FROM APARtheid TO HIV/AIDS: THE CONSTRUCTION OF MEMORY, IDENTITy, AND COMMUNICATION THROUGH PUBLIC MURALS IN SOUTH AFRICA

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South African mural art is a reflection of a country in transformation and in search of a new identity. Over the last three decades South Africa has gone through dramatic changes—from the end of apartheid to the building of a new post-apartheid nation to dealing with the crisis of HIV/AIDS. In the early 1990s, with the end of apartheid and with the involvement of a greater diversity of the population, painting murals became “community” events and mural themes began dealing with racial and social issues, including the need to build a new nation. By the late 1990s, the issue of HIV/AIDS became a significant mural topic, as it is today. As public art works, murals are site specific, their messages aimed at particular communities and issues they deem important. Mural placement is also a way through which certain groups or communities claim a space or area, an issue that has become important in post-apartheid South Africa. Governmental agencies and communities used murals to communicate to and educate the population about the changes taking place within the country. By portraying blacks and coloreds in positions of authority and power murals served as a means of racial empowerment. Moreover, the issue and portrayal of identity has changed from the apartheid to the post-apartheid eras. Post-apartheid murals provide a forum in which the new value systems and models of identity publicly proclaims South Africa’s redefined society.
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I. INTRODUCTION

South African mural art is a reflection of a country in transformation and in search of a new identity. Through the use of murals, South African artists and communities are able to address issues important within the country and society, such as the resistance to and subsequent dismantlement of apartheid, the rebuilding necessary afterwards, and the new threat to the stability of the country, the spread of HIV/AIDS.

Mural art has a long history in South Africa, that crosses ethnic groups and geographical locations and dates back to the prehistoric rock paintings of the San people. It later developed on the exteriors of homesteads of various ethnic groups, the most famous of which is the Ndebele, whose women pass down the art form from one generation to the next. In the last three decades urban mural artists looked to designs and patterns of these indigenous art sources, as well as to other artistic traditions, including township art, for inspiration as they searched for a way to express identity in a rapidly and dramatically changing South Africa. I will pick up this thread in the 1980s, a time when urban murals took on political themes dealing with apartheid and the need for its overthrow. In the early 1990s, with the end of apartheid, the growing visibility of murals, and the involvement of an increasingly diverse population, painting became a “community” event with murals addressing racial and social issues, as well as the need to build a new nation. By the late 1990s, the issue of HIV/AIDS had become a pervasive mural subject, a topic that continues to be significant today. Building on the work of art historian Sabine Marschall and others, I will argue that murals function on many different levels—most importantly as vehicles of communication, memory, and identity. How each of these issues affected mural art and how murals evolved in relationship to the changes occurring within South Africa in the 1980s and 1990s is the subject of this essay.
South African murals are public forms of art that are site specific, with their messages aimed at particular communities. Often located in townships, which have large semi-literate or illiterate populations, South African murals are often an effective means of communication (Marschall, Community 20). They communicate through not only their verbal and visual messages, but through their placement within a given area. Mural placement is also a way through which a certain group or community claims a space or area, an issue that has become important particularly in post-apartheid South Africa. Placement and accessibility of murals varies depending on their subject matter. For example, anti-apartheid murals, with their call for the overthrow of the apartheid government, were usually painted in less visible, low traffic areas. Post-apartheid murals, on the other hand, with their themes of nation building and of social issues such as HIV/AIDS education, are generally in public, high traffic areas. Location, therefore, is an important factor in the creation of murals, some which have been painted on schools, churches, and government buildings.

The effectiveness of murals as a form of communication is affected by the skill and training of the artists. According to Marschall: “murals are viewed by numerous scholars in the South African art establishment as ‘folk’ or ‘pop,’ as oppose to ‘fine’ art, the latter usually created by academically trained artists and located in museums and galleries” (Community 2). In the case of murals, however, although many facilitators are white and come from a fine art tradition, the actual painting is done either by student artists with incomplete formal training or by community members with little or no formal training. This leads to murals being created in many different styles and skill levels, depending on the abilities and training of the artists painting each section.1

1 South African murals are ephemeral—most have a short life span and are usually painted over or fall into disrepair due to many factors, from lack of community funds for maintenance to their clandestine nature. As a result, tracking the styles and purposes of many early murals is difficult because not all are documented and those that are cannot be viewed in context.
Murals frequently can be effective modes of communication because they draw on a community’s collective memory, triggering associations and reactions to past and present events. Moreover, because they are often painted by community members, murals represent local resident’s perspectives. In fact, they serve as repositories of memories, myths, and legends, and are expressions of aspirations, perceptions of reality, and visions for the future (Marschall, Negotiating 1). Murals are therefore a way of remembering the past while simultaneously looking towards and dealing with the future.

As South Africa transitioned from its apartheid past to its post-apartheid future, the issue and portrayal of identity (individual, ethnic, community, and national) changed. Post-apartheid murals provide a forum where new value systems and new models of identification within a redefined society are publicly portrayed, thereby reinforcing the changes taking place. As Marschall states:

Murals play a vital and vastly underestimated role in South Africa’s process of reinventing itself and redefining its identity as a multicultural, peaceful, democratic society, where such values as non-racism, gender equality, reconciliation, and respect for human rights and equity occupy a high rank (Community 1).

In arguing that murals played a significant role in constructing memory and identity and in facilitating communication in South African society in the 1980s and 1990s, it is therefore necessary to examine how murals trace important historical, political and social events and to follow their progression as they developed into the HIV/AIDS murals of the late 1990s.
II. ANTI-APARTHEID PROTEST ART (1970s-1980s)

During the Apartheid era, art could scarcely be made in South Africa without addressing the political situation that was engulfing the society. Repression, violence, and terror were rampant, and many people could not stand by and say or do nothing. On June 16, 1976, South African police fired into a peacefully protesting group of Soweto school children, killing thirteen and injuring many others. Although this was not the first time the police had used deadly force against black protesters, this event, possibly due to its involvement of children, signaled the beginning of the end of apartheid in South Africa. In response to the killings, black townships throughout the country rioted, resulting in hundreds of deaths. In the space of a few months, life in South Africa had been changed forever (Williamson, Resistance 8). New organizations were formed in opposition to the state, opening new possibilities for action. One of these new modes of action was to create artworks against the state. Resistance art in the townships in the later 1970s and throughout the 1980s took many forms, including murals. These public artworks were created by the first generation of artists to grow up in the black townships and to witness the injustices of life within them their entire lives.

Black townships existed as a direct result of the implementation of a series of apartheid policies and legislation. The passage of the Native Trust and Land Act of 1913 made it illegal for black Africans to purchase or lease land from white Europeans anywhere in South Africa outside the designated black reserves (Omer-Cooper 163). Prior to 1913, most black Africans had earned their livelihoods through subsistence farming as sharecroppers. This law therefore effectively reduced the possibility of earning a livelihood in rural areas, thereby giving rural black Africans no choice but to move into urban areas to find work, usually in mining or

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2 Within the political culture of apartheid, three categories of people were recognized—blacks, coloreds (of mixed race), and whites.
factories for men or as domestics for women (Nettleton 152). These displaced people settled in
slums and townships around Johannesburg and other large urban areas. Although slums were
subject to socio-economic deprivation and all its associated conditions—illness, disease, and
poverty—blacks were at least allowed to own or rent property (Nettleton 152). In spite of their
segregation into certain areas, blacks formed little communities that provided a degree of social
identity and freedom of action, association, and expression. They had a sense of belonging and
a certain solidarity in opposing the prevailing white attitude, that valued blacks only for their
role as a labor force. In fact, many blacks preferred the measure of relative freedom and
autonomy of the slums to living in the government townships (Nettleton 152).

Unfortunately, the autonomy and identity of slum areas and their subsequent cultures
did not last. With the passing of the Urban Areas Act in 1923, a doctrine which gave black
Africans no permanent rights in the towns and cities and no justification to being there unless
needed by the whites as laborers, campaigns were set into motion to remove the “black spots”
around Johannesburg (Omer-Cooper 169). In 1948, the National Government began a program
of institutionalizing and systematizing racial segregation through “influx control,” restricting
the flow of workers and their families into the cities to those individuals entering them for the
purpose of employment (Nettleton 154). In 1953, the government passed the Western Areas
Resettlement Act, forcibly moving urban blacks from Johannesburg’s periphery into the new
government township of Soweto, thereby enforcing residential segregation. In 1955, the black
slums were destroyed, along with the urban blacks’ hopes of social recognition and permanent
identification in the urban environment (Nettleton 154). In the townships, which consisted of
rows of identical matchbox houses that gave the feeling of a labor camp as opposed to town or
community, blacks were forced to live in a dehumanizing environment with few amenities or
employment options (Nettleton 154). The problem, as art historian Anitra Nettleton states, was that:

Its physical effects of poverty, infant mortality, crime and violence are obvious enough, but the psychological effects of alienation, disorientation, disharmony and isolation are even more pervasive (155).

In spite of these conditions (or due to them), township residents created art to reveal and comment upon the conditions in which they lived.

In the 1950s and 1960s, a new art movement arose from the black townships around Johannesburg and spread to many of the other townships throughout South Africa. This movement, referred to as township art, grew out of the anonymity of life in the townships, the sense of losing community cohesiveness, and the feeling of displacement caused by forced relocation, all of which gave rise to the need to define a collective identity (Berman 258). In response to this loss of identity, township art, which primarily took the form of painting and drawings, expressed daily life and the human situation experienced by its creators.

While the art of this movement is perhaps not as overtly political in its agendas as are later movements, most depict images of suffering as residents struggle to survive the inhumanity and poverty of the township. Themes of the overburdened mother or family, the starving child, the exhausted worker, and the desolate urban landscape are common. For example, in Fene Dumile’s charcoal on paper drawing *Family Scene* (fig. 1), an exhausted mother and father are holding their child, with looks of anguish and despair on their faces. In his charcoal drawing, *The Stricken Household* (fig. 2), Dumile portrays the dilapidated conditions in which most township inhabitants lived. Stylistically, the artists avoided pictorial naturalism by using expressive distortion—hands and feet are enlarged and exaggerated while
faces contort in emotional anguish (Verstraete 157)—a style that has continued to influence art in South Africa.

Apartheid was not simply a constitutional order that structured political life. It was also a social order that regulated the daily life of all South African people. These regulations were particularly repressive for the blacks they controlled; where and how they lived, where they worked, and where their children were educated were all determined by apartheid laws (Poster 74). Organized defiance against these laws was almost immediate. In the late 1950s, the Youth League of the ANC (African National Congress) under Nelson Mandela began the first of many peaceful defiance campaigns, in which thousands of blacks refused to obey the new Apartheid laws (Poster14). On March 21, 1960, when a protest that had begun peacefully turned violent after police opened fire on a crowd in Sharpeville, killing 69, things within the ANC began to change. When the ANC called for a national stay away, which asked blacks to boycott their jobs and refrain from any and all forms of economic activity to protest the massacre, the government banned both the ANC and the Pan African Congress\(^3\) (Poster 16).

With the 1976 Soweto killings, in which police opened fire on school children protesting the exclusive use of the Afrikaans language in schools, townships throughout the country erupted in mass protests against apartheid. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the government established the Urban Bantu Councils (UBC), which were the government’s attempt to hand over control of the townships to local blacks who the government deemed “acceptable.” Not surprisingly, council members received little support from the communities and were elected by extremely small numbers, with most people choosing to boycott the elections (Nettleton 197). Throughout the 1980s, non-violent forms of political protest

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\(^3\) The Pan African Congress was founded in 1959 by members of the ANC who broke away over the ANC’s non-racial policies.
increased; boycotts, stairways, demonstrations, and marches backed up demands made by local grassroots groups on issues such as rent increases, education and health problems, and corruption within the local UBC authorities (Poster 14). In 1985, the government declared the first of many States of Emergencies. These periodic and increasingly severe restrictions, which lasted until 1989, were aimed at destroying local grassroots social movements (Poster 14).

It is within this volatile environment that, while not officially sanctioned or organized by the formal protest groups, resistance street arts developed in the townships that called for the end of apartheid and ultimately played an important role in the anti-apartheid movement. According to South African artist Sue Williamson,

There was growing realization amongst anti-apartheid forces that cultural resistance was a tool of immense power. In a sense, the new direction was but a development of the old principle governing traditional African art, which is that art must have a function in the community: a song composed to be sung especially while walking; a sculpture serves as a chair; a house is decorated to enhance the village. The new twist was this: that the “function” could bring about changes. (Resistance 9)

One of the most prominent and therefore important forms of resistance art were murals. Painting murals as a form of resistance is part of a long established South African tradition. For example, in the 1880s the Boers defeated the Ndebele, resulting in their forced dispersal over a vast area (Marschall, Urban 46). In the twentieth century under apartheid, they were again forced to relocate, this time into a newly created homeland, Kwa Ndebele (Marschall, Urban 46). With each successive move, Ndebele women (the traditional painters of the group) would once again decorate their homesteads with murals (fig. 3), thereby empowering themselves by promoting and expressing pride in their culture.

Over time, Ndebele mural painting evolved. Under apartheid Ndebele women began incorporating images expressing a visual resistance to colonization and the apartheid system along side their “traditional” references to their ethnic identity (Nooter 82). For example,
while traditional imagery included bold geometric forms, by the late 1950s some house facades were painted in green and yellow strips which, when punctuated by the dark void of the windows, referred to the colors of the outlawed African National Congress (Nooter 84). Some Ndebele murals also depicted items not commonly found in their homeland, such as Western style homes, airplanes, electric lights, and car license plates. Using traditional exterior wall decoration to reference material things they could not otherwise have under apartheid visually expressed resistance to it (Sack 20).

Although styles and forms differ greatly, early resistance murals were painted in both rural and urban areas, the former exhibiting images of resistance that are relatively subtle (as are the Ndebele), whereas the latter images are bold and easily recognizable and therefore more straightforward in both their subject and message. For example, this newer boldness often incorporated increasingly graphic displays of violence (e.g. figs. 4a and 4b). With their boldness, urban resistance murals were much more likely to draw the attention of and subsequent censure by the government. In fact, painting murals was considered a highly seditious act and artists risked being arrested. The painting of murals, therefore, was relatively clandestine in nature, and artists often created them as small carefully planned murals painted inside people’s homes, or as spontaneous graffiti-like activities painted on exterior walls facing side alleys or other areas not usually patrolled by police (Marschall, Post 97).

One of the first documented public murals was created in 1979 in Pageview, a suburb of Johannesburg by a racially mixed group of 20 students from the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg (fig. 5). This mural is not only one of the first overtly political protest murals to be painted, but is also one of the first community murals located on a high traffic public exterior wall (Marschall, Community 48).
As a protest of the forced relocations of blacks throughout South Africa, the Pageview mural depicted two horizontal filmstrip edges with a bulldozer as the focal point in the “filmstrip’s” center. Slightly off center and comprising one third of the mural’s overall space, the detailed red bulldozer represents one of the instruments of the forced removals. The choice of the color red for the bulldozer not only draws the viewers’ attention, but because the bulldozer represents the forced removals, the color represents the aggression and violence of the act itself. In the foreground is the back of an apartheid official “directing” the bulldozer in its destruction of homes. This official, which Marschall describes as “Hitleresque,” is suggestive of the similarities between Apartheid and Nazi philosophies (Marschall, Community 49).

Overall, the style and composition is rather flat and relatively unemotional. While there is a slight sense of emotion in the use of the color red on the bulldozer and in the “Hitleresque” official, the work remains relatively passive due to the lack of interaction between the completed figures, the large blank spaces, and the limited color palette.

Due to the political climate of the time, some of the student painters were detained by the local police overnight and charged with trespassing and malicious damage to property. The charges were later dismissed, but the mural was never completed. In fact, it was painted over by local officials soon afterwards (Marschall, Community 49). Because the artists were forced to stop working, they were unable to complete the mural, which probably would have depicted additional imagery, meaning that the arrangement and feel of the mural may have changed in its final version.

Although painting murals was officially condemned as a seditious act, resulting in many murals being painted over by the government, other works of resistance art painted by
white artists who had academic training denied their black counterparts were exhibited in many South African museums. For example, Paul Stopforth’s *The Interrogators* (1979) (fig. 6), depicting the white police officers responsible for the beating death of the black activist Steven Biko, was hung in the South African National Gallery in Cape Town. Although academic works were often quite explicit in both message and image, the South African government paid little attention to them, as opposed to its treatment of mural arts, which it actively censured. These discrepancies occurred, perhaps, because the academic images were housed in museums that were removed from the townships and their residents, and were instead usually visible to a relatively small, mostly white, elite audience. While some individuals within this white audience may have been moved by the images that they viewed, they came from a section of society that was less likely to act upon these emotions and take action against the apartheid government.

Although the government tolerated anti-apartheid academic works, it was a different story as far as allowing them to leave the country. For example, in 1981 Paul Stopforth was selected to participate in the Valparaiso Biennial in Chile. After reviewing his submissions—one of which was a graphite drawing of damaged hands and feet entitled *Steven Biko* (1979)\(^4\)—the South African government refused to finance his participation in the exhibition and sent Stopforth a letter noting that, according to Williamson, “The works chosen made political statements … [and while] the department did not want to interfere with the autonomy of the artists, it decided after discussion with interested parties, that it was not the way of the department to promote and finance such works overseas” (Looking, 36). This sent the message

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\(^4\) No image available.
that white academic art was considered impotent until it hit the outside world (Williamson, Looking 37).

It was in this environment of double standards and government censorship that mural artists worked. Although many murals were small and rather informal, some were large-scale public displays. Three examples of large-scale murals include the Soweto Riots (1982) (figs. 4a and 4b), What I See on Raglan Road (1984) (fig. 7), and The People of District Six (1984-85) (fig. 8). Although each mural deals with a different subject matter and is painted by artists of different backgrounds, they all have an accusatory tone, their objective being to publicly represent the injustices suffered by the black community at the hands of the Apartheid regime (Marschall, Negotiating 2). Blacks are depicted as victims or martyrs, and as powerless, passive receptors of someone else’s ill treatment, while whites assume the active role of oppressors and perpetrators of abuse and violence (Marschall, Negotiating 2).

The Soweto Riots mural at Fort Hare (figs. 4a and 4b), for example, which commemorates the 1976 Soweto Riots, depicts black South Africans as victims at a very poignant moment. Three art students, Zamani Mekanya, Sipho Mdanda, and Phillip Phungula (Marshall, Community 45), painted the mural on the University’s Fine Arts Building using a limited yet powerful color palette consisting primarily of black and of various muted shades of red, the latter a possible reference to violence, aggression, and struggle. A doorway divides the mural into two separate scenes. The mural’s central figure is located to the right of the door and includes the image of Hector Peterson, the young boy killed in the riots.5 Because this image is immediately next to the door, people are reminded of the struggle and sacrifices made in the fight against apartheid every time they enter the building. The larger than life size iconic

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5 Two different versions of this mural appear in publications, with left and right transposed. I have selected the image published first (1989) and therefore closest to the actual mural date, on which to base my discussion.
image depicts the dying Peterson being carried away from the protest by his brother, whose face is contorted in anguish. The boy and his brother are much larger than the surrounding images and are painted in a flat style with heavy black outlines, making this vignette stand out from the rest of the mural. In the foreground of the scene to the left of the door is a crowd of black protesters carrying banners calling for better working and living conditions, with rows of township houses in the background. The two sides create a striking commentary. The left side of the mural, with its reference to living and working conditions, depicts blacks as victims, while the right uses the image of Hector Peterson to portray blacks as martyrs. In fact, not only are, “Members of the black community… shown as innocent victims of white oppression and martyrs;” but, as noted by Marschall, “the source and responsibility for their suffering is so unmistakable and universally understood to be on the part of whites that there is no need to even represent the perpetrators” (Negotiating 2).

The mural, *What I See on Raglan Road* (fig. 7), gives another perspective on this representation of blacks as victims. The work was produced as part of a mural workshop for the children of Joza Township, under the leadership of Michael Markovitz, a white student in the Department of Journalism at Rhodes University (Williamson, Resistance 89). Originally, the mural—depicting images the children saw daily on Raglan Road—was to be painted on the front exterior wall of the Joza Café. But the Grahamstown city council denied its approval, saying a mural would conflict with the “settler aesthetics” of a white housing development behind the café (Williamson, Resistance, 84). While Markovitz was trying to find a new place for the mural, thousands of students marching on Raglan Road to protest apartheid were attacked by police with rubber bullets and tear gas. This event provided a new focal point, and in fact made this originally benign children’s project into a politically charged protest mural.
After leaving a workshop session, Markovtiz was stopped by police, who found drawings of their colleagues from the attack (Williamson, Resistance 84). Said Markovtiz, “I was taken to the police station, where members of the riot squad gleefully identified themselves in some of the children’s drawings. I was told to stay out of the township for good” (Williamson, Resistance 84). In the end, the mural was painted on a secluded wall at Rhodes University which, while still in Grahamstown, removed it from the original site, thereby changing both the context and the potential audience for the piece.

For the mural itself, the children choose 50 of their best drawings to paint on the wall. While the images were created and painted by children, the project was orchestrated by Markovitz, whose journalistic background may be what gives the mural its overall feeling of a reported event. The brightly colored figures are rather flat and lack proportional scale (possibly due to the fact that the artists were children), and there is minimal depth or background imagery. The images present an account of an actual event as seen through the eyes of children. The mural shows white policemen in caspirs, or armored police vehicles with guns, chasing terrorized black township residents, while other residents line the street with their arms raised in surrender and submission (Marschall, Negotiating 2). While the children were not trying to put forth an image of political protest and instead were depicting everyday events in their lives, the theme and the images they painted can be referenced by others to point out the wrongs of the apartheid regime.

In the third example, Peggy Delport’s mural, *The People of District Six* (fig. 8), the representation of blacks as victims is softened. Delport, a white lecturer in painting at the Michaelis School of Fine Art at the University of Cape Town, incorporated ideas that she received from people she spoke with while creating the drawings for the mural (Marschall,
Community 50). The mural protests the forced removal in 1966-1983 of families from District Six, an area populated by blacks within the city of Cape Town. This mural is different from the two previously discussed, first because of the limited color palette in which colors are softer and seem to blend together, and second because the figures are not flat, providing a sense of depth and three-dimensionality to the figures. In fact, the blue-grey color palette and the three-dimensionality of the imagery gives the mural a sculptural feel, which allows the mural to blend in and become part of the church building on which it is painted. In the mural’s foreground are three central figures representing the family of Amien Hendricks, the last to leave the district, surrounded by an area of desolation in the middle ground, and background imagery referring to the encroaching white suburb. To the left and right of the central figures are houses in various stages of destruction, a reference to the fate of District Six. The arrangement of the figures has been referred to as the Holy Family, who was also forced to flee their homeland, and also corresponds to the mural’s placement on an exterior wall of the Holy Trinity Church in the former District Six (Marschall, South 49). The other-worldly, almost dream-like feel of this mural’s imagery led to it being seen more as “fine art” and apparently inoffensive by the authorities (Marschall, South 49).

Resistance art, especially murals, is ephemeral in nature. Although many scholars did not consider murals a legitimate art form worthy of study, resulting in a lack of written and visual documentation of these works, it was the government, interestingly, that saw the potential power of murals, which in turn led to their destruction. The marked lack of visual and printed documentation on murals of the ant-apartheid era in particular is due to the very nature of these works—with the overthrow of the Apartheid regime as their major subject, the government had no choice but to crack down on their creation. Yet location played a
significant role. Murals painted within the townships were usually small in scale and quickly painted over, whereas all three of the large-scale murals I discussed are outside of the townships, and remained visible long enough for documentation.6

The power of murals lies in not only their messages and location, but in the way in which they are made. Creating a large-scale mural takes time and planning while themes, subjects, and general logistics are discussed amongst the facilitators, community members, and artists. The process of painting alone empowers a mural, for although a mural itself may not last, many people are exposed to it during the discussion, collaboration, and the actual painting phases. Also, because of the significant time involved in painting a large-scale mural, along with its potential placement in a high traffic public area, it has the ability to be a popular protest statement to the government.

While functioning as a form of anti-government protest, murals and other types of protest art of the later 1970s and 1980s also functioned as triggers for memory, communication, and identity for artists and audience alike. These images served as repositories of the people’s memories of major events in the anti-apartheid struggle. Images like the dying Hector Peterson in the Soweto Riots mural not only pay tribute to Peterson and the protesters, but simultaneously keep this event and the reason for the protest in the peoples’ collective memory. The role of memory also plays a role in the mural What I See on Raglan Road—the only mural painted by actual township residents. The memory here, however, is not a nation-changing single event like the Soweto Riots, but of an unfortunately more common event—the everyday brutality of the government police against township residents.

6 The most graphic of the three, Soweto Riots, was painted over in 1987.
Communication is another major thrust of these images. The protest artists of the 1970s and 1980s used their images to communicate with not only the people of the townships, but by locating their works outside of the actual townships themselves, communicated with the outside world about what was happening within the townships, which otherwise lacked international foot traffic.

Images of blacks and black identity in the 1970s and 1980s went through major changes, thereby influencing the way blacks viewed themselves. From the earlier portrayal in earlier township art with its less politically aggressive images of township life, to the more graphic and politically charged resistance murals. Blacks were portrayed as victims of apartheid and usually shown as defenseless against the control and power of the government, reflecting a belief that there was little blacks could do in the face of apartheid. All of this would again change dramatically, however, in the next decade.
III. POST-APARTEID URBAN “COMMUNITY” MURALS (1990s)

With the dismantling of apartheid, mural artists redirected the focus of their works. The country was in dire need of healing and reconciliation following the turmoil of the 1980s during which the States of Emergencies had inflamed the townships, and news and media reports had exposed the brutality of the Apartheid regime to the outside world. In response, international communities joined blacks and some whites in South Africa in their call for not only the release of political prisoners, the most famous being Nelson Mandela, but for the dismantlement of Apartheid. Many countries and companies outside of South Africa removed their economic investments in an attempt to force change. Finally, on February 2, 1990, South African President De Klerk opened Parliament by lifting the restrictions on thirty-three opposition groups, including the ANC. This was followed on February 10th by the release of Nelson Mandela after twenty-seven years in prison, thus beginning the piece-meal dismantling of Apartheid (South Africa np). In early 1992, the white electorate endorsed De Klerk’s stance on these debates by passing a referendum calling for the end of white minority rule. However, although talks had begun, the violence continued. The killing of forty blacks by security forces in the township of Biopatong caused the ANC to temporarily leave the constitutional talks in protest (South Africa np). Finally, an agreement was reached in 1993 to create the Government of National Unity, which would allow a partnership between the old regime and the new (South Africa np). Unfortunately, violence again threatened the new partnership when Chris Hani, the Secretary General of the Communist Party, was assassinated. It was only through a direct appeal to the nation by Nelson Mandela that further violence was averted. At the end of 1993, an interim constitution was agreed upon by twenty-one political parties, setting the stage for South Africa’s first free democratic elections (South Africa np).
On April 26-29, 1994, the ANC, the Communist Party, and Congress of South Africa Trade Unions (COSATU), were elected, thereby forming a majority government. On May 10, 1994, Nelson Mandela was sworn in as the first democratically elected president of South Africa, with FW De Klerk and Thabo Mbeki of the ANC as deputy Presidents (South Africa np.).

Mandela’s presidency was characterized by the building of a new multicultural nation with the goal of reclaiming its place within the international community. He attempted to redirect national priorities and to address the repercussions of apartheid in order to start the country on the path of healing. Using mural art was one way the government attempted to help the country redirect its national priorities while dealing with the country’s apartheid past. The government’s attitude towards mural art therefore began to change, with murals now being viewed as an effective means of educating the public about the changes taking place in the new South Africa, which in turn led to some murals actually being commissioned by the government.

Another way the government attempted to deal with the horrors of its apartheid past was the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which was set up to investigate the wrongs committed in the name of apartheid and which eventually led to the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act of 1995 (Holiday 46). The act called for the establishment of a commission which was to provide “as complete a picture as possible of the nature, causes, and extent of gross violations of human rights” committed between March 1, 1960 and December 5, 1993 (Holiday 46). Public hearings were held in 1996 and 1997, in church halls, schools, and other community buildings throughout the country (Williamson, Looking 34). During these two years, the commission received 20,000 statements from victims and almost 8,000 applications for amnesty from perpetrators (Williamson, Looking 34). During the hearings,
Commissioners listened to evidence of killers laughing and drinking beers while the bodies of their victims burned, of bodies thrown into rivers, of a child blinded by a police *knopkierie* (baton), of deaths in detention, of teenagers who ‘disappeared’. There were revelations of extreme horror. There were also moments of extraordinary reconciliation, a depth of forgiveness which has seemed beyond human ability (Williamson, Looking 35).

Perpetrators of crimes committed by both the champions and enemies of apartheid were eligible for immunity in the courts of law in exchange for full confessions (Holiday 46).

Again, according to Williamson:

> The process in its very conception is seriously flawed—so many stories that could not be heard, victims who testified to feeling that justice had not been done, amnesties awarded that seemed questionable—but there is little doubt that it has been absolutely essential process for the country. The rotting grave has been broken open. Those whites who had before chosen to look away, not to scratch the surface, can no longer say, ‘we did not know’ (Looking 35).

Dramatic as many of the changes within South Africa seemed, the lives of many within the country changed little. Those whites most deeply opposed to change found that they were in fact able to continue living insulated lives almost as they always had. For many of those at the bottom of the economic scale in the black townships there was little change. But for some blacks, the changes were significant as they began to hold positions of power and authority (Williamson, Looking 32).

It is within this context of nation rebuilding and reconciliation that the themes in South African urban mural art transformed and new issues began to be explored. As it had in the past, mural art was used to address the great political and social changes taking place while giving the people a voice within their communities. The idea of “community” plays an important role in the urban murals of the 1990s. According to anthropologist Emile Boonzaier, “In South Africa, as elsewhere, the term ‘community’ is used to denote aggregations of peoples who have something in common, such as common residence, geographic region, and shared
beliefs, or who claim membership in a common lineage structure, or who are distinguished by similarities of economic activity of class position” (Keywords 30). Art historian Eva Cockcroft further develops this definition. “Community cannot be outlined on a map; rather it is built, and it can be dispersed again. Community is a process of people coming together around common problems, discovering their common values, and developing their sense of solidarity” (Towards 72). I will apply these definitions of community to artists as well as to the target audiences for which a mural is intended. In addition to being categorized in terms of location (urban, rural, and suburban), community murals can also be categorized based on the audience, or the group painting the mural (e.g. blacks, whites, university students, or community members), which in turn is another type of community.

With the end of apartheid in the early 1990s, the subject of South African murals turned from resistance to that of community building and education. In fact, in 1990, Albie Sachs, a member of the ANC, wrote in his paper *Preparing Ourselves for Freedom* that “creative expression should no longer be employed solely as a weapon of the struggle; that other aspects of life should be articulated as well” (in Koloane, 27). Beginning in the 1990s, community members as well as government employed community murals as a form of visual upliftment for dilapidated or rundown areas. These murals also empowered the communities, as murals often were painted by community members.

While murals are used as a means of empowering a given community, they function as a means of exploring other matters. Community murals are used to explore issues such as aspects of culture, traditional heritage, and ethnic identity. The inclusion of traditional art forms and utilitarian objects remind community residents of their roots and cultural heritage.

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7 A seminar paper, excerpts of which were published in the February 1990 issue of the popular periodical, *Weekly Mail*. 
Traditional brightly colored geometric images of the Ndebele show up in many murals, usually embedded with borders or dividers (fig. 9) as visual cues recalling indigenous art forms in order to express Africanized identity. Images of the South African flag, the President, and people of various ethnicities all help to promote the concept of a united South Africa (Marschall, Urban 48), for, as artist and poet Pitika Ntuli notes, “the role of art in nation-building and reconciliation cannot be over emphasized” (Random 2). This holds especially true for urban community murals, whose public displays enable them to reach a wider audience and allows them to tailor their messages to specific sites. The tenor and focus of many urban murals has now changed; gone are the days of confrontational and violent images, replaced with images of nation building as well as current social issues, from human rights and domestic violence, to gender roles and HIV/AIDS education.

In the early 1990s, in response to major changes taking place within the country, new groups of individuals became involved in mural painting in each of the three major South African cities. In 1991, the Community Mural Projects was formed by Terryanne Stevenson and Thami Jali in Durban, while the most prolific mural company, Apt Artworks, was established in Johannesburg by Nicky Blumenfield in 1993, both groups being founded by white female artists who felt strongly about the social empowerment of the mural painting process. In Cape Town, while no major mural company emerged within the city limits, Community Arts Projects, based in nearby Woodstock, began painting murals as part of its curriculum (Marschall, Negotiating 4). Additionally, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), city councils, local authorities, and others, recognizing the potential for empowerment, beautification, and education, began organizing and financing mural initiatives (Marschall, Negotiating 4). The importance of the arts was further emphasized and documented in 1996,
with the release of the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology’s *White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage*. The paper laid out in detail the role and the importance of the arts in the new South Africa, the paper states:

Access to, participation in and enjoyment of the arts, cultural expression, and the preservation one’s heritage are basic human rights; they are not luxuries, nor are they privileges as we have generally been led to believe. A fundamental prerequisite for democracy is the principle of freedom of expression. Rooted in freedom of expression and creative thought, the arts, culture and heritage have a vital role to play in development, nation-building and sustaining our emerging democracy. They must be empowered to do so. Arts and culture may play a healing role through promoting reconciliation. *Our approach to culture is premised on international standards in which culture is understood as an important component of national life which enhances all of our freedom* (Italics added, White 15).

With these developments, community murals not only became a major public art form, but were a driving force in allowing communities to address issues that were important to them.

In 1992, Lawyers for Human Rights in Durban commissioned twenty-eight trained and untrained artists from the Community Mural Projects to create one of the first community projects within the city limits, consisting of small individual murals portraying clauses from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR).³ The site chosen for the murals was an exterior perimeter wall of the former central prison, the site of many human rights violations during apartheid (Marschall, Post 104). Although the political climate was changing with the dismantling of apartheid, the atmosphere while the mural was being painted was tense; a feeling of suspicion within the public at large in regards to the political changes taking place and their potential effects continued from the public at large (Marschall, Post 104). Shortly after the mural’s completion, it was vandalized with the logo of the extremist right-wing political organization Afrikaner Weerstands beweging (AWB) painted across parts of the work.

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³The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was a declaration adopted by the United Nations in 1948 outlining the views that human rights were guaranteed to all people.
The mural was repaired and the Human Rights Wall became overtime an icon of the new South Africa.

The original 1992 mural was complimented by a second version in 1995 on the reverse side of the wall (the “interior”) of the former prison yard, but because the prison itself had been dismantled, it only symbolically faced the prison while still remaining visible to the public. A final version, made in 1997, was painted on top of the original 1992 mural. While this multi-mural project was commission and funded by the Lawyers for Human Rights, it can still be considered a community mural—in that it was painted by a diverse group of people who came together around a common cause in an attempt to communicate with their fellow community members. Each version addressed the current social and political changes happening within South Africa, communicating the changes in national and societal identity, while educating the population about the new emerging South African society.

The original 1992 mural, which faced a major thoroughfare in Durban, was painted on an exterior L-shaped wall of the central prison grounds. As a reminder of the wall’s past purpose, the watchtower at either end of the wall was incorporated into the mural (fig. 10). This mural, breaks form earlier murals in that it was officially sanctioned and commissioned, with each separate wall section being assigned to an individual or small group of artists who interpreted two clauses of the UDHR (Marschall, Community 73). Moreover, the basic thrust of the human rights mural differs from earlier examples from the anti-apartheid era, in which messages were usually largely symbolic, ambiguous, and interpretive, and invoked little interaction with passersby. Beginning with the Human Rights mural, imagery became straightforward and less ambiguous.
Shallow buttressing of the wall provided recessed spaces that visually demarcated the boundaries of each mural segment (Marschall, Community 73). The wall space itself, with its series of individual murals, allowed for a variety of styles, each bordered by the brightly and geometrically decorated buttresses that attracted the attention of passersby. The sheer “busyness” of the overall mural, and the incorporation of text within the images, enticed people to interact with the mural. The text, often placed in the mural’s recessed top third portion, encouraged people to approach the mural and use it to educate themselves about the specific details of their newly won rights as outlined in the UDHR. Whereas earlier murals were visually symbolic, the new combination of visual images and English text was a way to create awareness about human rights and to educate people of all educational backgrounds about each clause (Marschall, Community 87).

Although the political and social climate was beginning to change, many of these murals still used imagery found in the earlier anti-apartheid murals. An example of this earlier imagery is located in the Freedom from Torture and Degrading Treatment mural segment (fig. 11). The mural is divided vertically into three sections, each dealing with either torture or degrading treatment. The top segment is recessed, physically separating it from the bottom two sections, and spells out the appropriate UDHR clause in white letters on a red background, the lettering surrounding the silhouette of a person on hands and knees, in a broken posture of someone who has been beaten or abused. Dominating the middle third of the mural is the focal point of the entire segment—a graphically portrayed torture victim, who is a partially naked black man with blood flowing from the back of his head. On either side of the victim are smaller silhouettes of what appear to be men and women in active poses and carrying weapons (clubs, machetes, and spears). The figures appear to be either protesting the torture or are
participating in the protest that led to the arrest and torture of the victim. Off by itself on the lower right is a silhouette watching the others, in a stance similar to that of a police officer. The entire scene is set upon a sky blue background which sets off the image of the bleeding victim and the weapon carrying silhouettes. The out-stretched leg of the torture victim, and the location of the apparent authority figure connects the central image with the scene below—a group of men sitting around a fire at night. Above and behind the men are township houses, which may also serve to identify the location of the riots. The men through their postures appear to be either discussing or remembering the victim and the event above, which is visually emphasized by the victim’s foot which provides an emotional connection between the men and the victim.

Stylistically, the mural has some similarities with earlier anti-apartheid works. For example, the image of the torture victim is a carry-over of portraying blacks as victims. However, a significant difference in this image is the victim’s position—his out-stretched arms are a possible reference to the crucified Christ (Marschall, Community, 76). Although this is not the first time a South African mural employs a Christian reference, this image is more dramatic through its violent portrayal of a crucified man. Another similarity to earlier works is the figures’ lack of detail that would enable one to identify individual persons. In fact, the silhouettes make it difficult to identify the ethnicity of the images, although most viewers would assume they are black, given the topic of the work. An important difference in this mural from earlier works, however, is in the use of text. The mural communicates the message to the people of the new South Africa that this is a country in which everyone has the same basic rights, and in which human rights are not to be violated by either whites or blacks.
One year after the first free democratic elections were held in 1994, the second human rights mural was painted on the reverse side of the 1992 wall, depicting the newly enacted South African interim Bill of Rights. Like the earlier project, it was also painted by a diverse group of artists under the guidance of the Community Mural Project. For the 1995 mural however, artists were provided with a very different type of wall space. Without the buttresses that divided the 1992 version into individual segments, the artists now had a continuous smooth wall surface with which to work (Marschall, Community 82). Although painted by a group of artists, this continuous wall surface gives the mural the feeling of one large flowing work. While the type of wall space differs between the two versions, the major differences lie in the tone and themes of the works.

In the segment depicting rights in relation to the justice system (fig. 12), one immediately notices the crowded composition with active figures that gives the work a sense of *horror vacui*; there is little if any blank space, which is quite a change from the rather static and spare composition of the 1992 version (Marschall, Community 83). With this crowded composition the mural appears more active and enticing to the viewer. The color palette of the 1995 wall also differs from the 1992 version. The use of somber and muted colors dominated the earlier wall and may be a reference to the times. In 1992, South Africa was just emerging from its apartheid past and there was still a great sense of uncertainty. By 1995, South Africa had just held its first free elections and the country was starting to regain its place in the global community. The future seemed brighter and this was reinforced in the use of a brighter color palette in this mural.

As with the earlier version, the 1995 wall also incorporates both visual images and text in an attempt to educate all South Africans about the Interim Bill of Rights. For example, the
scene dealing with rights in relation to the justice system is filled with many images and text descriptions reflecting one’s rights in the new South Africa. In the center foreground a lawyer sits behind a desk, on which is written, “the right to employ a lawyer and to be provided with a lawyer by the state in certain circumstances” across the top and “right of access to independent and impartial courts” below. To the left foreground is a judge, with the words “right to a fair trial” written across his desk and “right to respect and protection of dignity” beside him. Behind the judge is small group of people in a stacked composition under the text “right to assemble, demonstrate and petition peacefully and unarmed.”

The mural incorporates South African’s new position on power and ethnicity. The three people of authority and/or power are not white—the judge is a black man and the lawyer and police officer could be either black or colored. This is a major shift in the way blacks and coloreds are depicted. They are not faceless victims of the past; they are now agents of change in the new South Africa. They now hold positions of power and authority.

To the right of the lawyer is another vignette—the image of the police officer arresting a man below a hand-less clock with the words “right to remain silent and to be presumed innocent” across its face. To the right of the clock, and perhaps an explanation for its appearance, is additional text that reads “the right to be brought before a court within 48 hours of arrest.” The officer appears to be colored, while the man he is arresting could be either white or colored. The arrestee has his hands behind his back as though he is handcuffed, yet scrolled across his chest is “the right to be informed of reasons of arrest.” The scene once again portrays a member of society who, under apartheid, was kept from positions of power and authority, but who is now able to assume a new role in the new South Africa.
The new role that ethnicity is playing in South Africa is depicted in numerous parts of the mural. In the crowd behind and to the left of the lawyer is a group of blacks carrying the new South African flag and a banner that states, “right to be treated fairly and to be given reason for…”[rest of quote unreadable]. Images of blacks carrying the South African flag is something new. Prior to this blacks were portrayed carrying flags of various groups such as the ANC, but not the South African flag. The reason for this change may be that for the first time the new national flag represented all South Africans, whereas to the old flag had represented the apartheid regime. Below this group are schematically drawn people in an array of colors, possibly a reference to the notion of a “rainbow nation.” Nelson Mandela introduced this idea in his 1994 inaugural speech when he stated: “We enter into a covenant that we shall build a society in which all South Africans, both black and white, will be able to walk tall without any fear in their hearts, assured of their inalienable right to human dignity—a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world” (Marschall Community, 141).

This multi-cultural identity is portrayed throughout the mural. Directly behind the lawyer is a group of what appears to be white and colored people in a stacked composition, giving the image a slight feeling of depth and mass. Whites are portrayed as faceless heads with no detail in their bodies. The coloreds in the group have more detail in their bodies and faces, although they are not recognizable as individuals. This distinction can be viewed as the emergence of blacks and coloreds from behind the scenes to take their rightful place in society along side whites.

The evolving changes in tone and imagery were continued and expanded upon in the final mural created in 1997. This version of the Human Rights wall, which illustrates the new South African Bill of Rights, was painted on top of the 1992 wall. In 1997, South Africa was
continuing its progress of becoming a member of the world community, facilitated by the passage of the new Bill of Rights. The general feel of the mural is one of optimism; gone are the somber and accusatory themes and tone of the 1992 and the heavily educational feel of the 1995 wall. Like the earlier version, the mural is divided by buttresses into segments. Yet, unlike the 1992 mural, artists incorporated the top recessed third into the overall segment, rather than creating a separate smaller mural as had the 1992 wall. This incorporation of all of the space created a more continuous and cohesive work.

The bottom two-thirds of the segment Right to Education, Right to Occupation, Trade and Profession (fig. 13) is made up of an hourglass shape demarcated by the words “RIGHT TO OCCUPATION” on the left and “TRADE AND PROFESSION” on the right in bold white letters on a blue background. The text separates the hourglass form from two cartographic maps depicting Australia on the left and Africa on the right. These images may be a reference to South Africa taking its place not only within the African continent but also the rest of the world. Within the hourglass shape is a densely packed composition depicting figures progressing through life and learning important life skills along the way (Marschall, Community 91). For example, at the bottom a woman holds an infant in her arms and is surrounded by three others; a child learns to walk in the lower left; above this a young person works with numbers, another plays a trumpet, and a third reads a book. It is difficult to determine the ethnic background of the people as they are depicted in various colors. Above these figures, another stands next to a balance scale with water pouring out of one pan and indistinct objects in the other. The scale may indicate the riches of South Africa in terms of natural resources (the water) and commerce (the weighty objects). Behind the scale is a plowed field with a sunrise or sunset bordered by what appears to be a traditional locale on the
left and an urban environment on the right. The combination of these three images, the scale, plowed field, and the traditional and urban environments, indicate that the country’s riches are for all South Africans. The image attempts to send the message that South Africa, like a young child, is progressing as a nation to take its place in the global community by allowing all South Africans to reach their full potential.

While the lower third of the mural portrays the steps in the learning process, the top third depicts the end result. A white ribbon with the words “RIGHT TO EDUCATION” delineates a half circle in the top third of the mural, which is not as densely packed as the lower scene and is a more evenly balanced composition. Sitting on the left side of the ribbon is a young black man using a telescope to study the stars, which are being painted by a young black woman artist across from him. Off to the right of the circle and painted on the buttress is the image of a black female nurse. The message is clear. Through education and hard work, an occupation, trade, or profession is available to everyone in South Africa, regardless of race.

With the political and social transformation of South Africa still evolving, the versions of the Human Rights wall recorded some of the dramatic changes taking place within the country in the span of five short years. Through the versions of the Human Rights Wall one can trace the progression of black identity, beginning with the victim or martyr depictions in the 1992 wall, to blacks and coloreds in positions of power in the 1995 wall, and finally to being able to reach their dreams through hard work and education in the final 1997 version. The walls attempted to communicate with all South Africa through the inclusion of text, which allowed the people to educate themselves about the changes taking place in the country.

While the Human Rights wall addressed political and social issues, later murals attempted to educate the population on other social issues, including domestic violence. In
1999, the Gender Advocacy Group, a non-governmental group based in Cape Town that promotes women’s issues, commissioned artists from the Community Arts Project to paint a mural in Manenburg, Cape Town, to address the issue of domestic violence (fig. 14). Because the artists’ intentions were to reflect the daily life experiences faced by women in these situations, they painted realistic images rather than largely symbolic and visually ambiguous ones (Marschall, Community 196). Across the top of the mural are two banners that read “STOP DOMESTIC VIOLENCE” and “OUR FUTURE DEPENDS ON IT,” separated by a heart. The central image and focal point of the mural below the banners is a woman with her two young children, representing those individuals most often the victims of domestic abuse. Entering the scene from the left is her husband, dressed in a suit and carrying a liquor bottle in one hand and a whip in other. The man is nicely dressed—not the image that most people have of abusers (Marschall, Community 196). Portraying the man in this manner helps to educate people that anyone can be an abuser. The skin color of the husband, and woman and her children, is somewhat ambiguous. Although, the youngest child appears black, the husband and wife are lighter, perhaps colored, and the oldest child appears almost white. This difference in color may be a reference to the fact that domestic violence affects all ethnic groups.

Surrounding the central image of the woman and her children are five narrative scenes, two on the left and three on the right, depicting images of abuse. The top left scene depicting the husband in his suit sitting along a street with another man drinking while buying drugs represents two of the major factors in domestic violence: drug and alcohol abuse. Although the man wears a suit, the fact that he is not at work could be an indication of laziness or irresponsibility which can lead to the third major factor, unemployment. In the lower left scene
the husband attacks his wife during a family meal while one of the children tries unsuccessfully to stop the abuse. On the top right is an image of abuse taking place behind closed doors, but visible through the shadows in the window. Standing next to the window is a police officer with his hands covering his eyes, a reference to the blind eye that many authorities turn towards the problem. In the right center vignette a group of men and women are assembling, possibly in an attempt to block the family from its abuser. Finally, in the bottom right scene, a group of people confront the abusive husband by taking away his whip, while another group protects and comforts the mother and her children.

On the far right of the mural is the image of an open door with two angry eyes on either side. The door, the angry eyes, and the darkness revealed through the door’s opening refer to the inner darkness of domestic violence so often hidden behind closed doors, now opened to allow its victims to leave the darkness and enter the light. With its use of bright primary colors and straightforward message, the mural draws the attention of passersby.

While many community murals have a specific educational purpose and content, other murals are more general and portray everyday people engaged in daily activities. An example of this type of work is the 1998 Umlazi Station murals in Umlazi, Durban (fig. 15). This project, whose location was chosen because of the high traffic of people in and out of the township train station, consists of several scattered murals depicting life in the township. The section illustrated here depicts people boarding and disembarking from a train, reflecting the daily activities occurring in the space in front of the mural. The large scale mural occupies an entire wall with life-size images of passengers, causing the actual township residents who walk past to blend in with the painted images. Painted passengers are dressed in Western style clothing on their way to work, school, and other daily activities, as are the actual passengers.
The engine of the train has two large eyes with hands sticking out from either side. The hand on the right is darker and more muscular than the hand on the left, which is lighter and more delicate. This could be viewed as a reference to both the black and colored residents of the community, or to the type of work they undertake, the more muscular darker hand implying the manual labor in which many blacks are involved, while the more delicate implies the white collar work of many coloreds. White people are not depicted in any of the vignettes published as this mural is intended for the township inhabitants, and whites are not part of the townships.

Because this mural was painted for the residents of the area and portrays them in their daily activities, they see themselves in the mural and this gives them a sense of belonging to and pride in their community. The work also references the traditional heritage of many of the residents. The engine is topped with horns and a traditional Zulu umancishana (a small beer drinking vessel), objects used in ancestor worship and whose presence implies that the train has been “secured” through the ancestors, who guide and protect its passengers (Marschall, Community 174). A South African flag, which symbolizes the unity of South Africa, also tops the train. The combination of traditional imagery with contemporary modes of transportation, dress, and an emerging national identity allows residents to pay homage to their traditions while living their modern lives. With its bright colors and images with which people can identify, the mural gives residents a sense of pride in their community.

As with the murals of the anti-apartheid period, community murals can trace changes occurring in the people’s and the nation’s identities, while serving as repositories for group and national memories. Early community murals, such as the 1992 version of the Human Rights wall, still portrayed blacks as victims and martyrs, in spite of the recent political changes, the most important being the dismantlement of apartheid. Graphically portraying blacks as victims
and including accompanying text can be a way of remembering the past while simultaneously communicating that this past will no longer be tolerated in the present or the future. As South Africa continued reinventing itself as a new nation, the portrayal of all races began to change, as exemplified by the 1995 Human Rights wall in which blacks are portrayed in positions of power, coloreds are also identifiable and in the forefront, while whites are faceless and in the background. Moreover, the idea of the new South Africa as a “rainbow nation” is expressed by the presence of variously-colored human forms. All of these images combine to communicate the political and social changes taking place within South Africa.

In addition to expressing political and social changes, community murals were one way to use powerful images and text to bring relevant issues such as human rights and domestic violence into the national conversation. The biggest change in mural art as it developed from anti-apartheid murals into community mural projects was its use as a communicational and educational tool. Murals such as the Human Rights wall projects were used to educate the public about political developments, while social issues, such as domestic violence, were addressed in the Gender Equity mural. While this idea of communication can be educational in nature, it can also be used as a means of invoking pride in a community and its people, as with the Umlazi Station mural. By portraying a scene from everyday life the artists enabled the residents of the area to see themselves in the images, thereby fostering a sense of identity and pride.
IV. HIV/AIDS AWARENESS MURALS

In the late 1990s, a particular genre of community mural came to the forefront—HIV/AIDS awareness murals (fig. 16). Over the past twenty-five years, HIV/AIDS has spread throughout the world, with virtually no country left unaffected. Sub-Saharan Africa has been hit especially hard. Although the area contains only 10% of the world’s population, it represents 70% of its AIDS cases (Roberts, 30). South Africa has the highest rate of HIV infection world-wide, with recent government estimates of 5.5 million people infected (Associated Press A2). In 2005, the World Health Organization reported that 29.5% of pregnant women in South Africa were HIV positive (WHO Report). With people aged 15-49 making up the largest group of HIV/AIDS sufferers, South Africa faces not only a social but also an economic crisis, as this age group makes up the largest part of the country’s work force. The reasons for South Africa’s high rate of HIV/AIDS infections are many, from societal and governmental attitudes, to sexual practices and gender issues.

In 1982, the first case of AIDS was officially reported in South Africa (Davenport 663). As in most of the world, AIDS in South Africa was originally diagnosed in gays, blacks, drug users, prostitutes, and the poor—those already marginalized by society and those therefore the victims and targets of further stigmatization (Grundilingh 55). Many within society and the government felt that the victims of this disease were at fault for their affliction because of their lack of moral standards. In his article on the issue of HIV/AIDS in South Africa, historian L. Grundilingh asks “whether stigmatization of marginalized groups, racism, and homophobia along with conservative morality in the early stages of the disease caused the failure of adequate responses to HIV/AIDS during the last ten years of National Party rule” (55). Under apartheid, people viewed each other in terms of the group or race to which they belonged, not
as individuals with rights. With HIV/AIDS initially only affecting marginalized groups, these affected populations were often the targets of blame, isolation, and rejection (Grundilingh 56). In 1994, Nelson Mandela’s Unity Government made a commitment to primary health care, with a focus on tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS. Unfortunately, however, the damage was already done—HIV/AIDS had spread virtually unabated and was now affecting all segments of society (Davenport, 664). Moreover, attempts to control the virus suffered a devastating setback with the election of Thabo Mbeki as president of South Africa in 1999. In 2000, Mbeki, along with other top ranking ANC members and “dissident scientists,” released a statement denying the link between HIV and AIDS (Riviere np.). The group also disseminated the idea that antiretroviral drugs may actually cause AIDS, and thus discouraged their use (Riviere np.).

While governmental response, or lack thereof, was a factor in the spread of HIV/AIDS throughout South Africa, economic conditions and gender relations also contributed to the virus’ spread. Many black men in search of employment work in the gold and diamond mines throughout South Africa. As a condition of their employment they are forced to live away from their families for extended periods, often only allowed to come home a few times a year. With this extended time away from their wives, many men turn to prostitutes, who, if infected with HIV/AIDS, allows for the potential spread of the disease from the husband to other prostitutes or to his wife. This is one of the major causes of HIV/AIDS throughout the black population.

Another factor in the spread of the virus is sexual violence. In a country of 43.8 million people, approximately one million rapes occur each year (Riviere np.). Moreover, many women report a fear of violence from their partner if they were to demand the use of a condom (Riviere np). This fear, coupled with the chance their partners are having sex outside of the
relationship, makes women especially vulnerable. It is in these conditions that community 
murals artists in the mid- to late-1990s directed their focus to the subject of HIV/AIDS 
awareness.

In the mid-1990s, two mural campaigns, Seven Cities Project and Beyond Awareness 
Campaign, were responsible for many large-scale mural projects across South Africa. Both 
campaigns painted murals in public areas with high traffic to maximize the number of people 
viewing the works. The Seven Cities Project, the first of the large scale campaigns, started in 
1995. Sponsored by the National Department of Health, the initiative for the project came from 
Warren Parker, a consultant to the department, and Nicky Blumefield, the head of Apt 
Artworks (Marschall 227). The project’s goal was to place large-scale murals, aimed at the 
public at large, in each of the seven largest cities in South Africa.9

The Beyond Awareness Campaign (1998-1999) had the same message as the Seven 
Cities Project, although the main audience and placement of the murals differed. Rather than 
focusing on cities, the campaign was launched near or around the country’s seven major 
tertiary educational institutions,10 with the city of Durban having murals from both mural 
projects. While visible to the public at large, students were the main audiences of this second 
mural campaign. Both projects used many of the stylistic components present in earlier 
community murals, one of the most important being the portrayal of race relations.

Race and racial relations are often depicted in HIV/AIDS awareness murals. For 
example, the Seven Cities Project created a mural in Bloemfontein, painted on the Mongaung 

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9 The seven cities chosen for the project included the cites of East London, Durban, Johannesburg, Guguletu, 
Pretoria, Port Elizabeth, and Bloemfontein (Beyond, 8-15).
10 Institutions included University of Fort Hare, Eskhaweni College of Education near Richards Bay in KwaZulu-
Natal, University of Durban-Westerville, ML Sultan Technikon in Durban, University of the North (Turloop 
campus of University of Limpopo in Sovenga, Limpopo, Rhodes University in Grahamstown, and Griffith 
Mxenge College in King William’s Town (Marschall, 229).
Sports Club in Batho Township (Beyond 15). The 120 meter long mural is made up of individual circular, segments, each addressing a different topic in relation to HIV/AIDS awareness. One segment contains the image of an older interracial couple standing before a plowed field and setting sun (fig. 17). The white woman and black man are each wearing a red heart, as a sign of love between them. The woman is standing slightly in front of the man, who has one hand on her shoulder and holds a pitchfork in the other. The pose suggests that the couple may be husband and wife, in a scene that recalls the painting, *American Gothic* (1930) by Grant Wood (Marschall 239). Directly quoting a particular Western painting is something not usually seen in large-scale South African murals. However, the reference to Grant’s painting may also indirectly emphasize a Western puritanical ideal of having one partner for life, which is also the message expressed in the surrounding semi-circular double border. The border’s innermost band contains the segment’s message “one partner” on the left and “for life” on the right, written with red letters on a yellow background, while the outer border contains alternating yellow hands and blue hearts on a red background. Overall, the mural, with its individual segments in which the visual image is the focus and the text plays a secondary role, recalls the earlier versions of the Human Rights Wall.

Numerous messages are contained within this segment of the mural, the most important being that monogamy within a relationship is one way to help stop the spread of HIV/AIDS. By depicting the couple as interracial, however, the artist(s) are using a new and potentially shocking image to drive their point home. Although interracial marriages are legal in post-apartheid South Africa the age of the couple and the image of the setting sun suggest that the couple has been together for many years, from before it was legal to do so. Yet even after
apartheid ended, many people continued to view interracial couples unfavorably. While the major topic of this mural is to draw people’s attention to the issue of HIV/AIDS, by depicting this type of couple, the mural is also drawing attention to what is considered outside the norm, and hopefully garnering an acceptance by the majority.\textsuperscript{11}

Another segment of the Bloemfontein mural addresses the issue of non-discrimination of HIV/AIDS sufferers (fig. 18). The center scene consists of three women, one black, one colored and one white. The colored woman is in the foreground while the black and white women stand slightly behind. Each of the women is dressed nicely with her eyes closed and her lips pursed, giving them an alluring look, as if vying for attention (Marschall 239-240). The women’s closed eyes may refer to the fact that HIV/AIDS is blind and can affect that anyone, thereby suggesting that one should not turn a blind eye to the problem. Alternatively, the closed eyes may infer that, like HIV/AIDS, these ladies are blind to discrimination. In the background is a green hillside with a white structure, possibly a health clinic that would refer to the importance health care for all victims of HIV/AIDS. The text within the double semi-circular borders of this scene says “AIDS does not” on the left and “discriminate” on the right. The message in this segment is straight forward; the disease affects all racial groups and everyone is at risk.

In the Bloemfontein mural the overall message of HIV/AIDS awareness is broken up into individual non-narrative segments, recalling the earlier versions of the Human Rights walls. Like the Human Rights walls, the focal point of each segment is the visual image, while the textual message is secondary, and in the case of the Bloemfontien work, off to the sides. It

\textsuperscript{11} There is also the image of an interracial couple of a white woman and black man in a HIV/AIDS mural in Pretoria.
is the visual image that is used to draw the viewer in to interact with the mural, in a manner similar to the Human Rights walls.

While the importance of the visual image continued, other Seven Cities murals began to give prominence to text. For example, the Johannesburg mural, which was painted on the side of the Customs and Excise building, still stands and is six stories high and half a city block wide (fig. 16) (Beyond 11). In the center is a large pale red heart as the backdrop for an image of the African continent, which contains the word *Vuka!* in large bold red and white letters with blue outlines. *Vuka* is Zulu for “wake up” (Beyond 11). Although text was introduced in earlier community murals, the visual imagery remained the dominate feature and the text remained secondary. Placing text as the central focus is a new strategy used in HIV/AIDS awareness murals.

Surrounding the heart in the Johannesburg mural is a multi-racial group of people, again a motif borrowed from earlier community murals, all reaching towards the heart and holding objects. The people, some with text on their clothing, are focused on the center image yet are touching and interacting with one another. At the very top is a single hand reaching into the scene with a small banner that reads “safe sex,” a major message of many HIV/AIDS awareness murals. In the lower left a black woman holds a heart that reads “love mercy” in her upraised arms, the message being that HIV/AIDS sufferers should be treated with love and mercy, not stigmatization and rejection. All of these images reinforce the importance of text in this mural by drawing attention to it. Text is playing a large role in HIV/AIDS murals, and becoming the mural’s focus.

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12 Other figures are also carrying or holding additional messages that I assume have to do with HIV/AIDS awareness, but they are illegible in the available images.
Interspersed throughout the scene are depictions of condoms and red hearts, icons that are common in HIV/AIDS murals and that help reinforce the written messages stressing safe sex, love, and mercy. The condom image is particularly poignant, as its use is one way to help prevent the passage of the virus. Some iconic HIV/AIDS imagery is so prevalent that it not only reinforces accompanying text, but has taken on semiotic qualities of its own. For example, the Johannesburg mural is surrounded by a white border with the words “unite against AIDS” across the top the phone number of the national AIDS Helpline on the lower left, and additional iconic imagery along the sides. In the top corners are pale red ribbons, a symbol of HIV/AIDS awareness first used in the United States. Created by Visual AIDS, a group founded by art professionals to address the issue of HIV/AIDS in an attempt to create an inexpensive, easily produced signifier as a response to the HIV/AIDS crisis, this image is now one of the most recognizable symbols of HIV/AIDS world-wide (Sokolowski 68). Similar to the “love mercy” heart, red ribbons represent the idea of compassion for the sufferers of this affliction. Plus (+) and minus (-) signs refer to one’s positive or negative HIV status. Echoing the figures in the mural’s main body are cartoon-like images of human torsos with arms upraised, although the border’s figures are “standing” inside oversized condoms. Although a figure in a condom is used in other murals as yet another reference to safe sex, the condom itself is provocative. While the topic of sex and sexual relations is not one that is usually discussed publicly, it is hard to ignore a mural depicting larger than life size condoms, or the message of safe sex they contain. Although realistic images of condoms were controversial, to many, in particular religious leaders who advocated abstinence, the depiction of condoms as non-threatening cartoon-like images were acceptable to the public at large.
The Seven Cities Project created a mural in Port Elizabeth one year later that addresses the HIV/AIDS issue using a different approach—portraying the battle against this disease as South Africa’s new struggle. The mural in Port Elizabeth is painted on the side of the Bristow House (fig. 19), in which were located the offices of the security police during the apartheid era (Beyond 14). The brightly colored two-story high mural spells out “AIDS the New Struggle,” in fully capitalized text that runs the entire length of the work. It is striking—each over-sized letter is a distinct solid and bright color surrounded by a strong black outline, giving a sense of mass to the letter. This mural further develops the importance of and emphasis on text in HIV/AIDS murals. Men and women of varying races, ages, and relative size interact with the letters, creating an active composition, exemplified in the detail of the word “struggle” (fig. 20), in which a man firmly holds the letter “T” in his right hand. On his shoulder is a couple in an intimate embrace. Through a text bubble he is saying “yes long live condoms,” while the message “safe sex” is written on the cuff of his sleeve. He is thrusting out the letter “T” in a rather aggressive pose that recalls the earlier anti-apartheid murals of the late 1980s. The difference here is that the letter is a symbolic weapon in the struggle that is now being waged against a disease, not a government. An alternative meaning of the letter T may be a reference to a person’s T-cell count, one way to monitor the advancement of HIV/AIDS. The real significance of this mural is in putting forth the idea of HIV/AIDS as the new struggle, and what better way to drive this message home than by placing the mural on a building that housed offices associated with apartheid, the old struggle.

HIV/AIDS murals continued to be created as part of different campaigns in an attempt to reach different segments of society. Although murals in the later Beyond Awareness Campaign continued many of the same topics as those in the earlier Seven Cities Project, they
differ in that they were located around tertiary educational institutions, they were created by student artists under the direction of Apt Artworks, and their target audience was students. Murals in the Beyond Awareness Campaign were accompanied by associated events that included the distribution of condoms and lectures about safe sex. These events gave the students a forum to discuss and learn about HIV/AIDS as well as the practice of safe sex. These two components, the painting of the mural and the associated lectures and discussions meant that although the discussions were short-lived, the mural was a lasting reminder of the topic of HIV/AIDS awareness.

In addition to HIV/AIDS, the Beyond Awareness Campaign mural at Fort Hare University also addresses gender relations as part of its imagery and message (fig. 21). In the center of one brightly colored scene is a multi-racial group of men and women sitting around a table. Floating above the table is a yellow image of the African continent with the words “Prevent AIDS” and “Unite and Heal Africa,” with the words “Unite” and “AIDS” in an attention-grabbing red. Many of the racially diverse people at the table are interacting with one another, either by holding hands or by touching the shoulder of the next person, suggesting that the people are indeed unified in their work against HIV/AIDS. The southernmost tip of the African continent is “pointing” towards a young child—possibly indicating that future generations may be saved by uniting against the disease.

In the foreground on either side of the table are two scenes involving men and gender roles. On the left is the image of a young black man and woman. The man is aggressively trying to kiss the woman, who is turning her head away, rejecting his advances. The imagery recalls the Gender Equity mural (fig. 14) in its portrayal of aggressive and/or violent behavior towards women—both factors in the spread of AIDS. The image on the right is the figure of a
muscular man dressed in a red shirt with text across the front carrying condoms apparently for
distribution (Bourgault np.). While communication professor Bourgault views the muscular
figure as signifying the uneven nature of gender relations and in particular the significant roles
male power has played at the root of the epidemic in South Africa and the rest of the continent
(Bourgault np), I would have to agree. While I do agree that the uneven power held by men in
relationships has “helped” spread the disease, the figure in this mural is distributing condoms—
a primary means of combating the spread of HIV/AIDS—which suggests he uses one,
something some men refuse to do. For these reasons, I view the image as a positive male
figure. Finally, next to the man and below the AIDS helpline phone number is an image of a
large condom wrapped in a red ribbon. The image, which is painted on a buttress, protrudes
slightly from the rest of the mural, putting the image and its educational and informational
message literally in the forefront.

While most murals generated little controversy, this was not the case with the work of
the Seven Cities Project in East London (fig. 22). While the mural incorporates much of the
same imagery as other murals (red ribbons, positive and negative symbols, red hearts, multi-
racial groups, and condoms), how condoms were portrayed was problematic. The East London
mural was one of the first to portray them being worn. The offending scene, located in the left
corner of the work, is a party-like scene with hugging and dancing, made up of schematically
drawn variously-colored nude male and female silhouette forms, the women depicted with
hearts over their genitalia, and the men with red condoms over their erect penises. A blue
figure wearing a white condom on his head stands in front of a large erect penis wearing a red
condom. To the right of the group is an x-ray view of an erect penis wearing a condom with a
heart and plus (+) and minus (-) signs above. In the far left corner a black man with multiple
condoms on and around his erect penis puts his arm around a black woman, who has a red heart over her genitalia, breasts that are condom-like in form, and who also appears to be wearing a condom on her head. The scene is a background to a larger scene of a multi-racial group of young people in which a young woman holds a book with the title “AIDS Know the Facts.” Emanating from this group are sunrays with sperm and condom images, which reinforces the overall message of safe sex. The mural’s target audience was the young people of the community, underscored by the image of a red heart with “youth unite” written across the front. Community religious leaders found the mural unacceptable, especially the scene with the youths wearing condoms (Marschall, Community 253). Although the images were small and off to the side, the mural was painted over soon after its completion. This mural project is one example of a mural not fitting within a segment of the community’s morals and thus being rejected.

Surprisingly, although the mural the East London mural was painted over, another more explicit mural has survived. The mural was painted in 1998 by an unknown artist on an inside wall of the JD Dlepu stadium in Joza township outside Grahamstown (fig. 2). The image consists of three realistic images of male torsos (one black and two white) with erect penises, illustrating the correct way to put on a condom. Perhaps this more realistic mural has been neither vandalized nor painted over because residents in Grahamstown are less conservative in their views on sexuality and therefore do not find this image offensive or inappropriate (Marschall 256). Because site specificity plays a role in mural art, that fact that one mural is located near a university and the other is on a stadium wall may have played a role in the works acceptance.
While the murals produced as part of the Seven Cities Project and Beyond Awareness Campaign convey messages of hope and compassion in dealing with the HIV/AIDS crisis, other individual murals stress the importance of deterrence. The Rouxville Primary School mural in Rouxville, Free State (fig. 24), for example, was painted by school children, yet is meant to confront the viewer with the shocking realities of HIV/AIDS through the use of images and text (Marschall 230). A banner across the top of the mural proclaims “Let AIDS Die Not U.” In the left corner is the personified representation of the HIV virus in the form of a red blob (Marschall 231). Across the blob’s “chest” is the message “Sentenced to Die.” The message is further reinforced by a noose around the virus’ neck, and a ball and chain attached to its right ankle. While the image is not actually hanging from the tree under which it stands, it is balanced precariously on a plank, which is atop a barrel. The message is clear. Although the image is not actually dying at this moment, death could come at any time, as it can for victims of the disease. In the center of the composition is a tree with the following messages attached: “Don’t die for [love] (“love” being represented by a red heart with an arrow through it), “No!! free sex,” “Use condoms,” “Practise[sic] safe sex,” and “No drugs.” The messages are clear and straightforward—the spread of HIV/AIDS can be prevented. To the right of the tree are three people, one white and two black, walking in a line towards a distant sunrise/set with arms raised. On the back of the middle figure is the message “I [heart] life.” While the image of the personified virus, which represents the death sentence of HIV/AIDS, is in the area of the mural outside of the sunlight, the people who are choosing to practice behaviors that help prevent infection are walking into a brighter future. Through the repetitive use of the word “die,” the association with HIV/AIDS is made. This use of deterrent imagery is most prevalent in murals
coordinated by people other than HIV/AIDS activists, usually school teachers (Marschall, Community 232).

As with earlier murals, HIV/AIDS works continued to function as a means of communication, memory, and reinforcing of the new national identity. The main purpose of these murals is educational, their major thrust being to raise awareness and to get the general population thinking about HIV/AIDS in order to stop its spread. A new device of some HIV/AIDS murals is the prominent use of text, as seen in the Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg works. The emphasis on text allowed the murals to be not only educational but also informational in nature. Portraying the fight against HIV/AIDS as the new struggle recalls the memory of the fight against apartheid. This message is very clear in the Port Elizabeth mural as well, where “AIDS the New Struggle” is actually spelled out.

Most HIV/AIDS murals contain instructional images or images of hope, while deterrent images, as found in the Rouxville work, are used sparingly. The use of multi-racial groups of people in HIV/AIDS murals reinforce the idea of the new national identity of South Africa and communicates the idea that the disease affects all groups. People are portrayed rallying against a common cause in which everyone has a stake. The HIV/AIDS awareness murals clearly draw upon earlier imagery that, combined with images related specifically to the issue of HIV/AIDS, created a new mural form.
V. CONCLUSION

Communication is the major thrust of these murals. The anti-apartheid murals of the 1980s, the urban community murals of the early 1990s, and the HIV/AIDS works of the late 1990s, gave a visual and later a textual reference to the important issues and events of each period. In the murals of the anti-apartheid period, communication was achieved through symbolic visual references, as portrayed in the Soweto Riots (figs. 4a and 4b). The iconic image of the dying Hector Peterson provides a symbolic yet indelibly gripping visual reference to the brutality of the apartheid regime. The image was powerfully communicative; text was not needed. In the early 1990s, with the end of apartheid and the development of the new South Africa, the communicative use of the murals began to change. Murals started to take on a more educational format, achieved through the incorporation of text, as seen in the three versions of the Human Rights Wall (figs. 11, 12, and 13). Although symbolic imagery was still the major visual device of these works, text began to appear in prominent places. With the simultaneous use of text and visual references, murals were able to communicate their messages to both the literate and illiterate members of society—to inform them of the changes taking place within the country.

In the late 1990s, with the creation of the HIV/AIDS awareness murals, text began to play an even larger role, as exemplified in the Johannesburg (fig. 16) and Port Elizabeth (fig. 19) works. Text now becomes the major component of the murals, and symbolic visual images, while still part of the work, are secondary, thereby creating a new mural form which communicated on educational, informational and symbolic levels.
While communication is the major focus of these murals, the works also served to construct memory and identity. As repositories of society’s memories, murals are a way of tracing important events and issues. The anti-apartheid period mural *What I See on Raglan Road* is one example. Because the mural portrays an actual event, it helps people recall the situation and possibly the issues leading to it. Community murals, like the 1992 version of the Human Rights Wall (fig. 11), use graphic imagery to recall and imprint memory. While the images impactfully recall past inhumanities, the inclusion of text messages ensures the messages are correctly conveyed and understood. HIV/AIDS awareness murals kept alive the memory of the anti-apartheid struggle with scenes of people marching and carrying banners, now redirected towards the new struggle of raising HIV/AIDS awareness, which is further driven home through the incorporation of text-based imagery, as in the Port Elizabeth mural (fig. 19) where the text, “AIDS the New Struggle” is the focus of the work.

It is in the area of identity and its construction that the changes within South Africa society are most visible. These changes deal with not only the identity of blacks, but of the nation as a whole. In the anti-apartheid works blacks were portrayed as victims of the brutal apartheid regime. In the *Soweto Riots* mural (figs. 4a and 4b), blacks are depicted not only as victims, but as martyrs as well. The national identity was that of a segregated society. With the end of apartheid and the rise of the new South African nation, individual and national identities began to change. Blacks and others discriminated against under apartheid are now depicted in positions of power and authority, as agents of change, as seen in the 1995 Human Rights wall (fig. 12). Also within this mural are human forms of various hues, a reference to the new national identity, and the idea of the “rainbow nation” put forth by Nelson Mandela.

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13 As decided by community members and artists through conversations with community members.
Murals were used to reinforce and communicate the idea of equality in the new South Africa. Multi-racial groups are portrayed throughout many community and HIV/AIDS awareness murals, usually depicted working together for a common cause, as does the Fort Hare University mural (fig. 21). This is a far cry from the depictions of racial identity of the earlier anti-apartheid period.
WORKS CITED


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APPENDIX - FIGURES

Figure 1. Family Scene (n.d.) Fene Dumile. Charcoal on paper.
Figure 2. *The Stricken Household* (n.d.) Fene Dumile. Charcoal on paper.
Figure 3. *Ndebele Mural* (1998).
Figure 4a. Leftside *Soweto Riots* (1982). Fine Arts Building, University of Fort Hare.

Figure 4b. Rightside *Soweto Riots* (1982). Fine Arts Building, University of Fort Hare.
Figure 8. The People of District Six, detail. (1984-85). Peggy Delport. Holy Trinity Parish Church, former District Six, Cape Town.
Photograph: Andreas Heuser
Figure 15. Umlazi Station murals, main section. (1998). Coordinator: Sithembiso Sibsi. Umlazi, Durban.
Figure 21. HIV/AIDS mural. (1999). Beyond Awareness Campaign. Apt Artworks. Fort Hare University.