knowledge of constant scrutiny. The ways that these young South Africans seemed quick to dismiss post-apartheid politics—even those who whole-heartedly disavowed apartheid—were bound up in the complicated relationships between self, nation, and world. Fundamentally, I

²⁸⁰ The Protection of State Information bill has raised concerns about the transparency of the state, particularly for provisions that critics fear will be used to punish whistleblowers and journalists. Many prominent anti-apartheid activists, including Nadine Gordimer and Verne Harris, the director of the Nelson Mandela Centre for Memory archives, have spoken against the bill. For the text of the bill, see Ad Hoc Committee on Protection of Information Bill, *Protection of State Information Bill*, accessed August 9, 2014, <http://www.pmg.org.za/files/bills/110905b6b-2010.pdf>.

²⁸¹ Thomas Blom Hansen, *Melancholia of Freedom: Social Life in an Indian Township in South Africa* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 2.

found that many white South Africans—regardless of age—were embarrassed by their country’s past and wanted to move on as quickly as possible.

My position as a foreign researcher hardly helped in this regard. One evening, a neighbor discovered me sitting outside writing up my notes for the day. He began asking me about my work and seemed bemused that I was interested in South African politics. I told him that I was from the southern United States, and his face lit up with recognition. “That’s right!” he exclaimed. “You had apartheid, too!” He presumed a kind of shared culpability between us, born from geographies that lay claim to histories of violence. With this bond intact (in his mind, at least), he relaxed and launched into the familiar tirades against the ANC. I was entrusted with political opinions that might otherwise be considered impolite to express in front of an outsider.

It seemed that everyday apartheid was mentioned in the newspaper, on the evening news, or on the radio as I drove into the museum. Yet most of these political opinions were spoken in code, sometimes half-whispered or sotto voce. Invocations of apartheid were ubiquitous, but there was little discussion *about* apartheid. It was the cause of South Africa’s problems—and a popular comparison for those who were unhappy with the current political climate—but the details were absent. The phrase “just like apartheid,” so popular with disenchanting South Africans, was ubiquitous but unqualified. Hansen contends:

...The past remains an infuriating and often uncanny shadow for most South Africans. Nothing is forgotten, a few things are forgiven, but in the main, history’s deep frustrations are well and alive under the normalized surface of a steeply unequal and intensely commercialized society...[The past] is ever present and hammered out in infrastructure, architecture, and racial separations that continue to fundamentally shape the habitus of the people and communities living within these structures.²⁸³

²⁸³ Hansen, *Melancholia of Freedom*, 290, 292.

The spectre of apartheid is now caught between two decades of social change that seem to have transformed everything and nothing at once. The profound discomfort I witnessed reflected both a sense of shame—thus the need to couch criticisms of the ANC in language about “corruption” and “public safety”—but also a surface of normalcy. South Africa is touted, after all, as a postconflict success story. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission process is held up as an international model for overcoming traumatic histories.²⁸⁴ The “South African miracle” of a nonviolent political transition still holds global currency, even as the realities of daily lived experience challenge its “miraculousness.”²⁸⁵

And indeed, South African business trades on these discourses of transformation and harmony. The phrase “proudly South African” beckons from glossy airline magazines and brochures inviting tourists and investors to the country. The logo is emblazoned on products that are made in the country, often (though not always) “traditional” black South African “crafts.” (The first example I found on the Proudly South African website was a series of dolls with Ndebele bead work.) Kathryn Mathers and Loren Landau note that though “‘Proudly South African’ tourism is ostensibly to ‘empower’ disadvantaged South Africans,” much of the imagery taps into colonial fantasies of what the “African” is, “that are inherently (if implicitly) racist.”²⁸⁶ The “uncanny shadow” of the histories of apartheid and colonialism is always cast just outside the frame, the unspoken double to images of national pride. The image of the South African state exists in the interplay of these various fantasies—the longing for days of privilege

²⁸⁴ See the BCRI chapter for a discussion of how the TRC has been taken up in the U.S. context.

²⁸⁵ In the conclusion, I turn to a discussion of how movements like Rhodes Must Fall and Fees Must Fall challenge the triumphalist narrative.

²⁸⁶ Kathryn Mathers and Loren Landau, “Natives, Tourists, and *Makwerekwere*: Ethical Concerns with ‘Proudly South African’ Tourism,” *Development Southern Africa* 24, no. 3 (2007): 253. See also John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Ethnicity Inc.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

among white South Africans, the rosy land of business opportunities, the transitional justice success story.

As Ciraj Rassool and Leslie Witz observe, South Africa occupies a multivalent space in global tourism discourses. Alternately depicted as wild, primitive, and modern, the nation in the 1990s was constructed as “a world in one country.”²⁸⁷ Believing that tourism was a vital element of South African development, marketers emphasized the nation’s natural beauty and wildlife, while also exhorting visitors to “discover our new [post-apartheid] world.”²⁸⁸ In the 2000s, “township tours” gained popularity as a way to see an “authentic” urban South Africa.²⁸⁹ The representation of South Africa in tourism discourses is polyvocal.

Using the Apartheid Museum as a laboratory, I turn to questions of how apartheid tourism participates in the competing narratives of South Africa as a space of pride, beauty, shame, and violence. What images of South Africa do visitors to the site consume and produce? How do local, national, and global gazes create narratives of what it means to be “South African”?

Global Interpretations

The global gaze on South Africa can be readily seen in visitor comment cards. To examine global visitor responses, I use frameworks from tourism studies. Here, I am interested in what tourists expect to see when they visit South African sites of memory. Or, as Allen and Brennan write, “what do we, as outsiders...witness when we visit South Africa, or what do South

²⁸⁷ Ciraj Rassool and Leslie Witz, “South Africa: A World in One Country. Moments in International Tourist Encounters with Wildlife, the Primitive, and the Modern,” *Cahiers d'études africaines* 36, no. 143 (1996): 336.

²⁸⁸ Leslie Witz, Ciraj Rassool, Gary Minkley, “Repackaging the Past for South African Tourism,” *Daedalus* 130, no. 1 (2001): 277.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

Africans tend to commonly say when they talk about their country?”²⁹⁰ After all, they argue, South Africa is “a country that has witnessed and been internationally vilified for crimes against humanity.”²⁹¹ How do international tourists experience the exhibits at the Apartheid Museum, and how do these experiences affect their perceptions of the country?

Overwhelmingly, most international visitors shared two qualities: they were generally impressed by the site, and they were largely from the US and western Europe. While disappointment characterizes a few reviews like the one cited above, rhetoric about “reverse racism” and “bias” in the Apartheid Museum’s exhibits is uncommon in most visitor reviews—perhaps because most comments are from international visitors who are choosing to spend leisure time at the site. As of November 2013, of the 903 review of the site on TripAdvisor, only 6 are one-star (“terrible”) reviews, while 586 rate the museum five-stars (“excellent”). The largest number of international visitor comments were, by frequency, from the US, the UK, Germany, France, and the Netherlands. (As I discuss later in this chapter, the geographic origin of tourists often affects how visitors interpret the museum’s exhibits.)

Country of Origin	Number of respondents	Percentage of total respondents
Germany	47	7%
France	34	5%
Netherlands	27	4%
US	117	17%
UK	72	10%

Figure 14. Major countries of origin of visitors to the Apartheid Museum.

²⁹⁰ Allen and Brennan, *Tourism in the New South Africa*, 141.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 146.

Some comments reveal conceptions of the city. “Don’t waste your time,” one visitor wrote on Google’s review site, “trite and seedy.”²⁹² Other visitors noted the site’s relative isolation; “The only down side [sic] I would say is getting there,” wrote a visitor on the travel site TripAdvisor. “You must take a cab from Downtown, kind of hard to get there on public transportation.”²⁹³ The placement of the site relative to the popular northern suburbs and the city’s high end shopping and dining areas is clearly a factor for tourists planning trips. Many visitors and tour guides advise combining the museum with a tour of Soweto for “comprehensive” visit to the city’s southern regions.

In general, however, most visitors do not express concern with the museum’s location, aside from mild grumbling over the distance. The security complex and the visible presence of guards renders the site “safe,” despite the armed robbery. Like domestic visitors, most international tourists found the museum emotionally engaging. Many tourists proclaimed the exhibits “shocking” or that it left them “speechless.” In my observations, visitors spent the most time in front of very visual exhibits, especially the parts of the museum that contain little text. In particular, the large Ernest Cole photographs, with their black and white documentary depictions of apartheid, are very popular. In tandem with the stark architecture of the museum, these exhibits exude a minimalist aesthetic, particularly when compared with the rest of the largely text-heavy displays. Unlike the largely textual exhibits, given authority by their invocation of

²⁹² User Mike Van Dyk, “Apartheid Museum - Google+,” accessed November 10, 2013, <https://plus.google.com/u/0/111169460549075837310/about?hl=en&gl=us>.

²⁹³ User Marcos M, “Apartheid Museum - Johannesburg - Reviews of Apartheid Museum - TripAdvisor,” accessed November 10, 2013, http://www.tripadvisor.com/Attraction_Review-g312578-d313843-Reviews-or20-Apartheid_Museum-Johannesburg_Greater_Johannesburg_Gauteng.html#REVIEWS.

expertise, the highly visual portions of the site draw their authority from the affective power of their minimalism.

Strikingly, I began to see patterns emerge in the way that visitors drew personal connections to the history of apartheid. When I began reviewing visitor comments, I expected to find 1) critiques of the content of the site, and 2) some sense of the visitor's previous knowledge of apartheid. As I have noted above, however, content-related critiques were fairly uncommon. And while I had some difficulty gauging what visitors thought they knew about apartheid before they came to the museum, I found that geography played a major role in many comparisons that visitors made, particularly for those from the US and the UK.

For visitors from the US, the most frequent historical comparisons were to the civil rights movement. (Though this was not an exclusively US phenomenon—on my first visit in 2011, I overheard a German tour guide explaining to his group that apartheid was like segregation in the United States.) One visitor, a young woman from New York, wrote that visiting the museum “made me remember the struggled in the USA and how I need to continue to fight for freedom.” Another visitor, a young teacher from Illinois, liked the museum but wanted to learn more about “civil rights leaders [sic] other than Mandela.”²⁹⁴ A 2001 *New York Times* article describes the impressions of a woman visiting from the US:

Judy Hennessey, 49, a tourist from Salt Lake City, was astonished to be racially classified at the entrance. She is white, but the museum clerks arbitrarily classified her as nonwhite and directed her to the "blacks only" door.

"It reminded me of what life in the South might have been like," Ms. Hennessey said.

"That's the flashback I got."²⁹⁵

By contrast, for visitors from the UK, it was more common to find stories of anti-apartheid activism, such as the visitor who wrote about participating in marches in London. Additionally,

²⁹⁴ Apartheid Museum, unsorted archival materials.

²⁹⁵ Rachel L. Swarns, “Oppression in Black and White,” *New York Times*, December 10, 2001.

some visitors drew connections to other aspects of British history. One woman wrote of her experience: “Very moving. Have read *The Long Walk to Freedom*, the initial film filled the gap in knowledge about the Boers and the British. Powerful museum, reminds me of my visit to Auschwitz. We must remember our history lest we repeat it. Wonderful achievement.”²⁹⁶

The mantra of “never forget”—so often associated with Holocaust memorialization—was invoked in many comments. A young student from Germany even drew connections between Holocaust memorialization and the Apartheid Museum: “Great. Reminds me of the Holocaust Museum.” The same visitor continues, however, with an observation on contemporary South African politics. “It is sad that despite it SA is falling into the African trap of corruption and exploitation.”²⁹⁷

The connection between Holocaust and apartheid memory—and their connections to contemporary politics—is illustrative of what Michael Rothberg calls “multidirectional memory.” Rothberg’s work argues against what he terms “zero sum memory,” that is, the notion that memorialization must be competitive. Instead, Rothberg contends that memory is rhizomatic; *Multidirectional Memory* holds that the spectre of the Holocaust was deeply influential in anticolonial movements. By thinking about the multiple points of “entry and exit” in memory’s uses, Rothberg argues, we can start to think through more generative models of memorialization that do not compete with one another, but rather draw connections.

Multidirectional memory can also be unstable. Historical metaphor is unruly; events and people can be easily appropriated for any number of political purposes. Rothberg recognizes these limits:

²⁹⁶ Apartheid Museum, unsorted archival materials.

²⁹⁷ Apartheid Museum, unsorted archival materials.

If, as I argue, public memory is *structurally multidirectional*—that is, always marked by transcultural borrowing, exchange, and adaptation—that does not mean that the politics of multidirectional memory comes with any guarantees. Indeed, given the ubiquity of Nazi and Holocaust references and analogies in contemporary public spheres on a global scale, it is clear that the articulation of almost any political position may come in multidirectional form...

...It leads me to argue that a radically democratic politics of memory needs to include a differentiated empirical history, moral solidarity with victims of diverse injustices, and an ethics of comparison that coordinates the asymmetrical claims of those victims. This conception of the politics of memory suggests in turn that memory discourses expressing a differentiated solidarity offer a greater political potential than those, frequent in the Israeli–Palestinian case, that subsume different histories under a logic of equation or that set victims against each other in an antagonistic logic of competition.²⁹⁸

In other words, Rothberg argues for a multidirectional memory that allows space for historical comparison—such as the kind the visitor makes between Holocaust and apartheid memorialization—but that also recognizes the unevenness of comparative work. Rothberg has articulated this theory in opposition to the Holocaust’s primacy in memory studies—a position that, he argues, unhelpfully subordinates all other kinds of historical atrocity and creates hierarchies of oppression.

Visitors who draw their own historical comparisons operate within this framework of multidirectional memory. These kinds of connections come from personal experiences and geographical contexts. (UK visitors who participated in the anti-apartheid movement in London are one example of personal experiences driving a museum visit.) Visitor comparisons between

²⁹⁸ Michael Rothberg, “From Gaza to Warsaw: Mapping Multidirectional Memory,” *Criticism* 53, no. 4 (2011): 524, 526.

segregation in the US and apartheid in South Africa likewise grow from perceived similar geographies of oppression.²⁹⁹

These comparisons should come as no surprise for scholars of public history. David Thelen and Roy Rosenzweig's 1998 study *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* took up questions of how and why Americans engage with history. Through a national survey, Thelen and Rosenzweig discovered that respondents were overwhelmingly most interested in their family or personal pasts. 66% of respondents reported that these histories were most important to them, more than the histories of their racial or ethnic groups (8%), community histories (4%), or the history of the U.S. (22%).³⁰⁰ The authors contend that, contrary to the historical profession's handwringing over a perceived lack of interest in the discipline of history, Americans are intensely fascinated by the past. And though personal histories held the most interest, over half of respondents had visited a museum or historic site in the past twelve months (57%) or read a book about the past (53%).³⁰¹ As visitor responses to the Apartheid Museum attest, then, personal comparisons to history does not foreclose an interest in other kinds of histories. Indeed, as Rothberg suggests, these comparisons need not be competitive and can help facilitate solidarity across different kinds of social justice issues, despite disparate historical circumstances.

²⁹⁹ For more on these comparisons in the US context, see chapter 2 on the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute.

³⁰⁰ Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, "Pasts/Age/National Sample," *The Presence of the Past*, accessed January 4, 2014, http://chnm.gmu.edu/survey/2_13agewat.html.

³⁰¹ Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, "Participation/Age/National Sample," *The Presence of the Past*, accessed January 4, 2014, http://chnm.gmu.edu/survey/2_1ageact.html.

Multidirectional Memory in the Museum

In 2005, the Apartheid Museum brought an exhibit on the US Supreme Court *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision to its temporary exhibit space. The exhibit was intended to explain the history of segregation and its effects on education in the United States. Curated by the Smithsonian National Museum of American History and sponsored by the US Consulate, the original exhibit—titled *Separate is Not Equal*—opened in Washington D.C. in 2004 to mark the 50th anniversary of the *Brown* decision. In collaboration with the Smithsonian, the Apartheid Museum added an additional section on education under apartheid as a comparative piece for the exhibit’s South African debut. The additional few panels were intended to draw historical comparisons, but also to justify the exhibit’s inclusion in the Apartheid Museum. The exhibit has continued to tour South Africa.³⁰²

The seven comparative panels make arguments about the similarities between the US and South Africa through explanatory summaries and quotes from historical figures. One panel about the lack of educational opportunities for black and brown students in the US asserts, for example, that the “similarity between vocational training for African Americans, Asians, and Mexican Americans and Bantu Education in South Africa is striking.” Underneath this summary is a 1953 quote from Hendrik Verwoerd: “The Natives will be taught from childhood to realise that equality with Europeans is not for them...What is the use of teaching the Bantu mathematics when he cannot use it practice...There is no place for the Bantu child above certain forms of labour.”

³⁰² It has not, however, been without its share of controversy. When the exhibit came to the Bartholmeu Dias Museum in Mosselbaai, the mayor demanded its removal. For more on this controversy, see the concluding chapter.

Other panels offer comparisons based on the complexities of the historical record. One of the last panels complicates an easy narrative of black victims and white oppressors.

Not all African Americans supported the lawsuit [*Brown vs. Board of Education*] for better schools. Many black families were afraid to risk jobs and safety. Not all whites opposed the lawsuit. Similarly, in South Africa, not all whites supported apartheid. White activists joined with their black comrades in protest. They too put themselves at risk in order to challenge the racism of the apartheid regime.

Undoubtedly, these are simplifications—there are many complicated reasons, for example, why African Americans may not have supported *Brown*. (Scholarship in the legal field of critical race theory, for instance, has demonstrated that some black communities resisted prescribed solutions such as bussing because of the destruction of community schools through forced desegregation.)³⁰³ But despite these simplifications, this panel still serves to disrupt many of the key assumptions about historical actors in the US and South Africa. Moreover, the ascription of motive to black families who might not have supported *Brown*—the very real dangers involved in activism—seeks to humanize them.

Despite the care given to these comparisons, visitor comments on the exhibit's content were much more mixed than reactions to the main exhibit. Some American visitors, for example, expressed the opinion that they learned more about US history at the Apartheid Museum than they did at home. Others, however, took issue with some of the exhibit's curatorial choices; in particular, these visitors contested the notion that the Civil War was caused by slavery. While they did not question the appropriateness of having the *Brown* exhibit in the Apartheid Museum, the visitors who objected to its content clearly felt an ownership over the curation of US history.

³⁰³ Derek A. Bell Jr., “*Brown v. Board of Education* and the Interest Convergence Dilemma,” in *Critical Race Theory: Key Writings That Formed the Movement*, eds. Kimberlé Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, Gary Peller, and Kendall Thomas (New York: The New Press, 1995): 20–29.

This sense of ownership is particularly interesting, as foreign visitors rarely critiqued the representation of South African history.

In *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture*, Alison Landsberg argues that technologies of culture have allowed Americans to assimilate memories they have never experienced. “The technologies of mass culture and the capitalist economy of which they are a part,” she writes, “open up a world of images outside a person’s lived experience, creating a portable, fluid, and nonessentialist form of memory.”³⁰⁴ Landsberg largely focuses her analysis on books and film, but she includes museums in the category of “mass culture.”

What kinds of insights might we glean from thinking about tourism in the Apartheid Museum through the lens of prosthetic memory? The feeling of entitlement that these American visitors feel towards the interpretation of US history, for example, suggests that the memory of civil rights is paradoxically contested and shared. In Landsberg’s framework, prosthetic memory allows visitors to feel as though they have experienced a history—even if they have no personal memory of it. Tourism, ensconced in the same capitalist frameworks that Landsberg references, provides both the vector for this memory and the battleground on which these contestations play out.

The Apartheid Museum’s Mandela exhibit provides a prime example of prosthetic, touristic memory. The exhibit, initially intended to be a temporary installation, has been on display at the Apartheid Museum since 2007. Versions of the exhibit have traveled around the globe, from Paris to Sweden to Peru. In many cases, the Apartheid Museum has worked with the local exhibitors to create panels and displays that highlight the anti-apartheid activism in the host

³⁰⁴ Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory*, 18.

country. At the Malmö Museum in Sweden, for example, the Mandela exhibit included a “retrospective overview of Sweden’s relations with South Africa over the past few hundred years.”³⁰⁵ The Parisian exhibit, held at the Hôtel de Ville, coincided with the country’s South Africa Season. (Malmö’s version was likewise held during the 2010 “Year of South Africa.”)

The Mandela exhibit gives a comprehensive overview of Mandela’s life. Split into six sections, the display is roughly organized around key “themes” of Mandela’s personality and story: Character, Prisoner, Comrade, Negotiator, Leader, History. The exhibit largely moves chronologically, from Mandela’s upbringing in the Eastern Cape to his days as a young lawyer to his imprisonment, release, and presidency. Though the tone is largely laudatory, there are moments of critique: in the post-apartheid section, for example, quotes from historian Phil Bonner illustrate the left’s dissatisfaction with Mandela’s turn towards neoliberal economic policies. Thus, the exhibit—the only large-scale display devoted to Mandela’s biography—endeavors to be a celebration.

The Mandela exhibit has its own guestbook at the Apartheid Museum, and visitors leave more detailed comments than they tend to on the more general comment cards. (The structure of the guestbook may help: while the general comment cards are the size of index cards, the Mandela ledger is a journal with unlined pages.) Visitor comments were overwhelmingly enthusiastic; I never saw a critique of the exhibit or of Mandela himself in these books. Many

³⁰⁵ Swedish and South African museums have a long history of collaboration and transnational exchange. The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), for example, was a major funder of Cape Town’s District Six Museum. For more information on this relationship, see chapter 4 on the District Six Museum.

Morris Hargreaves McIntyre, “Stories to Remind Us About Human Values: An Evaluation of the *Mandela and South Africa* Exhibitions at Malmö Museums,” October 2010, accessed January 24, 2014,

<http://www.malmo.se/download/18.29c3b78a132728ecb52800027417/Effektutv%C3%A4rdering+Tema+Sydafrika+2010.pdf>.

comments from local visitors included the popular marketing slogan “Proudly South African,” originally the shorthand to denote South African-produced goods. Others thanked Mandela for his service and offered hope for the future of South Africa. These comments were global in scale. When I visited on an August day in 2011, I found well-wishes from visitors from South Africa, Bermuda, several states in the US, Canada, Nigeria, Taiwan, Jamaica, Brazil, Mexico, the UK, and Ethiopia. (Perhaps unsurprisingly, many of the comments from July and August coincided with his birthday, July 18.)

The Malmö Museum conducted a study of visitor reactions to and interpretations of the visiting Mandela exhibit. This research, conducted during the holiday months of June, July, and August 2010, profiled a very different demographic from the typical Apartheid Museum visitor. In contrast to the Apartheid Museum’s high proportion of international visitors, over 40% of visitors were from Malmö or Skåne County, 19% were from elsewhere in Sweden, 35% were from another European country, and only 4% were from outside Europe.³⁰⁶ Only 12% of visitors came specifically for the Mandela exhibit, and 60% were unaware of the display when they made their plans to visit the museum.³⁰⁷ Only 3% claimed any kind of involvement in anti-apartheid activism, and only 10% had visited South Africa.³⁰⁸

Despite these substantially different visitor demographics, the Mandela exhibit was popular at Malmö—only 2% of visitors surveyed expressed dissatisfaction with any element of the exhibit.³⁰⁹ Moreover, these responses reflected an emotional engagement with the content: 65% of visitors expressed a sense of hope after leaving the exhibit, and, remarkably, 45% “agreed that

³⁰⁶ McIntyre, “Stories to Remind Us About Human Values,” 14.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 18.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 40.

the Mandela exhibition gave them a sense of being a citizen of the world.”³¹⁰ The exhibit, then, attempts to inspire a sense of cosmopolitan citizenship—and has, to some extent, succeeded.

Present in visitor responses from both museums is a feeling of connection to Mandela, whether personally or politically. These responses were consistent across lines of geography, race, age, gender, and occupation. Mandela’s story of triumph over adversity resonated with visitors, many of whom cited him as a personal inspiration. If the exhibit were wholly uncritical, these comments would perhaps be unsurprising. But the Apartheid Museum’s willingness to sharply critique Mandela makes the visitor reactions to the exhibit less predictable. At one point, for example, the exhibit text censures Mandela’s leadership style as “autocratic” for adopting GEAR (Growth, Employment, and Redistribution), an economic strategy that emphasized privatization. Likewise, the display highlights Mandela’s resistance to recognizing the problem of HIV/AIDS and the slow government response to the public health crisis.

The overwhelmingly positive response to the exhibit—in spite of these substantial critiques—suggests a strong public devotion to Mandela. Indeed, the image of Mandela is so powerful that he becomes an object of prosthetic, rather than lived, memory for nearly all visitors to these sites. For the exhibit’s part, his image is mediated through the display text, but also through carefully selected artifacts. At the Apartheid Museum, Mandela’s red Mercedes greets visitors as they enter the exhibit, while his worn boxing gloves complement text that describe his athletic prowess and intelligence.³¹¹ Likewise, Francois Pienaar’s rugby jersey hangs nearby a

³¹⁰ McIntyre, “Stories to Remind Us About Human Values,” 43.

³¹¹ The South African artist Simon Gush created a more critical view of Mandela’s artifacts, specifically his Mercedes. Gush recreated and deconstructed the Mercedes in an installation called *Red*. Shortly after the workers donated the car to Mandela, they embarked on a wildcat strike that lasted nine weeks. Gush’s art explores the symbolism of Mandela and the material conditions of the workers who created the iconic artifact. Sean O’Toole, “This Is the Work of a

screen that projects footage from the 1995 Rugby World Cup. These iconic moments are punctuated by other media-heavy displays, including footage from Mandela's 90th birthday where musicians like Will Smith, Joan Baez, and Amy Winehouse performed in his honor. Even in the museum, then, images of Mandela are both highly mediated and *media dependent*. The exhibit's Warhol-esque logo—six images of Mandela in different colors—invokes the different elements of Mandela's personality, but also suggests a kind of media-savvy, pop playfulness to the display. This is not your textbook's Mandela, the exhibit winks.

The exhibit's pop aesthetic helps to underscore the image of Mandela as transcendent: more than a politician, he becomes a pop star and celebrity. Visitors to these sites can commune with the leader intellectually (through reading about his life) and emotionally (by holding his prized possessions). In this way, Mandela becomes the ultimate embodiment of prosthetic memory. His iconic image permeates the display, catapulted to new heights of recognizability and fame through the site's aesthetics.

Landsberg suggests that these kinds of images, "products," as they are, "of a capitalist system," are in fact "themselves commodities, and for that reason many intellectuals are quick to condemn them."³¹² She draws a parallel here between the commodification of memory and the new forms of experiential memorialization that have emerged, using the US Holocaust Museum as her major example. But rather than hold such commodification in contempt, she argues that prosthetic memory can have a radical, progressive function. It can, she contends, "teach ethical thinking by fostering empathy."³¹³ In this way, the methods of production of these images are not

Revolution," *Mail & Guardian*, April 4, 2014, accessed January 27, 2017, <http://mg.co.za/article/2014-04-03-this-is-the-work-of-a-revolution>.

³¹² Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory*, 143.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, 149.

as important as the possibilities they engender. Instead of dismissing these images as “commodified”—and therefore compromised—we might instead consider them as ends to the larger means of inspiring social action. In adopting this view, we can become less concerned with creating a “perfect” representation and more interested in the outcomes of representation.

That notion of empathy is precisely what visitor comments convey. The popularity of the Mandela exhibit, reflected in the outpourings of love and gratitude, suggests a kind of cosmopolitan memory of Mandela, a communal and global ownership of his image and legacy. The countless promises to “continue his work” or “honor Madiba’s memory” from visitors around the world point to the kind of radical, ethical education Landsberg’s model offers. Here is the cosmopolitan conceptualization of world history, world history as engaged, ethical pedagogy: world history as world citizenship. The Mandela exhibit satisfies the visitor desire for a feeling of connection to Mandela—a shared ownership over his memory—and fosters a sense of ethical responsibility. Like the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute’s human rights exhibit, then, the Mandela display seeks to inspire and engage.

Remaking An Unsettled History

The Apartheid Museum’s creation, curatorial choices, and future trajectories reflect debates over public history in contemporary South Africa. As many scholars have noted, South African museums have had to contend with their colonial pasts. “For the majority of South Africans,” begins one study, “museums, at best, had little or no value...At worst, these institutions were seen as agents that helped to reproduce and maintain the status quo of

inequalities controlled by, and in the service of, dominant cultures.”³¹⁴ Sara Byala’s study details the funding and administrative struggle of Johannesburg’s MuseumAfrica in its attempt to move past this colonial legacy. These “transformations,” however, are highly contested. The Voortrekker Monument, the iconic memorial to the mythologized Great Trek, now includes exhibits on “reconciliation” and “multi-cultural South Africa.”³¹⁵ As scholars like Annie Coombes and Steven Dubin argue, these efforts are often additive, rather than radically transformative.³¹⁶ The Apartheid Museum’s status as a postapartheid site—conceived of and built after 1994—liberates the museum from the challenges of remaking itself from an apartheid past. (And, of course, the site itself is a critique of the nation’s apartheid past.) Despite this, the site still faces the challenges of interpreting a contentious, recent past, with implications that are far from settled.

At present, the Apartheid Museum is planning to expand its permanent exhibit to include a large section on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The museum had, until recently, hesitated to take on the TRC. “We didn’t know where to start,” one staff member told me, throwing her hands up. The “unsettledness” of the TRC makes the proceedings difficult to curate. “They [the televised hearings] were on every day, and then they just stopped.”³¹⁷ The

³¹⁴ Khwezi ka Mpumlwana, Gerald Corsane, Juanita Pastor-Makhurane, and Ciraj Rassool, “Inclusion and the Power of Representation: South African Museums and the Cultural Politics of Transformation,” in *Museums, Society, Inequality*, ed. Richard Sandell (London: Routledge, 2002): 247.

³¹⁵ Voortrekker Monument, “Voortrekker Monument and Nature Reserve,” accessed February 15, 2014, http://www.vtm.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/ENG_Brochure_FET_Hist.pdf.

³¹⁶ Annie Coombes, *History After Apartheid*; Steven Dubin, *Transforming Museums*.

³¹⁷ Emilia Potenza, interview by author, February 21, 2013.

1998 publication of the TRC's findings did not settle the issue; many South Africans reported feeling dissatisfied with the process and disconnected from the reconciliation process.³¹⁸

The TRC exhibit is largely audiovisual—a nod, as Emilia Potenza noted, to how many South Africans experienced the hearings via nightly news broadcasts.³¹⁹ Though the specifics were still unclear at the time of my fieldwork, the museum worked with Angus Gibson, the filmmaker responsible for much of the site's documentary features. The preliminary plans include a triptych of televisions playing footage from the hearings, creating an “almost overwhelming” experience for the visitor—one of being surrounded by the TRC's images and testimonies.³²⁰

The TRC exhibit will conclude the Apartheid Museum's major displays. Though it is unclear how—or if—the exhibit will change visitor experiences of the site, staff members did express some discomfort with concluding the site's narrative with the TRC. “I'm worried it will be too depressing,” admitted Potenza, alluding to the TRC's graphic and heart wrenching testimonies. At present, the site's concluding displays are largely celebratory, underscoring the triumph of the 1994 elections and the promise of democracy. The TRC, unsettled, chaotic, and contentious as it is, disrupts the notion of a utopian postapartheid nation. That the advent of democracy did not cure the problems of South Africa—or any nation—should hardly be

³¹⁸ The literature on the TRC is vast. Fiona Ross, for example, takes on the ways that women were discursively figured as victims in gendered terms. Ross argues that, in the TRC's configuration, violence perpetrated against women was conflated with sexual violence, thus gendering women's experiences under apartheid. Richard Wilson's work on the TRC contends that, despite the project's conjoining of liberal human rights rhetoric and the African philosophical system of *ubuntu*, the Commission failed to account for local notions of justice and retribution. See Fiona Ross, *Bearing Witness*; Richard Wilson, *The Politics of Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa*.

³¹⁹ Emilia Potenza, interview by author, February 21, 2013.

³²⁰ Angus Gibson, phone interview by author, March 27, 2013.

surprising, but the TRC exhibit will be a major shift in the site's tone. How will visitors respond to this new narrative, one that is perhaps all too emblematic of a "new" South Africa?

The breakdown of the contemporary "memory epidemic," argues Andreas Huyssen, is that "the past cannot give us what the future has failed to deliver."³²¹ Indeed, the turn towards commemorating the TRC means that the site must contend with present-day post-apartheid realities. Perhaps it is ironic that the Apartheid Museum, premised on the mission of "truth-telling," has had such difficulty curating the TRC exhibit. But examining the TRC may mean disrupting visitor expectations—how can the site curate a process of reconciliation that many regard as incomplete?

As a major tourist attraction, the Apartheid Museum aims to attract a global audience through its promise to "tell the truth" about apartheid. The Apartheid Museum tells us much about how tourism and world history are intertwined, about how the former produces the latter. The site claims expertise by not only employing an authoritative historical voice, but also by eliciting affective responses through architecture, imagery, and exhibitionary structure. Moreover, the Museum seeks to make global connections and foster solidarity through its comparative exhibitions. The Apartheid Museum's exhibitionary strategies and content aim to draw in a wide swath of visitors.

The Apartheid Museum is not the only South African site of memory to grapple with questions of tourism, truth, and history. In the next chapter, I explore how the District Six Museum attempts to balance the expectations of a tourist site with its political ethos. Both sites face the challenge of narrating histories that remain uneasy in a present that can seem uncertain.

³²¹ Andreas Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003): 27.

Chapter 3

Curating and Contesting at the District Six Museum

“There is something about walking into that old, wooden-ceilinged church, where the descendants of slaves used to worship and sing and talk, that brings oppression, genocide and redemption into a single space that my mind can take hold of, without being overwhelmed. The tobacco-stained detail of Welcome Dover stoves and a mother's doek and her hand in her armpit as she tries to come to terms with the death of her son in another act of Cape violence, deliberate or accidental.”

-John Matshikiza, *Mail and Guardian*.³²²

The District Six Museum is an iconic site in global public heritage and local South African history. The site memorializes the forced removal of over 60,000 residents—one-tenth of Cape Town's population—from the area of the city known as District Six. Art historian Annie Coombes describes the Museum as “metonymic of all those dehumanizing instances of forced removals that were an integral part of apartheid's master plan from the 1950s onward.”³²³ The District Six Museum is both one of the most famous sites of memory and, as Matshikiza noted, a palimpsest of South African history.

One of the founders of the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, the Museum opened in 1994 and remains one of the most famous of the recent “museums of rights.” Originally, the site was never intended to be a museum, but its initial photography exhibit and display of artifacts from the demolition of the District were so popular that they remain part of the permanent exhibitions. Despite the number of academic studies the site has spawned, it is difficult to tell a cohesive narrative, partly because the Museum actively resists easy categorization. Scholarship often applies the term “community museum” to the site, for example,

³²² District Six Museum, “Home,” District Six Museum, accessed July 4, 2014, <http://www.districtsix.co.za>.

³²³ Annie Coombes, *History after Apartheid*, 117.

but the Museum challenges terms like “community.” This resistance is part of the site’s *raison d’être*—the Museum questions both dominant narratives of the history and present of Cape Town, as well as the purpose and role of tourism in post-apartheid development.

Even the history of the District Six Museum itself moves erratically, and the museum’s star sometimes seems to rise just as the funding environment for public history is depleted. As historian Leslie Witz notes in his study of “township tourism” in Cape Town, tourism and development are tightly linked. “The situating of museums primarily as sites of international tourism,” Witz writes, “has major implications for how new museums develop and older ones are reconstituted.”³²⁴

In this chapter, I draw on literature from tourism and museum studies to explore the effects of international tourism on the District Six Museum. I build on Jerome De Groot’s notion of “consuming history,” a framework that contends that, in the move away from object-based museums, sites have reconstituted themselves as issue-based.³²⁵ Concurrently, De Groot notes that the dwindling funding environment for museums has forced many sites to commercialize, shifting the visitor to a client or customer.³²⁶

The specter of commercialism is particularly salient for the District Six Museum, a site with a radical (often explicitly anti-capitalist) political backdrop. As philosopher Adrian Parr notes in her analysis of Deleuze and Guattari’s work, “Remembering traumatic events has become another form of consumption...the cultural condition of remembrance, mourning, and

³²⁴ Leslie Witz, “Transforming Museums on Postapartheid Tourist Routes,” in *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, eds. Ivan Karp, Corinne A. Kratz, Lynn Szwaja, and Tomás Ybarra-Frausto (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006): 109.

³²⁵ Jerome de Groot, *Consuming History*, 237.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, 242.

commemoration has shifted over time...to capital production.”³²⁷ (Indeed, visitors often note the incongruous presence of vendors selling food and guidebooks in the parking area outside the Auschwitz Museum.)³²⁸ Drawing on the memorialization of 9/11 and the Holocaust, Parr argues that the commodification of traumatic memory is an inherent feature of late capitalism.

Likewise, Martita Sturken examines the relationship of mourning and consumerism in *Tourists of History*, her study of US memorial sites in places like Oklahoma City and Ground Zero in New York. Sturken contends that “the American public is encouraged to experience itself as the subject of history through consumerism, media images, souvenirs, popular culture, and museum and architectural reenactments,” in what she sees as historical catharsis.³²⁹ In particular, Sturken takes aim at what she terms the “comfort culture” around these memorials. She identifies the preponderance of “kitsch” like snowglobes and teddy bears in souvenir shops as a way to maintain a sense of national American innocence after tragedies like 9/11. This “narrative of innocence,” and the accompanying kitsch-ification at sites of memory, enables the nation to “avoid any discussion of what long histories of US foreign policies had done to help foster a terrorist movement specifically aimed at the United States” and allows US interventions to “be understood in a framework of benevolence rather than imperialism.”³³⁰ For Sturken, then,

³²⁷ Parr, 174.

³²⁸ Andrew Charlesworth, Alison Stenning, Robert Guzik, and Michal Paszkowski, “‘Out of Place’ in Auschwitz? Contested Development in Post-War and Post-Socialist Oświęcim,” *Ethics, Place, and Environment* 9, no. 2 (2006): 164. In the summer of 2016, the launch of the popular app Pokémon Go provided another example of the seeming incongruity of solemn memorialization and contemporary life. After visitors discovered they were able to play the game in Auschwitz, the site asked tourists to refrain from catching Pokémon on the premises. See Brian Feldman, “Yes, You Can Catch Pokémon at Auschwitz,” *New York Magazine*, July 11, 2016, accessed August 11, 2016, <http://nymag.com/selectall/2016/07/yes-you-can-catch-pokemon-at-auschwitz.html>.

³²⁹ Sturken, *Tourists of History*, 9.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, 16.

the consumerism of national tragedies is explicitly linked to a disavowal of a critical political praxis.

This kind of disavowal is unthinkable for the District Six Museum, as the site's history is so deeply embedded in a politics of resistance. A visitor will not find teddy bears or snow globes at the site's gift shop. In this work, I explore how the Museum has attempted to avoid this kind of commodification, even as it struggles to stay solvent. As I discuss, however, the site has had to turn to developing products to sell in order to generate revenue. Here, I explore how the site balances its commitment to radical, community-based activism with a very real need to attract visitors and donors to keep its doors open.

It is impossible to undertake a study of the District Six Museum without acknowledging the wealth of scholarship already produced on the site. In particular, one must contend with notions of “community” in community museum—as understood by the site and others. In her study, Annie Coombes describes the Museum as engaging in the “reclaiming and remaking” of space, arguing that the site thwarts the intentions of apartheid planners in its invitation to recall the community of District Six.³³¹ But what is this community? Ciraj Rassool argues that the category of “community” is often conflated with authenticity—a notion that I explore in my analysis of visitor comments. But, he notes, “community” is also a useful principle for organizing and mobilizing for justice.³³² In his study of the Museum, anthropologist Christiaan Beyers positions “community” as the category that links the histories of individual displacement

³³¹ Coombes, *History After Apartheid*, 131.

³³² Ciraj Rassool, *City/Site/Museum: Reviewing Memory Practices at the District Six Museum*, eds. Bonita Bennett, Chrischene Julius, and Crain Soudien (Cape Town: District Six Museum Foundation, 2008): 72–74.

with human rights-oriented nation-building activities in post-apartheid South Africa. Beyers positions the District Six Museum as a contact zone between different notions of community.³³³

Given the extensive literature on the question of “community” and District Six, this study focuses instead on the site’s relationship with tourism. This chapter examines the Museum’s international reputation and explores how the site reconciles its status as a tourist destination with its self-conceptualization as a site of radical memory work. Here, I interrogate the history of the museum and turn to its current financial pressures to assess how the Museum has responded through programming. What does it mean to be a tourist attraction when the site actively resists the kind of self-promotion (and bald embrace of capitalism) that tourism so often entails? In his observations of the contemporary space of Cape Town, Crain Soudien argues that the politics of Cape Town wants the maintenance of a white middle-class identity for the city—a fiction that District Six historically dispelled and continues to negate with its persistence in the landscape.³³⁴ At the end of this chapter, I turn to the relationship between the Museum, the city, and tourism. How does the site negotiate its place in Cape Town tourism, given its historical erasure from the city?

Brief Museum History

As I have noted above, the site has inspired dozens of academic studies, most of which focus on how the Museum represents the “community” of District Six. The romantic, conventional historical narrative goes something like this: District Six was a multiracial,

³³³ Christiaan Beyers, “The Cultural Politics of ‘Community’ and Citizenship in the District Six Museum, Cape Town,” *Anthropologica* 50, no. 2 (2008): 359–373.

³³⁴ Crain Soudien, *City/Site/Museum*, 18.

multiethnic area of Cape Town that had been designated as the city's sixth municipal district in 1867. Set against Table Mountain, the District was home to indigenous South Africans and their descendants. It was also home to Xhosa-speakers, descendants of slaves brought from Indonesia, Sri Lanka, and other parts of south Asia and the Pacific, and Jewish South Africans. Residents lived in relative harmony. The area was poor, no doubt, and many facilities were in bad shape, but District Six residents were happy and harmonious. But the apartheid government was unhappy with the multiethnic area and wanted to make Cape Town an all-white city. Calling the area "blighted" and "a slum," the government declared the area "whites only" and told residents to leave in 1966 under the Group Areas Act. By the mid-1970s, residents had been forced to leave their homes and move to outlying townships, far from the city and their community. Indeed, much of this narrative casts District Six residents as apolitical and passive—a notion that the Museum disputes through both its exhibits and narrative of its genesis.

Much of the academic literature around the museum situates its founding in the activism of the 1980s. In the late 1980s, the "Hands Off District Six" Committee managed to stop British Petroleum from developing the area. As Chrischene Julius, the Museum's collections manager, observes, the site "was proclaimed 'salted earth' and a group of [Hands Off District Six] conference members was tasked to develop a memorial project around the area."³³⁵ The coalition planned a temporary exhibit in one of the District's Methodist churches that had been spared from demolition. The exhibit debuted in 1994, months after the elections that brought Mandela to office. The initial exhibit, which comprises the museum's current Streets display, consisted of street signs that had been bulldozed and a large map where former residents could mark their

³³⁵ Chrischene Julius, "'Digging [D]eeper than the Eye Approves': Oral Histories and Their Use in the *Digging Deeper* Exhibition of the District Six Museum," *Kronos* 34, no. 1 (2008): 106.

homes and businesses. Coalition members became part of the District Six Museum Foundation that established the site.³³⁶

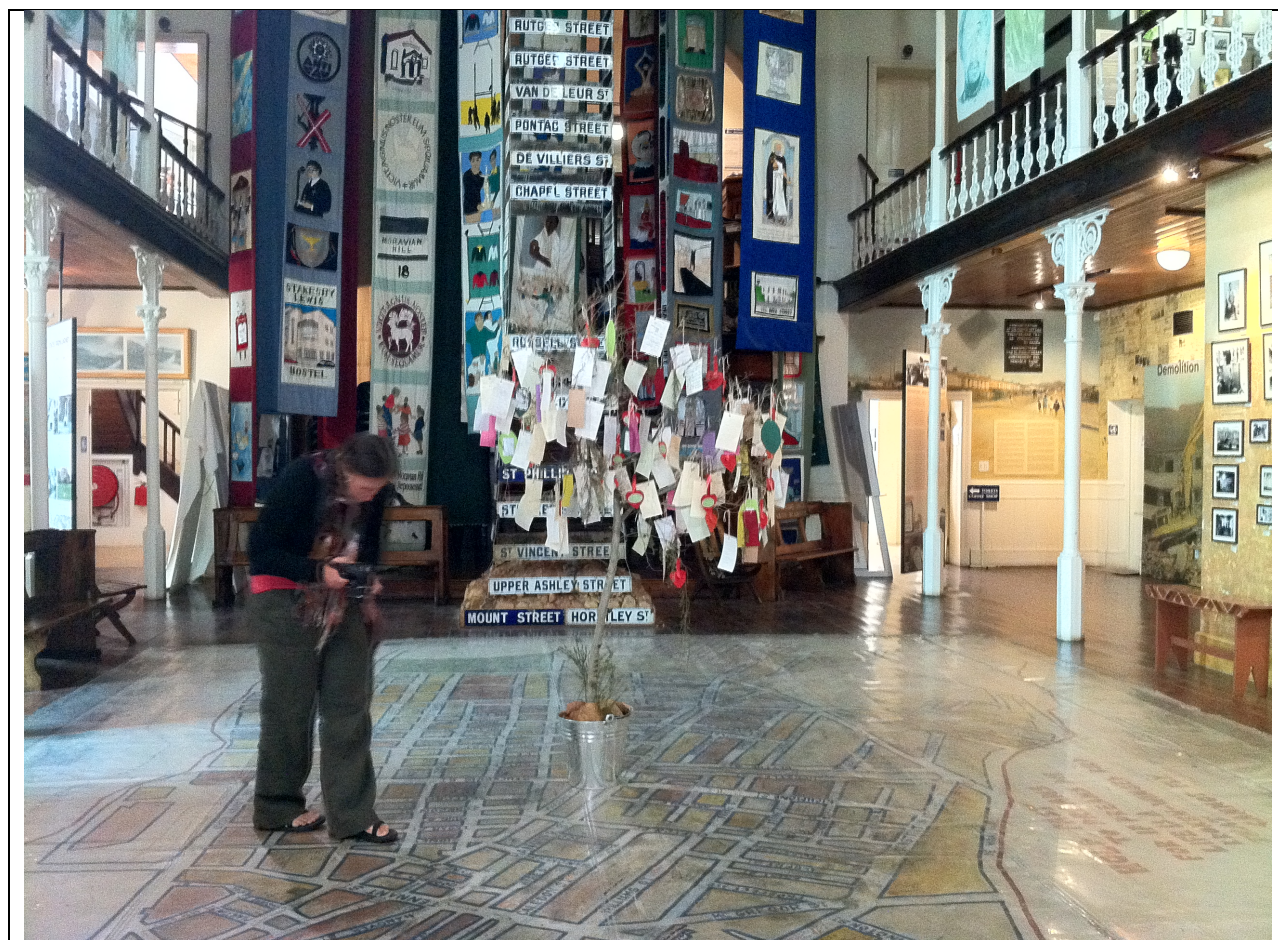


Figure 15. Visitor exploring the Streets exhibit. Photograph by author, 2011.

From the site's beginnings in the Central Methodist Church, the museum has grown in size and scope. The Museum purchased its Homecoming Centre in 2002. Known as the Sacks Futeran Building, the site served as a textile warehouse before the Museum's purchase and is

³³⁶ Inaugural members of the foundation included representatives from Hands Off District Six, the Ratepayers and Residents' Association, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Methodist Church. See Beyers, *The Cultural Politics of 'Community' and Citizenship in the District Six Museum, Cape Town*, 13.

located on the same street as the Church.³³⁷ The three-story Centre currently serves several purposes: as the site of the Museum’s administrative offices, a space for workshops and special events, and an exhibition site.



Figure 16. Homecoming Centre. Kaospilot Outpost Cape Town, 2015. CC-BY-SA.

The site’s governance also reflects the desire to center community voices and concerns. A Board of Trustees, comprised mostly of ex-residents with some academics, oversees the Museum. The purpose of this governance structure is to ensure that the site remains representative of ex-residents and democratic in decision-making. As I discuss below, this commitment to shared governance extends to the site’s curation strategies. How does the

³³⁷ District Six Museum, “The Homecoming Centre,” accessed January 10, 2015, <http://districtsix.co.za/Content/Museum/About/HomecomingCentre/index.php>.

museum center ex-residents' voices in exhibits, and how have these strategies become part of the site's appeal to tourists?

Exhibits

Most visitors associate the museum with the exhibits in the church. Unlike the well-marked space of the Apartheid Museum, the District Six Museum has an open exhibition plan, with few directions for visitors and no clearly delineated beginning and end. The layout is practical; the intimate space of the church does not lend itself to easy partitioning or excessive signage. But the use of space is also purposeful—as staff describe later in this chapter, the museum tries to explicitly avoid crafting a pre-determined narrative and believes that visitors should make their own meaning of the site.

The exhibit space in the Methodist Church houses three major permanent exhibitions: 1994's *Streets: Retracing District Six* and *Digging Deeper* from 2000. In 2004, the site extended the exhibition to incorporate a display entitled *Memory Traces*. This exhibit, according to the Museum, marks “the transition between *Digging Deeper* and the future work of the Museum as a site museum of conscience”³³⁸ This statement suggests a desire to look beyond the space of District Six and connect the experiences of dispossession to global histories of oppression. As I suggest below, the exhibits and structure of the Museum have always been intimately connected to both the global and local.

³³⁸ District Six Museum, “Permanent Exhibitions,” accessed January 2, 2015, <http://www.districtsix.co.za/Content/Exhibitions/Permanent/index.php>.

Streets:

Streets was the first official exhibition in the District Six Museum. The exhibit remains incredibly popular, with visitors stopping to explore the large map of the District on the floor, examine the 75 recovered street signs, and read the calico memory cloth, embroidered with memories and notes from ex-residents.³³⁹

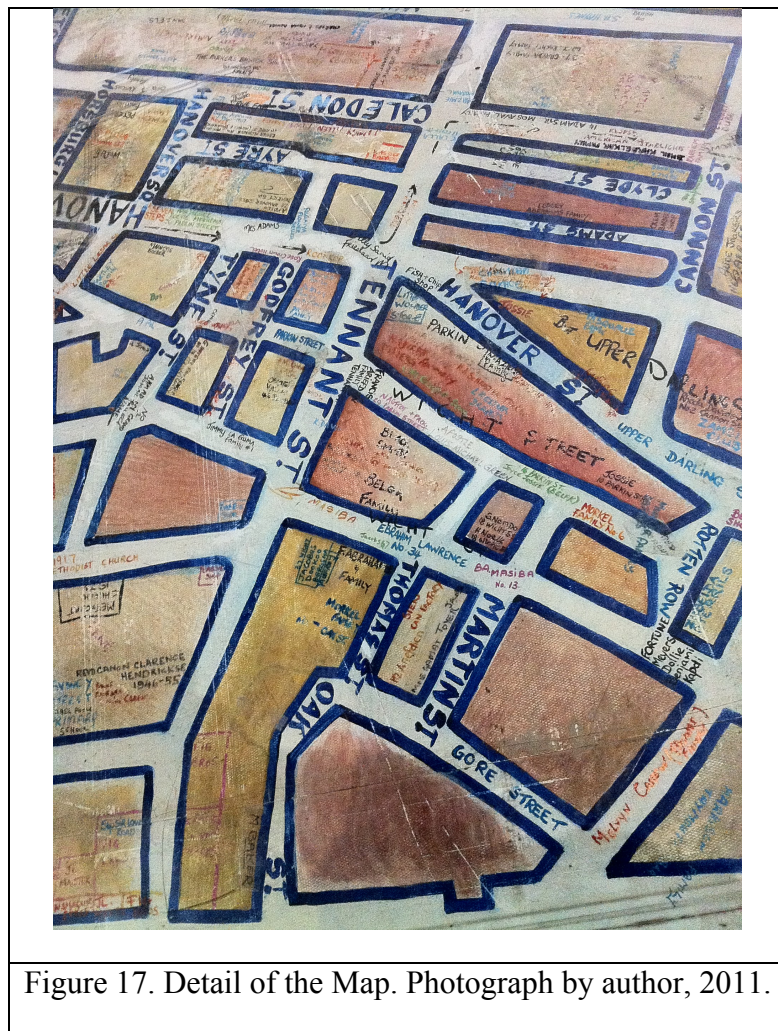


Figure 17. Detail of the Map. Photograph by author, 2011.

The map is a depiction of the area of District Six. Ex-residents marked the spaces where their houses and businesses were, and the map's perimeter is covered with quotes from District artists and writers. The surface of the map is laminated to protect it. In my site visits, I often saw visitors spending much of their time reading the map and asking questions about the markings. For some visitors, the map is their major—or only—impression of the site; many of the popular “township tours” begin at

the Museum and spend only ten or fifteen minutes at the site. The map provides a point of

³³⁹ The memory cloth proved so popular that the Museum created a paper cloth for visitors to write their own messages on.

geographic reference, as well as a poignant reminder of the human costs of the destructive policies of apartheid.

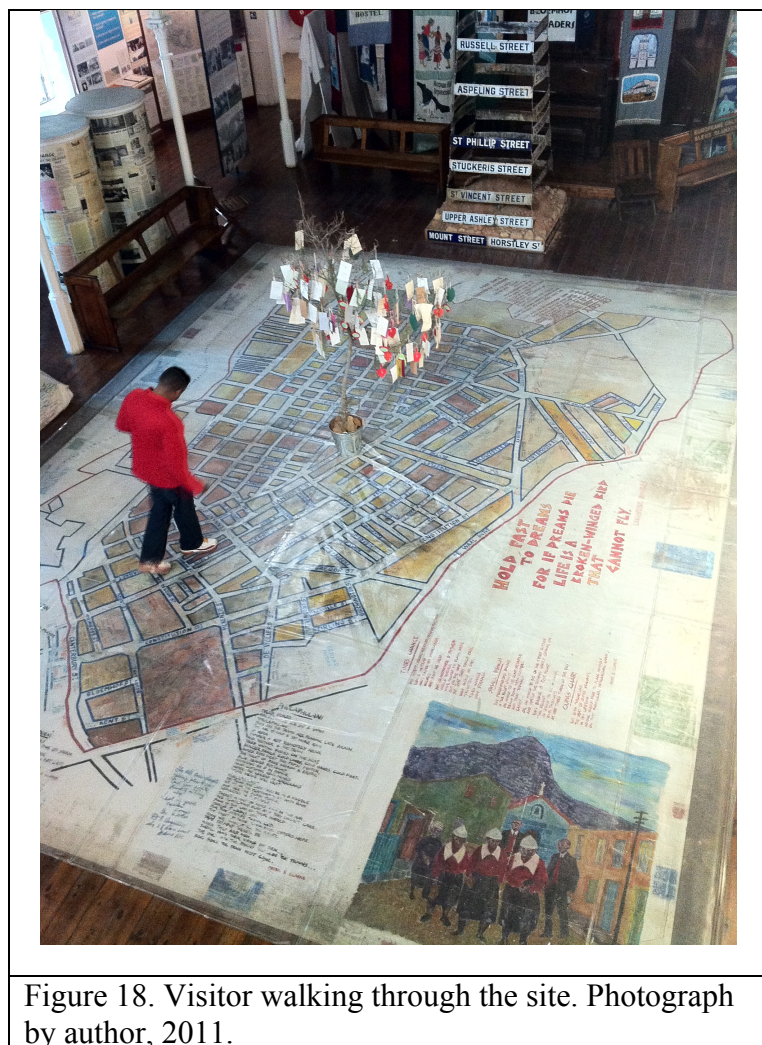


Figure 18. Visitor walking through the site. Photograph by author, 2011.

Most of the 75 street signs are suspended from ladder sculptures near the pulpit of the church. Portraits of prominent District Six citizens and leaders, printed on architectural paper, hang from the balcony. Twenty years from the Museum's opening, some of the portraits are nearly bleached out, giving the banners a ghostly appearance. The banners also serve to interject people back into the exhibit, as much of the display is devoted to artistic representations of

the District. There are also numerous photographs and pieces of explanatory text that give visitors a general history of the area.

Digging Deeper:

In 2000, the Museum expanded its permanent exhibit to situate District Six in a broader South African public historical context. As the exhibition guide states, the exhibit builds upon

the “central intention of the Museum to enquire into the pasts of South African society and the workings of memory.”³⁴⁰ The site closed for eighteen months while the staff prepared the new exhibit, which was intended to further the Museum’s “memory work.”

The displays build on the site’s large collection of oral histories and documentary materials. As with *Streets*, the viewpoints of former residents are foregrounded. The site describes the curatorial process as “combining simple direct techniques (the immediacy of material, hand-mixed colour and hand-generated processes), with documentary, digital and sound elements. The voices of narrators and transcribed life histories of ex-residents are the major resource and departure point for the choice of exhibition themes.”³⁴¹ The site’s archives form the basis for panels on the demolition of the area and residents’ resistance. Alongside timelines for the removals and images of the demolished landscape are quotes from former residents about their experiences with forced relocation.

The emphasis on residents’ perspectives can be seen in the exhibit’s additions of two rooms, Nomvuyo’s room on the first floor and Rod’s room upstairs. Both rooms incorporate soundscapes and are artistic renderings of District Six spaces. Nomvuyo’s room is a representation of Nomvuyo Ngcelwana’s residence and an effort to incorporate the perspective of a black African woman. The Museum is conscious of a perception that the District was a solely “coloured” area, and Nomvuyo’s room is an attempt to complicate that notion. At first glance, the room appears to be a straightforward re-creation of a “typical” residence. As one walks through the space, however, it becomes clear that the room is a pastiche of real and imagined. A calendar on the wall reads 1991. A graduation photo from the late 1990s hangs on

³⁴⁰ District Six Museum, *A Guide to the District Six Museum and the Digging Deeper Exhibition*, 2001.

³⁴¹ District Six Museum, “Permanent Exhibitions.”

the wall, from long after the District was bulldozed. In this room, we see the Museum's exhibitionary strategy: not a straightforward representation of the District as it existed, but an exploration of how memory continues to affect the lives of those displaced. These contemporary details suggest that displacement is not confined to the past, but is an ever-present part of the lives of former residents. At the same time, this display reminds the visitor that memory is not a recreation, but an active process that reflects the contemporary moment as much as the past. Though Nomvuyo's room is meant to recall an actual residence, the juxtaposition of contemporary and historical material emphasizes both memory's fallibility and resilience—that is, memory's ability to both distort the past and persist into the present.



Figure 19. Rod's Room. Payam Torabi, 2010. CC-BY-NC.

Rod's room, by contrast, is clearly not intended to resemble an actual residence. Created by artist Roderick Sauls, who was raised in the District, the room is covered in plaster. Inside the walls, Sauls has embedded various household items like mirrors throughout the space. When one looks closely, however, other elements appear: the stamped government definitions of South African "races," the fragments of records of slave sales. The room thus becomes a personal meditation on identity, race, and memory, but also an examination of "colonial discourses on racial identity" and the "historic roots of institutional racism."³⁴²

The emphasis on ex-resident perspectives permeates other parts of *Digging Deeper*. A centerpiece of the exhibit is artist Peggy Delpont's 2006 mural, "No matter where we are, we are here." The title is drawn from an ex-resident's comment on the memory cloth. Delpont also incorporated pieces of the Museum's archival collections, including oral histories and photographs. Delpont notes that "the mural is the result of a consultation with the overall museum collection, but interviewee and ex-resident voices drive the meanings behind the mural."³⁴³

Taken together, the "rooms" and Delpont's mural exemplify the Museum's efforts, not only to foreground ex-resident perspectives, but also to interrogate the site's own archives. *Digging Deeper* sustains this introspective archival gaze with the six alcoves on the church's upper floor. Each of these alcoves represents a different "social space" in the District—a set of flats, a barbershop and hairdresser, the District Six music scene, workplaces, the washhouse, the bioscope, and the Carnival.³⁴⁴ These alcoves also incorporate soundscapes and snippets of music.

³⁴² International Sites of Conscience, "Rod's Room," accessed July 4, 2014, <http://www.sitesofconscience.org/sites/district-six/how-is-it-remembered/rods-room>.

³⁴³ Julius, *Oral History in the Exhibitionary Strategy of the District Six Museum, Cape Town*, 89.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

These “social spaces” are the first place I noticed gender on display in the Museum. The hairdresser and barbershop displays, for instance, are clearly homosocial and gendered spaces. The workplaces alcove devotes much space to the Peninsula Maternity Hospital, a site of employment for many women in the District. The alcove displays are a way for the Museum to examine how markers of identity functioned in everyday life.

Digging Deeper also aims to challenge conceptions of the District as apolitical. Julius takes up this issue directly in her analysis of oral history in the Museum; she quotes interviews with ex-resident Amina Gool on the *Resistance* and *Demolition* panels. On the first panel, Gool describes herself as apolitical, but on the second panel goes on to describe the high mortality rate for children in the District, explaining that, “there was something wrong in District Six...there was poverty there.”³⁴⁵ In this excerpt, Gool resists the notion of a “perfect” community, fighting the nostalgic haze that can accompany stories of loss. And, as Julius notes, despite her self-characterization as “apolitical,” Gool’s words are anything but. Julius writes:

...the placement of these extracts renders [Gool’s] meanings as politicised for two contexts. In a context not of her own making, the placement of the extract on the *Resistance* panel, illustrates the agency of the *Museum* in acknowledging that ‘resistance’ amongst District Sixers to apartheid was not a given, and in displaying that sentiment, makes a political statement about a District Six narrative that does not exclude this group. In the second extract, which was placed on the *Demolition* panel—the voice of Amina Gool that is seen *is* political, albeit around the underlying connection between the effects of racism and the prevalence of poverty in District Six.³⁴⁶

Thus, the Museum both acknowledges that not all residents were “active” anti-apartheid resisters, but also that what may appear apolitical—sadness over a child’s death—might actually be politicized—a death linked to poverty from state-sponsored segregation policies.

³⁴⁵ Amina Gool, quoted in Julius, “[D]igging Deeper,” 133.

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

Memory Traces:

In addition to these permanent exhibits, the Church also houses a number of temporary displays. When I visited in 2011 and 2013, the *Huis Kombuis* (home kitchen) exhibit was on display near the Museum's café. The exhibit grew out of a project coordinated by exhibitions manager Tina Smith. Launched in 2006, the project was "conceived as a transformative space where memory is performed and creatively re-appropriated through reviving traditional home based crafts like embroidery, sewing and appliqué work."³⁴⁷ Participants in the workshops brought in recipes and embroidered them onto tea towels, aprons, tablecloths, and other kitchen accessories.³⁴⁸ In addition to mounting an exhibition, the Museum has begun selling these objects as a way to generate revenue.³⁴⁹

Like the alcove spaces of *Digging Deeper*, *Huis Kombuis* takes up issues of gender and homosocial spaces. The Museum was explicitly concerned with incorporating the perspectives of women into these displays: "the workshops allow for the forgotten voices, fragile memories and skills of elderly, retired homemakers, as well as unemployed ex-resident women who formerly worked as seamstresses in the clothing industry, to be acknowledged and made visible."³⁵⁰ Moreover, the exhibit allowed for the re-creation and reinterpretation of a "District Six aesthetic," one that foregrounded the labor and lives of women in the District.³⁵¹ This aesthetic can be characterized by an emphasis on home, as well as showcasing the skill it takes to create these kinds of objects. In addition to the recipe, the exhibit featured photos of the workshop

³⁴⁷ District Six Museum, "Huis Kombuis Design and Craft Memory Project," accessed January 10, 2015, <http://districtsix.co.za/Content/Exhibitions/Past/2000/HuisKombuis/index.php>.

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

³⁴⁹ See the section on funding for more information.

³⁵⁰ District Six Museum, "Huis Kombuis Design and Craft Memory Project."

³⁵¹ Ibid.

participants, with a short narrative statement about their lives in the District. These narratives are not mere romantic nostalgic longings for a time past. Patience Watlington, for example, reminisces that “neighbours loved, shared, cared and respected each other,” but also notes that moving from the District “gave me independence” from the overcrowding of the area. The *Huis Kombuis* project allowed women to explore the complicated, sometimes contradictory, aspects of District Six life. Like the *Digging Deeper* exhibit, *Huis Kombuis* resists easy narratives of victimization and nostalgia.



Figure 20. Patience Watlington's panel. Photograph by author, 2013.

Homecoming Centre:

When I visited in 2011, two exhibits about football were on display in the Homecoming Centre, and they both invited global comparison. Intended to coincide with the 2010 World Cup that was held in South Africa, these exhibits focused on both local District Six football clubs and the global problem of racism in football. Entitled *Offside: Kick Ignorance Out! Football Unites, Racism Divides*, the British Council co-sponsored the global exhibit, which was also part of the UK's Kick It Out campaign. The *Offside* exhibit highlighted connections between UK and South African football, with a special focus on South Africans who have played in UK leagues. The exhibit further foregrounded the global connections by attempting to uncover the long histories of UK football fandom in South Africa, often traced back to the apartheid-era ban on black footballers in major South African leagues.

The local exhibit, *Fields of Play: Football Memories and Forced Removals in Cape Town*, built on a 1997 temporary exhibit *(Dis)playing the Game*. Staff from the Museum conducted most of the research for the *Fields of Play* exhibit, mostly in the form of collecting artifacts and oral histories. The exhibition explored football clubs across the Western Cape, from the township of Langa to Stellenbosch. Though the exhibit focused on local football cultures and histories, a version eventually traveled to Switzerland and was on display at the Basler Afrika Bibliographien.³⁵² With help from the Basler Afrika Bibliographien, the Museum produced an exhibition catalogue. Though the exhibit focused on local teams, the catalog subtly reminds readers of the global reach of South African football, opening the book with a photo spread of the under-construction Cape Town World Cup stadium. Together, these exhibits were a way for

³⁵² District Six Museum, "Fields of Play: Football Memories and Forced Removals in Cape Town – 2008/2012," accessed January 11, 2015, <http://districtsix.co.za/Content/Exhibitions/Past/2000/Play/index.php>.

the Museum to expand its focus beyond Cape Town while still maintaining a connection to District Six.

Exhibitionary Strategy

The exhibitionary strategy at District Six is, at least in part, influenced by the site's relationship with the University of the Western Cape. Several board members are or were faculty members, and several staff members attended UWC. The "UWC School" self-consciously fashioned its approach to history as distinct from the "history from below" project of the Wits History Workshop.³⁵³ The UWC approach decentralizes historians as sites of expertise and aims instead for a co-curatorial model that incorporates multiple perspectives. UWC historians Leslie Witz and Ciraj Rassool explain their take on "making histories":

Here we want to draw a distinction between the popularisation project of the 1980s and the current transactions as historians in making histories. The former relied very heavily on notions of academic expertise and making this accessible to wider audiences. Making extensive use of research into the lives and experiences of the underclasses, academics aligned with the History Workshop at the University of the Witwatersrand produced histories in an accessible form and language. Much of this research was undertaken by social historians associated with radical Marxist scholarship who made use of oral history methodologies... Our notion of engagement with the public in making histories is one that disavows this 'trickle down' process that relies on ideas of outreach, uplift and access while holding on to academic expertise. If one begins instead to see institutions of public culture as 'critical social locations where knowledge and perceptions [of the public sphere] are shaped, debated, imposed, challenged, and disseminated', then the historian takes on a somewhat different role.³⁵⁴

Drawing from the work of historical anthropologist David William Cohen, this methodology also emphasizes the process of constructing histories. The UWC approach in action can be understood through Ciraj Rassool and artist Jos Thorne's explanation for a timeline in the

³⁵³ See the Apartheid Museum chapter for more on the History Workshop's approach.

³⁵⁴ Leslie Witz and Ciraj Rassool, "Making Histories," *Kronos* 34, no. 1 (2008): 11–12.

Digging Deeper exhibition. “Conventionally,” Rassool and Thorne write, “museum and schoolbook timelines are spaces where readers expect to find hard facts about the past.”³⁵⁵ But in the Museum’s timeline, with issues presented from a “black perspective,” the site endeavored to “go beyond empiricism and to ask questions about how knowledge of the past is formed and under what conditions.”³⁵⁶ The Museum is particularly interested in a reflexive curatorial process that examines the site’s own “biases and the questions about culture, politics, and social life in District Six that it has prioritized.”³⁵⁷

In keeping with this emphasis on co-curation, several former residents of District Six work as tour guides in the museum and provide context for the site’s exhibits. Noor Ebrahim is perhaps the most well-known of these guides, and many visitors consider him an ambassador for the museum. One reviewer of Ebrahim’s memoir, for example, wrote that she “wish[ed] I had more time with the author when I met him at the District Six Museum. His book gave me a brief insight into his life and the community in District Six.”³⁵⁸

Visitors like this one often explain that the guides at District Six confer a sense of authenticity to the museum. Another reviewer explains that Ebrahim “writes what life was like in District Six for him and his family before apartheid policy forced everyone out. It is such a sincere book about the life of a community forced apart by racism and political malarkey.”³⁵⁹

Words like “sincerity” and “honesty” pervade visitors’ descriptions of these tours. I often

³⁵⁵ Ciraj Rassool and Jos Thorne, “A timeline for District Six: a parallel text,” in *Recalling Community in Cape Town*, 96.

³⁵⁶ Ibid.

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

³⁵⁸ User “Pat,” “Noor’s Story: My Life in District Six,” *Google Books* (accessed September 27, 2014). http://books.google.com/books/about/Noor_s_story.html?id=QfowAQAAIAAJ

³⁵⁹ Leslie Street, “Leslie Street’s Reviews: Noor’s Story: My Life in District Six,” *Goodreads* (accessed September 28, 2014), <https://www.goodreads.com/review/show/180356073>.

observed visitors gathered around the main room in the Methodist Church, asking Ebrahim questions about his experiences.

Perhaps the most commonly-repeated narrative I heard was the story of Ebrahim's pigeons, detailed in his memoirs. A poignant story of loss, he relates how he raised pigeons to race and perch on his house in the District. After his family was forced to leave, they moved to Athlone, a suburb on the Cape Flats. Ebrahim raised his pigeons there for three months, but when he released them, they did not return to the new house in Athlone. Instead, he found them amongst the wreckage of their old house in District Six. The popularity of the story is not difficult to understand; Ebrahim even notes that he made Michelle Obama cry with its telling.³⁶⁰ He repeated this story throughout most of his tours that I saw and participated in.

Ebrahim's tours are an important way for the Museum to complicate some of the prevailing apartheid-era narratives of District Six as a dangerous space. His stories are marked by two major characteristics: an emphasis on the relative harmony of District Six, as well as its diversity. Fighting against the perception that District Six was a "coloured area," Ebrahim would often call the neighborhoods "not coloured, but colourful." The Museum often found itself combating this perception of race in Cape Town, as it continued to advocate for a non-racial approach to politics and culture.

As scholars have noted, South African museums in the apartheid era took an active role in promoting the ideology of white supremacy through displays that were denigrating to

³⁶⁰ Rusana Philander, "District Six Museum Brings the Past to Life," *The New Age*, September 22, 2011, accessed January 11, 2015, http://www.thenewage.co.za/29742-1058-53-District_Six_Museum_brings_the_past_to_life.

indigenous and black South Africans.³⁶¹ The impulse behind the District Six Museum, as Crain Soudien notes, was to model an explicitly anti-racist (and non-racial) space.

In recalling District Six, the museum self-consciously presented itself as a museum of Cape Town and in the process signalled its desire to be understood as an inclusive space. It asserted the primacy of the District as a place which constantly problematized and decentred the totalizing impulses of colour, class, religion, gender and political belief. The importance of the area, and one of the reasons for the apartheid state's obsession with it, lay in its ability to take difference and to sublimate it within a community identity. In this respect the District embodied a different narrative to that of apartheid.³⁶²

As Julius told me, the site has tried to secure its financial independence so that it can maintain a non-racial space. In particular, the Museum has resisted the notion that it represents a “coloured” space, opting instead to emphasize the area’s multiethnic background.³⁶³

Yet, as Julian Jonker, a legal studies scholar and researcher for the Museum, and geographer Karen Till explain, the apartheid-era category of “coloured” is still widely in use in Cape Town. They note, however, that “this discourse of coloured identity has often worked to silence narratives of slave ancestry,” and that the city’s complex past has not always been accounted for in the work of the TRC or other memory work.³⁶⁴ The District Six Museum has tried to balance its representations of a complicated city with its commitment to problematizing apartheid conceptions of race.

This Museum’s “decentering” of race also extends to the Museum’s political activism. In June 2003, Prestwich Place, a massive burial ground was unearthed during the proposed

³⁶¹ See, for example, Janette Deacon, “Heritage and African History,” in *Toward New Histories for South Africa: On the Place of the Past in our Present*, ed. Shamil Jeppie (Lansdowne: Juta Gariep, 2004): 117 – 29; Annie Coombes, *History After Apartheid*.

³⁶² Craig Soudien, “Emerging Discourses About Identity in New South African Museums,” *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 10, no. 2 (2008): 216–17.

³⁶³ Chrischene Julius, interview by author, March 12, 2013.

³⁶⁴ Julian Jonker and Karen Till, “Mapping and Excavating Spectral Traces in Post-Apartheid Cape Town,” *Memory Studies* 2, no. 3 (2009): 305.

construction of a luxury apartment building. The burial ground housed the remains of thousands of enslaved Capetonians and other marginalized groups in the city. The area around the burial ground, known as District One, was also a site of forced removals. Given the post-apartheid emphasis on memory work and space, the discovery of these remains “thus embodied a past that exceeded national narrations of public memory, and also presented this past as an object of urgent concern for private capital and activists alike.”³⁶⁵ The site immediately became a focal point for debates about memorialization, identity, and place.

Many activists who were part of Hands Off District Six became part of an anti-development effort, originally called the Hands Off Prestwich Street Ad Hoc Committee.³⁶⁶ Indeed, Jonker and Till link the two campaigns in ideology, arguing that both campaigns fought not only against redevelopment but against “fixed and restrictive delineations of identity.”³⁶⁷ These protests extended not only to the development of the site, but to the excavation of the remains for scientific and archaeological study. Activists linked the proposed research to the colonial practices of grave robbing, museum collection, and desecration of human remains. In particular, they noted the desire to collect so-called “Bushman” remains in a salvage anthropological mission to understand a “dying race.”

The haunted archaeologies of Prestwich Place, then, are related to the colonial thanatopolitics we mapped in our memorial cartography. The dignity of (some) human life was rendered irrelevant in the face of an Enlightenment-inspired project of conducting scientific research on “dying races.” With the unearthing of human remains at Prestwich Place, this colonial past of archaeology and its international trade of human remains resurfaced.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁵ Julian Jonker and Karen Till, “Mapping and Excavating Spectral Traces in Post-Apartheid Cape Town,” 305.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 306.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 316.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 318.

In this way, activists connected colonial practices of racial subjugation to contemporary concerns of identity and postcolonial politics.

Ultimately, the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) ruled in favor of the developers, and the building continued. The bones were excavated, but activists were successful in persuading SAHRA to forbid anthropometric studies of the remains. In 2008, the Prestwich Memorial opened with a memorial garden, an interpretive center, and an ossuary. Reactions to the interpretive center and memorial, however, have been critical. Jonker and Till note that it is sometimes difficult for visitors to find a security guard to open the building (though the memorial is supposedly open during business hours) and describe the exhibit as “rushed” with typographical errors and no clear organization.³⁶⁹

The District Six Museum, in cooperation with the Prestwich Place Committee, began conducting oral histories and leading walks of the area. The Museum linked this memory work to its larger mission to represent the histories of forced removals in Cape Town (and beyond). In undertaking these endeavors—that is, “to listen to bones, to discover remnants and remains, to revisit the archive,” the site connects its work of “emplacing memory” with its advocacy for a non-racial South African future.³⁷⁰

Visitor Interpretations

Perhaps unsurprisingly, this non-racial approach does not always transfer to visitor interpretations. Most visitors appeared far more interested in the history of the community than with the site’s particular political orientation. As I explore below, these expectations run this risk

³⁶⁹ Julian Jonker and Karen Till, “Mapping and Excavating Spectral Traces in Post-Apartheid Cape Town,” 325.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 327.

of depoliticizing District Six resistance and casting the site in nostalgic terms. In addition, visitor response to the museum reflects a desire for “authentic” tourism—that is, for experiences that reflect perceived “real” experiences of apartheid.

Visitor responses to the site have been largely favorable. 81% of users on Tripadvisor.com gave the Museum a positive review. User “RoverP” from the United Kingdom left a typical review of his November 2014 visit:

This is a very interesting little museum telling the story of one of the most shameful acts of the apartheid regime. The story is brought to life by personal evidence and anecdotes of former residents.

The museum itself is essentially in one large room and is laid out in a rather congested and ramshackle way. This is an important subject and it would be good if bigger premises could be found to present this subject in a more organised way.³⁷¹

Complaints about the museum layout were fairly common, with many visitors indicating that it was most helpful to visit the site with a tour guide. In a sense, however, these visitor frustrations are exactly what the site hopes to provoke. In my interviews with the Museum’s education manager, Mandy Sanger and I discussed the kinds of expectations that visitors often have in museum visits. Sanger was adamant that the site should not tell a linear story, as communities themselves are never linear. Instead, the Museum aims to allow visitors to find their own points of reference and meaning.³⁷² Prosalendis conceptualized the site:

The District Six Museum has broken with the traditional ideas of museums and collecting. It has created and implemented the concept of an interactive public space where it is the people's response to District Six that provides the drama and the fabric of the museum.³⁷³

³⁷¹ “Eye Opener: Review of District Six Museum,” *TripAdvisor.com*, accessed January 3, 2015, http://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g312659-d310916-r244378348-District_Six_Museum-Cape_Town_Central_Western_Cape.html.

³⁷² Mandy Sanger, interview by author, March 25, 2013.

³⁷³ Home,” District Six Museum.

Despite some confusion over how to navigate the site, most visitors reported that they found their time at the site valuable. User “Steve M” concurred with a popular opinion that the site was a must-see for tourists in a comment titled “real life, real history to remind us all of how brutal we can be to each other”:

Really, any visit to the cape area must include a visit to this worrying yet inspiring living museum. Telling the real stories of district six from harmonious families living together to the horror of the apartheid regime splitting up communities and destroying families and homes. And yet it is also inspiring with numerous testaments from previous residents describing the evacuations and destruction whilst telling how they have moved on to a brighter future. The government and the people still have much do, though. A visit from you will contribute a small amount to this process.³⁷⁴

This comment is similar to many that I read and heard from visitors to the Apartheid Museum: the Museum is a reminder of the horrors of history and can serve as a deterrent to future atrocities. Yet, like many Apartheid Museum reviews, this visitor also disparagingly references the current political climate in South Africa with the remark that there is “still much to do.” These comments underscore the ways that the present is continually referenced, even at a site ostensibly dedicated to memory work.

As in many reviews of the Apartheid Museum, visitors noted similarities between histories in their home countries and South Africa. Megan, a visitor from Ireland, wrote on the visitor memory cloth, “Cape Town and Ireland have so many similarities in love and hate. Help to reclaim the spirit of one community.”³⁷⁵ A Chilean visitor named Ariel wrote that, “After the

³⁷⁴ “real life, real history to remind us all of how brutal we can be to each other: Review of District Six Museum,” *TripAdvisor.com*, accessed January 3, 2015, http://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g312659-d310916-r244236377-District_Six_Museum-Cape_Town_Central_Western_Cape.html#REVIEWS.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

Nazi's destroyed Warsaw the Polish people rebuilt the city as it had been. Let us hope you can also reconstruct this District where you used to live in peace."³⁷⁶

The Museum is especially popular among visitors who opt for “township tours.” In a study of twelve township tour companies, nearly all tours began at the Museum and lasted for an average of 30–60 minutes. The Museum stop was intended to give tourists a background on the history of apartheid.³⁷⁷ These tours are often marketed as a way to see the “real” Cape Town, one “revealed to very few tourists”—despite the popularity of these tours.³⁷⁸ Through township tourism, the Museum is again cast as the voice of an “authentic” Cape Town.

Global Connections, Global Finances

In addition to its status as an international tourist destination, the site has global connections to funders. From its inception, the Museum has depended on international donors and funding agencies for assistance with programming and exhibitions. One of its earliest sponsors was Sida, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency. In 1997, Sida agreed to fund the Museum for two years. Much of the financial support was dedicated to setting up the site’s music and oral history archive.³⁷⁹ The partnership also included youth exchange

³⁷⁶ “real life, real history to remind us all of how brutal we can be to each other: Review of District Six Museum,” *Tripadvisor.com*.

³⁷⁷ Manfred Rolfes, Malte Steinbrink, and Christina Uhl, *Townships as Attraction: An Empirical Study of Township Tourism in Cape Town* (Potsdam: Potsdam University Press, 2009): 22.

³⁷⁸ Leslie Witz, “Museums on Cape Town’s Township Tours,” in *Desire Lines: Space, Memory, and Identity in the Post-Apartheid City*, eds. Noëleen Murray, Nick Shepherd, Martin Hall (New York: Routledge, 2007): 273.

³⁷⁹ Anna Bohlin, “The Politics of Locality: Memories of District Six in Cape Town,” in *Locality and Belonging*, ed. Navia Lovell (New York: Routledge, 1998): 183.

programs with the Malmö Museum.³⁸⁰ The District Six Museum also incorporated a display into its exhibits about “slum clearances” in Sweden and the global phenomenon of displacement.

But as the partnership with Sida ended and several of the Museum’s other grantors began funding other projects, the site found itself in a dire financial state. In response to its current funding situation, the Museum has undertaken several initiatives to ensure financial stability: recalibrating its relationship with Cape Town’s tourist economy (and, indeed, to the city itself), and developing products for sale. In its 2012-2015 strategic plan, the site emphasized a renewed focus on “increasing the number of visitors, diversifying offering, and increasing overall increased revenue.”³⁸¹ Further, the Museum identified the newly debuted District Six encounters, merchandise/retail development, a repositioning of the Visitors’ Centre, and “packaging, positioning, and marketing on new platforms” as the main components of its strategy to become financially solvent.

The Museum has had books, postcards, and other items for sale in its gift shop since 1994. Housed in a corner of the Methodist Church, the gift shop—known as the Little Wonder Store—takes its name from an iconic District Six store on Hanover Street. Today, the Little Wonder Store sells books and compact discs, primarily authored by former residents.³⁸² Though these items are popular with visitors, the Museum has decided to expand its product offerings to bolster its revenue. The Museum finds itself, however, not only threatened by dwindling funding, but by a changing neighborhood.

³⁸⁰ District Six Museum, *District Six Annual Report 2007–2008*, 9.

³⁸¹ District Six Museum, “District Six Museum: Current Operations and Future Plans,” accessed January 19, 2015, <https://db3sqepoi5n3s.cloudfront.net/files/131022district6.pdf>.

³⁸² A complete list of the gift shop’s inventory can be found on its website, <http://d6littlewonderstore.blogspot.com/>.

Responding to Development

When I visited District Six in 2013, the museum was once again at odds with the city of Cape Town. The city had just been named the 2014 World Design Capital, and the area had changed much since my previous visit in 2011. Architectural firms had set up shop down the street from expensive coffeehouses. I spent a morning waiting for the museum to open, drinking expensive cappuccinos in a converted warehouse with all the trappings of a hip coffeeshop, from exposed pipes to bare Edison bulbs hanging from the ceiling. Gentrification is nothing new in Cape Town; the story of District Six is, of course, inextricably bound up in the city's vision for redevelopment that explicitly did not include Cape Town's citizens of color.

This time, the museum faced a proposal to rename the area "The Fringe," an effort to rebrand the neighborhood to attract creatives and entrepreneurs. The concept emerged from the East City Design Initiative, a project funded by the Western Cape Government's Department of Economic Development and Tourism. The "innovation district" is intended to be "the premier African environment for design, media and ICT innovation, creativity and entrepreneurship"³⁸³ To the museum, however, this proposal represented yet another attempt to erase the city's landscape, to rewrite the history of Cape Town without District Six. (Indeed, the plan has drawn the ire of others concerned about gentrification in the city. Sean Jacobs, a native Capetonian and political scientist at the New School, contends that the city "would sooner forget that District Six

³⁸³ City of Cape Town, "The Fringe Urban Design Framework," accessed October 6, 2014, <http://www.capetown.gov.za/en/Planningportal/Pages/TheFringe.aspx>.

ever existed,” and argues that the proposal represents an effort to remake the area into a “district for hipsters and whites with money.”)³⁸⁴

As Martin Hall and Pia Bombardella argue, this is not the first attempt to remake the District for public consumption. They note that Cape Town’s GrandWest Casino aims to replicate the aesthetic of the area. “Narrow streets, washing-lines and vernacular façades,” they write, “point to the ‘Malay’ quarters of Cape Town—the syncretic culture of European and Indonesian influences best known through District Six.”³⁸⁵ Despite its aesthetic mimicry, the Casino does not substantively engage with the history of the area. The District Six of the GrandWest exists solely as a nostalgic, sanitized simulacrum. Like the proposed redevelopment of “The Fringe,” the GrandWest’s version of District Six is a world of neat pleasure and an erasure of the trauma—and resilience—of the area.

Even with this new development and touristic attention to the District, the Museum was facing enormous challenges. The site had just lost two major funders, the Ford Foundation and the Mott Foundation. The Museum had been relying on this grant income for a majority of its operational costs. As a result, the site had nearly closed in 2012 and was only able to stay open after laying off five long-term staff members—about half its staff. There was a somber recognition that in order to survive, the site must embrace—or least learn to cohabitate—with the city’s tourism goals. As part of this newfound uneasy partnership, the museum had begun offering walking tours of the District. One of the museum’s goals, staff members told me, was to show the resilience of District Six, even in the face of previous redevelopment plans.

³⁸⁴ Sean Jacobs, “How Do We Talk About the Memory of Apartheid,” *Africa is a Country*, October 16, 2014, accessed January 10, 2015, <http://africasacountry.com/how-do-we-talk-about-apartheid>.

³⁸⁵ Hall and Bombardella, “Las Vegas in Africa,” 12.

These tours, called “District Six Encounters,” were an attempt to “experience the story of the area beyond the confines of the Museum walls” and invite visitors to “experience some of the vibrancy and cultural life that characterised the District before destruction...[to] put the community’s desire for restitution and return into clear perspective.”³⁸⁶ There are multiple tours to choose from; visitors can attend a musical walk-through of the area or hear “stories of hope” from residents who successfully returned to the District. As staff members at the Museum told me, these tours were also a way for the site to experiment with more aggressive marketing tactics and an attempt to better integrate the Museum within the Cape Town tourist landscape. At R100 and R120 per person—sometimes including a coffee and koe’sister break—the tours are also significantly more costly than the R30 Museum admission fee, and a way for the site to raise a bit of money.

I attended a sunset walking tour in March 2013 on an early fall evening. The brochure described the “evening light” that falls over the “vacant, scarred land of the District,” explaining that the tour would “bring into sharp focus the horror of the removal.”³⁸⁷ There were about ten other people on the tour, nearly all of whom were white Capetonians. One tour member was from Cape Town’s tourism department. It was a congenial group; we chatted in the main exhibit space as the museum staff rounded up the vehicles we were taking around the District. I asked other members of the group how they had heard about the tour, and most participants mentioned city newspapers and the tourism department itself. Participants were generally interested in learning more about the area; a few said that they had intended to come to the museum before

³⁸⁶ District Six Museum, “District Six Encounters,” accessed January 11, 2015, <http://districtsix.co.za/Content/Museum/FeaturedTours/DistrictSixEncounters/index.php>.

³⁸⁷ Ibid.

but had not yet. One woman mentioned that her grandmother had lived in District Six, and she wanted to learn more about her life.

Chrischene Julius and Noor Ebrahim brought the cars around and told us about our itinerary. They would first drive us to several iconic District Six places, including the site of the Peninsula Maternity Hospital, the Seven Steps, and a mosque. From there, we would head to the home of Mrs. Bam, a resident who successfully moved back to the District. We piled into the two vehicles and headed out to the site of the Hospital. Noor quickly took over the storytelling, explaining that the hospital was a major site of social and cultural significance. It was the only hospital in the District and a major employer, particularly for women. The autumn wind was beginning to pick up as the sun went down, so we bundled back in the car and headed to the Seven Steps, a popular gathering place for District Sixers.



Figure 21. Road through District Six. Ben Sutherland, 2013. CC-BY

Today, the Seven Steps are in the middle of an empty field, overlooking the remnants of houses and streets. We stand in the field, looking down onto Cape Town's harbor. The setting is stunning, with Table Mountain at our backs and the ocean steps away. Julius makes a sweeping gesture, saying nothing. This space's emptiness is a blight, but also important—the “monumental emptiness” that Museum

founder and trustee Peggy Delport describes as an “iconic absence.”³⁸⁸ The emptiness is a marker of the destruction of District Six, but also the victory of the Hands Off District Six campaign. The lack of development is a testament to the strength of the activism around the area, but museum staff fear that the site will become part of the city’s redevelopment plans, which encroach further and further onto the land that used to be District Six.

From here, we head to a mosque, still standing among the emptiness. Ebrahim begins telling us about the role that religion played in the District, a story I’ve heard him tell before in the museum. In his telling, Jews, Christians, and Muslims lived together happily and without conflict. He also emphasizes his own religiosity, leaving our tour at one point to attend prayers at the mosque. This emphasis on religious tolerance and coexistence is echoed in the Museum’s exhibits; four banners in the pulpit represent four of the major religions practiced in the District: Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, and Christianity.³⁸⁹

Our last stop on the tour was at Mrs. Bam’s house. As we crowded into her living room, she told us a few stories of growing up in the District, but mostly spoke of her experiences since the relocation. She introduced us to her extended family members who were helping with the upkeep of the house. Mrs. Bam spent a good portion of time explaining how the neighborhood wasn’t as safe as it used to be. As scholarship on the resettlement efforts has noted, it has been difficult to bring residents back into the area. There are few services in the immediate area, and many former residents are elderly or in poor health. Anthropologist Christiaan Beyers notes that

³⁸⁸ Peggy Delport, “Signposts for Retrieval: A Visual Framework for Enabling Memory of Place and Time,” in *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating Community in Cape Town*, eds. Ciraj Rassool and Sandra Prosalendis (Cape Town: District Six Museum Foundation, 2001): 36–7.

³⁸⁹ Chrischene Julius, “Oral History in the Exhibitionary Strategy of the District Six Museum, Cape Town,” M.A thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2007, 6.

most restitution claimants “opted for monetary compensation instead of eventual resettlement in District Six.”³⁹⁰ Though the redevelopment effort hopes to build 4,000 homes, the process has been slow and hampered by various bureaucratic and practical challenges.³⁹¹

Indeed, while land restitution is a priority for the Museum, there are also anxieties about returning to the land. Joe Schaeffer, an ex-resident and tour guide at the site, noted that there was a legal pressure: by January 1, 2017, those 4,000 homes are supposed to be complete. But Schaeffer also sees redevelopment as a double-edged sword: losing the empty space will mean losing the effect of the removals. The powerful optic of the District’s empty land will be gone. Moreover, Joe argued, people who move back should have access to amenities.³⁹²

Mrs. Bam is one of the relatively few former residents who has returned to the area. She brought out a large board with pictures of previous visitors, telling us stories about some of her favorite guests. I watched my fellow visitors, leaning forward and listening to her stories, and I was reminded of the museum’s sometimes-troubled relationship with the concepts of “authenticity” and co-curation. Like Ebrahim’s tours, the visit with Ms. Bam was meant to allow visitors to meet residents, but just as importantly, for residents to tell their own stories—even as they complicate the notion of a triumphant return to District Six. And yet, I wondered, did visitors interpret these stories as *the* stories of District Six? That is, did these resident narratives run the risk of reinscribing notions of an “authentic” and singular community?

In its own materials, the site emphasizes a multivocal and multivalent District Six. Explaining the importance of ex-residents’ perspectives at the site, District Six curators and board members noted:

³⁹⁰ Christiaan Beyers, “The Cultural Politics of ‘Community,’” 360.

³⁹¹ Ibid.

³⁹² Joe Schaeffer, interview by author, April 4, 2013.

In the [curatorial] process, attempts are made to have people participate in the decisions about how they are to be represented. The past is not so much an archives awaiting unveiling, but a tapestry on which individuals and groups are able to inscribe themselves. They announce their positions and interests and take responsibility for their self-portrayal.³⁹³

To be sure, visitors embrace the museum precisely because of residents' participation. And, as I note above, tourists often identify this participation as evidence of the site's "authentic" representation of the District and its community. Yet, as Beyers notes in his 2008 study of the site, "the conception of community in the Museum is anything but uniform and stable over time."³⁹⁴ Rather, as the banner that hangs over the balcony in the Museum states, "in this exhibition, we do not wish to recreate District Six as much as repossess the history of the area as a place where people lived, loved, and struggled." The Museum is not meant to provide a cohesive recreation of a "community," but instead serve as a pastiche that can incorporate multiple, sometimes oppositional narratives.

As Charmaine McEachern notes, the institution's self-conceptualization is very much concerned with not only *what* people remember, but *how*. In walking over the large map of the District in the *Streets* exhibition, McEachern suggests, "the performance of memory...was 'on behalf' of the Museum itself—part of its display—and entrenched in the 'narrative of itself.'"³⁹⁵ The questions of who is heard, and how, are paramount. As Julius argues in her study of the Museum's use of oral histories:

Ex-residents are encouraged to relate stories as they inscribe themselves back into the District and back into history, but it is not the *act* of inscription which defines the ex-

³⁹³ Sandra Prosalendis, Jennifer Marot, Crain Soudien, and Anwah Nagia, "Punctuations: Periodic Impressions of a Museum," in *Recalling Community in Cape Town*, eds. Ciraj Rassool and Sandra Prosalendis (Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001), 85.

³⁹⁴ Beyers, "The Cultural Politics of 'Community,'" 360.

³⁹⁵ Charmaine McEachern, quoted in Chrischene Julius, "'Digging [D]eeper than the Eye Approves,'" 112.

resident as the ‘hidden voice’ or the marginalised ‘other.’ Rather, it is the Museum that mediates and facilitates the process of inscription (and the making of meaning), and which raises questions as to who may reveal their voice, who should be considered ‘marginalised,’ and how this revelation may be ‘captured’ and mediated to a broader public.³⁹⁶

Despite its intentions for a co-curatorial process, the Museum finds itself in an interpretive double bind. On the one hand, the site is the ultimate arbiter of what is displayed and how. On the other hand, many visitors interpret the site as an authoritative source on the “reality” of District Six and take ex-residents’ perspectives as representative of a community. Indeed, Julius is aware of this danger in her critique of the *Digging Deeper* exhibition, as she acknowledges that “a core cluster of names, in essence, became the ‘voices’ of the Museum and the representative faces of District Six, and [the exhibit] did not provide a platform where a layer of voices could become representative of the broader community.”³⁹⁷ Like ex-resident tour guides, District Sixers featured in the Museum’s exhibits run a risk of becoming emblematic of the community as a whole.

Ultimately, however, the Museum has chosen to embrace these contradictions and tensions. For the staff, the idea of “community” is:

both diverse and fractured but...lays claim to a version of the concept that has more to do with the ‘imagined’ coherence...than with the diverse and sometimes antagonistic polity it represents. This is the uncompromising tightrope that the Museum has chosen to walk in the interests of ‘community.’³⁹⁸

As scholars of the District assert, the identity of the area, may, in fact, be its diversity. Crain Soudien writes that the District Six identity is one that “provides a sense of belonging and solidarity for its people. Against the apartheid order that sought to present people’s identities in

³⁹⁶ Chrischene Julius, “‘Digging [D]eeper than the Eye Approves,’” 132.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 134.

³⁹⁸ Quoted in Sean Field, *Oral History, Community, and Displacement: Imagining Memories in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 99.

the narrow terms of race, people found in District Six the space to take on a variety of identities.”³⁹⁹ It is the malleability of identity that the Museum attempts to explore in its permanent and temporary exhibits—but can also make it difficult for the site to cohesively explain its mission to the city and potential funders.

Transforming the City, Transforming the Site

With the advent of the Fringe, the Museum found itself in a precarious position: forced to reexamine its often contentious relationships with tourism and the city of Cape Town, while at the same time trying to maintain its position in a rapidly gentrifying neighborhood. The timing of the proposals was important; the International Council of Societies of Industrial Design had just named Cape Town the 2014 World Design Capital, an honor previously held by cities like Helsinki and Seoul. The city was particularly interested in using design “as a tool for social, cultural and economic development.” Cape Town promised to host over 400 projects “aimed at transforming the city.”⁴⁰⁰ The Fringe would be a key piece in Cape Town’s self-conceptualization as a city that embraced progressive, socially-conscious design.

Duane Jethro, a PhD candidate at the University of Cape Town, attended a May 2013 meeting about the proposed “urban regeneration” plans. In an article for the blog *Africa is a Country*, Jethro summarizes museum director Bonita Bennett’s comments at the meeting:

The Fringe is an edgy, current, catchy term that immediately negates the very politics of belonging, inclusion and marginalization that imbues the very ground designated for urban renewal. If The Fringe was meant to designate the periphery, Bennett pointed out that historical narratives of former District Six residents make no distinction between the city centre and the periphery. How then does such sanitized, gimmicky language of

³⁹⁹ Soudien, *Recalling Community in Cape Town*, 98.

⁴⁰⁰ World Design Capital Cape Town, “World Design Capital Cape Town,” accessed January 14, 2015, <http://www.wdccapetown2014.com>.

redesignation enter into a politics of belonging and inclusion in the city? Taking into account the history of some of the first forced removals and the creation of locations that functioned as a kind of septic fringe, does the use of this language and concept serve to break with these legacies or does it merely coat them with a inclusive veneer of exposed steel and glass that continue to keep the marginalised out, visible and at a distance?⁴⁰¹

As I read the transcripts from the meeting, I recalled similar conversations that I had with other staff members. We spent a day looking over some of the glossy promotional materials the city had sent out to advertise its “dialogues” about the plans. As Bennett’s comments at the meeting suggest, the staff was more than a little skeptical about the optimism around The Fringe. I saw one flyer inviting proposals for investigating how The Fringe could be a “bridge” between wealthy, white Cape Town and its surrounding townships.

But what if the Museum does not want to be a bridge? Indeed, as Bennett suggests, part of the site’s project is to resist a break between center and periphery. To staff members, the flyer’s language signaled several issues. The underlying assumption of this rhetoric is that the wealthy, white areas of the city are the center, while the townships are the periphery, areas that must be brought in and integrated into Cape Town. In this configuration, the labor of “bridging” falls squarely on the shoulders of those at the periphery—those who must bring themselves into the orbit of the center. The center, according to this logic, is culturally and socially superior.⁴⁰² A “bridge” also echoes Bennett’s disdain for redesignation as a sort of “exposed steel and glass that

⁴⁰¹ Duane Jethro, “The District on Cape Town’s ‘Fringe,’” *Africa is a Country*, June 17, 2013, accessed January 15, 2015, <http://africasacountry.com/the-fringe-district>.

⁴⁰² These assumptions are part of the reason that, in the US civil rights movement, the term “desegregation” is often preferred to integration. The field of critical race theory has taken up some of the cultural assumptions about integration—who does the integrating, and who is integrated—in scholarship about the consequences of *Brown vs. Board of Education*. See, for example, Derrick A. Bell Jr.’s “*Brown v. Board of Education and the Interest Convergence Dilemma*.”

continue[s] to keep the marginalised out, visible and at a distance.” For the Museum, being a “bridge” is not necessarily a way to connect people, but can be a way to maintain distance.

Bennett’s comments also reveal a fundamental mistrust of the rhetoric of transformation and its common uses in post-apartheid South African society. As anthropologist Catherine Besteman notes in her study of how Capetonians understand the post-apartheid era—and the apartheid past—the term “transformation” is often touted as a goal in contemporary South Africa. But what does this transformation entail? The persistent economic and social inequalities make it difficult to claim that South Africa is truly a “transformed” country.

What this transformation might look like is not always clear, but government-led initiatives like the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) program are often touted as key aspects. A kind of affirmative action initiative, BEE aims to give employment preference and other economic benefits to those disadvantaged during apartheid.⁴⁰³ Yet, despite their promises of “transformation,” programs like BEE still rely on apartheid-era racial classifications. (Indeed, there is also a question of their efficacy: as of 2008, whites still earned 450% more than black South Africans.)⁴⁰⁴ This is the kind of “transformation” the Museum is suspicious of, one that does not fundamentally alter the structure of apartheid culture and society. Indeed, the promise of

⁴⁰³ The debates over how this disenfranchisement is measured and accounted for highlight the complexities of racial categorization in South Africa. Initially, for example, the BEE initiative included, Indians, and coloured South Africans in its list of those disadvantaged under apartheid. In 2008, however, the High Court ruled that Chinese South Africans who arrived in the country before 1994 were also eligible for BEE benefits. Under apartheid, Chinese South Africans were classified in multiple ways, sometimes as coloured or white. The ruling called for Chinese South Africans to be reclassified as black in order to receive the benefits of the BEE program. “S Africa Chinese ‘Become Black,’” *BBC*, June 18, 2008, accessed January 17, 2015, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7461099.stm>. For more on the complexity of racial categorizations under apartheid, see Deborah Posel, “Race as Common Sense: Racial Classification in Twentieth-Century South Africa,” *African Studies Review* 44, no. 2 (September 2001): 87–113.

⁴⁰⁴ “S Africa Chinese ‘Become Black.’”

a nonracial society has been a primary piece of the Museum's vision and the activism that brought it into being.

The reassertion of apartheid racial classifications is part of the gradual demoralization I witnessed at the Museum, and in South Africa at large, during my research. And though the Museum opposes these classifications from a progressive political standpoint, other South Africans express a desire for a "colorblind" nation. As Besteman notes, many South Africans are frustrated by the seemingly constant presence of apartheid memory talk. "In the decade after Mandela's victory," she writes, "the euphoria of liberation...has thus been confronted by an entrenchment of poverty for a significant number of black South Africans, and by growing wealth disparities that are no longer solely defined by race."⁴⁰⁵ In her fieldwork, Besteman interviewed young South Africans who were involved in community improvement organizations. She found that, for many of them, the anti-apartheid struggle was not a source of inspiration. As one respondent explained, "For me, the struggle would be a great memory if we had fought and won the freedom...but now, the freedom that was captured doesn't even serve the people who fought for freedom."⁴⁰⁶ Far more pressing than commemorating the struggle, for Besteman's respondents, were issues of high unemployment and crime. Freedom is inextricably linked to economic prosperity.

These attitudes about the memory of apartheid help explain what I found when I returned to the site in 2013. Coupled with the devastating cuts in grant funding, there was a palpable sense of melancholy over the state of the public history landscape in South Africa. For much of its existence, the Museum relied on operational grants for about 70% of its budget, with "revenue

⁴⁰⁵ Catherine Besteman, *Transforming Cape Town*, 3.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 238.

generation” accounting for only 30% of its funding. Now the site needed to reverse that ratio.⁴⁰⁷

This proved to be a dramatic shift in mindset; the site had only begun charging entrance fees in 2004.⁴⁰⁸

2012 had seen the Museum barely escape closure, and several other sites had either closed or were in danger of shutting down. When I spoke with Tina Smith, the Museum’s Exhibitions Manager, about the atmosphere I noticed, she sighed and agreed. There seemed like there was such promise just a few years ago, she explained. The Museum had so much success in the international community; it seemed so unlikely that the site, held up as a paragon of public history in post-conflict societies, could ever face the possibility of closure. To Smith, the dwindling possibilities of a radically reconstructed post-apartheid society mirrored the defunding and endangerment of the Museum. And, she told me, she was starting to hear herself use words like “product development.”

To suddenly hear the phrase “product development” thrown around the Museum was, I admit, a bit jarring. The activism that underpins the Museum has, after all, been consistently critical of South Africa’s embrace of capitalism. “Product development” rang of neoliberal optimism, and I was reminded of anthropologist Christopher Colvin’s observations on South African politics and society. “The language of crisis,” he writes, “competes with the language of recovery. Deep optimism and pessimism, often found in the same person, seem to shape-shift

⁴⁰⁷ District Six Museum, “District Six Museum: Current Operations and Future Plans,” accessed January 19, 2015, <https://db3sqepoi5n3s.cloudfront.net/files/131022district6.pdf>.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid. As of writing, District Six charges 30 Rand (approximately \$2.20). This is lower than many other sites; the Apartheid Museum, for example, charges 80 Rand (approximately \$5.90).

into each other.”⁴⁰⁹ The seeming embrace of market solutions encapsulated this puzzling mesh of crisis, optimism, and pessimism.

But I also understood this change in the Museum’s priorities. What I came to find most compelling—and endlessly fascinating—about my return visit were the ways the Museum negotiated its new moment of crisis while trying to remain true to its activist, anti-capitalist roots. The site defines this challenge as the difficulty of “balancing [the] work of heritage, memory, and responsible commercialisation.”⁴¹⁰

Part of the Museum’s financial challenge arose from the site’s sometimes-tumultuous relationship with the city and province. In 2006, SAHRA had conferred a provisional Grade 1 status, designating it a national heritage site. The Museum had not, however, received permanent recognition. Initially, the Museum had resisted this permanent designation, wanting to remain independent from potential political issues. In its conservation management plan, the Museum also raised a number of issues:

What are the salient elements of the District Six site through which issues of national significance might be interpreted, and how can this be translated into a plan which is manageable, and which is owned by those who people the site in many different ways: as returnees, new and old residents, ex-residents, first-time visitors, or the next generations affected by the forced removals?⁴¹¹

These questions over how to define the site and its constituents stalled the Museum’s permanent application. In the meantime, the nearby area saw development, and the Museum grew increasingly worried about preserving the site.

⁴⁰⁹ Christopher Colvin, “Introduction: Contingency and Creativity: South Africa after Apartheid,” *Anthropology and Humanism* 28, no. 1 (2003): 4.

⁴¹⁰ “District Six Museum: Current Operations and Future Plans.”

⁴¹¹ District Six Museum, “D6 as a National Heritage Site,” accessed January 21, 2015, http://www.districtsix.co.za/Content/Museum/About/NationalHeritageSite/index_02.php.

Faced with a funding crisis and the possibility of redevelopment, the Museum raised these concerns with SAHRA and the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC). In an October 2013 DAC meeting, Ciraj Rassol detailed the history of the Museum's engagement with SAHRA:

SAHRA had not gone ahead with the [permanent] declaration because of the problem that SAHRA had with sites of history. SAHRA was an organisation that was excellent in architecture and archeology, but the only historical sites it was able to declare as national heritage sites were graves. He also noticed that SAHRA tended to grant national heritage status to some monuments only when it was suggested by the Minister of Arts and Culture. In 2006, SAHRA had claimed that there was a problem in understanding where the boundaries of District Six were.⁴¹²

There were clear logistical issues with the Museum's application, compounded with political ones. In the same DAC meeting, two MPs got into an argument over the kinds of cultural history the government should support:

Ms L Moss (ANC) pointed out that in District Six, not only Coloureds but also Africans had been removed as well. She asked when the province of the Western Cape and the City of Cape Town had last assisted the museum with funding. She also wondered if besides funding, the District Six Museum was receiving any emotional or other support from the provincial and local governments because of the historical significance of the site. She recalled that President Mandela had himself visited the site to make sure that District Six could remain as part of the history of South Africa.

Ms Moss also wondered what the role of the state in the preservation of the history of forced removal was. The state maintained apartheid monuments, so how could it not support the District Six Museum? The state should preserve history in every province and not focus only on Gauteng, because everyone everywhere was affected by apartheid.

[DA MP] Mr Van den Berg said he felt offended by Ms Moss's considerations, as she

⁴¹² Parliamentary Monitoring Group, "District Six Museum on its operations and business plans; Department of Arts and Culture on 2nd quarter expenditure report; Budgetary Review and Recommendations Report," accessed January 22, 2015, <http://www.pmg.org.za/report/20131022-district-six-museum-its-operations-and-business-plans-department-arts-and-culture-2nd-quarter-expenditure-report>.

seemed to be leveling accusations at the province of the Western Cape and the City of Cape Town because they were governed by the DA.⁴¹³

This kind of political embroilment is precisely what the Museum hopes to avoid and a major reason the site prizes its independence. Despite the political squabble, however, the DAC appeared very supportive of the Museum. At the time of writing, the standing of the site's application for permanent Grade 1 status is unknown, but SAHRA and the Museum continue to discuss the details of the site plan. The Museum's future may indeed be intertwined with the very political forces it has spent much of its existence resisting.

These political debates and negotiations over funding can belie the site's popularity. Whenever I mentioned the Museum to people I met—at dinner parties, through mutual friends, at the site itself—in the city, I noticed a curious thing: nearly everyone I spoke with decried the forced removals of District Six, and there seemed to be widespread support of the Museum—at least, in theory, anyway. One of the most enthusiastic participants on the walking tour I observed worked in the office of one of the DA MPs. He peppered Mrs. Bam with questions and seemed enthralled with the whole tour.

The question remains: how much does this enthusiasm have the capability to create material changes? Can excitement over a walking tour help create policy change? Will the Museum be able to transform its popularity as a site of memory into a successful attempt to combat gentrification in Cape Town? And can the Museum maintain its independence and its status as a destination within Cape Town's tourist economy? The District Six Museum faces political and financial difficulties that are emblematic of being a public historical site in a global tourist economy.

⁴¹³ Parliamentary Monitoring Group, "District Six Museum on its operations and business plans."

Conclusion

We cannot understand the present by referring back to a past event, nor can we predict what the future will be based on what has happened to date; there is simply no unified historical sequence. This is because nothing ever remains the same, the present is always becoming what it is not and in the process there are always new variables or forces being introduced into the equation that complicate any teleological conception of historical time as an ordered series of events...History is a negative precondition that facilitates experimentation with something that lies beyond history itself.⁴¹⁴

As more sites of memory emerge, debates over how to interpret traumatic and contested histories will continue. The sometimes-uneasy relationship between tourism and memorial spaces persists as sites search for ways to remain economically viable as local, national, and international funding becomes even more difficult to attain and keep. In this dissertation, I examined how these sites negotiated the space between memorial and tourist attraction, how these competing demands affected their exhibitionary and programmatic strategies, and how audiences responded to them. I also explored how histories cross geographic boundaries and change in different contexts. Finally, I interrogated how these sites were challenging or upholding the notion of a museum.

My work on the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute argues that the site uses global histories to make civil rights history accessible and relevant to multiple audiences. The BCRI also self-consciously fashioned itself as an institute, rather than a museum, to further demonstrate that the civil rights movement remains important—not relegated to history. My research on the Apartheid Museum examines how the museum functions as both a tourist attraction and a site of memory, as well as how audiences respond to its exhibits. In that chapter, I look at the relationship between tourism and museums and how the Apartheid Museum

⁴¹⁴ Adrian Parr, *Deleuze and the Contemporary World*, 127.

embraces the category of “museum” to tell an authoritative story of apartheid history. Finally, my study of the District Six Museum explores how a site with a radical political history has attempted to turn to tourism to stay solvent.

When I began this research, I thought the process of tracing and interpreting histories in museums would be a straightforward task. What I discovered, however, is that museum displays are often shaped by a variety of forces: funding, politics, and even their physical spaces. (After all, the bathrooms have to go *somewhere*.) In this study, I have tried to be attentive to these realities. There is no such thing as “perfect” representation—a point that I believe that the field of museum studies would do well to recognize.

With so many new sites emerging, this work invites further case studies of different institutions. Further research, for example, could test this study’s theory that visitors interpret these sites through their own geographic and personal knowledge of history. In that vein, more comprehensive visitor studies are greatly needed. What might a study that examines museum interpretation among visitors of different ages, political views, geographic origin, or race reveal? What are other spaces where histories travel, and how might we examine them?

With these questions in mind, I turn to two brief examples of sites that have found themselves in the center of issues of historical memory and tourism: a South African museum along a tourist route struggling to adapt its colonial-era exhibits, and a new site in Atlanta that explicitly draws together global human rights and local civil rights activism in an attempt to become a tourist destination. It is my hope that this research can offer new ways to explore the immense power that historical representations have in our lives.

Shortly before I prepared to head to South Africa for my final leg of fieldwork, I heard about the Mossel Bay Dias Museum controversy. By the time I arrived and made my way to Mossel Bay in March 2013, the anger over the exhibit has mostly subsided and I was able to talk to museum staff about the tumultuous previous months. As I learned when I visited, the Dias Museum is a prime example of a South African site forced to cope with a shifting post-apartheid landscape.

Founded in 1989, the Dias Museum was one of the last state-established museums during the apartheid era. The maritime museum, which commemorates Portuguese explorer Bartolmeu Dias's landing at Mossel Bay in 1488, is part of a larger museum complex that includes the ecologically-themed shell museum, a botanical garden, and recently unearthed gravesites of enslaved peoples brought to South Africa from the Dutch colonies in the southern Pacific Ocean. The highlight of the Maritime Museum is the replica of Dias's caravel. (So much attention has been paid to the detail of the ship, in fact, that many visitors believe they are looking at Dias's actual ship.)



Figure 22. Replica of caravel in the Dias Museum. Joke von Niekerk, 2005. CC-BY.

Indeed, the museum complex's dual emphasis on the physical beauty of the space—the so-called “natural history”—and the cultural history come into conflict. Many visitors begin in Mossel Bay during a trip through the Garden Route, which stretches from Mossel Bay in the Western Cape to the Storms River in the Eastern Cape. The route has one of the mildest climates in the world and includes a diverse range of ecosystems, from wetlands to temporary forests to the shrub-like fynbos. But the presence of the Dias Museum serves as a reminder that South Africa's physical beauty comes with centuries of colonialism.

The Dias Museum was not only one of the last museums founded during apartheid, but was specifically established to celebrate the role of European colonialism in South Africa. 1988, the year before its founding, marked the 500th anniversary of Dias's voyage, and the National Party government sought to celebrate this milestone with a festival. The cornerstone of the event was a reenactment of Dias's landing. In a moment of supreme irony, however, the reenactment plans hit a snag—the organizing committee wanted to depict “happy natives” welcoming Dias to the country's shores. Unfortunately, the beaches at Mossel Bay were segregated, so the reenactment had to make do with casting white South Africans in black masks.⁴¹⁵

It is against this backdrop that the Mossel Bay museum currently stands. In a country that has arguably made a global industry out of memory—serving as an international model for Truth and Reconciliation commissions—an explicitly colonial site stands in some tension in the post-apartheid nation. The museum itself has attempted to address these tensions, hiring Mbulelo Mrubata, a graduate of the University of the Western Cape, as its director. Mrubata set forth to

⁴¹⁵ Leslie Witz, “Eventless History at the End of Apartheid: The Making of the 1988 Dias Festival,” *Kronos* 32 (November 2006): 188.

“transform” the museum, attempting to address the museum’s legacy and take on issues that can be socially and culturally sensitive and divisive.

When I met with Mrubata, I asked him about his strategy for the museum’s “transformation.”⁴¹⁶ He explained that visitors are quite attached to the permanent museum displays, so he decided to bring on new temporary exhibits instead. In 2012, Mrubata partnered with the US consulate in South Africa to bring an exhibit about the *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision to South Africa. In fact, the exhibit had traveled to Johannesburg and had been on display at the Apartheid Museum.

The Smithsonian Museum of American History initially curated the exhibit, and a South African version was prepared with help from the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg. The South African version includes several panels that reference specific moments in South African history and draw comparisons between the US and South African systems of segregated education. In addition to these comparative panels, the exhibit featured a photograph of an early 20th-century lynching. The *Brown vs. Board* exhibit traveled throughout South Africa, and many museums opted to omit the photograph, including the Apartheid Museum.

At Mossel Bay, however, Mrubata decided to keep the lynching photo as part of the site’s installation. He explained to me that he saw the violent history of segregation as an important story to tell, and one that could resonate with South African audiences. He also noted that he took care to keep the photo behind other panels so that visitors would not see it in the open. But the installation of the exhibit proved to be challenging for the museum. There is no dedicated space for temporary exhibits, so Mrubata opted to place the panels around the replica caravel. To complete the installation, the museum also removed several panels that were part of the

⁴¹⁶ All notes taken from interview with Mbulelo Mrubata by author, April 4, 2013.

permanent exhibit, mostly concerning the local flora and fauna Dias would have seen upon landing.

The reaction to the exhibit was overwhelmingly angry. Visitors filled the comment book with diatribes against the museum, some claiming that they would never return. Others questioned why the museum would mount an exhibit that was largely about US history. Still others took particular offense at the lynching photograph, claiming the museum was no longer safe for children, even though the exhibit came with a warning panel about the graphic nature of some of the content.⁴¹⁷

The controversy over the exhibit garnered national attention when Mossel Bay mayor Marie Ferreira visited the museum. She was outraged by the exhibit and demanded that the museum remove it. Calling the exhibit alternately “irrelevant” and a “risk to the local economy,” Ferreira employed a number of reasons to take it down. In an article in the October 28, 2012 issue of the *Sunday Times*, the mayor’s spokesperson explained:

“The mayor's concern is that the museum is an important tourist attraction in Mossel Bay: tour operators have complained about it and threatened to take the museum off their itineraries if the exhibition stays there. It is posing a risk to the local tourist economy. The exhibition contains a lot of American history, which does not add value to the South African nation-building process. It is not suitable for children, and it is also not relevant to the mainly maritime theme of the museum,” the spokesperson added.⁴¹⁸

One cannot, of course, lose sight of the political context of this situation. The Western Cape is the only province in South Africa headed by the Democratic Alliance, the main opposition party to the African National Congress. The area has long been known as a conservative stronghold. Perhaps, then, the uproar over the exhibit is not surprising, yet another example of a conservative

⁴¹⁷ Guestbook from Dias Museum, unprocessed archival collections, Mossel Bay, South Africa.

⁴¹⁸ Bobby Jordan, “Close Race Exhibition, Says DA Mayor,” *Sunday Times*, October 28, 2012.

desire for a post-racial nation.

Indeed, Ferreira's litany of reasons—from the lack of value to the “South African nation-building process” to the lack of relevance to the “maritime theme” of the museum—are almost comical in their grasping attempts. And on the surface, the exhibit's detractors seem to have a point—this museum has historically been dedicated to the Portuguese influence on South Africa. In his study of the 1988 Dias commemoration, Leslie Witz calls the Mossel Bay museum an example of “eventless history,” down to its focus on the caravel—a 20th-century replica that many visitors believe is a 15th-century ship, despite the addition of electricity and bathrooms.⁴¹⁹ But the museum is also about world history, a certain kind of world history that emphasizes exploration and colonial might.

And the *Brown* exhibit, too, is about world history. Not the same kind, exactly, but a comparative history that takes experiences of oppression as its basis. The world history that the *Brown vs. Board* display espouses is one of human rights and their violations. When viewed in this way, it is much easier to understand why the US exhibit had such resonance. The *Brown vs Board of Education* display makes explicit the costs of racialized oppression. By not shying away from showing the corporeal, human cost of segregation—that is, by showing a lynching—the exhibit makes clear that systematic disenfranchisement was not merely an inconvenience or a theoretical problem. It kills.

Ultimately, Ferreira's attempt to remove the exhibit was unsuccessful. (The controversy caught the attention of the US Consulate, and the Western Cape DA decided they did not want to pursue what was threatening to become a minor diplomatic incident.) But the episode stung;

⁴¹⁹ Witz, “Eventless History,” 190.

Mrubata told me that he was proud of having stood his ground, but was planning on keeping future exhibits less contentious. (Indeed, when I visited, the temporary exhibit was about regional foodways—an important topic, no doubt, but certainly less controversial.) The question of how the Mossel Bay site will reshape itself in a post-apartheid society is still very much at play. And so, too, is the question of what version of world history will win out.

As more sites of memory and human rights emerge, these debates over world history continue. I turn now to the final example, the National Center for Civil and Human Rights in Atlanta (NCCHR). The Center, which opened in 2014 after over a decade of planning, is a prime example of how public sites of memory are reinterpreting world history—and positioning themselves as tourist destinations in the process.

In 2003, civil rights veterans Evelyn Lowery, Juanita Abernathy, Representative John Lewis, and Ambassador Andrew Young approached Mayor Shirley Franklin about bringing an amuseum to commemorate the movement to Atlanta. Mayor Franklin took the idea under advisement, seeking the assistance of Central Atlanta Progress, a consortium of Atlanta business leaders, and the Atlanta office of the Boston Consulting Group. These groups studied other civil rights museums and organized a council to define the content of the NCCHR. In December 2006, the group delivered a report to Mayor Franklin with the proposal that the Center should recognize the efforts of local civil rights workers in the “struggle for African-American freedom and equality...and serve as a space for ongoing dialogue, study, and contributions to the resolution of current and future freedom struggles of all people...”⁴²⁰ As part of the group’s suggestions, the site broadened its focus to include human rights, a trend emerging in some civil

⁴²⁰ The Center for Civil and Human Rights Partnership, “Design Competition: Request for Qualifications for Design Services,” November 3, 2008, 3.

rights museums like the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute. Mayor Franklin responded by creating the Center for Civil and Human Rights Partnership, a collaborative organization whose members included the Atlanta Development Authority and Central Atlanta Progress.

As evidenced by its name, the NCCHR attempts to highlight the history of Atlanta and ground the institution in the local. The site, for example, devotes exhibit space to examining the role of the Sweet Auburn district in the 1940s and 50s. The Atlanta story is interwoven with other important moments in civil rights history, such as the Greensboro sit-ins and the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Yet, the Center also argues “Atlanta ultimately became more progressive in its race relations because of a willingness to compromise,” and that the “impact of the American Civil Rights movement [sic] is ongoing, global, and hopeful.”⁴²¹

Like the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, the Center questions the category of museum. Though the Center’s content is roughly divided among the U.S. civil rights movement and global human rights causes, the museum’s former CEO Doug Shipman emphasized that the space is not a memorial or a commemoration.⁴²²

Museum has this notion of locked and finished...that's where you go to this vault and it's kind of a holy place. You see it and you say, "OK, now I understand the story of Lincoln." You leave and there's really not a lot of discussion. Or if there's discussion, it's more illumination of that truth. We didn't want that to be this institution. Because we wanted people to be coming and saying, "We're searching for an answer to something." It is not locked. It is very much open for debate. So moving away from that notion of museum to center was something that was very important.⁴²³

⁴²¹ Center for Civil and Human Rights, “Interim Story Development Phase Deliverable,” 2009, p. 14, 19.

⁴²² Doug Shipman, interview by author, September 29, 2010.

⁴²³ Ibid.

Instead, the NCCHR imagines itself “in the middle of some sort of greater notion,” one that uses civil rights content to educate about larger human rights issues.⁴²⁴

As part of a feasibility study, NCCHR members visited various sites of civil rights commemoration and concluded that Atlanta needed a different approach. According to Clifford Kuhn, a co-chair of the Content Council and professor of history at Georgia State University, the group decided to “make Atlanta distinctive” from “all the other civil rights museums” by joining the concepts of civil and human rights.⁴²⁵ Though other civil rights museums include information about human rights, the NCCHR’s proposed content is much more comprehensive. The merger appeared to make philosophical, pedagogical, and economic sense for the Center.

The inclusion of a global human rights framework was not without its detractors, however. Frank Catroppa, a former superintendent at the Martin Luther King, Jr. Historic site and member of the site’s Content Council, believed that the museum would be most effective with an emphasis on African American experience. Moreover, he argued that the civil rights movement is too large of a story to combine it with other content. For Catroppa, “the African American story was too important to just make it part of a human rights effort.”⁴²⁶ Lonnie King, one of the Atlanta sit-in activists, was concerned that human rights might eclipse the local, African American-centered civil rights content. To King, “this Center need[ed] to be one that recognizes that the civil rights movement and human rights movement in the South was akin to a firecracker and that it was a black activist who lit the firecracker.”⁴²⁷ For Catroppa, King, and

⁴²⁴ Doug Shipman, interview by author, September 29, 2010.

⁴²⁵ Clifford Kuhn, interview by Michael Elliott, June 26, 2008.

⁴²⁶ Frank Catroppa, interview by Michael Elliott, June 8, 2008.

⁴²⁷ Lonnie King, interview by Michael Elliott, August 30, 2008.

others, the Center was in danger of abandoning its original purpose: the story of the Atlanta civil rights movement.

Though some supporters remained skeptical about the Center's shift, many agreed with the NCCHR's proposed mission. Representative John Lewis drew connections between anticolonial struggles in Africa and the civil rights movement, calling civil rights and human rights "inseparable."⁴²⁸ Connie Curry, a veteran of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), noted that many student organizations also had broad global components. She argued that the Center's content change was "perfectly natural, and a good thing to... take in human rights, particularly for the education of young people now."⁴²⁹ Her statement reflects the sentiment of Shipman and others at the NCCHR: that education is most effective when it offers the possibility of both global action and local history.

Like the other museums highlighted in this study, the NCCHR has also had to contend with its place in Atlanta's tourist economy. Unlike the District Six Museum, however, the site is much more comfortable being seen as a tourist destination. The Center is located in downtown Atlanta next to the popular Georgia Aquarium and is situated on land donated by Coca-Cola.

The NCCHR has received a fair share of criticism, especially from those who feel that Coca-Cola's land donation has compromised the Center's mission. Global social justice activists allege a litany of human rights abuses on Coca-Cola's part, from the contamination of ground water near Indian bottling plants to intimidation and violence against union workers in

⁴²⁸ John Lewis, interview by Michael Elliott, April 8, 2009.

⁴²⁹ Constance Curry, interview by Michael Elliott, July 1, 2008.

Guatemala.⁴³⁰ In addition to Coca-Cola's ethical issues, journalist Scott Henry questioned the Center's location, arguing that "placing it in a family fun zone suggests — and none too subtly — that the Civil Rights Era is just another tourist attraction."⁴³¹ To Henry and other critics, the placement of the NCCHR denigrates its subject matter, rendering the Center a mere exercise in public relations for the city of Atlanta. Moreover, Atlanta already has a number of sites, such as the King Center and the Carter Center, dedicated to civil and human rights. A 2009 *Wall Street Journal* piece asked whether, after the election of an African American president, the country—let alone Atlanta—needed any more institutions dedicated to the struggle for civil rights.⁴³²

Shipman and the rest of the NCCHR staff have answered these critiques from both sides of the political spectrum, insisting that the site offers something new for visitors locally and globally. According to Shipman, most King Center visitors "go, they see the tomb, they take photos, and they leave," but are otherwise not engaged in civil or human rights education.⁴³³ The NCCHR and its accompanying infrastructure, such as the streetcar that runs between downtown Atlanta and Auburn Avenue, may provide a focal point for civil and human rights tourism in the city. Moreover, Coca-Cola's land donation makes the Center more economically viable, increasing the likelihood that the NCCHR will remain a fixture in Atlanta tourism.⁴³⁴

⁴³⁰ Steve Stecklow, "How a global web of activists gives Coke problems in India," *Wall Street Journal*, June 7, 2005. Patricia Hurtado, "Coca-Cola Sued in U.S. by Guatemalans over Anti-Union Violence," *Business Week*, February 27, 2010.

⁴³¹ Scott Henry, "The Atlanta Way not always best," *Creative Loafing*, June 10, 2010, accessed December 4, 2010, <http://clatl.com/atlanta/the-atlanta-way-not-always-best/Content?oid=1488611>.

⁴³² Corey Dade, "Civil-Rights Gains Test New Memorial's Relevance," *Wall Street Journal*, May 7, 2009, accessed December 8, 2010, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB124164783046593317.html>.

⁴³³ Doug Shipman, interview by author, November 22, 2010.

⁴³⁴ Doug Shipman, "Building a Civil and Human Rights Center for the Future," *Creative Loafing*, June 16, 2010, accessed December 8, 2010,

As a brand new institution, the NCCHR provides an ideal case study to return to the themes with which I began this research—namely the questions of the circulation of history through tourism and the place of the “museum” in this new tourist landscape. The opening of the NCCHR illustrates that the city of Atlanta believes that tourism around civil and human rights is desirable and sustainable. The decision to include both civil and human rights in the site’s exhibition spaces is a philosophical one, but also demonstrates an aspiration to participate in the global public tourist sphere that these sites create. Likewise, the NCCHR’s choice of the term “center” places it among a host of other institutions that have eschewed the term museum and its connotations of history-as-past.

The intellectual foundations of the site can also be seen in contemporary political discourse, as the NCCHR is a prime illustration of the shift to a paradigm of world history as solidarity. In this way, the NCCHR and the sites in this study are reflective of—and provide a window into—contemporary social justice movements. These movements have drawn on some of the tactics and aesthetics of anti-racist, anti-colonial struggles but have also created new forms of activism, sometimes to the consternation of veterans of older movements. These divisions point to a larger question for the sites profiled in this study: how will these museums change when these struggles are no longer a lived experience? I conclude by profiling several movements that offer insight into how contemporary social justice struggles draw, and depart from, historical representations of earlier movements.

The #BlackLivesMatter (BLM) movement, born after George Zimmerman was acquitted for the death of Trayvon Martin in 2013, has protested against extrajudicial killings of black men

and women by police. But BLM's refusal to participate in respectability politics has drawn some ire from civil rights movement veterans, including Al Sharpton. (After BLM protestors interrupted Sharpton's National Action Network event in 2014, Sharpton mocked the movement, saying, "Oh you young and hip, you're full of fire...All the stuff that they know will titillate your ears. That's what a pimp says to a ho.")⁴³⁵ Likewise, Barbara Ann Reynolds, a journalist and civil rights activist, complained in a 2015 *Washington Post* article that BLM protestors had eschewed the organizations that had nurtured the civil rights movement—namely the church—and taken up "confrontational and divisive" tactics. "The demonstrations," Reynolds writes, "are peppered with hate speech, profanity, and guys with sagging pants that show their underwear...the ethics of love, forgiveness, and reconciliation that empowered...King and Mandela...are missing from this movement."⁴³⁶

Calls for "respectability" also permeate contemporary South African political activity, much of which is led by students or younger South Africans. In 2015, students at the University of Cape Town demanded the removal of a statue of Cecil John Rhodes, the British businessman, prime minister of the Cape Colony, and namesake of the Rhodes Scholarships. The statue became the focal point for the Rhodes Must Fall movement, a series of protests against institutional racism at UCT. These protests were not merely about the presence of Rhodes—though the statue made a good symbol, looming over the upper campus—but about a perceived

⁴³⁵ "The Fight for the Soul of the Black Lives Matter Movement," *Gothamist*, April 7, 2015, accessed November 21, 2016, http://gothamist.com/2015/04/07/black_lives_matter_movement.php.

⁴³⁶ Barbara Reynolds, "I Was a Civil Rights Activist in the 1960s. But It's Hard for Me to Get Behind Black Lives Matter," *The Washington Post*, August 24, 2015, accessed November 21, 2016, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2015/08/24/i-was-a-civil-rights-activist-in-the-1960s-but-its-hard-for-me-to-get-behind-black-lives-matter>.

lack of post-apartheid transformation, including the small number of black faculty and the low wages of university workers, who are overwhelmingly black.⁴³⁷

Though the university administration opted to remove the statue, some of the protest tactics drew criticism. After activist Chumani Maxwele threw human waste on the statue, a columnist in the *Mail & Guardian* lamented that, “in a constitutional democracy, poo-throwing surely cannot be political protest’s default position. In our democracy, speech, political organisation and association are guaranteed. Why not use these rights?”⁴³⁸

The clash between these political norms and a rejection of the politics of compromise undergirds other contemporary movements. In October 2015, a student protest against proposed tuition increases swept South African universities. The Fees Must Fall movement, still underway at the time of writing, targets the “systematic under-funding of universities by the ANC government... along with the colonial logic that still characterizes much teaching and research.”⁴³⁹ But as the protests have continued, they have taken on what political theorist Richard Pithouse terms a “millenarian” turn, as disaffected students turned to more destructive forms of protest, including burning the law library at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.⁴⁴⁰

As writer Sisonke Msimang notes, the changing political context of South Africa helps explain why some protestors—most of whom were born after 1994—and those opposed to their tactics—some of whom were anti-apartheid activists themselves—are at an impasse. She writes:

⁴³⁷ Carlo Petersen, “UCT Refusing the Hire Black Professors,” *Cape Times*, March 23, 2015.

⁴³⁸ Serjeant at the Bar, “Crude Use of Power is Cause for Concern,” *Mail & Guardian*, March 27, 2015, accessed November 25, 2016, <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-03-27-crude-use-of-power-is-cause-for-concern>.

⁴³⁹ Richard Pithouse, “The Turn to Burning in South Africa,” *Africa is a Country*, September 9, 2016, accessed November 26, 2016, <http://africasacountry.com/2016/09/the-turn-to-burning-in-south-africa/>.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

The university crisis is above all, a failure of those who championed compromise politics to adapt to a dramatically different political context. The old words no longer fit and the old guard are now too old to re-strategize. The problem isn't so much that they don't understand the radicalism of the youth, or even that they don't know how to communicate with a strident new generation. The problem seems to be that those who sit in positions of power within the state and universities simply do not see their politics and their positions as being as radical as those of the students they so oppose.⁴⁴¹

The compromise politics that characterized the end of apartheid, Msimang writes, did not give way to an equitable society. Some of the condemnation of the Fallist movements may reflect generational divides over the appropriate tactics of protests. But like the criticism of Black Lives Matter, much of the debate over these movements stems from a call for “respectability” from those in positions of power—even those who once considered themselves radicals.

Given these differences and heated debates, it would be easy to attempt to clearly demarcate the struggles of earlier social justice movements from contemporary ones. But the focus on global solidarity at the sites in this study provides a useful bridge. Like the US civil rights movement and anti-apartheid activism, these contemporary social justice movements have international dimensions. Activists have held Black Lives Matter protests in Australia, Canada, and the U.K. Inspired by Rhodes Must Fall, students at Oxford University called for the school to remove its statue of Rhodes, and students at Harvard successfully petitioned their administration to remove the seal of the Royall family, the largest slaveholders in Massachusetts, from the Law School crest.⁴⁴² Moreover, these groups have also taken part in solidarity protests;

⁴⁴¹ Sisonke Msimang, “Shutdown—On the Death of Compromise in South Africa,” *Africa is a Country*, October 11, 2016, accessed December 4, 2016, <http://africasacountry.com/2016/10/shutdown-on-the-death-of-compromise-in-south-africa/>.

⁴⁴² Antuan Johnson, Alexander Clayborne, and Sean Cuddihy, “Royall Must Fall,” *The Harvard Crimson*, November 20, 2015, accessed November 26, 2016, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/2015/11/20/hls-royall-must-fall/>.

Black Lives Matter activists also joined in protests against the Dakota Access Pipeline, slated to cut through Native treaty lands.⁴⁴³

These contemporary movements represent the turn towards a shared social justice vocabulary based on oppression. It is unsurprising, then, that sites like the National Center for Civil and Human Rights have served as gathering places for Black Lives Matter protests. In this way, Black Lives Matter and the Fallist movements share a common world historical view with sites of conscience and a commitment to global solidarity in the face of injustice. And here is where the power of these emergent sites lies; not only reflecting the immense influence history has in our lives, but in creating spaces for reshaping how history might affect our future.

⁴⁴³ Black Lives Matter, “Black Lives Matter Stands in Solidarity with Water Protectors at Standing Rock,” accessed November 26, 2016, <http://blacklivesmatter.com/solidarity-with-standing-rock/>.

Bibliography

Aageson, Thomas. "Market Value: Five Steps to an Effective Museum Marketing Plan." *American Association of Museums*, 1999. Accessed April 4, 2012. http://www.aamus.org/pubs/mn/MN_JA99_EffectiveMarketingPlan.cfm.

"About the Museum." Apartheid Museum. Accessed December 3, 2013. <http://www.apartheidmuseum.org/about-museum-0>.

Ad Hoc Committee on Protection of Information Bill. *Protection of State Information Bill*. Accessed August 9, 2014. <http://www.pmg.org.za/files/bills/110905b6b-2010.pdf>.

Africa Check, "FACTSHEET: South Africa's Official Crime Statistics for 2012/13." *Africa Check*. Accessed November 4, 2013. <http://www.africacheck.org/reports/factsheet-south-africas-official-crime-statistics-for-201213>.

Allen, Garth and Frank Brennan. *Tourism in the New South Africa: Social Responsibility and the Tourist Experience*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2004.

Analytic Focus, LLC. "The Economic Impact of the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute on the Birmingham MSA and the State of Alabama." 2004. Accessed May 14, 2013. <http://www.analyticfocus.com/publication/29>.

Anderson, Carol. *Bourgeois Radicals: The NAACP and the Struggle for Colonial Liberation, 1941-1960*. New York NY: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

-----, "International Conscience, the Cold War, and Apartheid: The NAACP's Alliance with the Reverend Michael Scott for South West Africa's Liberation, 1946-1952." *Journal of World History* 19, no. 3 (2008): 297-326.

APEX Museum. "Current Exhibits." Accessed June 14, 2013. <http://www.apexmuseum.org/currentexhibits.html>.

-----, "Mission Statement." Accessed June 14, 2013. <http://www.apexmuseum.org/>

Arsenault, Raymond. *Freedom Riders: 1961 and the Struggle for Racial Justice*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Barrett, Jennifer. *Museums and the Public Sphere*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011.

Baxandall, Michael. *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.

Bell, Derek A. Jr. "Brown v. Board of Education and the Interest Convergence Dilemma." In *Critical Race Theory: Key Writings That Formed the Movement*, edited by Kimberlé Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, Gary Peller, and Kendall Thomas, 20–29. New York: The New Press, 1995.

Bennett, Tony. *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*. New York: Routledge, 1995.

Besteman, Catherine. *Transforming Cape Town*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.

Beyers, Christiaan. "The Cultural Politics of 'Community' and Citizenship in the District Six Museum, Cape Town." *Anthropologica* 50, no. 2 (2008): 359–373.

Birmingham Civil Rights Institute. "Birmingham Civil Rights Institute." Accessed May 1, 2013. <http://www.bcri.org>.

----- "Juneteenth Culture Fest." Accessed May 26, 2013. http://bcri.org/events_activities/annual_events/juneteenth.html.

Black Lives Matter. "Black Lives Matter Stands in Solidarity with Water Protectors at Standing Rock." Accessed November 26, 2016. <http://blacklivesmatter.com/solidarity-with-standing-rock/>.

Bohlin, Anna. "The Politics of Locality: Memories of District Six in Cape Town." In *Locality and Belonging*. Edited by Navia Lovell, 168–188. New York: Routledge, 1998.

Bonder, Julian. "Memory-Works: The Working Memorials." In *A Companion to Public Art*, edited by Cher Krause Knight and Harriet F. Senie. London: Wiley-Blackwell, forthcoming.

Bonner, Philip. "New Nation, New History: The History Workshop in South Africa, 1977-1994." *The Journal of American History* 81, no. 3. December 1994: 977–85.

Bremner, Lindsay. "Memory, Nation Building and the Post-Apartheid City: The Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg." In *Desire Lines: Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-Apartheid City*, edited by Noëleen Murray, Nick Shepherd, and Martin Hall, 85–104. New York: Routledge, 2007.

----- "A Quick Tour Around Contemporary Johannesburg." In *From Jo'burg to Jozi: Stories About Africa's Infamous City*. Edited by Heidi Holland and Adam Roberts, 53–56. Johannesburg, Penguin Books, 2006.

Brimley, John. "Birmingham students draw historical parallels after trip to South Africa." *Birmingham News*. June 25, 2011. Accessed May 26, 2013. http://blog.al.com/spotnews/2011/06/post_656.html.

Bruner, Edward M. *Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2005.

----- and Barabara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett. "Maasai on the Lawn: Tourist Realism in East Africa." *Cultural Anthropology* 9, no. 4 (November 1994): 435–70.

Buckner, Brett. "Keeper of the culture: Umdabu Dance Company to perform traditional South African dance at the Ritz on Saturday." *Anniston Star*. September 24, 2010. Accessed May 27, 2013. http://www.annistonstar.com/view/full_story/9639652/article-Keeper-of-the-culture--Umdabu-Dance-Company-to-perform-traditional-South-African-dance-at-The-Ritz-on-Saturday.

Camarena, Cuauhtemoc and Teresa Morales. "Community Museums and Global Connections: The Union of Community Museums of Oaxaca." In *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, edited by Corinne A. Kratz, Lynn Szwaja, Tomas Ybarra-Frausto, and Ivan Karp, 322–346. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.

The Center for Civil and Human Rights. "Design Competition: Request for Qualifications for Design Services." November 3, 2008.

----- "Interim Story Development Phase Deliverable." 2009.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. "Museums in Late Democracies." *Humanities Research* 9, no. 1 (2002): 5–12.

Charlesworth, Andrew, Alison Stenning, Robert Guzik, and Michal Paszkowski. "'Out of Place' in Auschwitz? Contested Development in Post-War and Post-Socialist Oświęcim." *Ethics, Place, and Environment* 9, no. 2 (2006): 149–172.

City of Cape Town. "The Fringe Urban Design Framework." Accessed October 6, 2014. <http://www.capetown.gov.za/en/Planningportal/Pages/TheFringe.aspx>.

Clifford, James. "Diasporas." *Cultural Anthropology* 9, no. 3 (1994): 302–338.

----- "Notes on Theory and Travel," *Inscriptions* 5 (1989). Accessed January 5, 2012.

http://culturalstudies.ucsc.edu/PUBS/Inscriptions/vol_5/clifford.html.

----- *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Cohen, David William. *The Combing of History*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1994.

Colvin, Christopher. "Introduction: Contingency and Creativity: South Africa after Apartheid." *Anthropology and Humanism* 28, no. 1 (2003): 3–7.

Comaroff, John and Jean Comaroff. *Ethnicity Inc.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.

Cooks, Bridget R. *Exhibiting Blackness: African Americans and the American Art Museum*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011.

Coombes, Annie E. *History after Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa*. Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2003.

----- "Museums and the Formation of National and Cultural Identities." *Oxford Art Journal* 11, no. 2 (1988): 57–68.

Cowan, Adrian, Charles Cowan, and Brian Atkins. "The Economic Impact of the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute on the Birmingham MSA and the State of Alabama." *Analytic Focus*, 2004. Accessed April 10, 2012.

<http://www.analyticfocus.com/app/data/models/document/8f4d818aab1a1ed16827d636fe0096f7.pdf>.

Creet, Julia. "Introduction: The Migration of Memory and Memories of Migration." In *Memory and Migration: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Memory Studies*, edited by Julia Creet and Andreas Kitzmann, 3–26. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011.

Dade, Corey. "Civil-Rights Gains Test New Memorial's Relevance." *Wall Street Journal*. May 7, 2009. Accessed December 8, 2010.
<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB124164783046593317.html>.

Davison, Patricia. "Material Culture, Context, and Meaning: A Critical Investigation of Museum Practice, with Particular Reference to the South African Museum." Ph.D dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1991.

Deacon, Janette. "Heritage and African History." In *Toward New Histories for South Africa: On the Place of the Past in our Present*. Edited by Shamil Jeppie, 117–29. Lansdowne: Juta Gariep, 2004.

Deckler, Thornsten, Anne Graupner, and Henning Rasmuss. *Contemporary South African Architecture in a Landscape of Transition*. Cape Town: Double Storey Books, 2006.

de Certeau, Michel. *The Writing of History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.

de Groot, Jerome. *Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Popular Culture*. London: Routledge, 2008.

Delpont, Peggy. "Signposts for Retrieval: A Visual Framework for Enabling Memory of Place and Time." In *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating Community in Cape Town*. Edited by Ciraj Rassool and Sandra Prosalendis, 36–7. Cape Town: District Six Museum Foundation, 2001.

District Six Museum. *District Six Annual Report 2007–2008*. Cape Town, South Africa: 2008.

----- "D6 as a National Heritage Site." Accessed January 21, 2015.

http://www.districtsix.co.za/Content/Museum/About/NationalHeritageSite/index_02.php.

----- "District Six Encounters." Accessed January 11, 2015.

<http://districtsix.co.za/Content/Museum/FeaturedTours/DistrictSixEncounters/index.php>.

----- "District Six Museum: Current Operations and Future Plans." Accessed January 19, 2015.

<https://db3sqepoi5n3s.cloudfront.net/files/131022district6.pdf>

----- "Fields of Play: Football Memories and Forced Removals in Cape Town – 2008/2012." Accessed January 11, 2015.

<http://districtsix.co.za/Content/Exhibitions/Past/2000/Play/index.php>.

----- *A Guide to the District Six Museum and the Digging Deeper Exhibition*. 2001.

----- "Home." District Six Museum. Accessed July 4, 2014.

<http://www.districtsix.co.za>.

----- "The Homecoming Centre." Accessed January 10, 2015.

<http://districtsix.co.za/Content/Museum/About/HomecomingCentre/index.php>.

----- "Huis Kombuis Design and Craft Memory Project." Accessed January 10, 2015.

<http://districtsix.co.za/Content/Exhibitions/Past/2000/HuisKombuis/index.php>.

----- "Permanent Exhibitions." Accessed January 2, 2015.

<http://www.districtsix.co.za/Content/Exhibitions/Permanent/index.php>.

----- "Research Affiliation for Scholars." Accessed July 10, 2014.

<http://www.districtsix.co.za/Content/Education/Research/Affiliation/index.php>.

District Six Museum Little Wonder Store. "Book List." Accessed January 15, 2015.

<http://d6littlewonderstore.blogspot.com/p/book-list.html>.

Doss, Erika. *Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010.

Doyle, Debbie Ann. "The National Parks and the Value of History." *Perspectives on History* 51, no. 5 (May 2013): 12.

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

Duncan, Carol and Alan Wallach. "The Universal Survey Museum." *Art History* 3, no. 4 (1980): 448–469.

Dwyer, Owen J. "Interpreting the Civil Rights Movement: Contradiction, Confirmation, and the Cultural Landscape," in *The Civil Rights Movement in American Memory*, edited by Renee C. Romano and Leigh Raiford, 5–27. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2006.

----- and Derek Alderman. *Civil Rights Memorials and the Geography of Memory*. Chicago: Center for American Places, 2008.

Ehlers, Matt. "Forum to Address Racial Divide." *The Tuscaloosa News*. April 15, 2002. Accessed January 13, 2013.

<http://txstage.ny.atl.publicus.com/article/20020415/NEWS/204150322?p=1&tc=pg>.

Eskew, Glenn. "The Birmingham Civil Rights Institute and the New Ideology of Tolerance." In *The Civil Rights Movement in American Memory*, edited by Renee C. Romano and Leigh Raiford, 28–66. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2006.

----- "Selling the Civil Rights Movement Through Black Empowerment in Selma, Alabama." In *Destination Dixie: Tourism and Southern History*, edited by Karen L. Cox, 160–184. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2012.

Feldman, Brian. "Yes, You Can Catch Pokémon at Auschwitz." *New York Magazine*. July 11, 2016. Accessed August 11, 2016. <http://nymag.com/selectall/2016/07/yes-you-can-catch-pokemon-at-auschwitz.html>.

Field, Sean. *Oral History, Community, and Displacement: Imagining Memories in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

- “The Fight for the Soul of the Black Lives Matter Movement.” *Gothamist*. April 7, 2015. Accessed November 21, 2016. http://gothamist.com/2015/04/07/black_lives_matter_movement.php.
- Findley, Lisa. “Red and Gold: A Tale of Two Apartheid Museums: Places: Design Observer.” *Design Observer*. February 21, 2011. Accessed September 22, 2013. <http://places.designobserver.com/entry.html?entry=24779>.
- Fine, Elizabeth. *Soulstepping: African American Step Shows*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003.
- Fullard, Madeline and Nicky Rousseau. “Uncertain Borders: The TRC and the (Un)making of Public Myths.” *Kronos* 34, no. 1 (2008): 181-214.
- Holsey, Bayo. *Routes of Remembrance: Refashioning the Slave Trade in Ghana*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Gaines, Jane and Michael Renov. *Collecting Visible Evidence*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.
- Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- Gilmore, Glenda Elizabeth. *Defying Dixie: The Radical Roots of Civil Rights: 1919-1950*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2008.
- Gorsche, Jennifer K. “Civil Rights Makeover in Memphis.” *The Architect’s Newspaper*. January 6, 2011. Accessed May 3, 2013. <http://archpaper.com/news/articles.asp?id=5074>.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. “Resonance and Wonder.” In *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, edited by Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, 42–56. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.
- Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission. *Final Report*. Accessed May 13, 2013. http://www.greensborotrc.org/overall_recs.pdf.
----- “November 3.” Accessed May 13, 2013. <http://www.greensborotrc.org/november3.php>.
- Halbwachs, Maurice. *On Collective Memory*. Translated by Lewis A. Coser. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- Hall, Jacqueline Dowd. “The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past.” *The Journal of American History* 91, no. 4 (2005): 1233-1263.
- Hall, Martin. “Earth and Stone: Archaeology as Memory.” In *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa*, edited by Sarah Nuttall and Carli Coetzee, 180–200. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1998.

-----, "The Reappearance of the Authentic." In *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, edited by Corinne A. Kratz, Lynn Szwaja, Tomas Ybarra-Frausto, and Ivan Karp, 70–101. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.

----- Pia Bombardella. "Las Vegas in Africa." *Journal of Social Archaeology* 5, no. 1 (2005): 5–24.

Handler, Richard and Eric Gable. *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg*. Durham: Duke University Press Books, 1997.

Hansen, Thomas Blom. *Melancholia of Freedom: Social Life in an Indian Township in South Africa*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.

Haraway, Donna. "Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908-1936." *Social Text* 11 (Winter 1984): 19–64.

Harris, Verne. *Archives and Justice: A South African Perspective*. Chicago: The Society of American Archivists, 2007.

Hartman, Saidiya V. *Lose Your Mother: A Journey Along the Atlantic Slave Route*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2008.

"The Healing of a City by Design." *Birmingham Business Journal*. 1992.

Henry, Scott. "The Atlanta Way not always best." *Creative Loafing*. June 10, 2010. Accessed December 4, 2010. <http://clatl.com/atlanta/the-atlanta-way-not-always-best/Content?oid=1488611>.

Hirsch, Marianne and Nancy K. Miller. Introduction to *Rites of Return: Diaspora Poetics and the Politics of Memory*, edited by Marianne Hirsch and Nancy K. Miller, 1–20. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.

Hooker, Juliet. *Race and the Politics of Solidarity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Hurtado, Patricia. "Coca-Cola Sued in U.S. by Guatemalans over Anti-Union Violence." *Business Week*. February 27, 2010.

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

International Sites of Conscience. "About Us." Accessed December 5, 2011.

<http://www.sitesofconscience.org/about-us>

-----, "Rod's Room." Accessed July 4, 2014. <http://www.sitesofconscience.org/sites/district-six/how-is-it-remembered/rods-room>.

Jacobs, Sean. "How Do We Talk About the Memory of Apartheid." *Africa is a Country*. October 16, 2014. Accessed January 10, 2015. <http://africasacountry.com/how-do-we-talk-about-apartheid>.

Jethro, Duane. "The District on Cape Town's 'Fringe.'" *Africa is a Country*. June 17, 2013. Accessed January 15, 2015. <http://africasacountry.com/the-fringe-district>.

Johnson, Antuan, Alexander Clayborne, and Sean Cuddihy. "Royall Must Fall." *The Harvard Crimson*. November 20, 2015. Accessed November 26, 2016. <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/2015/11/20/hls-royall-must-fall/>.

Jonker, Julian and Karen Till. "Mapping and Excavating Spectral Traces in Post-Apartheid Cape Town." *Memory Studies* 2, no. 3 (2009): 303–335.

Jordan, Bobby. "Close race exhibition, says DA mayor." *The Sunday Times*, October 28, 2012.

Julius, Chrischene. "'Digging [D]eeper than the Eye Approves': Oral Histories and Their Use in the *Digging Deeper* Exhibition of the District Six Museum." *Kronos* 34, no. 1 (2008): 106–138. ----. "Oral History in the Exhibitionary Strategy of the District Six Museum, Cape Town." M.A. thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2007.

Karp, Ivan. Introduction to *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*, edited by Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer, and Steven Levine, 1–18. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1992.

Kelner, Shaul. *Tours that Bind: Diaspora, Pilgrimage, and Israeli Birthright Tourism*. New York: New York University Press, 2010.

King, Martin Luther Jr. "Letter from a Birmingham Jail." Reproduced at Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Global Freedom Struggle. Accessed May 16, 2013. http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/index.php/encyclopedia/documentsentry/annotated_letter_from_birmingham/.

Kinross, Robin. "The Rhetoric of Neutrality." In *Design Discourse: History/Theory/Criticism*, edited by Victor Margolin, 131–144. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

Kratz, Corinne. "Rhetorics of Value: Constituting Worth and Meaning through Cultural Display." *Visual Anthropology Review* 27, no. 1 (2011): 21–48.

----. *The Ones That Are Wanted: Communication and the Politics of Representation in a Photographic Exhibition*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

---- and Ivan Karp. Introduction to *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, edited by Corinne A. Kratz, Lynn Szwaja, Tomas Ybarra-Frausto, and Ivan Karp, 1–33. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.

Kreamer, Christine Mullen. "Shared Heritage, Contested Terrain: Cultural Negotiation and Ghana's Cape Coast Castle Museum Exhibition 'Crossroads of People, Crossroads of Trade.'" In

Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations, edited by Ivan Karp, Corinne A. Kratz, Lynn Szwaja, and Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, 435–468. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.

La Hausse, Paul. “Oral History and South African Historians.” *Radical History Review* 1990, no. 46–47 (1990): 346–56.

Lalu, Premesh. *The Deaths of Hintsa: Postapartheid South Africa and the Shape of Recurring Pasts*. Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2009.

Lancaster, Lizette. “Crime Stats: Where Murder Happens in South Africa.” *Mail & Guardian*. September 19, 2013. <http://mg.co.za/article/2013-09-19-where-murder-happens-in-south-africa/>.

Landsberg, Alison. *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.

The Last Rhodesian. Accessed June 29, 2015. <http://lastrhodesian.com/>.

Linenthal, Edward Tabor. *Preserving Memory: The Struggle to Create America’s Holocaust Museum*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.

Lonely Planet. “Johannesburg Attractions: Apartheid Museum.” Accessed September 22, 2013. <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/south-africa/gauteng/johannesburg/sights/museum/apartheid-museum>

Lowenthal, David. *Possessed by the Past: The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. New York: Free Press, 1996.

Malkki, Liisa. “Things to Come: Internationalism and Global Solidarities in the Late 1990s.” *Public Culture* 10, no. 2 (1998): 431–442.

MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Schocken Books, 1976.

Macdonald, Sharon. *Behind the Scenes at the Science Museum*. London: Berg, 2002.

Maleuvre, Didier. *Museum Memories: History, Technology, Art*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1999.

Mandela, Nelson. “I am prepared to die.” Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory. Accessed December 6, 2013. http://db.nelsonmandela.org/speeches/pub_view.asp?pg=item&ItemID=NMS010.

The Martin Luther King Center. “About the King Center.” Accessed May 2, 2013. <http://www.thekingcenter.org/about-king-center>.

Mathers, Kathryn and Loren Landau, "Natives, Tourists, and *Makwerekwere*: Ethical Concerns with 'Proudly South African' Tourism." *Development Southern Africa* 24, no. 3 (2007): 523–537.

McGreal, Chris. "'We Have Children Here Who Don't Believe Apartheid Happened'." *The Guardian*. December 12, 2001. Accessed September 21, 2013. <http://www.theguardian.com/g2/story/0,3604,617231,00.html>.

McIntyre, Morris Hargreaves. "Stories to Remind Us About Human Values: An Evaluation of the *Mandela and South Africa* Exhibitions at Malmö Museums." October 2010. Accessed January 24, 2014. <http://www.malmo.se/download/18.29c3b78a132728ecb52800027417/Effektutv%C3%A4rdering+Tema+Sydafrika+2010.pdf>

McWhorter, Diane. *Carry Me Home: Birmingham, Alabama, the Climactic Battle of the Civil Rights Revolution*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2001.

Minchin, Timothy. "Exploring the 'American Obsession' Down Under: Teaching Civil Rights History in Australia." *Journal of American History* 96, no. 4 (2010): 1104–1111.

Minkley, Gary and Ciraj Rassool. "Orality, Memory and Social History in South Africa." In *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa*, edited by Sarah Nuttall and Carli Coetzee, 89–99. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Msimang, Sisonke. "Shutdown—On the Death of Compromise in South Africa." *Africa is a Country*. October 11, 2016. Accessed December 4, 2016. <http://africasacountry.com/2016/10/shutdown-on-the-death-of-compromise-in-south-africa/>.

Mpumlwana, Khwezi ka, Gerald Corsane, Juanita Pastor-Makhurane, and Ciraj Rassool. "Inclusion and the Power of Representation: South African Museums and the Cultural Politics of Transformation." in *Museums, Society, Inequality*, edited by Richard Sandell, 244–261. London: Routledge, 2002.

Murray, Noëleen, Nick Shepherd, and Martin Hall, *Desire Lines: Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-Apartheid City*. London: Routledge, 2007.

Nora, Pierre. "Between History and Memory: Les Lieux de Memoires." *Representations* 26 (1989): 7–24.

Olick, Jeffrey K. "Collective Memory: The Two Cultures." In *The Collective Memory Reader*, edited by Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy, 225–228. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

O'Toole, Sean. "This Is the Work of a Revolution." *Mail & Guardian*. April 4, 2014. Accessed January 27, 2017. <http://mg.co.za/article/2014-04-03-this-is-the-work-of-a-revolution>.

“The Original Declaration of Principles.” Quoted in the *Birmingham Historical Society Newsletter* (June 2006): 2.

Pan African Historical Museum USA. “About Us.” Accessed March 8, 2016. <http://pahmusa.mysite.com/aboutus.html>.

Parliamentary Monitoring Group. “District Six Museum on its operations and business plans; Department of Arts and Culture on 2nd quarter expenditure report; Budgetary Review and Recommendations Report.” Accessed January 22, 2015. <http://www.pmg.org.za/report/20131022-district-six-museum-its-operations-and-business-plans-department-arts-and-culture-2nd-quarter-expenditure-report>.

Parr, Adrian. *Deleuze and Memorial Culture: Desire, Singular Memory and the Politics of Trauma*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008.

“PE Residents Force Anti-Apartheid Museum to Close.” *News24*. July 31, 2014. Accessed December 12, 2016. <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/PE-residents-force-anti-apartheid-museum-to-close-20140731>.

Petersen, Carlo. “UCT Refusing the Hire Black Professors.” *Cape Times*. March 23, 2015.

Philander, Rusana. “District Six Museum Brings the Past to Life.” *The New Age*. September 22, 2011. Accessed January 11, 2015. http://www.thenewage.co.za/29742-1058-53-District_Six_Museum_brings_the_past_to_life.

Pierre, Jemima. *The Predicament of Blackness: Postcolonial Ghana and the Politics of Race*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012.

Pine, Joseph and James H. Gilmore. *The Experience Economy: Work Is Theater & Every Business a Stage*. Cambridge: Harvard Business School Press, 1999.

Pithouse, Richard. “The Turn to Burning in South Africa.” *Africa is a Country*. September 9, 2016. Accessed November 26, 2016. <http://africasacountry.com/2016/09/the-turn-to-burning-in-south-africa/>.

Pomeranz, Kenneth and Daniel A. Segal. “World History: Departures and Variations.” In *A Companion to World History*, edited by Douglas Northrop, 15–31. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2012.

Posel, Deborah. “Race as Common Sense: Racial Classification in Twentieth-Century South Africa.” *African Studies Review* 44, no. 2 (September 2001): 87–113.
 ----- “The TRC Report: What Kind of History? What Kind of Truth?” In *Commissioning the Past: Understanding South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, edited by Deborah Posel and Graeme Simpson, 147–172. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press, 2002.

Prosalendis, Sandra, Jennifer Marot, Crain Soudien, and Anwah Nagia. "Punctuations: Periodic Impressions of a Museum." In *Recalling Community in Cape Town*. Edited by Ciraj Rassool and Sandra Prosalendis, 85. Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001.

Rabley, Jennifer Patton. "Displacement: The Impact of Forced Removal on Memory Reconstruction at the District Six Museum and Beyond." Ed.D thesis, Columbia University, 2005.

Rassool, Ciraj. "Power, Knowledge and the Politics of Public Pasts." *African Studies* 69, no. 1 (April 2010): 79–101.

----- and Leslie Witz. "South African Family Stories – Tropenmuseum." Accessed March 4, 2012. <http://tropenmuseum.nl/-/MUS/20254/Tropenmuseum/Collection/Collection-Publications/Publications-Archive/South-African-family-stories>.

----- and Leslie Witz. "South Africa: A World in One Country. Moments in International Tourist Encounters with Wildlife, the Primitive, and the Modern." *Cahiers d'études africaines* 36, no. 143 (1996): 335–371.

----- Bonita Bennett, Chrischene Julius, and Crain Soudien. *City/Site/Museum: Reviewing Memory Practices at the District Six Museum*. Cape Town: District Six Museum Foundation, 2008.

----- Sandra Prosalendis, and District Six Museum Foundation, *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum*. Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001.

Reynolds, Barbara. "I Was a Civil Rights Activist in the 1960s. But It's Hard for Me to Get Behind Black Lives Matter." *The Washington Post*. August 24, 2015. Accessed November 21, 2016. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2015/08/24/i-was-a-civil-rights-activist-in-the-1960s-but-its-hard-for-me-to-get-behind-black-lives-matter>.

Robyn, Kimberly Autry. "Desegregating the Past: The Transformation of the Public Imagination." Ph.D dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 2008.

Rodriguez, Ana. "Alabama Tourism Department Launches 'Civil Rights Trail' Smartphone App." *AL.com*. April 12, 2013. Accessed May 14, 2013. http://www.al.com/living/index.ssf/2013/04/alabama_tourism_department_lau.html.

Rogoff, Irit. "Hit and Run—Museums and Cultural Difference." *Art Journal* 61, no. 3 (2002): 63–73.

Rolfes, Manfred, Malte Steinbrink, and Christina Uhl. *Townships as Attraction: An Empirical Study of Township Tourism in Cape Town*. Potsdam: Potsdam University Press, 2009.

Rosenzweig, Roy and David Thelen. *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.

----- "Participation/Age/National Sample." *The Presence of the Past*. Accessed January 4, 2014. http://chnm.gmu.edu/survey/2_1ageact.html.

----- "Pasts/Age/National Sample." *The Presence of the Past*. Accessed January 4, 2014. http://chnm.gmu.edu/survey/2_13agewat.html.

Ross, Fiona. *Bearing Witness: Women and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa*. London: Pluto Press, 2003.

Rothberg, Michael. *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2009.

----. "From Gaza to Warsaw: Mapping Multidirectional Memory." *Criticism* 53, no. 4 (2011): 523–548.

Ruffins, Fath Davis. "Mythos, Memory, and History: African American Preservation Efforts, 1820-1990." In *Museums and Communities*, edited by Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer, and Steven D. Lavine, 506–611. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992.

"S Africa Chinese 'Become Black.'" *BBC*. June 18, 2008. Accessed January 17, 2015. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7461099.stm>.

Safran, William. "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homelands and Return." *Diaspora* 1, no. 1 (1991): 83–99.

Said, Edward W. *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000.

----- *The World, the Text, and the Critic*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983.

Samuel, Raphael. *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*. Verso: New York, 1994.

Serjeant at the Bar. "Crude Use of Power is Cause for Concern." *Mail & Guardian*. March 27, 2015. Accessed November 25, 2016. <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-03-27-crude-use-of-power-is-cause-for-concern>.

Scott, David. *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.

Senie, Harriet F. *Memorials to Shattered Myths: Vietnam to 9/11*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Severson, Kim. "New Museums to Shine a Spotlight on Civil Rights Era." *New York Times*. February 19, 2012. Accessed May 3, 2013. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/20/us/african-american-museums-rising-to-recognize-civil-rights.html>.

Shipman, Doug. "Building a Civil and Human Rights Center for the Future." *Creative Loafing*. June 16, 2010. Accessed December 8, 2010. <http://clatl.com/freshloaf/archives/2010/06/16/soapbox-building-a-center-for-civil-and-human-rights-for-the-future>.

- Smith, Jacqueline. "Why Boycott the Civil Rights Museum." Accessed May 3, 2013. <http://www.fulfillthedream.net>.
- Smith, Valene. *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989.
- Soske, Jon and Sean Jacobs. "Apartheid Israel: The Politics of an Analogy." In *Apartheid Israel: The Politics of an Analogy*, 2014. Accessed July 8, 2015. <https://africaisacountry.atavist.com/apartheidanalogy>.
- Soudien, Crain. "Emerging Discourses About Identity in New South African Museums." *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 10, no. 2 (2008): 207–221.
- Stanton, Cathy. *The Lowell Experiment: Public History in a Postindustrial City*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006.
- Statistics South Africa. "An Economic Look at the Tourism Industry." March 26, 2015. Accessed January 15, 2016. <http://www.statssa.gov.za/?p=4362>.
- Stecklow, Steve. "How a global web of activists gives Coke problems in India." *Wall Street Journal*. June 7, 2005.
- Stevens, Quentin and Karen A. Franck. *Memorials as Spaces of Engagement: Design, Use and Meaning*. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Sturken, Marita. *Tourists of History: Memory, Kitsch, and Consumerism from Oklahoma City to Ground Zero*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.
- Swarns, Rachel. "Oppression in Black and White: South African Museum Recreates Apartheid." *The New York Times*. December 10, 2001. Accessed September 22, 2013. <http://www.nytimes.com/2001/12/10/arts/oppression-in-black-and-white-south-african-museum-recreates-apartheid.html>.
- Thomas, Nicholas. "The Museum as Method." *Museum Anthropology* 33, no. 1 (2010): 6–10.
- Thompson, E.P. *Making of the English Working Class*. New York: Vintage, 1966.
- Thompson, Leonard. *A History of South Africa*. 3rd edition. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. New York: Beacon Press, 1997.
- Umdabu South African Dance Company Facebook page. Accessed May 27, 2013. <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Umdabu-South-African-Dance-Company/213744258666264?id=213744258666264&sk=info>

Umoja, Akinyele Omowale. *We Will Shoot Back: Armed Resistance in the Mississippi Freedom Movement*. New York: New York University Press, 2013.

Underwood, Madison. "Birmingham Civil Rights Institute Lands \$100,000 Donation for 2013 Education and Outreach." *Al.com*. October 27, 2012. Accessed May 18, 2013. http://blog.al.com/spotnews/2012/10/birmingham_civil_rights_instit_11.html.

"Universal Declaration of Human Rights." United Nations. Accessed May 24, 2013. <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr>.

"The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is the Most Universal Document in the World." Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, United Nations Human Rights. Accessed May 25, 2013. <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/pages/WorldRecord.aspx>.
United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. October 2, 2007. Accessed June 14, 2013. <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N06/512/07/PDF/N0651207.pdf>.

Urry, John. *The Tourist Gaze*. London: SAGE, 2002.

Vinson, Robert and Robert Edgar. "Zulus, African Americans and the African Diaspora." In *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present*, edited by Benedict Carton, John Laband, and Jabulani Sithole, 240–249. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu Natal Press, 2008.

Visit Alabama. "Alabama Civil Rights Museum Trail." Accessed May 14, 2013. <http://www.visitalabama.org/activities/tours-and-trails/alabama-civil-rights-museum-trail/>.

Voortrekker Monument. "Voortrekker Monument and Nature Reserve." Accessed February 15, 2014. http://www.vtm.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/ENG_Brochure_FET_Hist.pdf.

Warner, Michael. *Publics and Counterpublics*. New York: Zone, 2005.

Watkins, Mia. "Birmingham Civil Rights Institute Named Attraction of the Year." *Birmingham News*. August 30, 2012. Accessed January 4, 2013. http://www.al.com/entertainment/index.ssf/2012/08/birmingham_civil_rights_distri.html.

White, Hayden. *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1975.

Williams, Paul. *Memorial Museums: The Global Rush to Commemorate Atrocities*. London: Berg Publishers, 2008.

Wilson, Amy. "National Civil Rights Museum." *The Journal of American History* 83, no. 3 (1996): 971-976.

Wilson, Mabel O. *Negro Building: Black Americans in the World of Fairs and Museums*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.

Wilson, Richard. *The Politics of Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Legitimizing the Post-Apartheid State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Witz, Leslie. "Eventless History at the End of Apartheid: The Making of the 1988 Dias Festival," *Kronos* 32 (November 2006): 162–191.

----- "Meetings of World History and Public History." In *A Companion to World History*. Edited by Douglas Northrop, 97–110. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2012.

----- "Museums on Cape Town's Township Tours." In *Desire Lines: Space, Memory, and Identity in the Post-Apartheid City*. Edited by Noëleen Murray, Nick Shepherd, Martin Hall, 259–276. New York: Routledge, 2007.

----- "Transforming Museums on Postapartheid Tourist Routes." In *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*. Edited by Ivan Karp, Corinne A. Kratz, Lynn Szwaja, and Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, 107–134. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.

----- and Ciraj Rassool. "Making Histories." *Kronos* 34, no. 1 (2008): 6–15.

----- Ciraj Rassool, Gary Minkley. "Repackaging the Past for South African Tourism." *Daedalus* 130, no. 1 (2001): 277–296.

Wood, Nancy. "Memory's Remains: *Les Lieux de Memoire*," *History and Memory* 6, no. 1 (1994): 123–149.

Woolfolk, Odessa. "BCRI History." Birmingham Civil Rights Institute. Accessed April 13, 2012. http://www.bcri.org/information/history_of_bcri/history.html.

World Design Capital Cape Town. "World Design Capital Cape Town." Accessed January 14, 2015. <http://www.wdccapetown2014.com>.

World Tourism and Travel Council. "Country Reports." Accessed January 25, 2017. <http://www.wttc.org/research/economic-research/economic-impact-analysis/country-reports>.

Wren, Christopher. "South African Whites Ratify De Klerk's Move to Negotiate with Blacks on a New Order." *New York Times*. March 19, 1992. Accessed February 15, 2017. <http://www.nytimes.com/1992/03/19/world/south-african-whites-ratify-de-klerk-s-move-negotiate-with-blacks-new-order.html>.

X, Malcolm. *The Autobiography of Malcolm X: As Told to Alex Haley*. New York: Ballantine, 1992.

"Yes Vote Is a Step Forward." *Birmingham News*. July 6, 1986.

Zunes, Stephen. "The Role of Nonviolent Action in the Downfall of Apartheid." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 37, no 1. (1999): 137–169.

Archival Sources

Apartheid Museum, Johannesburg, South Africa.
Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, Birmingham, Alabama, USA.
District Six Museum, Cape Town, South Africa.

Film

Field, Connie. *Have You Heard From Johannesburg?* Clarity Films, 2010.