

Memorialising Madiba in South Africa. The Role of Graphic Heritage and Toponymy in two Contrasting Urban Places

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Abstract

Hundreds of public places across the world are named in honour of Nelson Mandela. However, there is no consistent level of expectation in terms of what we might learn about this great man when visiting these places. This paper examines an explanatory hypothesis that the process of place naming involving people – and any material representations that then refer to that person – not only offers the opportunity to learn about that person but also impacts one's experience and understanding of place. We refer to these material representations as 'graphic heritage.' We examine two highly contrasting urban places named after Mandela (also known as Madiba by South Africans), namely Nelson Mandela Square in Sandton, Johannesburg, and Nelson Mandela Park in Mamelodi, Pretoria in South Africa. In looking for traces of his values and legacy using graphic heritage, our methodological approach is guided by the design inquiry method of Zeisel, which uses annotated diagrams, observations of physical traces, and photo-documentation of these spaces. We position graphic heritage as an empirical research tool and as a form of critical inquiry that reveals very much (Sandton) and very little (Mamelodi) about the former president and rebel leader. The findings reveal contrasting settings and significantly different levels of access, diverse motivations through the naming acts, and differing levels of attentiveness to the visual-aesthetic considerations shown by those responsible for the two sites.

Keywords: Nelson Mandela, placemaking, public spaces, South Africa, graphic heritage

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Introduction

Nelson Mandela, hereafter referred to as *Madiba* as he is affectionately known in his home country, was a much-admired symbol of the Black political movement. His name endorses a significant number of places across the world: streets, buildings, gardens, neighbourhoods, bridges, squares, schools, universities, hospitals, highways, stadiums, plazas, parks, and statues. Several hundred are known to the Nelson Mandela Foundation (NMF - <https://www.nelsonmandela.org/>) in South Africa, but there are countless instances of naming that are listed. For those who wish to seek ratification, there is a formal process. According to Zandile Myeka, archivist at NMF, an institution, project, or entity, may write to the NMF requesting the use of Madiba's names, images, or sobriquets that are registered trademarks of the Nelson Mandela Foundation. However, these are never licensed out for commercial purposes.

The intention of the research reported here is to observe and gather data about how Madiba's name is associated with public places and placemaking, and how he is further represented through physical traces in locations named in his honour. The research was inspired by empirical observations of Nelson Mandela Park in Leicester in the United Kingdom during 2020 and 2021. Further discussion ensued between the research team about a hypothesis that questioned what can be learned about a person from a place that bears their name and how this process might inform one's understanding and experience of the place itself. We initially set out to explore the hypothesis by undertaking an initial scoping study of the contrasting but similarly named Nelson Mandela Park in Mamelodi, Pretoria, to determine the feasibility of further research reported in this paper.

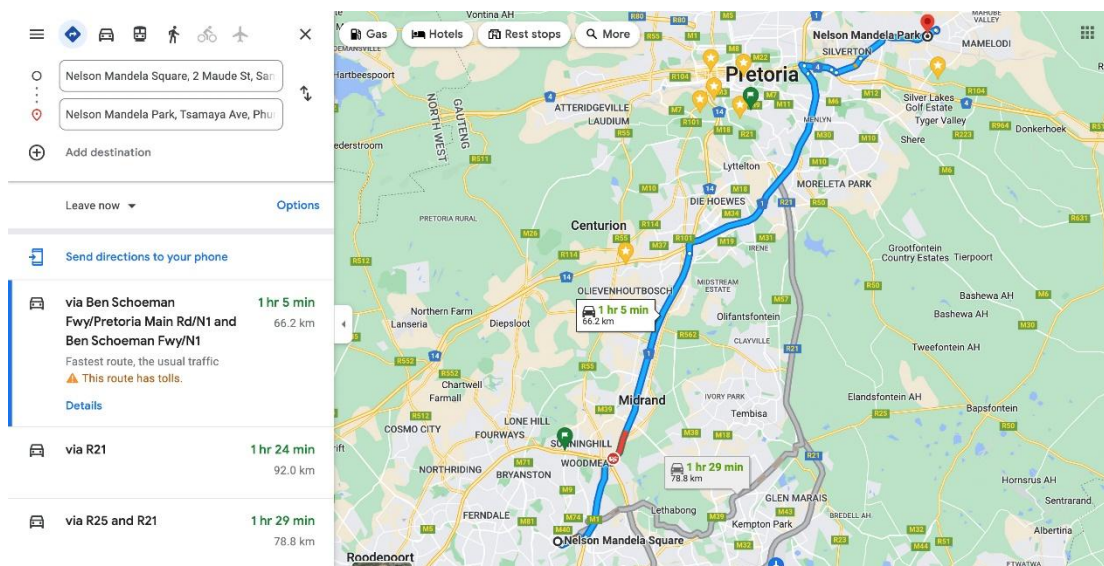


Figure 1. Map of the Johannesburg-Pretoria megacity in Gauteng, South Africa, with Nelson Mandela Park in Mamelodi to the North and Nelson Mandela Square in Sandton to the South (Google Maps, 2022a).

In this paper, we extend the initial scoping study of the park in Mamelodi (Harland, Barnes, and Burger 2022) by comparing it with a second site named after Madiba in the Gauteng Province of South Africa, namely Nelson Mandela Square in Sandton,

Johannesburg, which is almost 70 kilometres from Mamelodi (Figure 1). The two sites are contrasting in terms of statistics and data around population characteristics, living conditions, and economic activity.^{1,2} However, they are also representative of the social divisions in the Johannesburg-Pretoria urban area (McGuirk, 2011, p. 306). For example, they differ in terms of how Madiba is memorialised to the users who visit either the square or the park, which is highly unlikely to be the same social group.

The identification and analysis of these two case study locations provide an opportunity to develop an understanding of how graphic heritage contributes to placemaking strategies for public urban environments that draw on heritage associations with people of distinction. The naming of both sites after Madiba may be deemed to reflect the success of the anti-apartheid movement and a shift in power as to who might name a place and what history might be told and celebrated. It also suggests that bearing Madiba's name is a critical part of the process of creating (for example, Nelson Mandela Park, Mamelodi) and remaking places (for example, Nelson Mandela Square, Sandton) since the apartheid era in South Africa. Looking closely at the two locations reveals different motivations, strategies, and intended audiences, as will be revealed. In what follows, we introduce a framework for undertaking the research, provide background information for two case studies, and describe their physical locations before drawing some conclusions.

Materials and methods

The research is exploratory and descriptive in nature to identify the extent that Madiba is depicted in these two locations. "Exploratory hypotheses serve as the basis for observing and gathering data about the topic and then for describing and understanding it" (Zeisel, 2006, p. 33). As such, the research follows three main activities associated with observing physical traces, namely developing concepts, formulating hypotheses, and empirical testing (2006, p. 34).

Our approach frames how representations (meanings) and re-representations (means) of Madiba prompt memory, promote dialogue, and perpetuate his legacy work. Through graphic heritage associated directly with him, this is an important and highly influential aspect of his and South Africa's cultural heritage in the early twenty-first century. By this, we refer to a specific form of graphic communication used to convey heritage as a version of the past received through graphic object displays, representations, locations, memories, and commemorations, in the preparation of places for cultural purposes and consumption. Both case studies meet this definition and, as such, may be understood as purveyors of Madiba's graphic heritage.

Additionally, we acknowledge that the making of places requires that they are labelled. This relatively innocuous act of naming has far-reaching consequences, and in the context of design inquiry demands special attention for reasons that will become apparent as the paper unfolds. Its importance in the context of this paper is further explained below as an integral motivation and influential process in this study.

Observing physical traces and urbanism

¹ Population statistics of Sandton: 50% of population is white; 56.4% higher education; 96.6% in formal dwelling; 63% language English (Statistics South Africa, 2022a).

² Population statistics of Mamelodi: 98.9% of population is Black African – 0.1% white; 9.5% higher education; 61% in formal dwelling; 2.1% language English (Statistics South Africa, 2022b).

Several aspects of environmental behaviour research and urbanism research have guided the study. Our approach aligns with the established methodological perspective of design inquiry for environmental-behaviour research (Zeisel, 2006) and the nuanced methodologies associated with Urbanism (Campkin and Duijzing, 2016). In the case study locations, we have been guided by 'observing physical traces' (Zeisel, 2006, pp. 159-190) as a systemic approach to explore, document, describe, and analyse the physical surroundings of the selected locations from the perspective of placemaking (Table 1). We also acknowledge contemporary urbanism approaches such as everyday observation, visual ethnography, visual analysis, in situ reading, collaborative and systematic photography, documenting inscription, visual comparison, mapping, and walking (Campkin and Duijzings, 2016, end matter). We further incorporate critical toponymy as an important starting point and initial stimulus for wanting to know why and how such places were named after Madiba and what impact this might have on placemaking.

Table 1: Aspects of design inquiry that guide this study (adapted from Zeisel, 2006)

Doing research	Observing physical traces	Physical traces to look for
<i>Developing concepts</i> Characteristics Approaches Preconceptions	<i>Qualities of the method</i> Imageability Unobtrusive Durable Easy	<i>By-products of use</i> Erosions Leftovers Missing traces
<i>Formulating hypotheses</i> Classifying hypothesis Explanatory hypothesis	<i>Recording Devices</i> Annotated diagrams Drawings Photographs Counting	<i>Adaptations for use</i> Props Separations Connections
<i>Empirical testing</i> Observing Sampling	<i>What to Look for</i> By-products of use Adaptations for use Displays of self Public messages Context	<i>Displays of self</i> Personalisation Identification Group membership
(2006: 34)	(2006: 160)	(2006: 170)

Although environmental behavioural research and urbanism provide the established research framework, our approach is also informed by the research team's disciplinary perspectives from graphic design and urban design (Harland, 2016), creative representations of place (Barnes, 2018), and how these perspectives may be directed towards heritage. Emphasis is placed on the function of graphic images such as pictures, statues, architectural imagery, and designs (Mitchell, 1986, pp. 10–13) in heritage places and spaces that function as a form of graphic heritage (Harland and Xu, 2021). Heritage in the built environment is framed by uncertain views, variable definitions, and different representations of heritage (Sykes and Ludwig, 2015, p. 26). These will not be

reviewed here, but for the benefit of anchoring the research in a heritage context, we adopt the following interpretation of heritage: 'Heritage is a version of the past received through objects and display, representations and engagements, spectacular locations and events, memories and commemorations, and the preparation of places for cultural purposes and consumption' (Waterton and Watson, 2015, p. 1). This definition is broad and may be applied to numerous interests, but for the purpose of this paper, it is useful with regard to graphic representations of Madiba in urban places named in his honour.

Toponymy and placemaking

The study of place names, known as toponymy, includes a focus on the origin, etymology, meaning, and patterns of use (Monmonier, 2006, p. 9; Tent, 2015, p. 65). Often revealing much about a place, place names can connect us to geographical features, political struggles, historical figures, or industrial heritage, for example. The act of place naming can be framed as a heritage act in that place names recall 'events, activities, ideals, people and knowledge' or assert land rights that contribute to a community's intangible heritage (Capra and Ganga, 2019, p. 126). Therefore, place names are not just a neutral locative act; they are part of the 'social production of place' (Rose-Redwood, Alderman and Azaryahu, 2010, p. 454) and may be socially and politically contested (Berg and Vuolteenaho, 2009). To critically interrogate place naming is to bring issues of power and visibility to the fore (Rose-Redwood Alderman and Azaryahu, 2010, p. 457). The study of place names can also reveal whose history is commemorated and whose heritage, and, in turn, who has the power to name a place and who does not. In many instances, therefore, toponymy plays an active role in making place. Adopting a critical toponymic approach can reveal how places reflect particular social, cultural, economic, and political contexts. Many everyday, ordinary signs denote the name of a particular street, park, or square. They are powerful connotative 'texts' encountered daily by residents and in some places even international visitors. In their interactions with these signs, they bring a variety of understandings, values, and beliefs to bear on the names, the place, and often the community they are situated in. However, as time passes, memories fade, and new generations of residents move in, place names that originally commemorated a moment in history often become stripped of their connotative power, transitioning to a functional sign with an emphasis on geography (Rose-Redwood Alderman and Azaryahu, 2010, p. 459). The locative aspect of the place name and sign comes to the fore through its everyday use – to establish a meeting point between friends or give directions to a visitor unfamiliar with the local area. This shift from connotative to locational is also likely to change how such signs impact placemaking within the local community and beyond.

Background on locations in South Africa named after Madiba

In South Africa, Madiba's legacy and the struggle for freedom against the apartheid movement have been recognised widely through the act of place naming (Weldon, 2019) and the designation of locations connected to his life. For example, Robben Island – where Madiba was held captive for 18 years – has been declared a World Heritage Site by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 2021). The two case study locations noted above, both listed on the NMF database, are explored, recorded, described, and analysed in this paper. Although both bear Madiba's name, these two public spaces have distinctly different functions in the communities

they are in, for the people who use these spaces, and how they memorialise and honour Madiba's legacy. They also utilise graphic heritage in different ways and engage distinctly different audiences. By applying a critical toponymic approach in conjunction with an analysis of the graphic heritage representing Madiba, we can begin to understand how these elements contribute to the making of place in each location.

1. Nelson Mandela Square, Sandton, Johannesburg

The suburb of Sandton has a varied history from being a place where the San, a hunter-gatherer society of Southern Africa, used to live (Sandton Chronicle, 2022) to now as Africa's richest square mile (Stoughton, 2021) (Figure 2). The suburb was established in 1906 and is a combination of the two areas it consists of, namely Sandown and Bryanston (Sandton Chronicle, 2022) (Figure 3). In the 1900s, the area was a farming district but due to the rapid urbanisation of the area it formally became part of the city of Johannesburg in the 1960s (Sandton Chronicle, 2022). The suburb is a financial, business, tourism, and retail hub for wealthy South Africans and international visitors.

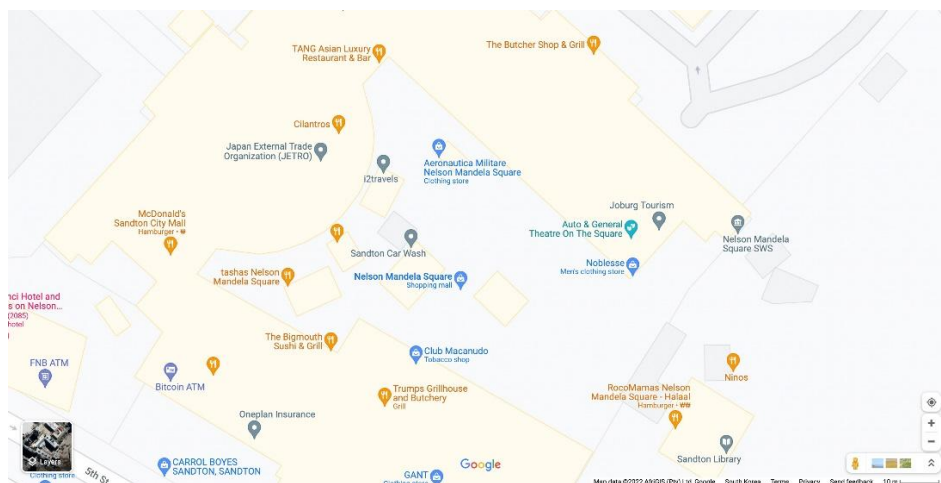


Figure 2. Nelson Mandela Square in Sandton City, Sandton, Johannesburg, South Africa (Google Maps, 2022b).

The square was formally known as Sandton Square but was renamed in 2004 in honour of Madiba and as part of the 10th anniversary of the country's democracy (Gerber, 2015) – an example of place (re)naming to reflect a shift in power and in whose history and heritage is celebrated. The square was selected for this project due to its geographic location in the economic hub of South Africa (Gerber, 2015). The place is a pseudo-public space co-owned by two companies, namely 'Liberty Group Limited' and 'Liberty Two Degrees' (Nelson Mandela Square, 2022a). As an open-air piazza in Sandton's Central Business District centre, it is said to incorporate 'local heritage with international flair' and provides visitors with glamorous shopping, dining, and leisure experiences (Nelson Mandela Square, 2022a). The square has restaurants around the edges, a fountain where children often play, and a line of trees and greenery to the one side that visitors often seek for some shade. Its main visual attraction is a giant statue of Madiba overlooking the square, where many people will pose for a photograph in memory of their visit.



Figure 3. Map of the surrounding area around Sandton City in Sandton, Johannesburg, South Africa [Google Maps, 2022c].

2. Nelson Mandela Park, Mamelodi, Pretoria

The township of Mamelodi was originally established on the farm Vlakkfontein 329JR to the north of the city of Pretoria in 1945 to provide temporary labourers with a place to live (Van der Waal, 2000, p. 1) (Figures 4 and 5). The farm's name was formally changed to Mamelodi in 1950, meaning 'Father or Mother of Melodies', and became the permanent home for many temporary workers after World War II (Van der Waal, 2000, p. 1). The township mainly consists of low-quality housing with a range of permanent and temporary structures, with the latter often having limited access to basic services. Madiba personally accepted this naming tribute to his legacy and was the guest of honour at the park's opening ceremony on 6 September 1996.

The park was established to provide recreational facilities to the community in East Mamelodi as the first project of the Greening of Mamelodi initiative (NMF, 2021b; Walter Sisulu Environmental Centre, no date). Geographically it is situated between key places in the community. The Mamelodi Heritage tour passes by the park on the way to the Walter Sisulu Environmental Centre, attracting local and international visitors. The park has an abundance of trees that provide shade to visitors, a playground with different equipment to the east, and an open field used to play soccer and have picnics to the west.

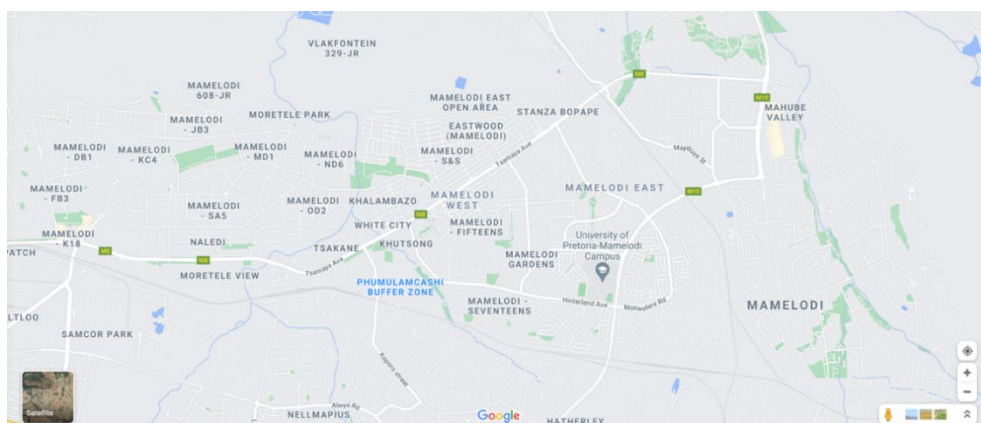


Figure 4. Mamelodi, Pretoria, South Africa (Google Maps, 2021a).

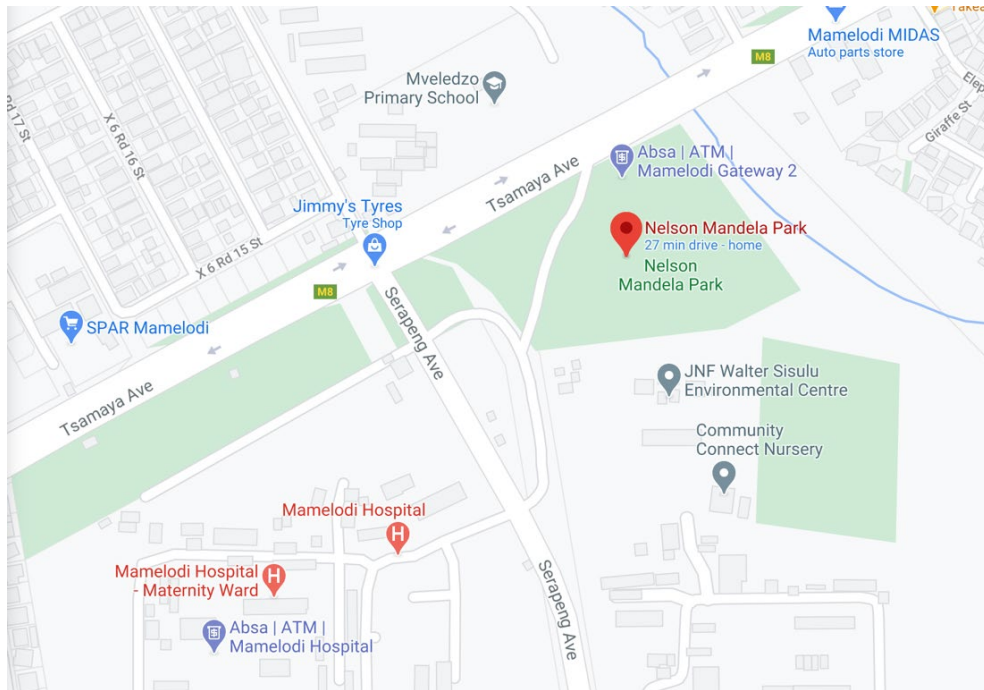


Figure 5. Map of the surrounding area around Nelson Mandela Park in Mamelodi, Pretoria, South Africa (Google Maps, 2021b).

Descriptions of the physical traces in two urban places

This section provides detailed descriptions of the two case study locations. Our research revealed significant contrast in how Madiba's values are communicated, and his legacy maintained through graphic means. The Sandton location displays an excessive use of visual references to Madiba, whereas in Mamelodi the bare minimum is shown and offers no reinforcement or association. This raises important questions about the intentions of the respective naming acts and the possibility and opportunity for future interventions.

Traces of Madiba in Nelson Mandela Square in Sandton, Johannesburg

The square was documented through a combination of desktop research, diagrams, photo-documentation, and two site visits (16/02/2022 and 23/02/2022). The place provides a visually rich representation of Madiba through a plethora of statues, inscriptions, timelines, and images – some of which offer interactive opportunities to engage – documented in the annotated diagram in Figure 6.

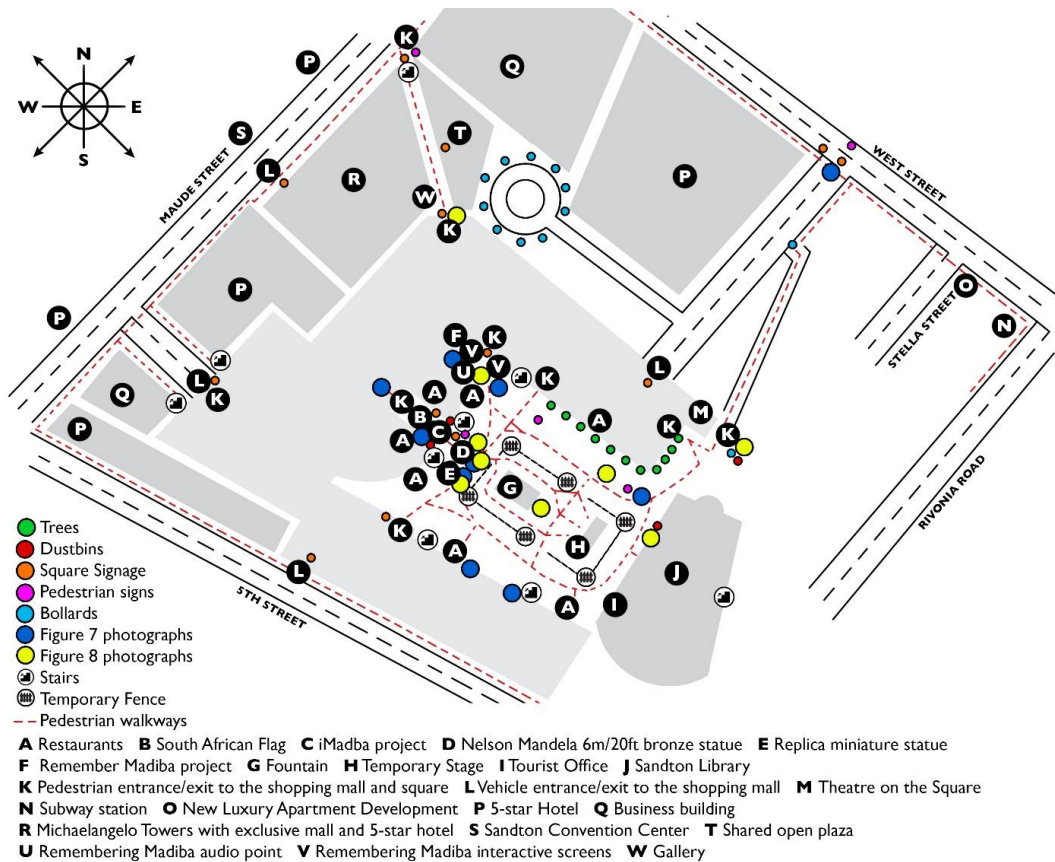


Figure 6. Annotated diagram of Nelson Mandela Square in Sandton, Johannesburg.

There are four distinct graphic heritage links to Madiba in the square. The first is the bronze statue (Figure 6-D). We observed that most visitors stop to take photographs with the 6m (20ft) bronze statue upon their entrance or exit to the square (as the South African research team did – Figure 7.8). The statue portrays a happy Madiba doing the "Madiba jive" in front of the South African flag (Figure 6-B). The "Madiba jive" celebrates the South African people and their spirit of joy (Gerber, 2015). This portrayal of Madiba in this specific location represents the "sophisticated, eclectic, cosmopolitan success story" of South Africa post the apartheid era (Gerber, 2015). Next to the statue is a miniature replica of the statue with visual and braille placards that pay tribute to the artists and donors of the statue (Figure 6-E; Figure 7.7). The second heritage project in the square is the iMadiba project (<http://www.imadiba.com/>), a global interactive, participative art project located at several micro-museums in South Africa (Figure 6-C; Figure 7.9). The iMadiba project offers a timeline of Madiba's life from birth to death on twelve perspex boards mounted on the sidewalls of the entrance behind the statue (Figure 7.10). The Remembering Madiba project (<https://nelsonmandelasquare.co.za/tag/remembering-madiba/>) is the third heritage element and is integrated into the design of the square (Figures 7.2 - 7.5, 8.11). This project offers visitors the opportunity to listen to Madiba's speech at audio points (Figure 6-U; Figure 8.9), interact with touch screens with information of the square and the project (Figure 6-V; Figure 7.3), read embedded quotes on the ground (Figures 7.4, 7.11 and 8.8) and scan QR codes for additional information (Figure 8.3). The visuals,

quotes, and QR codes of the Remembering Madiba project are scattered across the square (inside and outside), thereby complementing the brand identity of Nelson Mandela Square, which is the fourth graphic element in this space (location of signs are indicated by orange dots in Figure 6). Of lesser distinction is the display of pedestrian wayfinding signs at the purple dots in Figure 6 and Figure 7.6. All the locations of the photographs of Figures 7 and 8 are indicated with dark blue and yellow circles, respectively in the annotated diagram of the square in Figure 6.

At first glance, the square did not show many physical traces of visitors during the site visits since it is cleaned regularly. However, upon closer inspection, we uncovered many physical traces of use. The smoking trays next to the library contained cigarette butts and disregarded paper that might suggest that people linger at that point during breaks (Figure 8.10), and a discarded paper cup under the archway of the library. Erosions can be seen on the Braille placard mounted on the platform of the miniature statue situated in the square (Figure 6-E) and the placard at the feet of the bronze statue that has scratches and dents from use (Figures 8.2 and 8.7 respectively), fading inscription of quote tiles on the ground (Figures 8.4 and 8.8), and the border of some of the QR codes that are missing (Figure 8.3) which suggest excessive use of these elements. Missing traces include the absence of by-products of use, including empty dustbins that we assumed were cleaned recently (Figures 7.5, 7.6 and 7.11), and people interacting with the Remembering Madiba project throughout the square. Upon our two visits to the square, no visitors interacted with the audio points, touch screens, embedded quotes, or QR codes of the Remember Madiba project, but with the iMadiba project and the statue as mentioned. We acknowledge that this observation may be linked to the day and time of our visit to the square since it is interesting to note that the embedded quotes and QR codes have signs of erosion. However, this might be due to visitors walking over them rather than engaging with them.

Adaptations of use are evident in several places in the square. For example, a temporary structure and border around the fountain have been constructed to host live music sessions every weekend at the square during February and March 2022 (Figures 6, 7.1 and 8.14). In addition, restaurant patrons are separated from the public visiting the square by the tree-lined area that provides some privacy (indicated with green in Figure 6) and raised platforms that need to be accessed using stairs to enter restaurants and sit outside on the decks (Figures 6.1, 7.1 and 7.15). Figure 8.15 provides an example of how the public adopts the tree-lined area for seating purposes in the square since there are no benches available nearby – the only benches that are provided in the Remembering Madiba section are unused and hidden away in a shaded corner of the square (Figure 6-F and Figures 7.4 and 7.11). Another adaptation is how children change the use of the fountain from an aesthetically visual element to a play space on hot African days (Figure 8.14).

An opportunity for personalisation is available to every visitor who wants to take a photograph with Madiba's statue (Figures 7-8). No cameras are allowed in the square (Figure 8.4);³ however, you are welcome to take a selfie with the statue or ask a friendly passer-by to take a photo with your mobile phone.

³ The research team obtained formal permission from the Nelson Mandela Square Management to take photographs of the square for the purpose of this research.

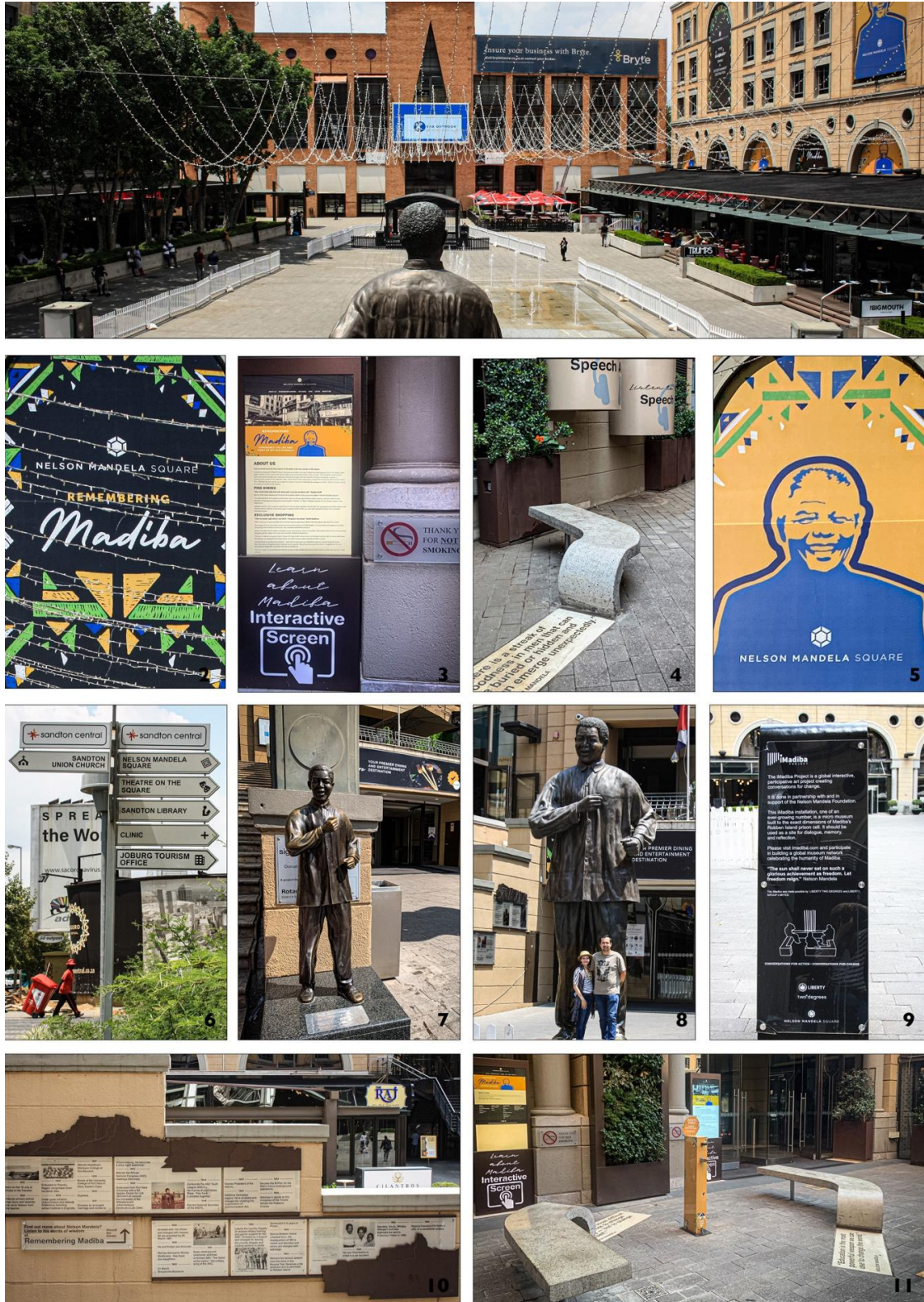


Figure 7 (1-11). Various design features of Nelson Mandela Square in Sandton, Johannesburg. Photography by Everardt Burger and Yolandi Burger (2022).

Memorialising Madiba in South Africa

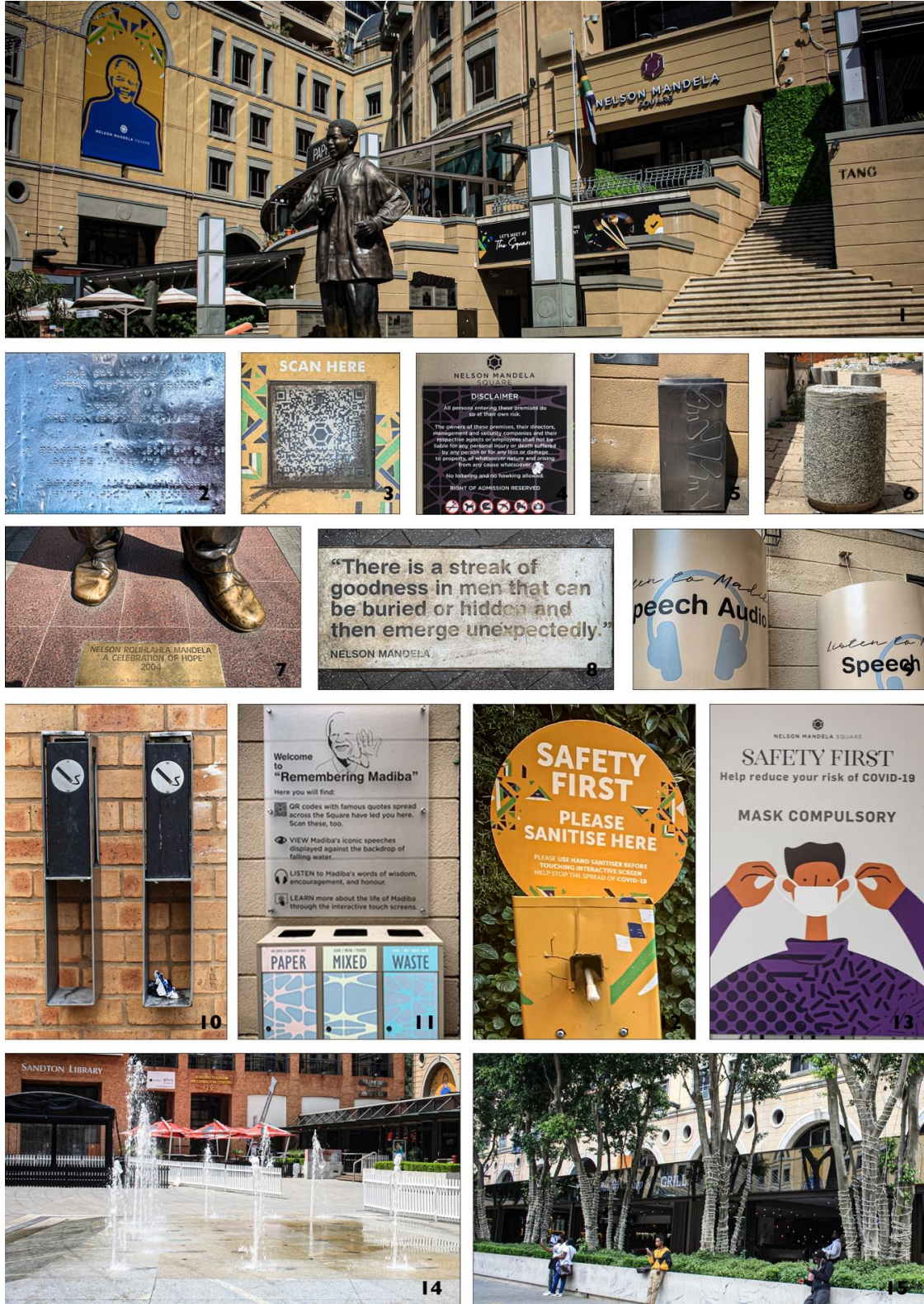


Figure 8 (1-15). Various design features of Nelson Mandela Square in Sandton, Johannesburg
Photography by Everardt Burger and Yolandi Burger (2022).

The square also offers group membership to the public – a reminder of the actions of Madiba, his legacy, and how he contributed to the transformation to post-apartheid South Africa. However, group membership seems limited to the wealthier South Africans living and shopping in the area (see the socio-economic profile of the area), people who work in the area, and international tourists – the tourist office is located at Figure 6-A. Dining and parking in the area are also expensive and unaffordable for many South Africans, meaning it may be an uninviting place for the lesser privileged. Public messages in the square are only official with no sign of unofficial or illegitimate messages (for example, Figures 7.1, 7.2, 7.5, 7.9, 8.4, 8.12, and 8.13). These include the Covid-19 campaign of the square, the branding of the square including their website and interactive screens at the square, direction boards, the Remembering Madiba and iMadiba projects.

Traces of Madiba in Nelson Mandela Park, Mamelodi, Pretoria

The initial desk research and further in-situ visual research undertaken in Mamelodi reveal a vastly different context compared to Nelson Mandela Square in Sandton. The starkest contrast in undertaking this research is that we could not visit the park due to safety concerns as we are not members of the community. Hence, the photographic documentation was commissioned and undertaken by Fidel Mosupye of Supreme Images, who is familiar with the place and is known to the local community. He undertook the visual research on 8 May 2021 based on a briefing from the research team supported by examples of photo-documentation that guided the process of what kind of traces to look for. Additionally, the physical traces of the park have since been observed and recorded on an annotated diagram (Figure 9) in support of the photo-documentation in Figure 10. The diagram shows the approximate locations of the elements observed in the park through the photo-documentation and a satellite view of the park on Google Maps.

A notable contrast with Nelson Mandela Square in Sandton is that Madiba's presence in the park in Mamelodi is in name only. There are no attempts to inform the park's visitors of the man after whom the park is named apart from two signboards on the park's outer edges (Figure 9-K; Figures 10.1, 10.9, and 10.10). The graphic elements of the signboards communicate that the sign is an official Tshwane City Municipality sign that belongs to the Parks and Horticultural Services Section of the Environmental Management Division based at Silverton, Pretoria (Figure 10.10). In addition, the two signs include icons that inform the public of the various activities allowed while visiting the park (Figures 10.9 and 10.10). The signboard on Tsamaya Avenue even promotes the local township apparel brand '4ourth 7even' (Figure 10.9).

Analysis of the photographic research showed evidence of physical traces reflecting how this public space is used (but not what determines the place name). The park is separated in the north, west, and south by bollards, paved walkways, and trees on the sidewalks of the roads (Figures 10.12–10.14) and in the east and south-east by natural flora boundaries on the edges of the park (Figure 10.1). The playpark is also separated from the greater park and the open field by the formal and informal walkways, from Tsamaya Avenue by the disconnected stormwater pipes, and a small hill behind the playpark (indicated in Figure 9).

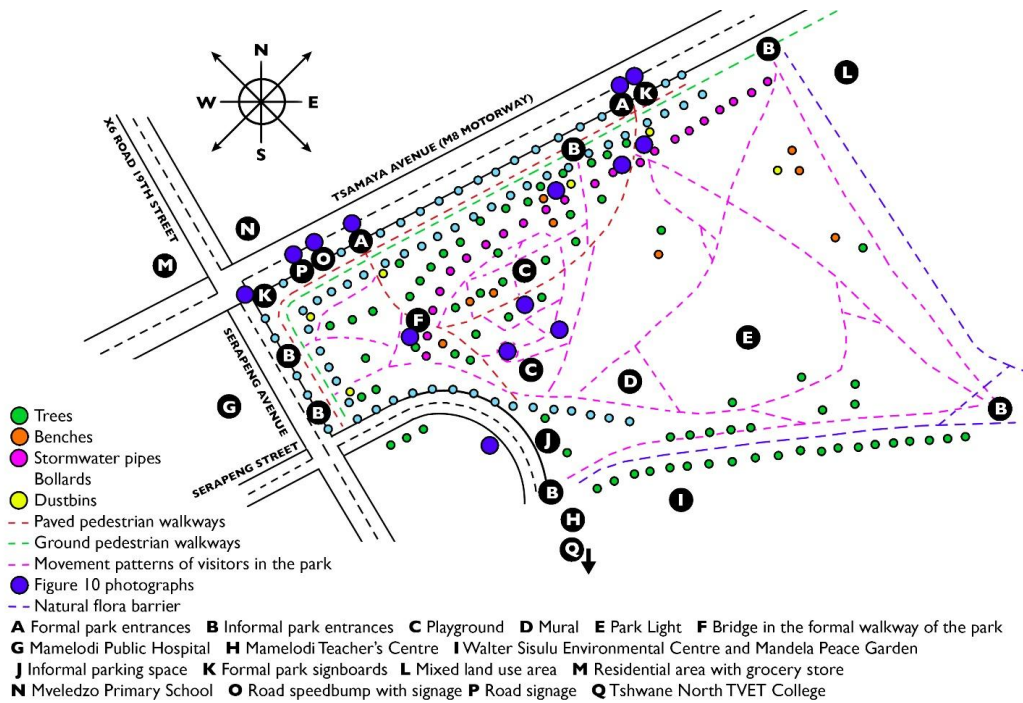


Figure 9. Annotated diagram of Nelson Mandela Park in Mamelodi, Pretoria.

The annotated diagram documents people's movement patterns in the park (Figure 9). Visitors use formal (paved) and informal (grass and ground) walkways to connect the M8 motorway, Serapeng Street, and the area to the east of the Walter Sisulu Environmental Centre (Figure 9-I) with each other. The park also provides a scenic thoroughfare for pedestrians travelling along the M8 motorway to the Mamelodi Public Hospital located to the west of the park (Figure 9-G). The informal walkways show the erosions of children playing on and between the various playground equipment (see the circular pattern around the roundabout in Figures 9 and 10.6, and 10.14).

Other physical traces such as leftovers, erosions, display of self, public messages, and missing traces were also noted. Leftovers in the park include disregarded takeaway packaging and litter in dustbins and on the ground (Figure 10.2). Erosions include the disconnected stormwater pipe, which has not been attended to for more than a decade (Figure 10.7), and missing swings in the playground (Figure 10.14). It is interesting to note that the children adapted their use of the swings to climbing frames in the absence of the seats and chains.

The park signboards and road signs near the park are vandalised with illegitimate public messages of advertisements for informal medical procedures and graffiti (Figure 9-O and 9-P; Figures 10.1, 10.5, 10.10, and 10.12). There are also some informal public messages mounted on trees advertising services (Figure 10.11). We observed that missing traces include safety signs for play equipment, sports markings on the open field to the east where soccer is usually played, and of course, graphic heritage elements connected to Madiba. The community mural in the south-east of the park is a display of self of the community of the township (9-D).



Figure 10 (1-14). Various design features of Nelson Mandela Park in Mamelodi. Photography by Fidel Mosupye of Supreme Images (2021).

Similar to the signboards' graphic elements, the colour scheme of the play equipment, benches, and bridge also bear no formal representation to Madiba, but it might be argued that the bright colours used may represent Madiba's "Rainbow Nation" (Figures 10.2, 10.3, 10.5 and 10.7). However, the park's function in the community gives tribute to the legacy of Madiba, even though it is not adequately maintained like Nelson Mandela Square in Sandton. It provides recreational facilities to the community of East Mamelodi (e.g., soccer, picnics), provides a space for the community to come together for projects (e.g., the mural in the park), serves as a connector between different areas, provides a space for children to play, and a thoroughfare for hospital patients and visitors.

Conclusion

In analysing these contrasting sites through both Zeisel's inquiry by design methodology and applying a critical toponymy approach, we have positioned both place naming and graphic heritage as implicitly connected to placemaking. As a result, we have been able to develop the concept of graphic heritage not only as an approach for the classification of graphic communication in public places but also as a form of critical inquiry that establishes where there is a need for attention to social, cultural, and economic factors that determine if a place fulfils the promise suggested by its name.

We speculated on testing a hypothesis about how much can be learned about a person by visiting places named in their honour (in this case, two contrasting locations) and, thus, what other graphic interventions may contribute to placemaking. The Mamelodi case study provided no opportunity to develop a classifying hypothesis further, whereas Sandton did.

The case studies are set within a context that has already witnessed at least one place name change and is connected by a placemaking strategy with national and local intent post-apartheid. Now both named after Madiba, Nelson Mandela Square in Sandton, and Nelson Mandela Park in Mamelodi are set apart by their respective urban and peri-urban locations and the diverse socio-economic conditions in which their respective communities live. These differences result in contrasting uses of graphic heritage in communicating Madiba's history and heritage.

In applying an abundance of signs, statues, digital connections, and information panels, Nelson Mandela Square in Sandton uses these to look globally, going beyond its local environment and making place with international visitors in mind. The graphic heritage here is used to make place via the heritage economy – often critiqued for its lack of focus on wider local communities and leveraged by corporate development companies (Watson and Gonzalez-Rodriguez, 2015, p. 460). In Sandton this is, in part, being used to create an image of place as a 'prime lifestyle and fine dining destination' (Nelson Mandela Square, 2022a). This is a place that is unmistakably positioned as open and welcoming, actively attracting visitors from far beyond the local area and as such, it was easy for us to visit and record the imagery under discussion. Yet it is also perhaps a place that seems somewhat at odds with Madiba's legacy and seems to leverage his place in international history partly for economic ends.

In contrast, Mamelodi was difficult to research. The park features very little graphic heritage that reflects Madiba, with the only signs being those that state the park name.

This is a place that predominantly plays a functional role for the local community and the lack of signage reflects it. People use it to make journeys to and from their homes and children use it for play. Yet, strangely, the sign is written in English. The population of Mamelodi speaks a mixture of languages, of which only 2.1% speak English as their first language (Statistics South Africa, 2022b). However, English is most South African's first additional language and might be the reason for writing the sign in English. The absence of graphic heritage in Nelson Mandela Park in Mamelodi may lead, over time, to the park functioning purely as a locative feature, losing its connotative connection to Madiba. We could perhaps position the park as intrinsically more closely connected to Madiba's legacy than the square in Sandton, given that it brings local people together provides sports pitches and a communal play area for local children. In Madiba's opening speech at the Nelson Mandela Park in Mamelodi, he expressed his wish that "this park be filled with the sound of children laughing, playing and learning" (NMF, 2018). Our visual research confirms this is the case even though some equipment parts are not there anymore, such as the missing swings.

It is tempting to define Sandton as the more successful of the two in terms of its ability to deliver on the promise set out by a name. But looked at from a different perspective, say that of sustainable urban development, the greater need for investment in the social, cultural and economic fabric is clearly needed in the township of Mamelodi to make it accessible to a wider audience, who may, in turn, bring investment and resource that will benefit the community. Furthermore, in Sandton, the overt presence of graphic heritage about Madiba leverages Madiba's memory and place in global history, attracting tourists and the resulting economic gains. The square is managed around the clock as a part of the Sandton Central project to prevent crime and keep the Sandton central area clean and well-maintained (Nelson Mandela Square, 2022b). South Africa is well known for its high crime levels; thus, creating a safe place for visitors who are unfamiliar with the area – both South African and international – very appealing. Indeed, the reviews on Trip Advisor list security as one of the most popular mentions concerning the square. In contrast, the park in Mamelodi plays more of a local role, bringing people together and providing a communal play area for local children despite the much less-than-perfect conditions of the park. The run-down nature of the park, the graffiti, and the obvious lack of investment is also likely to further discourage visitors who are not local to the area. Visitors from outside the local area may attend events at the Walter Sisulu Environmental Centre or visit the centre as part of the Mamelodi Heritage Tour, but they are unlikely to extend their visit to experience the park.

Both places prompt us to question what we might expect when encountering a park or square named after Madiba. Both places explored in this paper impact their respective users in different ways. One has far greater resources with which to utilise graphic heritage to further its economic success. It seems that the graphic heritage associated with Madiba – both the means and the meanings – is there for those who can afford it and not those who cannot, which raises questions about the public/private motivations of those responsible for these places. If looked at from the perspective of connection to Madiba, Mamelodi has the greater claim for authenticity and commemoration due to the park having been visited by him – there is a strong personal connection. Sandton cannot make the same claim. It also raises interesting questions about toponymy concerning the association between design and placemaking. How much should visitors to the park or square expect its design to be associated with the person's values? How might a

place fulfil the promise suggested by its name? However, we are less concerned with whether a site has more or less graphic heritage that connects to its toponymy; instead, we contend that the analysis of such materials has been hitherto overlooked when discussing placemaking activities at both local and global scales. Therefore, place naming and the critical analysis of graphic heritage are presented here as acts associated with urban development and capable of offering new perspectives on place and placemaking.

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