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**Spatialities of Heritage
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Spatialities of Heritage Geographies in South Africa

Preface to the Thematic Issue of Modern Geográfia

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The Institute of Geography and Earth Sciences at the University of Pécs, which serves as the foundation for our journal, maintains a longstanding partnership with Stellenbosch University, particularly with its team of dedicated geographers. This collaboration led to a visit from Professor Ronnie Donaldson, our guest editor for this issue, who joined us in May 2023 at our invitation. During his visit, in addition to delivering an insightful lecture on rural gentrification, the seeds of this special issue were sown, providing an exciting opportunity to showcase current research from the Small Town Research Unit of the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies at Stellenbosch University, as well as other esteemed geography departments in South Africa, including Rhodes University, North-West University, and the University of Johannesburg.

Nestled in the heart of South Africa's diverse and culturally vibrant landscape, heritage holds profound significance. It serves as a testament to the enduring narratives, struggles, and triumphs that have shaped the nation and its heritage spaces. There has been a notable scarcity of geographical scholarly work addressing the interwoven themes of heritage, urban conservation and planning, as well as heritage tourism development in South Africa. Preserving urban heritage in this context poses substantial challenges, owing to the ever-evolving nature of cities and the historical legacies of colonialism and apartheid. Obstacles such as urban layout, limited political will, implementation complexities, and a challenging socio-economic backdrop further hinder urban heritage conservation efforts in the country.

In this special edition, we present a collection of papers that offer fresh insights into the preservation, significance, and intricacies of heritage geographies in South Africa since the advent of democracy. This special edition comprises six papers, divided into two sections: one focusing on urban heritage practices (contributions by Buchanan, Donaldson, as well as Dlongolo, Irvine and Memela) and the

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other featuring three papers on heritage tourism and planning (contributions by Rogerson, Drummond and van der Merwe).

The National Heritage Resources Act of 1999 was enacted to establish effective conservation principles in post-apartheid South Africa, and it forms the focal point of the first three papers. Buchanan's paper uncovers the challenges faced by the heritage authorities in the Western Cape province in managing the growing heritage resources in non-metropolitan municipalities, shedding light on the capabilities of local governments. The two subsequent papers delve into case studies of two small cities. In Donaldson's paper, the Dennesig neighborhood in Stellenbosch serves as a case study to explore how planning, urban design, and resource management can unintentionally erode the heritage character of a place, emphasizing the need for a broader perspective when assessing heritage significance, particularly for modest heritage structures. The next case study shifts its focus to Makhanda, examining the interplay between market forces and urban planning, and highlighting the looming threat to heritage conservation. This research unravels the challenges the city is facing, exposing how municipal dysfunction and urban management issues impact the preservation of its rich cultural heritage.

The spotlight then turns to aspects of heritage tourism in the three subsequent papers. Rogerson explores heritage tourism in Johannesburg, with a specific focus on Kliptown, a significant site in the anti-apartheid struggle. The study questions the promised developmental impacts of heritage tourism on local communities, shedding light on the complexities of heritage preservation and tourism development. Drummond's paper, in turn, underscores the importance of promoting colonial heritage to safeguard the country's diverse history and identity, offering insights into its role in local economic development. Lastly, in van der Merwe's paper, battlefield tourism, as a niche within cultural and heritage tourism, is explored through the lens of the contested Battle of Blood River, presented from both Afrikaner and AmaZulu perspectives. It advocates for a balanced approach to sustain and develop battlefield tourism in South Africa.

Each of these papers contributes to the ongoing dialogue surrounding heritage geographies in South Africa. Collectively, they illuminate the challenges, opportunities, and complexities inherent in preserving and comprehending the multifaceted heritage of South Africa.

Buchanan, Lauren[1]

The Status of Urban Heritage Conservation: Competency of Local Government in the Western Cape Province

ABSTRACT

The National Heritage Resources Act was promulgated in the efforts of establishing effective conservation principles that would meet the needs of all South Africans. The Act makes provision for each level of government to have authority over its respective heritage resources. Donaldson (2005) anticipated that the acting authority in the Western Cape province, Heritage Western Cape, was likely to come under pressure soon. This was owing to the fact of increasing heritage resources (the phenomenon of aging) and that the Provincial Heritage Resources Authority oversaw both Grade II and III heritage resources since no local municipality was deemed fully competent. This research aimed to assess the capacity and competency of local government in the field of built heritage conservation of non-metropolitan municipalities in the Western Cape, South Africa. A qualitative research method was implemented in the form of a questionnaire with informal interviews to assist in the explorative nature of this paper. By mapping and recording the current state of heritage conservation practices in the province, it was found that two local municipalities were deemed competent, while several others had made strides towards conserving local heritage resources.

Keywords: built heritage, heritage competency, heritage conservation, heritage resource, local municipality

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INTRODUCTION

Active conservation is described as part of an integrated framework of urban heritage and the inclusion of the rest of the urban environment to involve a community in its long-term conservation strategies (Dupagne, 2004). The principles on which active conservation rests are: context of environmental control, public participation, knowledge (acquired from previous generations, locals, experiences, effectiveness of evaluation tools and decision-making procedures), promotion of improvement of social, economic, cultural and ecological performance through the development of an intervention plan. Deacon (2015) has asserted that if power were devolved to a local municipality (LM) there would be closer connection with communities, thereby promoting inclusion and interaction in heritage conservation. Avrami et al. (2000) refer to this type of participatory conservation as being a social activity in which the process of participation becomes part of heritage. Lempek and Tésits (2021) found that making use of locally formed organisations was often in areas that lacked resources and fulfil a much-needed role in a community. This type of conservation is likely to enhance the quality of life for residents and should consequently be incorporated into wider city planning. Community participation is a method of granting access to heritage management at a local level (Li et al., 2020). Such inclusion is anticipated to strengthen the community and give credibility to policies (Dupagne, 2004). Conversely, Tésits (2011) states that while these organisations are relied on by a community to fulfil various roles, their relationship with an authority was not always formalised.

The literature suggests that while most of the international documentation and national policies have followed a values-based approach, there is still room for change and development in the realm of heritage conservation. Bakri et al. (2015) chart various types of values coming from different fields, knowledge and disciplines. What is seen here is that progressively, over more than a century, is a broad range of value attributors, which also show gradual change over time. Much of these value systems stem from a dominant Western discourse, as described by Hall (1992), that societies are developed, industrialised and urbanised, as well as operate in a capitalist system that is secular and modern. By creating this value system, allowed for all other societies to be measured against it. Hall (1992) goes on to explain that those who produced the discourse invariably have power over those who are being represented, termed a top-down approach (Tweed & Sutherland, 2007). Additionally, it was found that while a Western-dominant discourse had been established inevitably to suit those societal norms, the framework was not necessarily suitable for other societies.

Smith (2006) refers to this Eurocentric approach as Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD), which has seen strengthening support from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) from the middle of the previous century. Following with many international treaties and frameworks established to better understand the debates of the nature and value of heritage, including its identification, ascribed value, significance, conservation and therefore, assumed suitable management. AHD has led to a natural range of assumptions about the nature and meaning of heritage. Even though this has only been articulated this century, this way of practice has existed for much longer.

Roberts and Cohen (2014) describe that authorising heritage in an official capacity often comes from governing bodies and that the value of built cultural heritage is assessed by experts pertaining to explicit criteria (Bakri et al., 2015). As is commonplace with heritage conservation of the built environment in a Westernised society, identified resources are put onto an official register. This authorisation can go further by placing a plaque on the building giving it a grading and even a statement of significance. Likewise, this gives a built resource official status which also allows it access to special protective measures, including legal implications. Moreover, this has the potential to promote a building's value (variety of values here).

There are likely to be conflicting points of view when these heritage values are applied to other cultures (Smith, 2006). This sentiment is echoed by Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996), stating that dissonance is likely when imposing AHD on all societies. Another type of heritage discourse as discussed by Roberts and Cohen (2014), in the context of cultural heritage, is self-authorised heritage. In this mode, heritage is recognised by non-government entities. Again, criteria may be used to qualify these resources, but it is seen as a democratised heritage. Pendlebury (2013) identifies that first, conservation is a values-based activity, which depending on context would lead to a likely difference in values, therefore, second, conservation requires a need for discourse. It can be concluded that cultural heritage conservation is non-static and is continuously growing therefore, requiring continuous discourse (Tweed & Sutherland, 2007). Smith (2006) and Tweed and Sutherland (2007) agree that the heritage environment has become progressively complex, and they concur that heritage not only includes built structures of increasing age, but other tangible objects (natural or man-made) too. Therefore, the growth of heritage as a field of research and practice, as a relevant concept, its range of definitions and the applicable policies is inevitable.

Mason (2006, 2008) claims that heritage conservation must include contemporary values that are relevant to today's society. Approaches to heritage conservation are already reflecting noticeable changes and movements towards a landscape-based style (Veldpaus et al., 2013) which allow for a broader and more inclusive method of conservation, including elements from both human creation and nature (UNESCO, 2011). Kozlowski and Vass-Bowen (1997) note that while conservation and development previously seemed to operate in vacuums, devoid of any context, practice now shows conservation making provision for development as well as development taking cognisance of heritage resources (Pendlebury, 2013). Awareness and compromise in both camps result in "protective management practices" as termed by Kozlowski and Vass-Bowen (1997) and lead to a cohesive evolution. However, Chirikure (2013) remarks how much more compromise is needed for there to be true success, as these practices can only be applied to identified tangible resources, which enjoy a legal protective status. In the context of the built environment, examples are buildings, structures and demarcated precincts. Nevertheless, Poulis (2010) notes that the weaknesses in the values-based approach have become more evident, and that the tide is turning towards living heritage sites where the actions in the present are noted as the most important and relevant. Therefore, heritage conservation is likely to see a movement of decentralisation and devolution of power to allow for identification, management and conservation done by local communities (Deacon, 2015). Whatever the progress of heritage conserva-

tion, in Southern Africa it is still seen as vastly Eurocentric and often disregards already established traditional practices (Chirikure et al., 2010).

The reality in South Africa, and many other previously colonised nations, is that the culture and the operations of heritage conservation have often, and most likely still are, those of the colonising power and tainted with Eurocentric subjectivity. This has often led to entire cultures being disregarded as the artefacts of minority cultures were not conserved because their value was regarded as negligible. Heritage in minority cultures was, and still is, intangible by nature, something the Eurocentric culture did not observe or find any value in (Deacon, 2020). Consequently, such heritage was more likely to be disregarded. The democratic government of South Africa aimed to rectify such wrongs by implementing national legislation that allows for a seamless integration of national, provincial and local governments, and for inclusive practices in heritage conservation, and this is apparent in the National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA) (South Africa, 1999). The Act also aims to the practice of heritage conservation more inclusive by creating several categories for resources. The devolution of power goes right down to the lowest level of government, namely LMs, which have the closest contact with communities, so enabling inclusion and interaction in the conservation of their heritage resources (Donaldson, 2005; Deacon, 2015). It is assumed that heritage conservation is best accomplished at a local level. This is in line with the definition offered by the Council of Europe (2006) whereby heritage is described as a resource that a community identifies with, although not necessarily owning it, and has some form of stakeholder value.

The country's history over the past century has seen a progressive development in South African law with respect to the conservation of built heritage. Some of these developments run parallel to developments reported in the international literature on the same topic. The body of law has moved away from the exclusive conservation for the minority of people to the inclusive conservation for everyone. Concurrently, there is a movement away from individual monuments towards landscapes and entire areas, giving rise to inclusivity of all cultures and communities (Rössler, 2000; UNESCO, 2011). However, Ndoro (2005) and Ndlovu (2011) both argue that this is not the case in South Africa, as there is still bias towards colonial-based heritage resources and conservation practices.

Tweed and Sutherland (2007) promote a bottom-up approach to conservation that comes from within a community, termed "heritage by appropriation", whereby a community makes use and finds value in resources leading to thoughtful protection. Less obvious items, such as street patterns or urban layout, are included in conservation practices, which adds value to already protected single buildings, monuments or structures. However, Tweed and Sutherland (2007) argue that these "lesser" items are more than just context, and are often overlooked by top-down experts.

Although not the focus of this review, it is important to acknowledge the significance of intangible heritage and its place in the field of heritage conservation. There are varying avenues of thought on heritage, its importance and its focus (Mason & Avrami, 2002; Pendlebury, 2013). While heritage is divided (presumably for ease of categorisation) into tangible and intangible parts, many commentators have made the point that the one part cannot exist without the other. Townsend (2004) remarks that intangible heritage practices give meaning to tangible heritage manifestations. Contrarily, Smith (2006) unequivocally states (even noting that many will disagree) that there is no such thing as tan-

gible heritage, only the intangible as heritage is an action, not an item. Within the sub-category of built heritage conservation, there is growth regarding the inclusion of various physical items, as well as actions, bolstering the inclusive landscape approach.

In the South African context, intangible heritage is termed living heritage in the NHRA, which includes but is not limited to, cultural tradition, oral history, performance, ritual, popular memory, skills, techniques and indigenous knowledge systems (South Africa, 1999). Living heritage also includes the holistic approach to nature, societies and societal relationships. Ndlovu (2011) acknowledges that while the NHRA represents and protects the heritage of democratic South Africa, it is more inclusive than previous legislation but considers intangible heritage to be marginalised regarding recognition and rightful conservation.

The three spheres of government, national, provincial and local, are mandated to make sure that these practices are carried out and are of benefit to all South Africans. The NHRA and South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) oversee all national heritage resources, collectively categorised as Grade I heritage. The provincial heritage resource authorities recognised by NHRA and SAHRA oversee all provincial heritage resources which are categorised as Grade II heritage resources. Local governments are liable for all Grade III heritage resources. Local, district or metropolitan municipalities must be certified competent by the provincial minister to be allowed jurisdiction over their own local heritage resources. The NHRA specifies that if a local government is not authorised to maintain its heritage resources, the responsibility falls on the superior authority (South Africa, 1999).

The Municipal Systems Act (South Africa, 2000) promotes the involvement of communities in the conservation of their heritage and makes provision for LMs to take ownership of and the responsibility for managing their local heritage resources. Again, this aligns closely with the international literature that attests to an increase in public participation, reported for example by Parkinson et al. (2016). This Act makes provision for LMs to gain capacity and take control of their own heritage resources.

The PHRA has the power to deem a subordinate authority competent should they meet predetermined criteria. This will involve the identification of (i) LMs have approved or proposed heritage areas with the necessary protective provisions in terms of section 31(7) of the NHRA in place; (ii) LMs have approved inventories (which in the case of local authorities may be partially approved) which may be used by HWC to select sites to be protected as Grade III on the Register (the official document pertaining to local heritage resources and their respective gradings, as per section 30(11) of the Act); (iii) LMs have administrative staff, (considering the size of each local authority) who will be responsible for processing applications for permits under the NHRA. In the case of small local authorities, it may not be possible to have a dedicated heritage officer, a role probably performed by another official; and (iv) LMs have a committee which may comprise officials and persons sourced from outside the local authority with the requisite expertise to assess and decide on applications (this should follow section 10 of the Act).

Currently, of the nine provinces in South Africa only three Provincial Heritage Resource Agencies (PHRA) have full competency over their heritage resources, the remaining six all having only partial competency. Heritage Western Cape (HWC) is one of the three competent provincial authorities, the other two are the PHRA's of KwaZulu-Natal and Eastern Cape, as assessed by SAHRA. Two

local authorities within HWC's jurisdiction have applied for competency at a local level, namely the City of Cape Town, a metropolitan municipality, and Drakenstein Municipality, a local authority (Jackson et al., 2019). Heritage conservation of the built environment at a local government in South Africa has received little attention in the literature (Donaldson, 2005; Chirikure, 2013; Buchanan & Donaldson, 2020). Ndlovu (2011) acknowledges that while the NHRA represents and protects the heritage of democratic South Africa and is more inclusive than previous legislation, it still fails to include selected aspects of a broader topic.

South Africa's legal framework is set up in such a way that shows it to be technically advanced, inclusive of national acts, provincial regulations and legislation as well as local by-laws. All levels of government, from National right down to LMs are integral in the management of heritage resources. However, this does not guarantee its efficacy. When scrutinising the operations of LMs, as they are included in heritage conservation due to their geographical jurisdiction, it is found that often, heritage conservation is not high up on their service delivery objectives (Rautenbach et al., 2018). Currently, heritage management in South Africa has only seen limited success due to its segregation from local planning (Townsend, 2004), even though heritage conservation is part and parcel of urban functions (Davie, 2019). A review of the requirements and duties of LMs regarding heritage conservation and resource management, as earmarked in various national acts as well as provincial legislation, shows their participation to be imperative (Steenkamp, 2021).

Pentz and Albert (2023) attempt to map and record the current state of heritage conservation to gain a better understanding of the practice within a designated area. Similarly, with the discussed context, it is the aim of the paper to assess urban heritage conservation capability and competency of each non-metropolitan LM in the Western Cape. This would result in a comprehensive matrix of the elements found in heritage conservation, including the capabilities of local government, cities and towns selected. Additionally, the matrix would highlight the challenges faced by local governments in heritage conservation, and more importantly produce a model with which any future research can assess such capabilities for any South African LM, city or town.

METHODS

As this study attempted to better understand the practices implemented and efforts made by LMs and their communities to protect their built urban heritage resources, a suitable tool was needed to assess the current practices. A questionnaire was designed to elicit information about the capacity of a LM regarding the management of heritage conservation within its area. A useful model questionnaire was found in a survey conducted by the Australian Department of Planning and Development (Heritage Victoria, 2012), and it was adapted for the South African context.

Considering the above-mentioned aim and subsequent objectives, it would be necessary to collect information available in the public domain as well as it would be essential to contact local and provincial government in the Western Cape for supplementary information. It will be necessary to

identify other parties involved in the conservation of heritage resources in the province. The following methods were used in the effort of reaching the above objectives:

The questionnaire was divided into four parts (knowing, protecting, supporting and communicating) and each part was distributed to the respondents separately. The initial phase of the survey aimed to determine the status of each LM's capabilities. Phase two sought to identify the methods employed by LMs to protect and conserve local heritage resources. The third phase was to determine the type of support received by LMs in conserving Grade III heritage resources. The final phase of the survey investigated how LMs communicate with their constituents and the methods used to promote heritage conservation and management of local heritage resources. Because the study was explorative, the qualitative questions allowed for new themes, categories and relationships to emerge for investigation. Twenty-four LMs in the Western Cape were identified and contact details obtained from the respective municipality websites (Figure 1). A spreadsheet was created to categorise and store all relevant contact information. Each LM was contacted, and a suitable prospective respondent was identified, and the person's email address was confirmed. The nature of the study, survey and questionnaire was briefly explained, and any queries were answered. During the initial phone call, a good rapport was established with each respondent. This allowed for informal interviewing to occur in follow-up phone calls. All 24 LMs committed to participate in the survey by answering the questionnaire. An email was sent to each identified respondent confirming the initial contact phone call and their willingness to participate.

Figure 1. Metropolitan, district and local municipalities in the Western Cape province
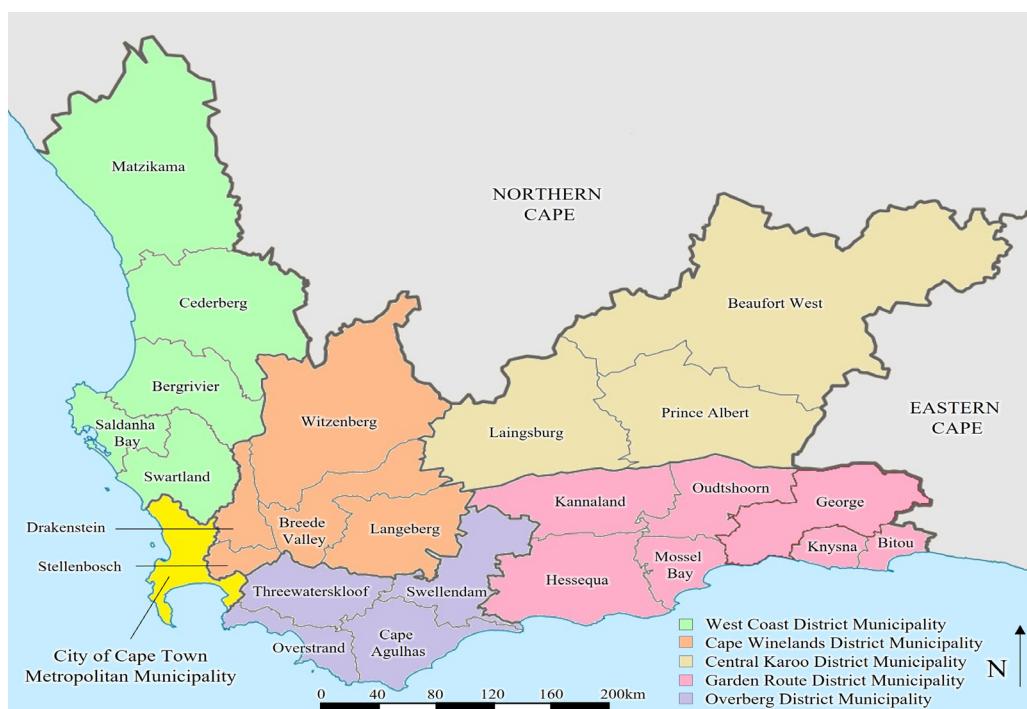
Data collection occurred over a period of six months, from August 2020 to January 2021. Following the emailing of the first part and its submission, subsequent parts were only sent when the previous part had been completed. Follow-up phone calls were made, and emails sent to check on the progress

made by the respondents and to encourage them to submit their questionnaire parts. During the follow-up phone calls informal interviewing was done. Notes were made during these phone calls, transcribed later and pseudonyms assigned to assure anonymity. The transcribed interviews served as information for further assessing a LM's competency regarding the conservation of Grade III resources. Phone calls lasted from five minutes to one hour. A total of seven hours was spent speaking to municipality respondents. Data collection continued until the themes, categories and relationships became saturated as no new information was revealed and municipality respondents were no longer willing to respond.

As suggested by Veldpaus et al. (2013), content analyses of current legislation in each LM, including integrated development plan (IDP), spatial development framework (SDF) and any regulations pertaining to heritage conservation, was also performed. Words and phrases pertaining to heritage conservation were searched for in both IDP and SDP documents. Various themes, categories and relationships emerged throughout the data collection process. Themes such as budget or finances, skills or expertise, insufficient data or outdated information and a lack of knowledge often presented themselves in the form of constraints or restrictions identified by municipality respondents. Regarding relationships between entities, these varied from non-existent to established. Similarities and differences were found among municipality responses, themes, categories and relationships were tabulated and these were categorised accordingly. The characteristics observed were then described to help understand the nature of the conservation of built heritage Grade III resources at local government level. Additional information was obtained from sources in the public realm like Heritage Western Cape (2020) and The Heritage Portal (2020).

RESULTS

The current state of heritage conservation at local municipal level

The questionnaire was extensive, comprising of 187 questions in total, resulting in only 14 (58%) of the 24 municipalities completing the entire questionnaire. To make participation more manageable, the questionnaire was split into four parts, which resulted in varying levels of completeness. Part one has 22/24 (92%) completed, part two has 20/24 (83%) completed, part three has 14/24 (58%) completed and part four has 15/24 (63%) completed. The collected data from each of the phases as well as additional information found in the public realm is discussed below.

There are typically two methods employed when identifying and subsequently protecting built heritage resources, first, by creating a list of resources and, second, by declaring a designated area where resources are located (Tweed & Sutherland, 2007). Similarly, the NHRA provides several tools to enable the management of built heritage resources, by embarking on a survey of potential resources, from which a register can be created, significance assigned, and an appropriated grading allocated (South Africa, 1999).

Each LM was asked if any form of heritage study, whether broad to detailed investigation, was undertaken in their respective municipal area. As practiced in South Africa (1999), a broad heritage study can include surveying (to identify and map resources), grading of resources, inclusion of significance statements, formalisation of registers and designation of precincts. Drakenstein, Hessequa, Knysna, Laingsburg, Langeberg, Mossel Bay, Overstrand, Prince Albert, Saldanha Bay, Stellenbosch, Swartland and Swellendam municipalities all responded with having completed a heritage study within their municipal area. The following municipalities, Beaufort West, Berg River, Bitou, Breede Valley, Cape Agulhas, Cederberg, Kannaland, Matzikama, Oudtshoorn and Witzenberg, all indicated that they did not have a heritage study in their municipal area. George and Theewaterskloof municipalities did not respond to any part of the survey.

It was found that twelve (55%) of the 22 responding municipalities have completed a heritage study, with the majority (83%) focusing on the built environment (Table 1). Nine LMs felt that their heritage studies adequately covered other types of heritage places and not only elements from the built environment. It was reported that three LMs also included landscapes as part of their study, with remaining LMs each including either graves, protected zones, scenic routes, archaeology, shipwrecks or Khoisan heritage as part of their study.

Table 1. Local Municipalities with a heritage study and their respective foci

Municipality	Buildings and structures	Protection zones	Land-scapes	Scenic routes	Archae-ology	Graves	Ship-wrecks	Khoisan heritage	No detail given
Drakenstein									x
Hessequa	x								
Knysna	x								
Laingsburg	x								
Langeberg	x								
Mossel Bay	x								
Overstrand	x	x	x			x	x		
Prince Albert	x								
Saldanha Bay			x	x	x			x	
Stellenbosch	x		x						
Swartland	x								
Swellendam	x								

However, seven of the 12 LMs reported that their heritage studies did not adequately consider prehistoric, pre-colonial, colonial, previously disadvantaged and democratic heritage. Of the 12 municipalities with a heritage study, eight (67%) were unanimous in stating that there was a need to identify, assess and document places of non-colonial significance, archaeological significance and natural significance. Several LMs went on to give more detail, indicating that their study lacked diversity, inclusivity and detail. It was found that eight (67%) of the twelve municipalities agreed that within their currently identified heritage study further investigation was needed which would include identification, assessment and documentation. All 12 municipal respondents were unanimous that there were still information gaps in their studies.

The various reasons given why municipalities had not completed a heritage study in their area were regrouped in four types (Table 2). Lack of funding or insufficient budget was cited by four municipalities. Two LMs indicated that there was a lack of skills and expertise on the matter and one LMs said they had insufficient data to complete a heritage survey. Three LMs were unable to say why a heritage study had not been completed in their geographical area.

Table 2. Reasons for surveyed municipalities not having a heritage study

Municipality	Reasons			
	Limited finances or budget	Skills and expertise lacking	Insufficient data	Reason unknown
Beaufort West			x	
Bergrivier		x		
Bitou	x	x		
Breede Valley	x			
Cape Agulhas				
Cederberg				x
Kannaland				x
Matzikama	x			
Oudtshoorn	x			
Witzenberg				x

As almost half of the LMs in the province indicated that they did not have a heritage study, it was necessary to find out what other methods, if any, are employed for heritage resource protection. A lack of a heritage study does not exclude heritage resources from other protective measures. Such alternative protective measures are listed as follows: statutory protection, local policy development, and appropriate management of resources.

All built heritage resources receive statutory protection from the NHRA if they qualify by being at least 60 years old. Built heritage resources can also enjoy protection, via the NHRA and Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA), if the resource is in a heritage precinct. A designated heritage precinct can come about in two ways in a municipality, either under Section 31 of the NHRA (South Africa 1999) or more recently via a municipal spatial development framework as specified in the SPLUMA (South Africa, 2013). The latter national act stipulates that municipalities are required to create an inclusive zoning scheme as part of their municipal by-laws. Information was found in the public domain to show which municipalities make use of either a protection area or a zoning scheme to safeguard built heritage resources. Table 3 indicates methods used, in addition to the statutory requirements of the NHRA, to protect built heritage resources in their respective municipal areas.

Some LMs respondents reported that their municipality made use of local volunteer groups that would assist with building applications and facilitate communications with the PHRA. It was necessary to determine the methods of support given and needed by LMs regarding heritage conservation and management of local resources. The support categories considered were personnel, planning and advisory capacities within LMs as well as support given by communities via volunteer organisations.

Table 3. Protective measures for heritage resources implemented by local municipalities

Municipality*	Listed in municipal planning scheme	Heritage precinct	Grading	Statement of significance	Awareness of assessment	No response given
Heritage study completed						
Drakenstein		x				
Hessequa			x	x		
Knysna**					x	
Laingsburg			x	x		
Langeberg		x				
Mossel Bay						x
Overstrand	x	x	x	x	x	
Prince Albert						x
Saldanha Bay						x
Stellenbosch	x	x	x	x		
Swartland				x		
Swellendam		x				
No heritage study						
Beaufort West						x
Berg River						x
Bitou						x
Breede Valley					x	
Cape Agulhas			x	x	x	
Cederberg						x
Kannaland					x	
Matzikama						x
Oudtshoorn						x
Witzenberg						x

* George and Theewaterskloof municipalities did not respond to the survey.
** Knysna Municipality respondent indicated that even though there was a heritage study in their area, HWC had not accepted this yet.

Fourteen (58%) of 24 municipalities responded to this part of the survey. It was reported that heritage personnel in the LMs were found to not always occupy the same positions or act in similar capacities. Personnel having direct impact on heritage decisions could work in the town planning or building departments functioning as heritage officers or advisors (of a different directorate) or as members of advisory committees (Table 4). Half of the 14 responding municipalities confirmed that heritage advice was received from either an individual acting as heritage advisor or from an advisory committee. Only six (43%) of the 14 responding municipalities reported that their heritage advisors met the heritage demands of communities and municipal staff. Mossel Bay and Overstrand make use of volunteer heritage committees which provide input when needed and this adequately meets the demands of the communities and municipal staff. It is significant that no district municipality had a heritage advisor.

Table 4. Heritage officers, advisory committees and limitations on creating these positions

Municipality*	Heritage officer	Constraints				Another department or organisation fulfils this	Community heritage advisory committee
		Financial	Human resources	Organisational structure	Knowledge		
Bitou		x		x		x	
Cederberg			x				
Drakenstein	x						x
Kannaland						x	
Matzikama						x	
Mossel Bay					x		x
Oudtshoorn	x						x
Overstrand		x					x
Prince Albert		x	x			x	x
Saldanha Bay	x					x	
Stellenbosch	x						
Swellendam							x
Witzenberg				x			

*Hessequa Municipality did not answer this question.

Several reasons were identified for municipalities not having a heritage officer in their planning department (or any other department). Financial constraints were cited by three municipalities for not having a heritage officer. Lack of capacity, lack of structure and lack of built heritage resources were cited for some municipalities not having a dedicated heritage officer. Several LM respondents indicated that a heritage position fell under another department or directorate. Six (43%) of the 14 municipalities had independent decision-making committees dedicated to heritage applications.

## Community-based organisations within municipal areas

The NHRA makes provision for the inclusion of LMs to integrate heritage conservation within local planning policy and action. Stemming from the framework as set out by SAHRA, Townsend (2004) calls on local communities to assist LMs and provincial governments by forming community-based organisations (CBO), with a heritage focus. Several LMs remarked that they had an established relationship and relied on volunteer organisations within their geographical area. The details of the relationship were also discussed. Several LMs indicated that they include and make use of the community through volunteer organisations regarding heritage conservation. These organisations fulfil partial responsibilities in public office as well as communicating knowledge to the broader communities.

These volunteer, heritage-focused organisations have various structural arrangements, such as community-based organisations (CBOs), non-governmental organisations (NGOs) or non-profit organisations (NPOs) as well as other structures. Nineteen (79%) municipalities have one or more heritage-focused organisations operating in their municipal areas.

Only Cederberg and Kannaland municipalities specifically stated in their response that they did not have an organisation involved in heritage matters operating in their municipal areas. However, investigations found that no organisations of this nature were found in Bergrivier, Laingsburg or Langeberg municipalities either. Thirteen municipalities (Bitou, Breede Valley, Hessequa, Knysna, Matzikama, Mossel Bay, Oudtshoorn, Overstrand, Prince Albert, Saldanha Bay, Stellenbosch, Swartland and Witzenberg) do partner with such organisations to various extents when handling heritage conservation and management matters (Figure 2). Their relationships with their respective heritage organisations were found to be in a broad range from "non-existent" to "constant communication".

However, this does not mean that these organisations work with their LMs. Some organisations are not affiliated with HWC, but this does not imply that they cannot operate with heritage-focused interests. Four municipalities gave reasons for not engaging with private heritage-focused organisations in their areas.

Figure 2. Local municipalities with affiliated conservation bodies of Heritage Western Cape within their jurisdiction
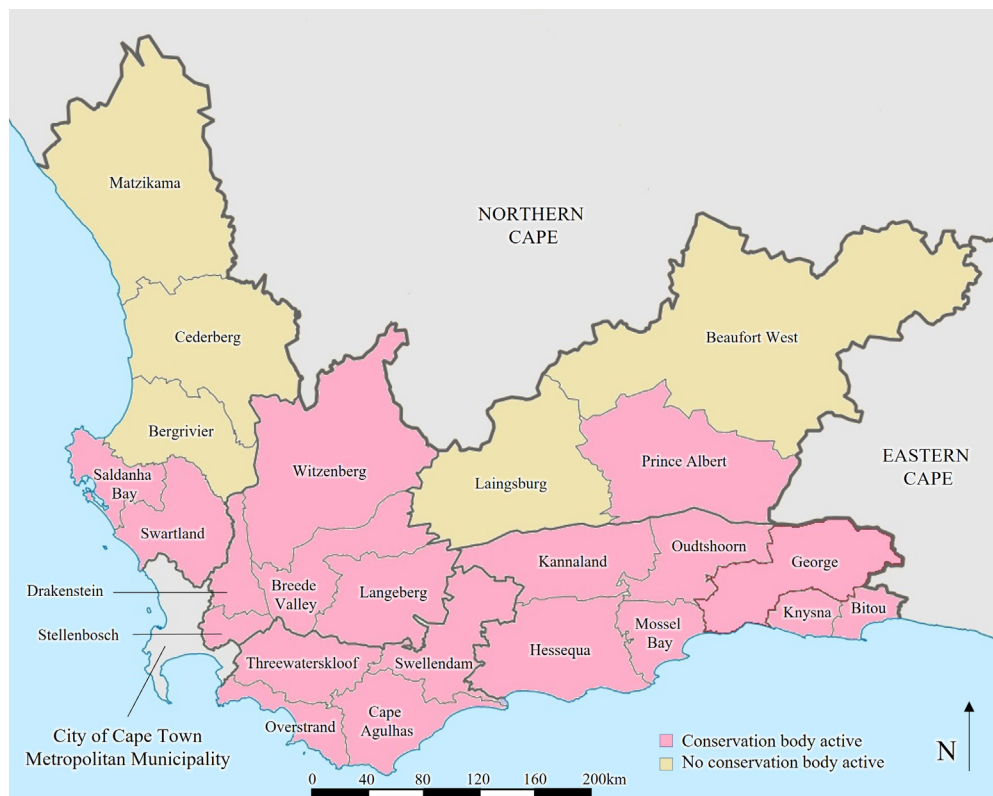
Swellendam Municipality reported having no requests for engagement from any private organisations. They are aware of one or more organisations operating in the area but have not been proactive in connecting with them. Saldanha Bay Municipality is aware of Khoisan groups "but they are not [built] heritage focused" (Saldanha Bay Municipality respondent, 2020) and they do not know of any other organisations in their area. This observation led to the question of what Saldanha Bay Municipality considered to be part of the heritage and worthy of conservation. In the Cape Agulhas Municipal area a heritage committee of private citizens is currently being assembled. Beaufort West Municipality reported that previously there was a committee, but due to the aging of group members, it no longer

existed. Hessequa Municipality cited a lack of resources (time and personnel) for not having engaged with private organisations in the area, but further investigation confirmed that no such organisations were operating in the area.

Cederberg Municipality noted that engagement with heritage-focused organisations was part of a different department, namely the local economic development (LED). Upon inspection of the LED implementation plan (Cederberg Municipality, 2017) no mention of heritage or conservation was found in the document. However, the LED strategy from the previous year mentions diverse resources in the municipal region that have potential for economic gain (Cederberg Municipality, 2016).

Suggested solutions for better resource management

Veldpaus et al. (2013) suggest a progressive movement toward a broader approach in heritage conservation. Specifically in the built environment, there is an increasing importance placed on townscapes, streetscapes and other elements that contribute to the overall experience of users (Rössler, 2000; UNESCO, 2011). As there are changes to how heritage and its conservation are perceived, there are related changes in policy or, at least, indications that policy should change to better suit heritage conservation that is appropriate to changing times. In the current mode, heritage conservation and its relevant authorities are seeing increased pressure not only from increasing urbanisation (Logan, 2012; Zhang & Li, 2016), but also with increasing numbers of heritage-eligible buildings and structures (Donaldson, 2005). The reality of this prediction is now confirmed by HWC where the PHRA has revealed that they are being overwhelmed by volumes of heritage resources applications (Heritage Western Cape, personal communication, 2019). It was reported by Swellendam Municipality respondent (2020) that their communications with the PHRA were jeopardised as HWC was understaffed.

In the wider South African context there is a noticeable disconnect between the national legislation, specifically the NHRA, and the current operations of governmental authorities tasked with heritage conservation. The NHRA makes provision for each level of government to have control over their respective level of built heritage resources. In the cases of local authorities and Grade III heritage buildings, only two municipalities (City of Cape Town and Drakenstein Municipality) in the country have partially gained control of their respective built heritage resources (Jackson et al., 2019) since the promulgation of the NHRA in 1999. This posed the question of what is hindering the devolution of power to the lowest competent authority?

The complex reality of heritage conservation

When looking at the requirements stated by the PHRA and the status quo of local government operations regarding built heritage conservation, many challenges are faced by each authority, which inhibit their ability to successfully protect heritage or exercise any power over it. The four requirements are summarised and then dealt with individually.

First, the NHRA and the PHRA both require that a competent municipality already possesses or has proposed a heritage precinct. The benefits of a heritage precinct are that it allows for protection of heritage resources and development within a demarcated area. Heritage precincts may also incorporate additional rules and regulations to promote heritage and its conservation. When a heritage precinct is established in a municipality, there is a likelihood that it could be expanded (Buchanan & Donaldson, 2020), or additional areas be established resulting in multiple precincts, and without the protection of the context in which a resource is located, the resource becomes vulnerable (Rautenbach et al., 2018).

The second requirement of the PHRA (Meyer, personal communication, 2020) is a LM has either an approved or a proposed inventory of Grade III built heritage resources. Twelve (58%) of the 22 responding LMs in the Western Cape had completed a heritage study that included a heritage register. All the municipalities that had a heritage register admitted shortcomings regarding the completeness of their study or the accuracy of their findings. Some municipalities were more successful as five indicated completion of grading and six indicated significance statements for local heritage resources. Eight municipalities were unanimous about their requiring further identification, assessment and documentation of Grade III heritage resources.

A third requirement of the PHRA to deem a local authority competent is the availability of personnel for administrative tasks. The fourth requirement set by the PHRA is that a LM must have an independent decision-making committee that determines the outcomes of heritage applications made. Only six (25%) of the 24 LMs had an organisation like this at their disposal. This is a significant finding as the majority of LMs did not have the ability to make decisions on heritage applications, therefore matters are reverted to the PHRA for decision.

Competency rating of local municipalities

What first appeared to be a simple checkbox exercise turned out to be more complex as LMs did not always have information readily available, resulting in further research. Each of the four requirements identified for heritage capability and competency was allocated a weighting of 25%, therefore indicating that 100% has competence and capability for authority of local heritage resources. The exercise established that of the 24 LMs studied in the Western Cape, only two (Drakenstein and Prince Albert) fulfilled all the criteria set by the NHRA and the PHRA (Table 5). The other municipalities may be able to fulfil the requirements with a few adjustments. The goal of the research was to establish the capability and competency of each local government in the Western Cape regarding conservation and management of Grade III heritage resources in respective municipal areas. The assessment helps to better understand the future challenges (increasing volumes of local heritage assets, limitations of finances, personnel and information) faced by local government for the future of heritage conservation within the province.

Five LMs (Mossel Bay, Oudtshoorn, Overstrand, Stellenbosch and Swellendam) obtain 75%. Only Oudtshoorn Municipality lacks an approved or proposed heritage inventory. Drawing on experiences from other LMs, Oudtshoorn Municipality could issue a call to local communities to assist with the

identification, assessment and documentation of local heritage resources. Three LMs do not have heritage personnel, this could be remedied in various ways. First, LMs could call on community members with knowledge and experience in the field of heritage conservation to assist, this could be on a volunteer basis, or a budget could be made available to assist with costs. Second, Mossel Bay Municipality does not have heritage personnel, but could come to an agreement with a neighbouring LM and share resources. Overstrand and Swellendam municipalities both do not have heritage personnel; they too could call on the local community to assist them, or they could appoint a heritage officer to be shared between the two LMs. Stellenbosch Municipality does not have a decision-making committee, again, the LM could make use of the community, such as existing heritage-focused organisations, to fulfil this role.

Table 5. Rating of municipalities for meeting the requirements for of capability and competency

Municipality	Heritage precinct*	Heritage inventory**	Heritage personnel	Decision-making Committee	Total weighting
Drakenstein	x	x	x	x	100
Prince Albert	x	x	x	x	100
Mossel Bay	x	x		x	75
Oudtshoorn	x		x	x	75
Overstrand	x	x		x	75
Stellenbosch	x	x	x		75
Swellendam	x	x		x	75
Laingsburg	x	x			50
Langeberg	x	x			50
Saldanha Bay	x	x			50
Swartland	x	x			50
Beaufort West	x				25
Breede Valley	x				25
Cape Agulhas	x				25
George	x				25
Hessequa		x			25
Kannaland	x				25
Knysna		x			25
Theewaterskloof	x				25
Witzenberg	x				25
Bergrivier					0
Bitou					0
Cederberg					0
Matzikama					0

*Requirements by HWC indicates approved or proposed heritage precinct
**Requirements by HWC indicates approved or proposed heritage register

Four LMs (Laingsburg, Langeberg, Saldanha Bay and Swartland) obtain 50%, all lacking heritage personnel and decision-making committees. Similarly, these LMs could bolster their ability to handle the conservation of local heritage resources in various ways. The position of heritage personnel could be filled by calling on community members with knowledge and experience in the field of heritage

conservation to assist. This could be on a volunteer basis, or a budget could be made to assist with costs. Neighbouring LMs or those of the same district municipality could share heritage personnel and resources when appointing an appropriate heritage officer between the two LMs. All four LMs did not have decision-making committees. Saldanha Bay and Swartland municipalities both have heritage-focused organisations operating in their respective municipal areas and could approach these organisations to assist. No volunteer heritage-focused organisations were found to be operating in Laingsburg and Langeberg municipalities, therefore making this option not viable. However, each LM could partner with other more established LMs in their district municipality and share resources to solve this problem.

The above-mentioned adjustments and recommendations are ideas that LMs could implement, they could be used as temporary until LMs are able to have approved registers, fulfil personnel positions and have permanent decision-making committees. By comparison, the other 13 municipalities that scored 0–25% still have a long way to go. Ten of these LMs have volunteer heritage-focused organisations operating in their respective municipal areas and there is a possibility to include communities in the establishment of heritage precincts, heritage areas, heritage personnel and heritage decision-making committees for the conservation of local heritage resources.

Figure 3. Levels of competency of local municipalities in the Western Cape to deal with built heritage resources
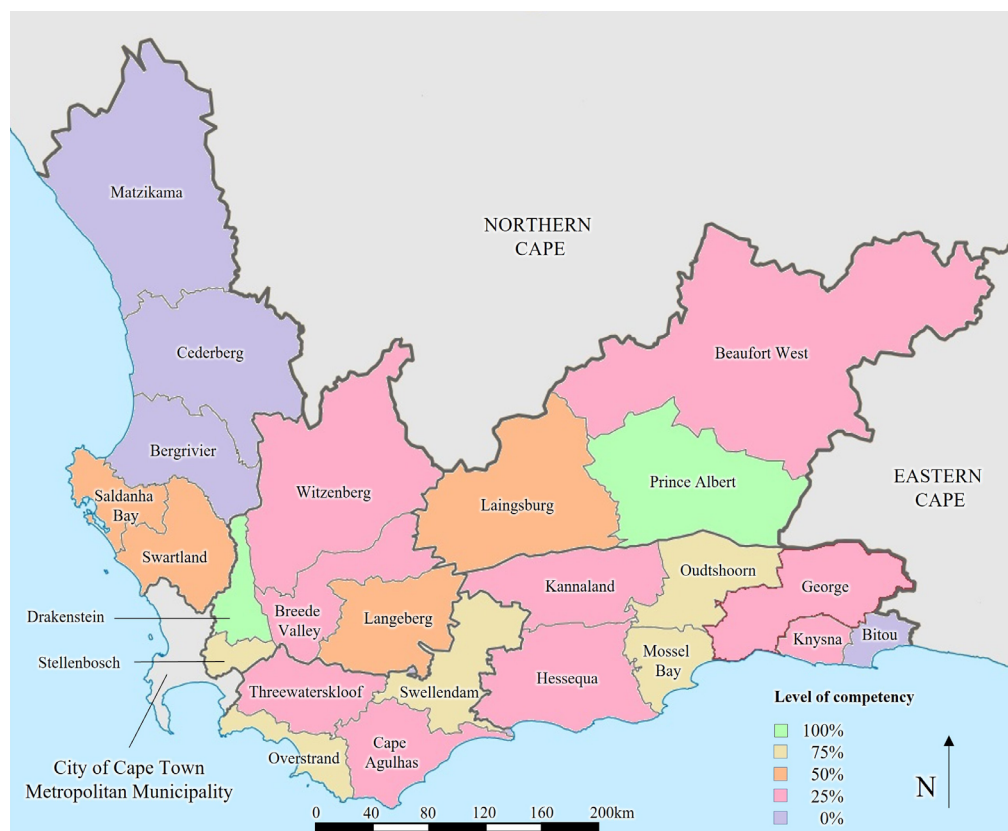
The tabled findings indicate rating of municipalities for meeting the requirements for capability and competency were mapped in Figure 3 to better demonstrate the distribution of the levels of competency of LMs in the Western Cape to deal with built heritage resources. This research has nevertheless

identified the LMs that are likely to be successful in gaining heritage competency. Moreover, this exercise was also able to identify municipalities that show promise for gaining competency with some outside assistance. Various challenges and constraints were identified regarding municipalities that are not able to meet the prerequisite heritage competency criteria. In subsections that follow a summary of how LMs faired with each requirement issued by HWC in accordance with the NHRA is presented. According to Table 5 and Figure 3, only two LMs are eligible for heritage competency. They are closely followed by five LMs that have met three of the four requirements and four have met two. It is telling that most of the LMs lack either heritage personnel or a heritage decision-making committee. As previously shown in Figure 2, the majority (79%) of LMs have volunteer heritage-focused organisations operating in their areas. The lack of personnel and committees can be remedied by LMs reaching out to and/or forming public-private partnerships with heritage-focused organisations, so allowing LMs to potentially gain control and better manage their local heritage resources.

In addition to the set criteria of the NHRA and PHRA, some LMs have gone further than required to gain the mandate of local heritage authority by relying heavily on their communities to identify, assess and document Grade III heritage resources. But in doing so information was made less readily available to the public than it could or should have been. This with other constraints hinder LMs in promoting heritage awareness and result in lost opportunities for communicating and connecting with their local communities on heritage matters.

Considering only two of a potential 24 LMs showed evidence to be heritage competent, several recommendations would provide a variety of opportunities for progress towards competency. Given their varying circumstances, LMs could find suitable modes to gain authority of their respective local heritage resources. However, while the focus of these recommendations is primarily for LMs and their potential partners, they are not limited to these entities. Furthermore, the PHRA should put into motion efforts to either decentralise its current heritage conservation and management operations or allow for a devolution of power to LMs to take place. It is also recommended that heritage-focused volunteer organisations take a strong positioning in heritage conservation and that LMs make use of this resource as it is readily available. By forming lasting partnerships with organisations LMs can make a stronger presence in the public eye and make heritage more inclusive, as in line with the intentions set out in the NHRA (South Africa, 1999).

CONCLUSIONS

The status quo in the Western Cape is that the PHRA has power over all Grade III heritage resources as no LM has yet been deemed competent, with the exceptions of the City of Cape Town (metropolitan municipality) and Drakenstein Municipality. But it is noteworthy that these authorities have only been granted partial competency. For South Africans to fully benefit from and enjoy their heritage resources it is unquestionably necessary to implement that which the NHRA set out to achieve over two decades ago. This research has indicated that the PHRA must either decentralise its current operations to successfully conserve heritage resources or devolve its power. The latter opinion is what

the Act stipulates and is strongly supported by the findings of this research. However, the Act does state that anybody can be designated, provided they fulfil the requirements. This would allow this function to either be outsourced to a private entity (such as an individual, company or organisation) or an established LM can partner with another to share resources. It is possible for district municipalities to take on some of these roles, especially for smaller LMs which cannot justify spending resources in this field.

By meeting the requirements set by the NHRA sections 30(11) and 31(7) of the Act as well as further conditions made mandatory by the PHRA, three substantial benefits will be realised for all parties involved. First, LMs gain control over their Grade III built heritage resources. Second, HWC's have pressure lifted off them through reduced workloads and the option to focus resources elsewhere. And third, but probably most important, the communities to which these resources belong, would have direct access to them and reap benefits from them. This brings this study back to the point of departure, that heritage conservation as part of the cultural landscape, is present, never finished and "always remains in a state of becoming" (Todeschini, 2011).

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No Room for Modesty in Heritage Significance: The Case of Dennesig in Stellenbosch, South Africa

ABSTRACT

Significance and authenticity are two key concepts that run through the practice of urban heritage conservation. When combined, they form a powerful tool within a value-based system that ensures the preservation and continued use of historic places. Stellenbosch, being the second oldest town in South Africa, holds great importance as a historic town. However, several historic suburbs have experienced processes of redevelopment, studentification, and gentrification over the past decade, resulting in their deterioration. But what happens when the unique heritage character of a place is considered insignificant by developers, heritage practitioners, architects, and the local authority? This paper focuses on the Dennesig neighborhood in Stellenbosch, where the broader context of modest heritage significance has been neglected and erased from historical records due to poorly conceived planning, urban design, and mismanagement of heritage resources. The argument put forth in this paper is that in order to evaluate a specific case study site, one must consider the complexities of broader heritage and urban planning processes. This understanding is crucial to comprehend the factors that have shaped the current context and the eventual significance attributed to a particular place, setting, or townscape.

Keywords: authenticity, built heritage resources, modest heritage, heritage conservation areas, heritage significance

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INTRODUCTION

The field of heritage conservation in the built environment has witnessed substantial advancements since the drafting of the Charters of Athens in 1931 and the Charters of Venice in 1964. Today, there exists a widespread consensus regarding the definition of heritage as a social ensemble that encompasses various complex and interdependent manifestations, reflecting the culture of a human community (Luxen, 2004, para. 8). The focus of discourse has evolved from inquiries about "how to conserve" to inquiries about "why conserve" and "for whom to conserve." International conventions and charters have played a pivotal role in establishing a consistent understanding of built heritage, both on a global scale and within South Africa. An integral component of this framework is the concept of place identity, which refers to the unique and distinctive characteristics defining a specific location and the emotional, cultural, and psychological connections people forge with that place (Relph, 1976). Place identity exerts a significant influence on historical sites, shaping how individuals and communities interact with and assign value to these locations. Place identity assumes a critical role in the preservation and conservation of historical sites. Local communities and heritage organizations frequently champion the protection of these sites due to their cultural and historical significance. Consequently, preservation efforts are directed toward maintaining the authenticity and integrity of historical sites, ensuring the preservation of their place identity for future generations (Uzell, 1996).

Significance and authenticity are key considerations in heritage resource management. When combined, they form a powerful tool in a value-based system that ensures the preservation and continued use of historic places (Townsend, 2017). The Venice Charter emphasizes the importance of the geographic setting and recognizes the significance of contributions from all periods in shaping the character of a building or an area. Therefore, protecting the built environment heritage entails more than safeguarding individual houses, structures, and landscapes. As stated in the charter of the US/ICOMOS Committee on Historic Towns, significant features of a historic town include the historical development patterns that have emerged over time (Committee on Historic Towns, US/ICOMOS, 1992). Of particular relevance to this paper is the international recognition, particularly during the 1970s, of including modest historical dwellings and farmhouses in inventories of built heritage, preservation practices, and conservation efforts (Schädler-Saub, 2015). The focus has shifted from individual sites to a larger scale, encompassing the protection of groups of historical buildings and urban structures, known as historical sites. This shift has given rise to an expanded concept of built heritage that embraces modest historical buildings (Schädler-Saub, 2015). Modest heritage can encompass various aspects, such as buildings of modest scale, unlisted structures, buildings with a modest architectural character, and heritage buildings with low monetary value (often due to their location and lack of official listing). In the context of this paper, the term "modest architectural heritage" refers to buildings, structures, or sites that may not exhibit grand or elaborate designs but are esteemed for their historical, cultural, or social significance. These architectural works often represent the everyday built environment of a specific period or community and may be associated with ordinary people, vernacular traditions, or distinct local contexts. The importance of modest

architectural heritage lies in its ability to provide insights into past lifestyles and socioeconomic conditions.

The Burra Charter, which emphasizes the preservation of cultural and environmental value, reveals a gap in local conservation practices in relation to international standards. According to Hobson (2001), the issue lies in the interpretation of conservation and its value within the context of urban development, particularly with regards to the effectiveness and guiding principles of conservation planning by local planning authorities. While it is essential to incorporate cultural heritage into urban planning for the purpose of building sustainable cities (Larkham, 1988; Pendlebury, 2002, 2013; Sykes & Ludwig, 2015; Tait & While, 2009; Thomas, 2018; Hobson, 2001; Cheong & Fong, 2018), there are concerns regarding the definition and implementation of culture within global policies such as the New Urban Agenda and Sustainable Development Goals. These approaches may have unintended consequences when applied to African cities (Sitas, 2020). The rapid process of urbanization has resulted in the marginalization of urban heritage amidst the development agenda, overshadowing the value placed on it by previous generations (Erkan, 2018, p. 82). In a South African context, the study of Buchanan (2021) affirms this weakness. In many cases, urban heritage faces the risk of unnecessary losses when the survival of its individual components is dependent on their integration within the larger urban context. This is particularly evident when culturally significant historic cores of towns and cities become the focal point of significant changes or redevelopment pressures, without adequate proactive policies in place to address and counterbalance those pressures (Ripp & Rodwell, 2015).

As per Turner (2018), the division between urban heritage and development must be addressed by implementing the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) approach which emphasizes the role of culture in facilitating sustainable development (UNESCO Culture Sector, 2018). Cultural landscapes are crucial in this regard (Pentz & Albert, 2023). Considering that heritage is now recognized as being shaped by and the responsibility of local communities, it is important to highlight the broader urban connections and associations outlined in the 2011 UNESCO Recommendation on the HUL. HUL emphasizes the importance of applying a landscape approach to incorporate cultural heritage policies and management considerations into broader objectives of sustainable urban development (Ginzarly, Houbart & Teller, 2019; Rey-Pérez & Pereira Roders, 2020; Bandarin, 2019). This goes beyond focusing solely on static, academically defined intrinsic values. Coupled with this, in order to foster a shared understanding of heritage and its related objectives, the participation of local communities is crucial. To maximize the potential benefits, it is essential to identify and involve all stakeholders in shaping the actions taken (Ripp & Rodwell, 2016).

Significance determines everything in heritage resource management. According to Townsend (2017) no planning or design work can be considered before an assessment of the cultural significance has been articulated and agreed on. As will be shown in the paper, the case study has however proven the contrary. Townsend further proposes that significance can only be established through research and consultation with many parties. In addition, the protective measures suggested must be proportionate to significance (the higher the significance the greater care, the lower the significance, heritage can be enhanced or sacrificed). Therefore, different types of significance demand different protective

measures (Townsend, 2017). Furthermore, Townsend (2017, p. 12) argues that "the significances of heritage are affected by questions regarding the authenticity of the relic, building, site, place, cultural landscape/townscape and/or environment in question." Whereas location refers to the specific place where a property was built, setting refers to the character of the place in which the property played its historical role (it is the physical environment of a historic property). It involves how, not just where, the property is situated (Alho et al., n.d.). The concept of authenticity was originally used in a museum context but has since then been used in broader contexts such as places, buildings, material culture, as well as experiences (Wood, 2020; Alberts & Hazen, 2010; Di Giovine, 2008). By combining heritage and authenticity it is important that heritage resources must be worthy of preservation since they have cultural and historical value (Harrison, 2020). It is about their "presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be" and it is about their "unique existence" (Di Giovine, 2008: 26).

In South Africa, there has been a scarcity of scholarship addressing the interconnected themes of heritage, urban conservation and planning (Donaldson, 2005). Existing studies tend to primarily focus on the link between urban tourism planning and heritage (Van der Merwe & Rogerson, 2018). The preservation of urban heritage in South Africa encounters significant challenges due to the dynamic nature of cities and the historical legacies of colonialism and apartheid. Moreover, obstacles such as urban form, limited political will, implementation difficulties, and a challenging socio-economic context further impede urban heritage conservation in the country (Donaldson, 2001, 2005; Bakker, 2003; Donaldson & Williams, 2005; McLachlan, 2009; Townsend, 2017; Buchanan, 2021).

This paper explores the intricate relationship between development and conservation, using the Dennesig suburb in Stellenbosch as a significant case study of a historic town. The primary focus of the paper is to examine the "application" and "effectiveness" of heritage legislation while emphasizing the importance of often overlooked "modest" heritage resources in early twentieth-century suburban environments. The argument presented in the paper emphasizes that a comprehensive evaluation of a specific case study site necessitates an understanding of the broader heritage and planning processes that have influenced its context and ascribed significance to the place, setting, and townscape. Therefore, the paper aims to advocate for the consideration of the significance of modest heritage resources in heritage resource management and broader urban development practices, highlighting the missed opportunity in the case of Dennesig.

METHODS

This case study aims to document the destruction of a heritage suburb in Stellenbosch. The research heavily relies on archival materials to piece together the process that unfolded in the changing geography of the suburb since the 1980s. Three sets of data collection were conducted for this study.

Firstly, gathering information to accurately map the shifting boundaries of the designated official heritage conservation area(s) was essential. This involved understanding how and when these boundaries changed and assessing whether the proposed developments in Dennesig aligned with official

policies. Relevant documents were obtained from the archives of two community heritage watchdog organizations (Stellenbosch Interest and Stellenbosch Heritage Foundation), as well as from the town museum and municipality, to reconstruct and map the process of demarcating historical areas in Stellenbosch.

Secondly, mapping the spatio-temporal changes in the suburbs from 1980 onwards was crucial to illustrate the periods of land use transformation resulting from new student apartment developments. Cape Farm Mapper, an interactive source that maintains records of title deeds, was used to map the extent of these developments. This enabled the compilation and mapping of a timeline that encompassed all the changes over time.

Lastly, the paper focuses on the first major development that potentially initiated the transformation of the entire suburb, known as the Boschen Park development. Information regarding development applications, heritage assessments, and approved development plans was sourced from the developer, municipal officials, and a town planning firm. Permission was obtained from the Body Corporate of the complex to access the municipality's files related to the houses that were demolished for the Boschen Park development. Former residents were located through word of mouth, and interviews were conducted with representatives from the two heritage watchdog organizations, the Stellenbosch Municipality's urban planning department, and developers involved in Dennesig developments. Additionally, heritage reports submitted to the provincial heritage authority were sourced for further information.

RESULTS

Stellenbosch has been consistently identified as having the highest potential for growth in non-metropolitan Western Cape province in two consecutive studies (Donaldson, 2012). Over the past decade, the town has transitioned from being predominantly known as a university town to being recognized as one of the country's 21 secondary cities (Marais et al., 2016). Consequently, the local economy has shifted from its traditional agricultural and educational foundation to focus on specialized service sectors, including finance, business, tourism, and science and technology (Donaldson, 2020). Being a historically significant town in the country, Stellenbosch has faced development pressures resulting from changes in its geography, leading to severe impacts on its heritage-built environment. Concerns are growing regarding the loss of the town's historic sense of place, exemplified by the placeless approach of mass development, specifically in the form of student accommodation. The Stellenbosch Spatial Development Framework (SDF) consistently emphasizes the goal of preserving the architectural, historical, scenic, and cultural character of the settlements, structures, and areas (CNdV Africa, 2009). However, the concept of a sense of place has diminished in certain parts of Stellenbosch over the past decade, raising doubts about the preservation of authenticity and integrity in contemporary conservation practices. The Dennesig suburb serves as a prime example of this situation.

Dennesig, a modest historic suburb

Stellenbosch was established in 1679 by Governor Simon van der Stel in the Dutch Cape Colony, and it holds historical significance as the country's second colonial settlement (Donaldson, 2020). One of the notable historical features in the Dennesig suburb is the old Kromme Rivier farmstead, which was granted to Jan Jansz van Eeden in 1683. Among the houses, one still possesses the sole remaining pre-1790 Baroque-style central gable in Stellenbosch (Figure 1) (Fransen, 2004). These structures were recorded on General Plan A as the only buildings in the area when the suburb of Dennesig was surveyed in 1929 and declared as Kromme Rivier Township A and B in 1931 and 1932, respectively (Figures 2a, 2b) – the town's second suburb. This specific block, bounded by Hofman, Molteno, Paul Kruger, and Bird streets, was divided into seven plots.

Figure 1. Photo of Baroque gable

Photo: Author, 2023

Dennesig is widely acknowledged as a modest suburb, characterized by both the architectural style of its buildings and the relatively lower monetary value of its properties. In comparison to the first suburb of Stellenbosch (Mosterstdrift) and subsequent new developments during the mid-century, the houses in Dennesig were noticeably smaller. During the Segregation City era (1923–1950), cities in South Africa followed a specific pattern of development (Lemon, 2021). Dennesig was established adjacent to the mixed area of Die Vlakte, which served as Stellenbosch's version of District Six (a predominantly coloured residential area where residents were forcefully relocated from their houses to make way for white occupancy due to apartheid legislation). According to the Segregation City model, lower-income white housing was situated close to industrial sectors or major transportation routes such as railways and roads. Over time, Dennesig functioned as a buffer between the middle and high-income areas, the central business district, and the black township in the apartheid city. It was during this period that Dennesig was established as the town's first lower-middle income suburb exclusively for white residents. In subsequent years, the suburb attracted professionals, academics, and

individuals from the creative class as a preferred residential location. The properties had considerably lower value primarily due to their location, acting as a buffer between the black township and the rest of the town following the implementation of the Group Areas Act of 1950, which enforced racial segregation in residential areas. Unfortunately, the significance of such spatial formations in South African cities and their impact on our urban landscapes is often overlooked in heritage assessments.

Figure 2. Kromme Rivier Township A and B (later renamed Dennesig suburb)
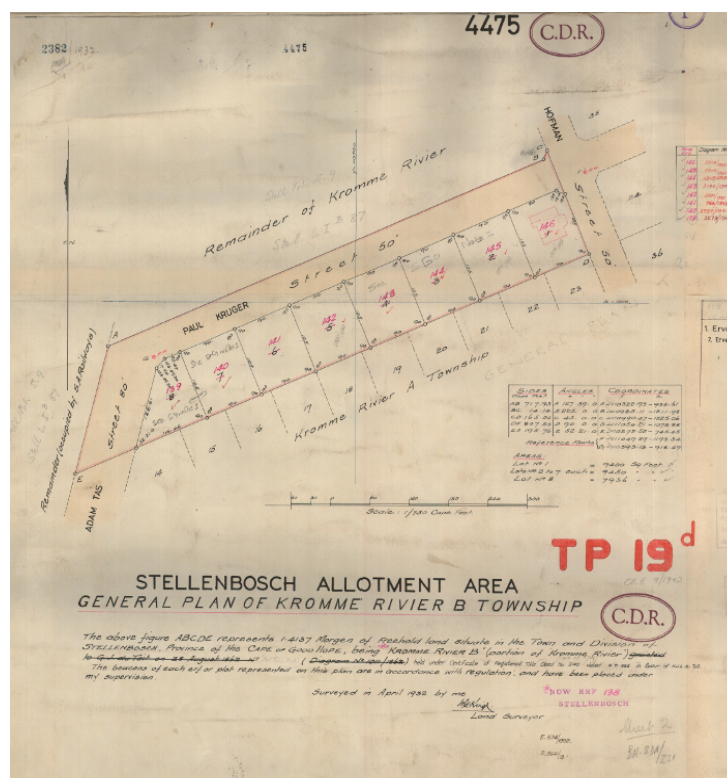
Source: Cape Farm Mapper, n.d.

Due to space limitations within this paper, a comprehensive analysis and evaluation of the heritage resources in Dennesig cannot be provided. Therefore, the following is a concise overview of the heritage context and value of this suburb. A heritage audit conducted in 2017 revealed that 46% of

the properties in Dennesig were over 60 years old, meeting the classification of heritage resources according to the National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA) (Buchanan & Donaldson, 2020). Architecturally, Dennesig showcased modesty and presented a diverse range of styles prevalent between the two World Wars. These styles included Art Deco, Arts and Crafts, Victorian, and Cape Dutch Revival. Many houses in Dennesig were built in the Arts and Crafts style, characterized by hipped roofs with red tiles or gabled ends adorned with decorative elements. Additionally, during the 1960s, modest modernist-styled houses were introduced. Postlethwayt's assessment (2018) highlights that the houses in Dennesig were modest in their architectural design, utilizing simple brick and plaster materials. They were generally smaller in size and often featured an open relationship with the street. Figures 3–4 provide illustrative examples of this eclectic blend of architectural styles.

Figure 3. a) Red-tiled, hipped roof, single-storey home in Dennesig,
b) Single-storey home with gable end in Dennesig

Photo: Author, 2020

Figure 4. a) 1930s perfectly intact house with stepped archways, rusticated columns, and stepped windows which are unique and original, b) Art deco inspired house

Source: a) Author, 2020; b) Google Earth Streetview
Note: One of only three properties listed in the municipal inventory, demolished in 2021

In many cases, modest suburbs and houses are often associated with speculative housing. However, it is important to note that while one heritage practitioner, Snelling (2008), claims that the historical houses in Dennesig were primarily speculative housing, Postlethwayt's (2018) investigation of

historical ownership records in the Deeds Office found little evidence of speculative development. The properties in Dennesig were primarily developed by their first owners and subsequently sold to individuals, usually in no more than two lots. These properties remained under relatively stable ownership, often for extended periods, likely serving as family homes passed down to family members or through deceased estates.

According to Section 3(3) of the NHRA, the significance of a place is determined by the value it contributes to the overall historical pattern. The establishment of Dennesig as one of the earliest suburbs in Stellenbosch holds great significance, not just from a historical standpoint but also within the socio-spatial-cultural context. In the following section, a concise examination of the delineation of heritage areas in Stellenbosch will shed light on the reasons behind the neglect of Dennesig as a valued heritage area. Despite the perfectly intact original layout and historic houses remaining unchanged since the construction of the first houses in the early 1930s, Dennesig has regrettably been overlooked in terms of its official designation as a heritage area under NHRA Section 31. As a consequence, starting from the 1990s, some properties in Dennesig began to undergo rezoning for high-density apartment developments, primarily catering to student housing. This shift in zoning and development purposes introduced a change in residential stability (Kruger & Donaldson, 2020; Buchanan & Donaldson, 2020). It is worth noting that these changes occurred for various reasons, prompting a departure from the previous pattern of stable ownership and traditional residential use, resulting in the demise of a heritage suburb.

Demarcating historical areas in Stellenbosch

Heritage conservation acts play a crucial role in governing the rights and responsibilities of the state, local government authorities, and owners of cultural resources (Tintěraa et al., 2018). Demarcating heritage conservation areas is a planning method used to safeguard cultural heritage by defining specific perimeters or zones where strategies are implemented to restore and protect historically significant buildings, sites, or designated areas (Steenkamp, 2021). These areas encompass both public and private properties and recognize the broader physical and historical context of importance and authenticity in which heritage resources are situated. Heritage conservation areas typically have additional rules and regulations governing construction and renovations, often requiring licensed specialists to develop plans and adhere to specific conditions (Graham et al., 2000). The specifics of these regulations vary from city to city (Pickard, 2002). The adoption of heritage conservation areas has connected proactive preservation with the spatial planning process (Dameria et al., 2018). The preservation of the historic environment has therefore been significantly influenced by the planning of contemporary cities (Pendlebury & Strange, 2011).

The practice of urban conservation in South Africa dates back to the 1970s. In 1979, Cape Town became the first authority to incorporate principles of conserving the built environment into their planning controls, although these principles were officially included in the zoning scheme only in 1990 (Kruger-Roos, 1997). Stellenbosch followed a similar trajectory, initially demarcating a historic core in the 1970s without legislative backing. To fully comprehend the decline of Dennesig as a histo-

rical suburb, it is necessary to explore the process of demarcating historical areas in Stellenbosch. The town's first "official" heritage area was the 1990 Structure Plan, which was developed in accordance with the Land Use Planning Ordinance (LUPO) of 1985, the prevailing legislation at the time. The historical development and layout of Stellenbosch leading up to 1990 are extensively documented in the initial volume of this Structure Plan. To manage development control, an Ethics Committee was established to provide guidance to the Council on matters related to the built environment. Regulations were proclaimed in the 1996 Town Planning Scheme, and the heritage area map from that year closely resembled the demarcation outlined in the 1990 Structure Plan. Figure 5 illustrates the evolving boundaries of the urban heritage core over time.

Figure 5. Shifting boundaries of the heritage core
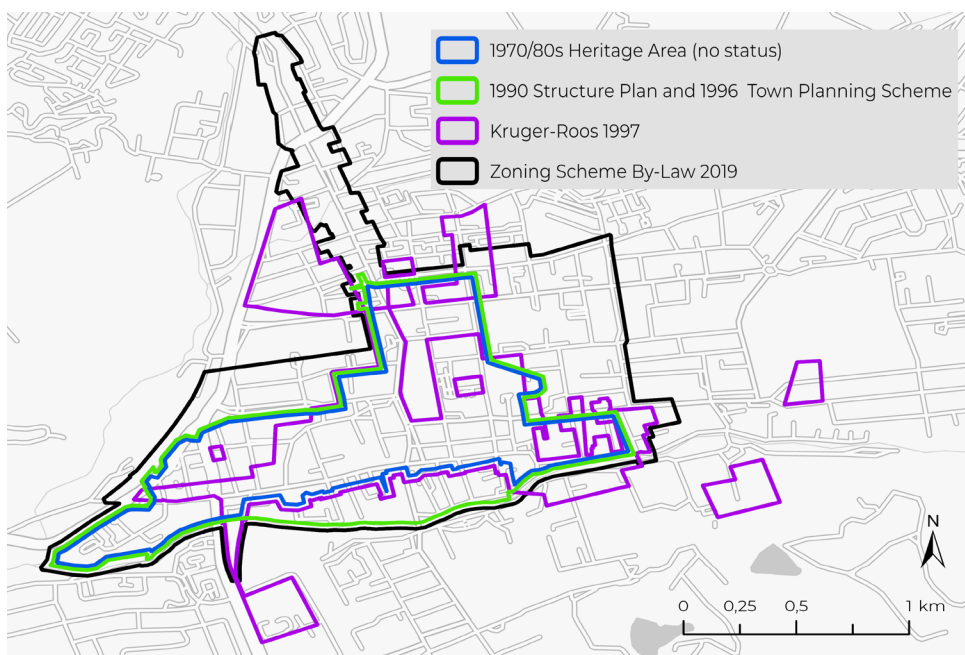
Source: Author

However, due to the lack of clear heritage conservation guidelines, the Stellenbosch Municipality sought the assistance of consultants Kruger-Roos in 1997 (coincidentally during the drafting of the NHRA) to prepare a document called *Conservation Strategy Development Guidelines* (Kruger-Roos, 1997) specifically for the historical core. This report highlighted the Council must collaborate with the National Monuments Council to present a proposal for the demarcation of a conservation area in central Stellenbosch and the implementation of protective by-laws for the area. The proposed conservation area comprised three sections, with the historical core encompassing the largest number of significant structures, buildings, and landscapes. According to the report, the conservation of these elements was deemed non-negotiable. In October 1997, the municipal council officially adopted the guidelines. For the first time, the inclusion of the Dennesig suburb in the historic core was based on a comprehensive conservation plan and well-researched information, acknowledging its heritage significance structures (Figure 5).

Local government in South Africa has the legal authority to contribute to the protection of cultural heritage resources through various means, including by-laws, planning instruments, and local policies (Donaldson, 2005; Steenkamp, 2021). The Constitution, together with the NHRA and environmental legislation like the National Environmental Management Act, indicate that local government has a definite role in safeguarding and managing heritage resources (Steenkamp, 2021, p. 3). The demarcation of heritage areas is accounted for in section 31 of the NHRA. It is the responsibility of all municipalities to compile and submit an inventory of heritage resources within their jurisdiction when developing or revising their planning, zoning schemes, or spatial development frameworks (SDFs). Section 34 of the NHRA protects all structures older than 60 years and any demolition or alterations need a permit issued by the relevant provincial heritage resources authority. After the enactment of the NHRA, Boden (2001, p. 10) raised the following questions "What specific types of conservation do [South African] local planners aim to promote? Should the focus be on preserving individual buildings or safeguarding the remaining intact historic urban areas?" He then claimed that in relatively secluded settlements where capitalist development poses minimal or no threat, the emphasis will be on the broader historic urban areas. Unfortunately, that was not the sole approach adopted by the Stellenbosch Municipality. The NHRA presented an opportune moment for the municipality to declare the Kruger-Roos heritage conservation area. However, due to tumultuous circumstances in the early 2000s, the town had to wait until the late 2010s for this to come to fruition.

During the early 2000s, Stellenbosch's local government underwent significant changes. According to Seethal (2005), the Democratic Alliance (DA), which held political power in Stellenbosch, pursued material success for the middle class, co-opted senior municipal officials, and maintained exclusive enclaves that perpetuated uneven development and socio-spatial differentiation, effectively marginalizing the African National Congress (ANC), nationally, the ruling party since 1994. In October 2002, after the political floor crossing, the ANC-New National Party (NNP) alliance gained a political majority in the Stellenbosch Municipality, displacing the DA. Consequently, the municipality transitioned from a mayor-councillor system to an executive mayor-committee system. As Seethal argues (2005), this change marked a new trajectory for local politics in Stellenbosch, with implications for place-making. In contrast, the ANC sought alliances in opposition to the dominant single vision of the city. It mobilized around social and welfare issues and economic justice, challenging the power of the municipal elite with support from provincial and national leadership (Seethal, 2005). The restructuring of the executive mayoral committee resulted in key divisions being reorganized, effectively cutting off communication between opposition councillors and municipal department heads. This restructuring created uncertainty among senior officials, many of whom held contract appointments, as their contracts could be compromised if they did not align with the dictates of the ANC-NNP alliance (Seethal, 2015, p. 147). Consequently, a planning and policy vacuum emerged, impacting heritage management and planning as well. As a result of these political and administrative changes, the proclamation of the heritage conservation area and other related initiatives faced delays, leading to a period of uncertainty and stagnation in heritage management and planning in Stellenbosch (Donaldson & Morkel, 2012).

Over the subsequent two decades after the adoption of the Kruger-Roos guidelines, the municipality took a fragmented approach to housing developments within the heritage core, particularly those related to student accommodation (Donaldson et al., 2014). In 2012, the Stellenbosch Municipality made updates to the zoning scheme overlay, stipulating that the zoning scheme would permit development within the heritage area overlay zone, now referred to as the urban heritage conservation area (UHCA) of Stellenbosch, on the condition that it respected and preserved the physical aspects of the heritage area (Figure 6). The UHCA provides protection through a special zoning scheme, which requires any modifications or alterations to the built environment to undergo thorough examination by a special committee and obtain approval from the Council. The updated zoning scheme defined heritage conservation as allowing development that harmonized with and made the best use of the aesthetic of the historical built environment (Nicks, 2013). Regrettably, Dennesig has been excluded from the UHCA, despite the fact that the municipality still refers to and applies the Kruger-Roos report as a definitive guideline for heritage practice.

In 2015, the Stellenbosch Municipal Land Use Planning by-law came into effect, replacing the previous Land Use Planning Ordinance (LUPO). This by-law incorporated certain requirements of the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA) and the Western Cape Land Use Planning Act (LUPA), both of which took effect on 1 December 2015. With the passing of the zoning scheme by-law in 2019, it became evident that Dennesig, despite its historical significance, would be transformed into a suburb primarily dedicated to student accommodation (Buchanan & Donaldson, 2020). By that time, the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) for 2017–2022 had prioritized redefining the suburb as a densification zone, proposing the construction of six-story apartment blocks for residential living (Stellenbosch Municipality, 2017), which marked the death knell for the historic suburb, signalling its irreversible change.

Figure 6. Heritage conservation area according to the updated zoning scheme 2012
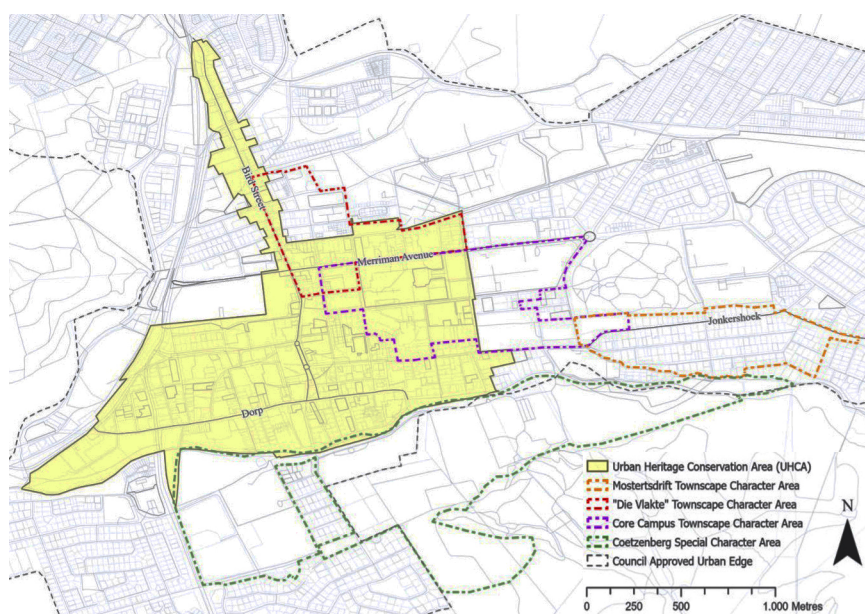
Source: compiled from various sources

The development that triggered the demise of Dennesig?

The preservation of historic townscapes faces a major threat largely attributed to the insensitive planning approvals of alterations within townscapes (Galway & Mceldowney, 2006), resulting in the gradual erosion of the local character, encompassing both physical and functional changes (Barrett, 2023). Baker's (2003) study focused on the issue of local planning authorities and most developers that are not sensitised to and who cannot practically deal with the concept and the realities of preserving intangible heritage in urban contexts. The Dennesig suburb serves as a prime illustration of this insensitive planning approach from a heritage perspective.

Since the 1980s, as the town began to expand, many of the residential properties (called *erven* in South Africa) along the outer boundary of Dennesig, particularly along the main arterial routes, underwent land use changes. These changes involved transforming single residential properties into general residential areas, including the construction of apartment complexes and mixed-use developments. This was achieved through consolidation and subdivision of some of the erven, as indicated by the red area in Figure 9. Unfortunately, due to the absence of heritage area protection (in contrast to the recommendations put forth by Kruger-Roos), Dennesig has experienced a significant surge in applications under NHRA Sections 34 and 38 since the mid-2000s. These applications sought consolidation, rezoning, and demolition of structures older than 60 years to make room for apartment blocks designed to accommodate students (green areas in Figure 7).

Figure 7. Land use change in Dennesig before and after Boschen Park development (in blue)

	2006-2008
	Before 2006
	2009-2021
	1996 subdivision, still undeveloped by 2021

Source: compiled by Author, data obtained from Cape Farm Mapper

However, it was the application for the consolidation of four erven (around 2005/2006) to develop the Boschen Park complex (consisting of 124 sectional title residential units) that marked the beginning of the downfall of the suburb (Figure 8). Figure 9 presents a contrasting collage of the front elevations of the historic building plans (obtained from the municipality's building plan division) for these four *erven*. Among these plans, three of the houses were deemed worthy of conservation because the Act

protected them due to the 60-year clause. At the time of their demolition, all three structures were largely intact, with only minor layering made over the years.

Figure 8. The Boschen Park development

Source: Google Streetview, 2022

Figure 9. Streetscape of demolished houses

| Erf 190 (1930) | Erf 4290 (1927) | Erf 4289 (1967) | Erf 192 (1931) |

Source: Building plans obtained from Stellenbosch Municipality's building department

The information presented here was gathered by contacting various stakeholders, including former residents, developers, and municipal officials. The developer, who was declared insolvent in 2009, acquired the properties by 2005 and subsequently applied for rezoning, consolidation, and departures in accordance with municipal planning bylaws and the zoning scheme. It is presumed that they also applied to the official provincial heritage authority, Heritage Western Cape (HWC), for a section 34 and 38 application to demolish the three historic houses on erven 4290, 190, and 192. However, no evidence of this application could be found at the municipality or HWC. From a legal, planning, and heritage approval standpoint, the overlapping effects of the National Building Regulations and Building Standards Act (NBR and BS Act), the Municipal Planning By-Laws/Zoning Schemes, and the National Heritage Resources Act (specifically sections 34 and 38) were relevant. When Sections 34 and 38 are triggered, no work or demolition is permitted until a permit is issued by HWC. When Section 38 is triggered, building plans cannot be approved until Section 38 compliance has been confirmed by HWC, regardless of whether the local authority approved the building work under the NBR and BS Act (Section 4).

Upon receiving the notification of intent to develop (NID), HWC had 14 days, as per section 38(2), to determine whether the applicant needed to submit an impact assessment report, which typically involves consulting with interested and affected parties (I&APs). In good heritage practice, a developer

would submit a heritage statement, prepared by a practicing heritage specialist, along with the NID. In the absence of documentation from HWC and the municipality, it can be assumed that the applicant (the developer) informed HWC of the NID and provided details about the location, nature, and extent of the proposed development, as required by subsection 1. If this was not done (i.e., a permit was not obtained), then the houses were illegally demolished. Generally, it is the applicant's responsibility to describe the heritage significance (or lack thereof), and it is the heritage authority's responsibility to consider significance. HWC had to inform the developer if they believed that heritage resources would be affected by the development. If the heritage authority determined that a heritage resource would be affected by a development listed in Section 38(1), a heritage assessment would likely be required, either as a standalone Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) or as part of an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) with a heritage specialist component. However, Boschen Park did not undergo any further HIA or involve heritage practitioners according to available guidelines.

The above scenario highlights a significant weakness in legislation and practice, particularly during the time of this case study when Heritage Officer Meetings (HOMS) conducted by HWC were not accessible online to conservation body watchdogs, and the agendas and minutes were not publicly available. In the past, conservation bodies would only learn about HOMS decisions years later when the developer's Land Use Planning Ordinance application was submitted. This is how many developments were approved without the knowledge of conservation bodies. In this case study, it is assumed that HWC officials determined that there would be no impact on heritage, allowing the developer to proceed without input from any specialist committee or heritage body. If, however, HWC had decided otherwise, the case study would have required consultation with I&APs in accordance with section 38(3)(c).

There are two officially community-registered HWC conservation bodies: the Stellenbosch Interest Group (SIG) and the Stellenbosch Heritage Foundation (as per Section 25 of the NHRA). As no documentation of their involvement could be found from them, it can be assumed that these conservation bodies either did not receive the application, did not comment, or did not object. It should be noted that communication channels between HWC and these two bodies were not as efficient in the mid-2000s as they are today. The municipality did not object either. According to the NHRA, conservation bodies have 30 days to make representations. Since they are voluntary bodies with members reviewing applications outside of regular working hours, meeting deadlines is not always feasible. According to a long-standing member of the SIG, they did object to a subsequent application for an apartment complex development in 2006 (Erven 5957 & 185) and commented: "The apartments on the southern side of Dennesig Street known as Boschenpark were recently approved by the Director of Economic and Facilitation Services with delegated powers. This was a mistake. If the Stellenbosch Interest Group had applied its mind to the application, it would most certainly have opposed the Boschenpark development. This development should therefore in no way be considered to set a precedent" (Stellenbosch Interest Group, 2006 – letter of communication to the municipal manager, 24.11.2006, regarding application for rezoning and consolidation: Erven 5957 & 185, Dennesig Street, Stellenbosch). However, considering the absence of objections, it can be assumed that HWC issued a permit for the demolition of all four houses, but HWC could not provide evidence thereof upon

request. In the worst-case scenario, the developer bypassed the HWC route and obtained permission solely from the municipality, which, although possible, would be an illegal practice.

The approval and subsequent development of Boschen Park paved the way for similar developments to follow (as depicted in Figure 7). In December 2015, the Stellenbosch Municipal Land Use Planning By-Law came into effect, replacing LUPO. By the time the Zoning-Scheme By-Law was enacted in 2019, the fate of Dennesig had already been sealed, aligning with Bandarin's (2011) belief that historic areas not included in a heritage/conservation zone or area are prone to extinction. In fact, the historic houses in Dennesig were considered modest, with only three properties being listed as worthy of conservation in the municipality's 2019 heritage register (one of which, a Grade IIIC property, has since been demolished) – contrary to the inventory of Buchanan and Donaldson (2020).

After facing criticism from the Stellenbosch Ratepayers Association and the Stellenbosch Interest Group (SIG) regarding the haphazard manner in which Dennesig has been developed since the mid-2010s, the municipality implemented a halt on all new developments until the finalization of the Dennesig Neighbourhood Development Guidelines in 2019 (Dennesig Neighbourhood Development Guidelines, 2019). However, this action came too late, and the lesson learned here is that areas not included in a heritage zone or area are susceptible to complete erosion, eventually leading to a state of "placelessness" (after Galway & Mceldowney, 2006).

CONCLUSIONS

The paper has highlighted the significance of expanding the understanding of values associated with urban heritage within the heritage urban context and stresses the need to establish strong connections with interdisciplinary fields such as heritage management, geography, and urban planning in this regard.

While provincial and municipal heritage policies acknowledge the involvement of the public through the two approved heritage watchdog community organizations, the participation of other community members is largely overlooked. The reliance on an advertisement in a local newspaper poses a significant risk of missed opportunities for input. It is easy for such advertisements to go unnoticed, resulting in the loss of valuable opportunities for community engagement. An improved form of participation is thus needed for Stellenbosch.

What is clear from the case study is that the current legislation at the national and provincial levels, with some exceptions, fails to adequately promote the integration of heritage management into broader urban management and planning processes. In fact, Steenkamp (2021) asserts that the destruction of cultural heritage resources often goes unpunished, with legal proceedings being rare and successful outcomes even rarer. These arguments emphasize the need for a higher level of integration, particularly at the local level. The study has shown that even with regulations and the classification of areas regarding heritage policy, such regulations can either be ignored or are difficult to enforce which can easily lead to the disappearance of entire neighbourhoods in a short space of time. Ripp and Rodwell (2016, p. 107) succinctly summarize such a condition: "Whereas certain cities possess a

heritage value that has a higher grade of importance in the eyes of heritage professionals, all historic cities – as established multi-generational inhabited places – have a broad set of values in the eyes of their citizens; this range of values is not currently integrated into urban planning policy and practice, to the result that neither urban heritage nor urban planning are in a position to realise their potential in the face of twenty-first century global agendas." Political turmoil in local government coupled with a lack of policy on student housing in Stellenbosch directly contributed to the earmarking of Dennesig as a site for developers to create a studentified space.

M. Atwell's (personal communication, August 5, 2021) assertion that "research-based heritage assessment is one of the most overlooked aspects of heritage management [and that there is a] concerning tendency to evaluate heritage solely based on visual and architectural assessments" applies to the case of Dennesig. Relying solely on subjective judgments about the architectural merits of replacements is insufficient to justify the demolition of legally protected buildings. When it comes to replacing buildings with modest heritage value with a massive structure like Boschen Park, which is claimed to have greater functional and economic value, it inevitably leads to a division between supporters and opponents. This notion of "heritage dissonance" argues that all heritage belongs to someone and, therefore, cannot logically belong to someone else. Unfortunately, in the case of the modest suburb of Dennesig, there was no strong neighborhood association (similar to the documented struggles of a modest historical suburb surviving – Donaldson, 2001; Donaldson & Williams, 2005) to advocate for its protection. This is one of the underlying reasons for its demise.

The municipality and the developer of Boschen Park, along with other developments in the area, justified their actions by claiming a net enhancement (densification – Kruger & Donaldson, 2020) and catering to the needs of a growing student population (Donaldson et al., 2014) through studentification. On the other hand, the paper argues for the absolute harm caused to the heritage values of Dennesig. Both parties are making value-based judgments but assigning different weights to particular values. Unfortunately, when such "positions are maintained, the choice ultimately becomes a political one, or it is left for decision at a public inquiry" (English Heritage, 2015, p. 62). The neoliberal approach to urban development adopted by the Stellenbosch Municipality has effectively sounded the death knell for Dennesig, as they deemed the expansion of student accommodation more important than preserving modest heritage in the area.

Preserving and appreciating modest architectural heritage is important for maintaining a diverse and comprehensive understanding of architectural history. It ensures that not only grand landmarks but also ordinary buildings and structures are recognized and protected as part of our collective heritage. By safeguarding and celebrating modest architectural heritage, communities can maintain a connection to their past, foster a sense of local pride, and promote a more inclusive narrative of architectural history. Unfortunately, this approach was not implemented for Dennesig.

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Creative Destruction and Built Environment Heritage in Makhanda, South Africa

ABSTRACT

Heritage conservation is recognised as an important component of sustainable development but is often considered a lower priority compared to other development imperatives, and societal issues. The prioritization of economic and urban development threatens urban heritage through a process known as creative destruction. This research uses the concept of creative destruction to explore the interplay between market forces and urban planning and management practices on the heritage conservation of the city of Makhanda in South Africa. Makhanda has a rich and varied cultural heritage landscape, including many individual buildings and streetscapes. A qualitative approach, including semi-structured key informant interviews and secondary sources was employed. The study found that municipal dysfunction and other urban management challenges result in difficultly in enforcing legislation and policy, and thereby threatens heritage conservation. The fates of three buildings within the historic urban fabric of the city are explored in terms of the impacts of neoliberal urbanism occurring within this context. The research contends that for heritage management to be successful, there needs to be a balanced approach through improvements in stakeholder relationships, governance, institutional capacity, knowledge sharing and community involvement in decision-making processes.

Keywords: built environment, built heritage resources, creative destruction, Makhanda, South Africa

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INTRODUCTION

Recognition of the significance of cultural heritage in global sustainability agendas has acknowledged it as a contributor to the uniqueness of cities and in enhancing their competitiveness in an increasingly globalized world (Guzmán et al., 2017). The United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) provide specific mention of the importance on cultural heritage conservation and conservation in SDGs 11 and 8 which acknowledge its importance in cities, to communities, and its latent potential as an economic good (Xiao et al., 2018). SDG 11.4 specifically emphasizes preserving and protecting cultural heritage, which is valued for its historical, sociological, and anthropological significance and is seen as a facilitator of sustainable development (Xiao et al., 2018). One of the most obvious ways in which heritage can be linked to economic development is through heritage tourism (Pentz & Albert, 2023; van der Merwe, 2013). This is certainly the case in the context of less developed economies where mass tourism is unattainable and authenticity can be commodified (Pentz & Albert, 2023). Governments have, therefore, leveraged the significance of cultural heritage to gain a competitive edge in a world that is becoming more and more globalized, but using it to spur economic growth must assure its sustainability and continuity (van der Merwe, 2013). Despite being a critical component of urban, social, and economic processes, heritage conservation practice within urban environments faces significant challenges (Lesh, 2020). Heritage conservation is often considered a lower priority compared to societal issues such as the development of infrastructure and the economy, alleviating poverty and unemployment within underdeveloped regions (Chirikure, 2013; Srinivas, 2020). As such, the conservation of historic urban environments is a matter of universal urgency and a critical challenge to cultural heritage conservation practice.

It was only as recently as the second half of the 20th Century that international recognition was afforded to heritage management through the proliferation of charters like the Venice and Burra Charters (Taylor, 2002). The story of South African heritage management began in 1905 with the formation of the South African National Society, which was concerned with the conservation of colonial heritage (Manetsi, 2017). It was in 1911 and 1923 that the first legislative instruments for the protection of South African heritage were developed in the form of the Bushman Relics Protection Act and the Natural and Historical Monuments Act, respectively (Manetsi, 2017). The 1923 Act established the first official entity to manage heritage, the Historical Monuments Commission (Manetsi, 2017). The focus of this Act and subsequent Acts of the apartheid period was the culture and history of the white minority and predominantly built environment heritage (Manetsi, 2017).

In contemporary South Africa, the Constitution acknowledges the significance of preserving and protecting heritage in Sections 15, 30 and 31 (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). The White Paper on Arts and Culture (1996), the National Heritage Resources Act (1999), and the National Heritage Councils Act (2001) defined the role of government in protecting heritage resources (Department of Arts, Culture, Science, 1996; National Heritage Resources Act, 25 of 1999, 1999; Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA), 16 of 2013, 2013). The South African Heritage Resources Authority (SAHRA) was established as the national body responsible for the protecting and managing, facilitating the auditing and registering heritage resources (National Heritage

Resources Act, 25 of 1999, 1999). A three-tiered heritage management structure was subsequently formed that also extended authority to Provincial Heritage Resources Authorities (PHRAs) and local municipalities (Corsane, 2004). In response to this, the Eastern Cape Provincial Heritage Resources Authority (ECPHRA) was established (Eastern Cape Provincial Heritage Resources Authority, 2022). These Acts and agencies represent a significant transformative and democratic shift in heritage resource management in the country (Corsane, 2004). The definition of heritage was expanded to include both tangible and intangible forms, and heritage became more inclusive of diverse communities and cultures (Corsane, 2004).

Built environment heritage, which is the focus of this study, includes both individual structures as well as groups of them in what is known as a streetscape or townscape. Individual structures can be valued for their architecture or design, for their historical significance and for their contribution to the milieu of an area in its entirety. This milieu can form a townscape or streetscape and is created through a collection of buildings and other structures in the built environment (Cullen, 1961). Built environment heritage, therefore, is valued not just for its constituent parts, but for its contribution to the visual harmony and cultural significance produced by the composition and place-making (Baumann, 1997; Zancheti et al., 2009). It is for this reason heritage practitioners have two mechanisms with which to acknowledge and protect the value of the built environment: through the designation of the heritage value of individual features or collective features in a conservation area (Baumann, 1997).

Despite recognition for the value of built environment heritage in its various forms, Yang et al., (2019) and Lesh (2020) argue that heritage conservation practice is often contested, and various groups, including practitioners, legislators, developers, and civil society members, have conflicting notions of heritage, value, and spaces themselves. This creates a situation where, while the role of cultural heritage as a driver of economic and social growth is acknowledged, research shows that world heritage assets are vulnerable to aggressive development and management flaws (ICOMOS, 2005). Pressure from developers, limited resources, increasing urban populations, and governments struggling to fulfil their mandated responsibilities can all threaten heritage resources (Ebbe, 2009). In South Africa, research reveals that places like Clydesdale in Pretoria (Donaldson, 2001), the Bo-Kaap in Cape Town (Donaldson et al., 2013), the Vredefort Dome in Parys (Puren & Jordaan, 2014), and Die Weides, Mostertsdrift and Dennesig in Stellenbosch (Buchanan & Donaldson, 2021; Kruger & Donaldson, 2021), have had their heritage resources and place identity threatened by the limited protection provided for these assets in the face of urban development processes. On the other hand, to great an emphasis on the heritage of the built environment, can lead to an imbalance with regard to economic growth and development. For instance, the city of Pécs in Hungary faces the dilemma of heritage protection driving certain forms of business and economic opportunity away from the historic city centre (Csapó et al., 2010). For instance, heritage conservation efforts led to the diverting of traffic away from the city centre and rising rental costs which drove many large businesses to relocate to modern malls that suited their operating requirements better (Csapó et al., 2010). This process threatened to change Pécs' city centre from a 'living centre to a monument-city' (Csapó et al., 2010, p. 4).

Capitalism and neoliberal forces can affect urban landscapes in changing the economic structures of cities and thereby affecting the buildings, morphology, and place identity that make up the urban fabric. Jane Jacobs, in her seminal work, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (Jacobs, 1961), insightfully illustrates the tensions that exist amongst neoliberal planning, places and communities. Batty (2007) reflects on these urban processes and argues that we too often focus our attention on the exogenous changes to the city rather than the endogenous ones. Changes to the economic structures of cities and to their morphology are perhaps more stark and noticeable than the quiet changes within the city as it renews and reinvents itself (Batty, 2007). Developers continuously renew, repurpose, destroy, and regenerate buildings or neighbourhoods within the city for financial benefits or to fit new economic demands (Baeton, 2020; Batty, 2007). These changes may involve cosmetic changes to buildings or a complete rebuilding process, but both are driven by speculation and a reinvention of capital in the hopes of generating profit (Batty, 2007). For example, the Northeast region of England used to be the heartland of industries such as coal mining and shipbuilding, which were abandoned or shifted elsewhere because of the post-industrial changes to Britain's economy and the global capitalist system as a whole. Those people employed in industry lost their jobs, and former industrial buildings and landscapes were sold cheaply for reinvention and regeneration purposes (Penrose, 2017). Likewise the London Docklands on the Isle of Dogs alongside the Thames was sold to developers and became Canary Wharf, which is now the financial district of the city (Penrose, 2017). The changes to these areas illustrate how broader economic shifts cause the decline of one activity and create an opportunity to generate profit through changes to communities and the urban landscape and buildings they inhabit (Penrose, 2017). It must be stated, however, that while the post-industrial shift is at the centre of this change, government policymaking in the form of the privatization of state assets, public-private investment frameworks, and changing planning systems, work behind the scenes to enable both the destructive and creative processes (Penrose, 2017). This is an example of neoliberal planning that is articulated in its "most iconic form, the Urban Development Project, and its most iconic form of organization, the public-private partnership (PPP)" (Baeton, 2020).

This process of urban change is best understood as creative destruction and it occurs when capitalists, driven by profit-seeking, reinvent goods, services and places to meet markets' needs (Mitchell & de Waal, 2009; Penrose, 2017). The concept of creative destruction, initially formulated by Joseph Schumpeter in the mid-twentieth century, describes the economic transformation that occurs when older inventions and technologies are replaced by new ones alongside the destruction of current economic structures and the creation of new ones (Harvey, 2006). According to Avrami (2020), creative destruction in the context of heritage and conservation includes processes such as destroying old structures to make room for new construction, reusing historic structures for contemporary purposes, restoring historic structures to their original condition, and developing innovative cultural institutions that go against conventional ideologies of heritage. These instances illustrate how heritage may be created, reimagined, and destroyed through the creative destruction process, and how the conservation and interpretation of heritage are ongoing processes. Creative destruction, like that seen in the North East of England and in the London Docklands, is criticized for its seemingly anti-heritage and anti-community stance (Penrose, 2017). It brings modern visuals while destroying historical urban

landscapes and memories of the past (Penrose, 2017). Baeten (2017, p. 109) highlights some injustices that come with this creative destruction, including „writing away certain neighbourhoods, places, buildings, historical events, memories, and individuals".

The process of creative destruction was documented in the South Durban region by Scott (2003), who explored modernist planning, zoning, and the collaboration between industrial capitalists and urban planners in the creation of the vast industrial area in the region. This is the only South African case study that explores creative destruction and urban planning or development, and it does so in within the context modernist planning and racialised context of South African cities in the twentieth century (Scott, 2003). As well as contributing to the conversation about creative destruction in the South African context, therefore, the present research is an outlier in terms of its pairing of this theoretical framework and heritage conservation in the country. As such it seeks to stimulate further research and discourse around urban planning, creative destruction, and heritage.

It is both possible and preferable for planning to achieve a balance between urban development projects and heritage conservation (Ebbe, 2009; Gültekin & Uçar, 2011). To achieve this, heritage needs to be conceptualised as a resource or asset and, therefore, as a support to economic growth and urban renewal projects (Ebbe, 2009). In fact, to an increasing degree, local, regional, and national development policies conceptualise cultural heritage a critical asset in socioeconomic growth (Murzyn-Kupisz, 2012). Murzyn-Kupisz (2012) discusses the socioeconomic advantages related to cultural heritage at various scales, where these advantages may be direct (job possibilities created via the provision of heritage services) or indirect (tourism multipliers and real estate). These effects can be extensive and benefit both the economy and local community. They can improve living standards and quality of life, support the knowledge economy by serving as education resources, improve urban regeneration processes, and boost local branding and image (Murzyn-Kupisz, 2012).

As such, it is critical to understand how urban planning and heritage are affected by the changes brought by creative destruction in urban environments. The present research seeks to understand the interplay between the urban planning, neoliberal forces and built environment heritage in Makhanda, a small city in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. Makhanda (formerly Grahamstown) is the largest urban settlement and administrative centre of the Makana Local Municipality. The city was established as a British military garrison in 1812 and later became home to the 1820 settlers. The city grew rapidly and its economic influence grew alongside it and by the 1830s it was the second largest settlement in the Cape Colony with an economy to match (de Moor & Lubke, 2021). Changes to the transport routes that bypassed the city, political marginalisation within the Cape Colony and the relative economic marginalisation of the local economy meant that by the end of the 18th Century its economic influence has dwindled (de Moor & Lubke, 2021). The final nails in the economic coffin was the establishment of the diamond and goldfields in the 1860s and 1880s, respectively (de Moor & Lubke, 2021). The contemporary economy of the city is dominated by the High Court and supporting legal sector, and tourism and education scenes (Hoefnagels et al., 2022). The tourism scene, as argued by Hoefnagels et al. (2022), is partially dependent on the historic place identity and built environment heritage of the city.

Makhanda has a rich heritage resource base, with more than 70 resources recognised at the provincial level for their significance. The vast majority of these provincial heritage resources are buildings from the settler/Georgian, Victorian, and Edwardian periods and adhere to the dominant architectural styles of these periods (Radford, 1989a, 1989b). They are thus classified as built environment heritage resources. These are the listed built environment heritage resources, but many more buildings from these periods contribute to the historic townscapes of the city and are architecturally representative of these periods in themselves. Radford's four reports divided buildings into three categories according to importance in this study (Radford, 1989a, 1989b, 1989c, 1990). Buildings in category A are those with exceptional architectural value and are unreplaceable. Category B buildings have some architectural merit, and Category C structures add to the city's character. At the end of the study, there were 760 buildings listed, 49 of which were designated as National (now Provincial) Monuments, 57 fell under Category A, 319 under Category B, and 335 under Category C. Notable streetscapes and concentrations of significant buildings are found across the city (Radford, 1990). The areas of Church Square (Figure 1) and Artificer's Square (Figure 2) represent commercial/civic Victorian and settler-Georgian residential areas, respectively (Radford, 1990) and will be briefly described here. They illustrate major nodes with high concentrations of listed and important buildings (Categories A-C) as well as conserved streetscapes and, therefore, exemplify two key examples of the built environment heritage of the city. While the occupants of the buildings have changed over time, no significant departure from their original use as commercial/civic and residential areas has occurred.

Church Square is located along the middle section of the city's High Street and being triangular in shape, has three sides. The Cathedral on one edge of the square is an imposing neogothic stone building and an array of ornate, double-storey Victorian buildings with roofs forming a covered walkway flank the southern edge (Figure 1a, 1c, 1e). On the northern edge of the street (Figure 1b, 1d, 1f) is the neogothic City Hall and a mixture of Georgian and Victorian buildings. The High Street is broad and the vertical and horizontal scale of space if befitting of the city centre of a thriving colonial city. In contrast, the buildings in Artificer's square are humbler single and double-storey settler cottages. They were inhabited by British artisans in the 1820s and were initially single-storey two-roomed houses, which expanded with household needs and a healthy cashflow (Reynolds & Reynolds, 1974). A sash window on each side of a central doorway gives them their Georgian simplicity and symmetry. The two streets (Cross and Bartholomew) that form the intersection at the centre of the square are joined by the splayed boundary walls to the properties at each corner in such a way that the square is actually in the form of an octagon (Figure 2a, 2b, 2d) (Radford, 1990). The narrow streets, treeless and hard-edged (Radford, 1990) are preserved with the wagon stones on each corner and the cobblestone gutters along each side.

On the advice of Denis Radford, the architect who was commissioned to conduct a survey of the built environment heritage in the late 1980s, a Conservation Area was demarcated within the central area of the city (Radford, 1989a). This area comprises the highest spatial concentration of provincial heritage resources and other significant buildings and contains the streetscapes of the Church and Artificer's Squares (Figure 3). It also contains schools, residential buildings, religious buildings and

the city's commercial centre, clustered around the historic High Street from which the whole settlement was planned in 1814 (Irvine, 2021).
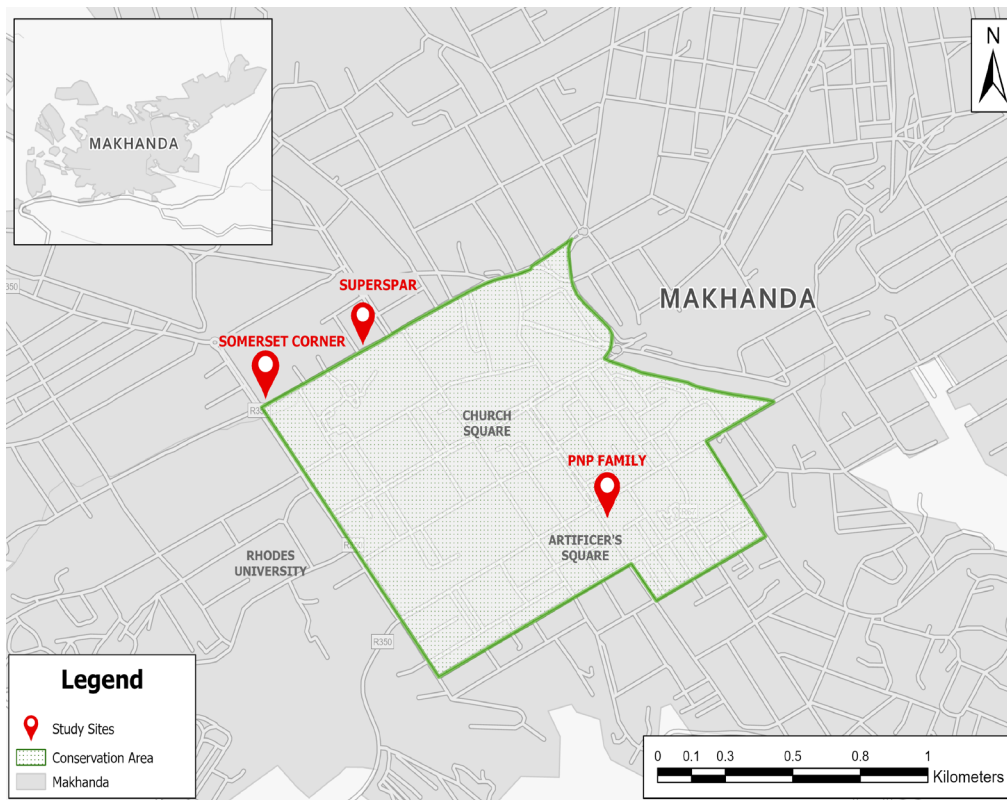
Figure 1. Church Square

Figure 2. Artificer's Square

Figure 3. Map showing the Conservation Area

Historically, heritage conservation priorities in the city and municipality were high, as seen through various policies and by-laws, the designation of a conservation area, the commissioning of the Radford Reports and provincial heritage resource proclamations. The first National Monument in the city was declared in 1936 and the most recent was declared almost 30 years ago in 1999. At its height, the heritage conservation movement involved the activities of Historic Grahamstown, which included the restoration of several residential properties in Artificer's Square (Reynolds & Reynolds, 1974). Alongside this conservation activity was the recognition of the built environment heritage as a contributor to the tourism product of the city, which is still the case today (Hoefnagels et al., 2022). The city and the management of its built environment heritage is under threat, however. Ineffective local government threatens the daily functioning of the city, heritage conservation and the tourism scene that depends on it (Hoefnagels et al., 2022; Irvine, 2021). This case study aims to explore the heritage conservation activities within the city in light of this municipal dysfunction. It does so with particular reference to the process of creative destruction and the fate of three buildings that fell within the Conservation Area.

METHODS

A qualitative research approach was selected for this study. Semi-structured interviews and various secondary sources were selected as data collection methods. Semi-structured interviews conducted with key informants sought to understand the interplay between urban planning and management,

neoliberal forces, and local heritage resources. The researchers focused the analysis on the challenges faced in heritage management, competing narratives between heritage and development as well as understanding how urban planning practice affects local heritage conservation. Various secondary data sources, including government policy documents, reports, research publications, books and newspaper articles were collected as supplementary information.

Research participants involved in this study were selected using a combination of snowball and purposive sampling. To achieve the aim of this study, there was a need to get various perspectives on the challenges in urban planning and management processes and how these heritage conservation within the Makhanda context. As such, key informants included real estate agents, business owners, representatives from local organisations, academic scholars, local drafting technicians, town planners and municipal officials. A total of 11 interviews were conducted and they lasted between 0.5 and 1.75 hours in duration with all interviewees consenting to the recording of the interviews. The interview data were transcribed using the above recordings. The transcripts were then analysed using thematic analysis to explore emerging themes as it related to the research and finally produce a conceptual framework aimed at understanding the local heritage management context.

RESULTS

Heritage Resource Management in Makhanda

As mentioned above, this research aims to understand the threat of creative destruction to built environment heritage in Makhanda. In order to properly contextualise this threat, it is first necessary to delve into the functionality of the heritage resource management in the city. Following this, the fates of three buildings that fall within the Conservation Area in the city will be explored.

Two organisational levels of heritage resource management exist within the city of Makhanda. The first is at the provincial level with the Eastern Cape Provincial Heritage Resources Authority (ECPHRA) and the second is at the local government level within Makana Local Municipality and its structures.

At the provincial level, the PHRAs oversee the protection of Grade II heritage resources and ensure adherence to legislation to the sixty-year rule, the informal name of the Section 34 of NHRA (Donaldson, 2005). The sixty-year rule means that changes to any building of more than sixty years in age need to be approved by the relevant PHRA. The excerpt below highlight the ECPHRA's mandate (Eastern Cape Provincial Heritage Resources Authority, 2022):

> *ECPHRA is responsible for the management of various types of heritage resources that abound in the province. As a responsible heritage authority, its mandate includes but not limited to identification, documentation, and assessment of heritage resources, developing policies and conservation plans, and maintaining essential national standards for the management of heritage resources.*

ECPHRA has been mired by issues and controversy. For instance, in an article in the Daily Dispatch in 2021, it was reported that two designated geological heritage sites containing fossils from the

Cretaceous period (146–64 million years ago) were untraceable (Ndaliso, 2021). The sites had been gazetted in 1958 and formed significant natural heritage in the Eastern Cape (Ndaliso, 2021). A scientist from the East London museum had try to locate the sites using the coordinates recorded for the sites, but could not find any signage or signifier of these sites (Ndaliso, 2021). It was clear that no management of the sites had occurred as they could not be located and the area had become overgrown and informal housing had developed in the area (Ndaliso, 2021). The scientist noted that there was no hope for the rehabilitation of the sites under these circumstances (Ndaliso, 2021). In response, the ECPHRA insisted that they did not know of the existence of the sites, which were not listed on their register of heritage resources in the region (Ndaliso, 2021). This is a case that is indicative of the failure of heritage resource management locally – a worst-case scenario that has resulted from flawed information and management systems.

Connected to this failure, the capacity of the ECPHRA to fulfil their mandated responsibilities also needs to be called into question. The organisation reportedly has only three full-time employees who need to manage an extensive list of varied heritage resources (Hartle, 2021b). It was also reported in 2021 that the finance manager of ECPHRA, one of the three employees, had been fired after an independent disciplinary hearing, but was still seen to be employed at the organisation (Hartle, 2021b). She had been accused of misappropriating funds and equipment and a refusal to submit reports, including those relating to permit applications. In addition, in April 2021, it was reported that the Manager of the organisation had been suspended. These capacity issues are certainly enough to prevent the full functioning of an organisation. This has an undoubtable impact on the ability of the ECPHRA to process applications, including delays in issuing permits for development (Hartle, 2021a).

In an article by Hartle (2021a) for the Daily Dispatch, sources are reported to have said that the ECPHRA was dysfunctional, had failed to declare new heritage sites, had done no heritage assessments and grading, and had conducted no competence assessments of local authorities within their region. In addition, they had undergone no competence assessment from the South African Heritage Resources Authority (Hartle, 2021a). Furthermore, they had no detailed register of permits they had issued meaning that they could not deal with appeals or objections (Hartle, 2021a). According to Hartle (2021a) handover report to the new Council for the ECPHRA in 2020 said: *"apart from the submission of an annual report to the MEC, very few aspects of ECPHRA's mandate are effectively and consistently attended to, due to inadequate resources and staff provided to ECPHRA, and the lack of real support by DSRAC".*

On the municipal level, heritage management is a complex issue that requires a discussion of both the structures in place to protect heritage resources as well as the context of municipal dysfunction. Within the local municipality, three mechanisms exist to protect built environment heritage. First, the Aesthetics Committee was established to act as the approval committee for local development. This committee is appointed as an advisory committee of the Council and comprises city councilors, officials, and community members, including businesses. The Aesthetics Committee is responsible for approving changes to the built environment at the municipal level. Second, the designation and development of the Conservation Area (Grahamstown : Revision of Scheme Regulations, 1998). Changes to buildings within the Conservation Area, whether they are listed buildings or not, are

required to apply for approval from the Makana Municipality Aesthetics Committee, which would then refer the matter to the Eastern Cape Provincial Heritage Resources Authority (ECPHRA) who would decide whether to approve or disapprove the application (Grahamstown : Revision of Scheme Regulations, 1998). These changes include those to existing buildings deemed to have historical or aesthetic significance, the building line and the façades of buildings within this area (Grahamstown : Revision of Scheme Regulations, 1998). The provisions, therefore, seek to protect individual buildings as well as the streetscape or townscape. Third, heritage conservation was prioritised through the development of local by-laws for outdoor advertising, and signage effectively regulated the signage and outdoor advertising in the city. The by-law regulated the applications, charges, general considerations for approval, amendments and conditions for approval, and considerations for specific signs, control areas, and commercially sponsored signs that must be submitted (Makana Municipality: Outdoor Advertising and Signage By-Law, 2007). This was pivotal for heritage conservation, specifically at the façade level. The Aesthetics Committee is also tasked with receiving and approving application for new signage.

However, many of these initiatives today are diminished by a lack of information, governance issue, poor communication, and limited oversight by the local municipality. The 2021/2022 Integrated Development Plan (Makana Local Municipality, 2021) and 2013 Spatial Development Framework (Makana Local Municipality, 2013) documents refer to heritage conservation and resource use but this has not been realised and local heritage is threatened. In addition to the above failures Makana has further failed in enforcing regulations for heritage management as per the NHRA with developers taking advantage of the limited oversight. This has led to the circumventing of the necessary processes in permit applications and Heritage Impact Assessments by property owners and developers.

As discussed by Irvine (2021) and Hoefnagels et al. (2022), Makana Local municipality has been mired by dysfunction. In 2021, Makana Municipality received a score of 43% on News24's Out of Order rating, which highlighted the governance and service delivery issues that plague the municipality (News24, 2021). The rating subsequently found that R78.7 million of Makana's operational budget of R471.5 million was deemed as money utilised ineffectively (News24, 2021). Multiple interventions have attempted to deal with these issues and have included appeals at multiple government levels where the local municipality was subsequently placed under provincial administration under Section 139(1)(b) of the South African Constitution (Irvine, 2021). As a result, the community's confidence in the local government has diminished with some residents resorting halting rate payments further exacerbating service delivery and infrastructure management (Hoefnagels et al., 2022). The poor participation of the community in developing the IDP development process and the low voter turnout of 44,18% in Makana for the 2021 Local Municipal Elections are undoubtedly examples of this lack of confidence and collaboration (Hoefnagels et al., 2022).

According to Grocott's Mail (2022), the municipality was described as a toxic setting in the Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA) report published following a site visit in 2022. Within the report issues indicated include irregular expenditure, inconsistencies in audit opinions, concerns over overtime expenditure which had resulted in unaffordable salary payments, and the Financial Recovery Plan (FRP) not permeating the whole institution with Provincial Treasury's rec-

ommendations not being adhered to (Grocott's Mail, 2022). The municipality also has severe internal technical capacity deficiencies, which have led to a heavy reliance on external service providers. COGTA's report further emphasized the repeated findings against the municipality indicate a need for serious intervention as the consequences substantially harm local citizens (Grocott's Mail, 2022). Additionally, the report further established that the municipality's water, sanitation, roads, and infrastructure issues were unlikely to be resolved without a sufficient injection of funds. However, in a municipality with a history of instability within its administrative and political leadership means there had been no leadership and governance tone set from the top. Concerns arose on whether any funds received for projects in the municipality would be utilized appropriately to improve local conditions and tackle local challenges (Grocott's Mail, 2022).

A majority of respondents in this study noted high levels of municipal dysfunction ranging from failing to provide essential services, lack of enforcement, poor public works, employee attitude, housing services, and building and signage enforcement. In addition to the general issues of dysfunction outlined here, there are many challenges more specific to heritage management that were highlighted within key informant interviews. These include a lack of oversight and accountability, a lack of capacity and coordination, a lack of communication and information sharing, and enforcement of regulations and the efficacy of the Aesthetics Committee. These factors will be discussed below.

Oversight and Accountability

The first challenge identified was a lack of oversight and accountability. A respondent from the Makana Residents Association (MRA) highlighted issues relating to the management and conservation of heritage resources (S. Price-Smith, personal communication, February 25, 2022). While detailing the role and responsibilities of the local government in driving heritage management; however, due to poor municipal oversight and a functional municipal council, very little can be done to ensure sustainability and continuity in work in the heritage landscape of Makhanda.

Furthermore, respondents explained that those in power need to be held accountable. Local government in mandated to ensure that these services are provided and should be held responsible for any failure to perform. Unfortunately, complacency within the local community to these failures has resulted in these local government members failing to do their jobs.

> *We must hold these people accountable…Our community is not loud enough, not noisy enough, and we don't make it matter enough. And that is our job really, is to try and make people more aware that it doesn't have to be this way… You might have just gotten [so] accustomed to the dysfunctionality that it's become like a sense of normalcy* (R. Gaybba, personal communication, February 12, 2022).

One of the issues related to this lack of accountability is the absence of an active community-based heritage organisation that can lend their expertise to the issue of heritage conservation and act as a community watchdog with regards to heritage issues.

Capacity and Coordination

The second challenge that was identified was a lack of capacity and coordination issues. Interviews specifically highlighted the combination multiple portfolios into one directorate or division. The Makana Municipality Tourism and SMME Coordinator highlighted that under the Local Economic Development Directorate, SMME, Trade, and Investment were one portfolio and Tourism and Heritage Development another (V. Douse, personal communication, May 13, 2022). However, in recent times they were now a single portfolio under the directorate. This made it highly challenging to manage all fields within this broadened portfolio. Additionally, the lumping together of these varied fields widens the scope of responsibilities, with personnel having limited skills given the widened scope.

> *One of the critical challenges we have is that a clear role needs to be developed for both the LED office and portfolio for heritage development and management…. because presently, the scope of the portfolio is too vast and results in capacity issues* (V. Douse, personal communication, May 13, 2022).

Among the capacity issues were problems ranging from employees working in silos and information was not disseminated effectively within municipal departments. This results in both a lack of continuity in the event of employee changes and poor handover due to a widespread cooperation issue. Dysfunctionality in some directorates or divisions within the municipality were highlighted as barriers for the effective functioning of the whole organisation by a representative of the Makana Business Forum (R. Gaybba, personal communication, February 12, 2022) and a former Makana Municipality Engineering & Town Planning Technologist (M. Behrens, personal communication, May 12, 2022).

M. Behrens (personal communication, May 12, 2022) stated that personnel within the municipality lacked skill and work ethic and included, uninformed, disinterested, and uninspired personnel. While this was not of the whole organization, it was clear that often any interaction would be met with some negativity. Furthermore, within the interviews it was noted that communication with the community was primarily poor at the various levels within the municipality. Due to this, community members have been discouraged from engaging in discussions due to a lack of trust.

Communication and access to information

The third challenge that was highlighted in interviews was communication and access to information. This includes a lack of access to heritage publications such as the Radford Reports and other historic documentation necessary for management of the Conservation Area. This is highly problematic and surprisingly given that it was the municipal council who commissioned these reports. It was also highlighted that the local municipality received limited feedback on local research including projects investigating heritage, tourism, SMME and urban development. Key informants and Makana Municipality mentioned the lack of an accurate and up-to-date heritage resource inventory as one of the biggest challenges in addressing issues with heritage management. This was also one of the

critical areas of weakness highlighted by the IDP (Makana Local Municipality, 2021, p. 235): "*A Heritage Resources Management Plan and Inventory has not been prepared by the Municipality, and maintenance of heritage resources is lacking in general. The provisions of the National Heritage Resources are not complied with*".

Enforcement of Regulations

The fourth and final challenge relates to the enforcement of regulations and the efficacy of the Aesthetics Committee. Respondents noted failures within the Aesthetics Committee and poor enforcement of regulations when asked to provide examples of cases where this municipal failure could be seen. In terms of the enforcement of regulations in general, it is interesting to note that the Makana Spatial Development Framework (SDF) does not mention or depict the Conservation Area despite highlighting the value of local built environment heritage and the need for its conservation (Makana Local Municipality, 2013). In addition, within the two most recent Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) the Conservation Area is likewise conspicuously absent (Makana Local Municipality, 2021, 2023).

A former draftsperson for the municipality, B. Krige (personal communication, May 9, 2022) also noted significant issues with signage in Makhanda relating to the lack of enforcement in signage guidelines with businesses doing whatever they pleased because the building inspector is not carrying out their role.

In discussions on the Aesthetics Committee, key informants gave mixed reactions. While some recognised the role played by specific individuals in ensuring the abiding of guidelines, there were still areas of concern. One such problem mentioned was the infrequency of meetings by the committee, which went from meeting at least once a month discussing ten to fourteen items to now only meeting when deemed necessary (B. Krige, personal communication, May 9, 2022). This is problematic as this affects both the enforcement capacity of the committee and causes delays for local developers and homeowners seeking the committee's approval for applications. This also causes delays with sending applications to the ECPHRA for approval. One respondent highlighted the committee was not representative both demographically and in skill level with the biggest concern being the committee needing members genuinely interested in aesthetics, not seat fillers, to fill a quota. In essence, the committee is summed up best by a representative from the Makana Business Forum (R. Gaybba, personal communication, February 12, 2022): "*The Aesthetics Committee, in my view, is dysfunctional in Makana Municipality. It's not well-resourced. It's a body with no teeth*".

Creative Destruction and Heritage Management

Three case studies are explored here to illustrate some of the threats to buildings in the Conservation Area. Together, they illustrate the ineffective application of the heritage conservation apparatus that exists at the level of the ECPHRA and the local municipality. In addition, a lack of communication between sections within the municipality and between ECPHRA and the Aesthetics Committee is

shown to be an issue. A lack of oversight by these organisations during demolition and construction activities, and the absence of any serious repercussions for infringement of the heritage management policies in place, means that developers can circumvent the processes and procedures involved with very little risk.

The first case study is that of a house located at the corner of African and Somerset Streets (2A Somerset Street), which was demolished in March 2009 for the development of apartment buildings (Figure 4). The building was an example of Victorian architecture that contributed to the streetscape in Somerset and African Streets (Grocott's Mail, 2009). This case study highlights the effects of the local studentification process outlined by Irvine (2021) and how this threatens the conservation of local heritage. Local studentification at this time amounted to high density developments in the CBD area (Irvine, 2021), which is located alongside Rhodes University and within the Conservation Area. The University's student population was expanding and developers saw an opportunity to generate profit for purpose-built student accommodation (PBSA) (Irvine, 2021). Planners in the municipality encouraged this densification in order to contain and formalise student rental properties within the city centre (Irvine, 2021). The permit for the demolition of property was approved because the property was zoned as 'General Residential' (Grocott's Mail, 2009). However, this permit needed further consideration as the house was located within the conservation area and as such should have been referred to various authorities such as the Aesthetics Committee where permission to demolish would be then granted by the Eastern Cape Heritage Resources Agency (ECPHRA) (Grocott's Mail, 2009). The Historical Society made several objections on the basis of the building's age and its contribution to the streetscape (Grocott's Mail, 2009). Unfortunately, the house was torn down before necessary procedures could take place (Grocott's Mail, 2009). The demolition occurred during a weekend before the objections could be properly dealt with (Grocott's Mail, 2009). As pointed out by the Grocott's Mail (2009), the apartment block that replaced the original building is not sympathetic to the surrounding Victorian streetscape (Figure 4). The destruction of this property marked the first of many publicised cases of failures in the protection of Makhanda's built environment heritage. In this case, the correct procedures were not followed, and regulations were applied haphazardly, ignoring the designation of the Conservation Area. The developers went ahead with the demolition knowing full well that there would be few real consequences for them. In fact, the article in the (Irvine, 2021). Grocott's Mail (2009) pointed out that the fine from ECPHRA for such an infringement was a mere R300 000, which is little deterrent when compared with the potential profits.

The second case is that of the SuperSPAR development on African Street (Figure 5). The store development was the source of a contentious legal battle between the municipality and developers that lasted several years within the development and urban management sector (Macgregor, 2015). This is due to the upgrading of the previous store that primarily catered for smaller everyday convenience products with a massive 1000m^2 SuperSPAR allowing for more bulk purchases (Macgregor, 2015). For this to occur, the historic property on Rose Street would need to be joined with the existing SPAR and Tops (Figure 5–6). The property known as the 'Lisagelly House' was originally built around the 1860s (Macgregor, 2015). It was used as a British army officers' mess and later converted into a guest house until its partial demolition in 2015 (Macgregor, 2015).

Figure 4. Somerset Corner

Part of the development plan involved incorporating the historic cottage on the adjacent property as a liquor outlet, with the façade left as close to the original as possible (Macgregor, 2015). However, the digging of a trench during the construction phase of the store lead to the collapse of a large section of the back wall (Figure 6) and an order to stop construction was put in place while further investigation took place (Macgregor, 2015). The circumstances were seen as suspicious, with ECPHRA raising questions as to "why a two-metre long, two-metre deep trench had been dug along one side of the building to take samples while smaller holes had been dug elsewhere" (Macgregor, 2015). However, nothing came of the investigation despite these concerns. The façade of the historic property remains and forms part of the liquor outlet of the SuperSPAR, but the building is considerably altered from its original form with a massive warehouse jutting out of the same back wall which collapsed under suspicious circumstances. This case study illustrates a lack of oversight in the redevelopment process, which allows for changes to the plans to be made by the developer under the guise of unforeseen problems within construction.

The third case is that of the development of a historic property at 68 Bathurst Street into a Pick n Pay supermarket, which also fell within the city's Conservation Area. Local residents questioned the legitimacy of the construction projects taking place there in the first place and how the permit was approved (Grocott's Mail, 2018). Only the façade of the building had been retained in the demolition and development process (Figure 7–8). The structure was identified as being a Georgian building that appeared on the 1824 map of the city and, therefore, approval needed to be granted by the ECPHRA (Grocott's Mail, 2018). The biggest concern within the community was that the approval was granted by the ECPHRA without the knowledge of the Aesthetics Committee meaning that local approval mechanisms were not adhered to and consultation had not taken place (Grocott's Mail, 2018).

Figure 5. SuperSPAR in African Street

Figure 6. SuperSPAR construction illustrating damage to the historic property in Rose Street

Source: Macgregor, 2015

In addition, the heritage report or first phase Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) was not attached to the information sent to Aesthetics Committee (Grocott's Mail, 2018). This was seen by local stake-holders as concerning because it limited the ability to ensure that checks and balances were in place with regard to the application and the demolition (Grocott's Mail, 2018). Makana Municipality's town planners and the ECPHRA were reported by Grocott's Mail (2018) to claim that they are resolved to put stronger processes in place to balance the competing values of conservation and development. They also recognized the need to develop better channels of communication (Grocott's Mail, 2018).

Figure 7. Assessment of construction of the historic property at 68 Bathurst Street

Source: Grocott's Mail, 2018

Figure 8: PnP Family Makana and surrounds

CONCLUSIONS

If one views Makhanda's built environment heritage through the lens of creative destruction, we see two economic forces at play that roughly correspond to boom-and-bust cycles. The city of Makhanda grew rapidly in its early years, both in its economic influence and in terms of the size of the urban settlement. This initial urban growth was stimulated by the economic prosperity of the town, which functioned as an important trading centre. Capital was thus a creative force that shaped the urban fabric and its individual buildings. The grandiose Victorian buildings in Church Square are testament to this force as are the humbler cottages of the artisans in Artificer's Square. The continued existence of these buildings and streetscapes are due to the economic downturn that the town suffered towards the end of the 19th Century In essence, no large economic shifts were driving urban change during this period and this lack of economic dynamism preserved buildings from the preceding era through a lack of impetus for great creative destruction. The heritage conservation efforts within the city in the 20th century further assisted in the conservation of this historic urban fabric. The inventory of important buildings and streetscapes compiled by Radford in the late 1980s, the establishment of the local Aesthetics Committee and the Conservation Area within Makhanda were efforts to bolster conservation activities.

Then, at the turn of this century, economic forces like that of studentification and commercial growth in the form of supermarket infiltration stimulated an economic environment for creative destruction. As illustrated within the case studies, local government also started to lose their grip on urban management during this period. Issues like a lack of oversight and accountability, a lack of capacity and coordination, a lack of communication and information sharing, and enforcement of regulations and the efficacy of the Aesthetics Committee all threaten the effective management of local heritage resources. On the provincial level, the ECPHRA's capacity and functionality has also been brought into question. Without effective oversight and capacity, government structures were thereby rendered incapable of engaging in the exercise of balancing the demands of heritage conservation and neoliberal forces in the form of creative destruction. This means that the door is opened for uncontrolled development and the city runs the risk of losing important built environment heritage both at the scale of the individual building and the streetscape. This is not just a risk with large and commercial developments, but on the level of the individual, privately-owned residential property. Changes to these properties are often less noticeable than the creative destruction enacted by large developers, but they still form a threat to the built environment heritage.

In order to tackle these challenges, it will be necessary to address the general issue of municipal dysfunction in the Makana Local Municipality. However, some more specific interventions are needed. The capacity, functioning and accountability of the ECPHRA and the municipal structures involved in heritage conservation need to be tackled. This will necessitate greater communication within these structures and with local stakeholders and enhanced powers to punish those who attempt to circumvent planning processes. It will also mean that access to information about the city's heritage resources must be ensured and, more specifically, an up-to-date inventory of these resources must be created and maintained. This flow of information must not just be in the hands of practitioners,

but with local stakeholders whose buy-in and participation in heritage conservation matters should be sought, valued, and fostered.

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Planning Urban Regeneration through Heritage Tourism: The Case of Kliptown, South Africa[2]

ABSTRACT

Literature on heritage tourism planning in sub-Saharan Africa is underdeveloped. The aim in this paper is to investigate one highly significant heritage site, which is located in metropolitan Johannesburg, South Africa's leading urban tourism destination. The specific focus is on Kliptown, a township of modern Soweto, situated 25 km south-west of Johannesburg city centre. In South African history, Kliptown is important in the anti-apartheid struggle for hosting the 1955 Congress of the People and the signing of the Freedom Charter. The planning of Kliptown as a destination for heritage tourism and its local impacts for physical area regeneration are analysed. It is demonstrated that at Kliptown, as has been the case with several other heritage tourism projects implemented during the post-apartheid period, the promised developmental effects for local communities have not materialised.

Keywords: heritage planning, Johannesburg, South Africa, urban heritage tourism

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INTRODUCTION

Over the past two decades the role of the tourism sector has become critical for place-based development planning across South Africa (Rogerson, 2014; Nel & Rogerson, 2016). Several studies attest that tourism has emerged as a leading focus for local economic development programming in the country (Donaldson, 2018; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2019; Visser, 2019). Indeed, since 2000, amidst worsening levels of unemployment across South Africa, the majority of local governments have pivoted to tourism as a driver for local economic growth, job creation and small enterprise development (Nel & Rogerson, 2016; Rogerson, 2020a). Although tourism in South Africa is often associated with rural areas and nature tourism, the most important spaces for tourism development are in the country's leading cities such as Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg (Rogerson, 2013; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2014, 2017, 2021a, 2021b). Renewed opportunities opened for urban tourism development in post-apartheid South Africa as a result of the establishment of new heritage sites, museums and commemorative memorials, which were part of the re-assessment and the commodification of "heritage" (Rogerson, 2002; Marschall, 2009; Murray, 2013).

After the end of apartheid, Roux (2021) points to a boom in new heritage and commemorative projects in South Africa. Further, as is stressed by Marschall (2005), with the end of sanctions and South Africa re-joining the international tourism economy there existed great optimism in the first decade of democracy about the seemingly unlimited potential for heritage tourism projects. Hlongwane and Ndlovu (2019, p. 20) point out that politicians, civil society formations and government officials perceived "heritage or 'struggle' tourism as a strategy for job creation and national as well as local economic development". Certain of these post-apartheid projects have emerged as popular tourist attractions, the most well-known being Robben Island in Cape Town, which was declared a UNESCO heritage site (van der Merwe, 2019a). As the celebration of heritage memories became a business and development opportunity, one essential component of developing urban tourism in South Africa has been the planning (and management) of heritage assets for boosting urban heritage tourism.

The aim in this paper is to investigate the planning of one highly significant heritage site which is situated in metropolitan Johannesburg, South Africa's leading urban tourism destination as indexed by tourism trips (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2014, 2017, 2021b). The specific focus is on Kliptown, which is a township of Soweto, located 25 km south-west of Johannesburg city centre. In terms of modern South African history, Kliptown is celebrated for its place in the anti-apartheid struggle (Bremner, 2004; Noble, 2008; Kuljian, 2009). It was the location for the Congress of the People and the signing of the Freedom Charter in 1955 (Congress of People, 1955). This document represented a historic declaration of fundamental freedoms and human rights and has become the liberation manifesto of the African National Congress (Suttner & Cronin, 2006). As observed by Judin et al. (2014, p. 319), with the collapse of the apartheid regime in the 1990s "it seemed obvious that the site where this event had taken place should be officially commemorated along with many other sites, stories and public memories connected to the anti-apartheid struggle". The planning of Kliptown as a destination for heritage tourism and local area regeneration is the central focus of this article. The research is situated

as a contribution to a broader scholarship on heritage tourism in sub-Saharan Africa and in particular in South Africa.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In the view of Bhowmik (2021, p. 387), "heritage tourism is a rapidly growing, specialized genre of tourism". Pentz and Albert (2023, p. 2) view it "among the most dynamically developing types of tourism products around the world". According to Light (2015, p. 153) heritage tourism represents "one of the most significant forms of special interest tourism around the globe, and almost all countries use their past in some way for domestic and/or international tourism". As a result of its socio-economic significance heritage has become one of the most pervasive and salient resources for tourism in many parts of the world (Timothy, 2020). Nevertheless, the definition of what is "heritage" is problematic, with at least one observer describing the concept of heritage as "a vexing issue" (Visser, 2023, p. 105). Indeed, the concept is contested with varying definitions and practices in different parts of the world (Timothy & Boyd, 2003; Lwoga & Adu-Ampong, 2020).

Waterton and Watson (2015, p. 1) define heritage as "a version of the past received through objects and display, representation and engagements, spectacular locations and events, memories and commemorations, and the preparation of places for cultural purposes and consumption." Heritage can include both tangible aspects (buildings, monuments, historic sites) as well as intangible aspects (traditions and customs) but always involves a valued inheritance from the past which is utilized in the present with aspirations to pass on to future generations (Timothy & Prideaux, 2004; Timothy & Boyd, 2006; Timothy, 2014; Light, 2015; Timothy, 2020). In recent works, Timothy (2021a, 2021b) draws our attention to an important trend in the Global North, which is towards the "democratisation" of heritage. This involves moving beyond the extraordinary, exotic and grand heritage assets to include ordinary, mundane elements of the human past, which are part of the everyday lives of ordinary people. Overall, Timothy (2023, p. 1) regards the concept of heritage now "as multidimensional, complex and exceptionally inclusive".

Arguably, the phenomenon of heritage tourism represents one of the oldest forms of tourism (Light, 2015). It is an umbrella term that demarcates the use of a product category which involves heritage products, built or intangible, and which in many situations has been modified over time (Timothy & Boyd, 2003; Lwoga & Adu-Ampong, 2020; Boyd, 2021). It is evident that heritage tourism represents one of the most pervasive forms of contemporary tourism today (Timothy, 2018a). For Timothy (2018b, p. 177), heritage tourism "has become a buzzword in the travel industry and within the research academy" and elsewhere. Light (2015, p. 145) styles heritage tourism as "a fluid concept that has a range of different meanings in different contexts". In all settings, however, it involves the use of the past as a tourism asset, albeit, as stressed by Gravari-Barbas (2020), with sometimes blurred intersections of heritage and tourism. It is argued by Timothy (2014) that tourists' interest in and consumption of the past helps bolster the identity of destination communities and empower them by deeming their patrimony important and worthwhile. In addition, the use of the past by tourism

can be a vital catalyst for employment opportunities, a boost for local incomes and government tax revenues. It can also be a solid foundation for the physical regeneration of declining urban spaces (Lak et al., 2020; Wise & Jimura, 2020). Therefore, heritage tourism anchored on the utilization of historic resources constitutes the essential foundation for the tourism economies of many destinations. It is argued that cities are important locations for this form of tourism because of the heritage and culture they contain. As emphasized in several works by Timothy (2014, 2018a, 2018b, 2020), heritage tourism must be acknowledged as one of the most ubiquitous forms of tourism and a developmental tool in countless destinations. Rogerson (2019) pinpoints that heritage tourism is a critical element of place-based local economic development programming in many countries. Visser (2023, p. 104) notes that the niche of heritage tourism "is considered a tool with the potential to promote local development opportunities in the Global South". This confirms the results of a major survey of tourism in cities of the Global South where the niche of heritage tourism was isolated as important for many destinations (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2021c).

Despite its economic and social significance, Timothy (2018b, p. 177) reflects that heritage tourism "was only acknowledged, defined and researched in the mainstream as recently as the 1980s with a rapid rise in academic interest in the 1990s". Initial issues of scholarly research scrutiny included defining heritage resources, descriptions of visitor experiences, the supply of heritage assets, and research on market demand for heritage products (Timothy & Boyd, 2006). Other investigations focused on such themes as the politics of heritage, heritage impacts, the authenticity of heritage experiences and the relationship of heritage tourism to national identity (Light, 2015). In addition, there emerged an expanding allied literature around "dark tourism" which involves visits to sites such as prisons, slave centres, war zones or places of atrocity. As maximising the local development benefits must be a policy priority for heritage tourism destinations, the planning and management of heritage sites remains a critical research issue (Timothy & Prideaux, 2004; Timothy & Boyd, 2006) and most especially in the context of the Global South (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009; Timothy, 2023a, 2023b). The largest amount of research on heritage tourism, however, is produced in the Global North. Among others Visser (2023, p. 104) asserts that relative to literature on the Global North "the impacts of heritage tourism in the Global South have seen modest scholarly examination". Overall, whilst cities are places strongly associated with heritage and culture, Boyd (2021) maintains that the city has not been a setting that has evoked major attention by heritage tourism scholars.

In the specific context of the Global South it is evident that heritage tourism represents an increasingly significant driver of tourism for many destinations and in both rural and urban settings (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2018; Lwoga & Adu-Ampong, 2020; Timothy, 2023b; Visser, 2023). Nevertheless, in an early assessment the overall picture was viewed by Timothy & Nyaupane (2009, p. 249) that in many instances "developing countries are very rich in heritage; however the linkage between heritage and tourism is weak". This viewpoint has been reiterated recently that whilst "Africa has a great deal of heritage tourism potential, only a handful of countries have tapped into this lucrative area of tourism" (Timothy, 2023a, p. 18). Several negative physical and socio-cultural ramifications of heritage tourism developments in the Global South were highlighted by both Timothy and Nyaupane (2009) and by Lwoga and Kessy (2013). These authors underline various dangers of deterioration to

the built environment, problems around conservation and preservation of heritage, and of cultural commodification. In the experience of Indonesia Hampton (2005) analyses the benefits and costs of local heritage sites, and Syafrini et al. (2020, 2022) document the positive re-invention of a former coal mining city into a cultured mining heritage destination.

As a whole, sub-Saharan Africa is a region of the Global South where "heritage tourism has not received academic attention commensurate with its importance, despite its richness, variety and diversity" (Timothy, 2023b, p. 304). The maximization of this region's assets for cultural heritage including colonial and indigenous tangible and intangible heritage is becoming increasingly relevant for the African tourism product mix (Lwoga & Adu-Ampong, 2020). Timothy (2023b, p. 304) considers that the promotion and development of heritage tourism in Africa "has so much potential for sustainable tourism growth into the future to help alleviate poverty and protect the tangible and intangible patrimony of the entire continent".

However, as evidenced by one bibliometric overview, the region of sub-Saharan Africa has only a minor footprint in international scholarship about heritage tourism (Kumar et al., 2020). This study confirms the earlier reported assessment undertaken by Lwoga and Kessy (2013) that heritage tourism research is underdeveloped and most especially in urban sub-Saharan Africa. The most recent overview undertaken by Visser (2023, p. 104) concluded that "the extant scholarship on heritage tourism in Africa, and Sub-Saharan Africa specifically, is sparse, very uneven in spatial focus and type". Of note is that Chirikure et al. (2021) provide a valuable analysis of the relationship between UNESCO and the development of heritage tourism within Africa. Other useful research contributions must be acknowledged, such as on heritage tourism issues in Ghana (Adu-Ampong, 2012; Mensah, 2015) and Tanzania (Lwoga, 2017, 2018a, 2018b, 2019).

Currently, the most extensive body of writings on heritage tourism is that for South Africa with particularly notable works contributed by Baines (2019), Hlongwane and Ndlovu (2019), McEwen (2013), Marschall (2005, 2009, 2013, 2019), Mgxekwa et al. (2017, 2019), Murray (2013), Rassool (2000) and Roux (2021). In addition, there has been a recent burst of contributions on heritage tourism which have been authored by geographers, most especially the geography of heritage studies produced by van der Merwe and colleagues. Arguably, these research investigations have established an important position for geographers in scholarly debates which are taking place around leveraging South Africa's assets for heritage tourism development (van der Merwe, 2013; van der Merwe & Rogerson, 2013; Khumalo et al., 2014; van der Merwe, 2014; Masilo & van der Merwe, 2016; Rogerson & van der Merwe, 2016; van der Merwe, 2016; van der Merwe & Rogerson, 2018; van der Merwe, 2019a, 2019b; Mohale et al., 2020; Drummond et al., 2021; van der Merwe, 2024). In a recent overview of tourism geographical writings for South Africa it was concluded that the theme of heritage tourism was attracting "several recent contributions variously about its participants, its geographies and its economic impacts" (Rogerson & Visser, 2020, p. 6).

METHODS

The data used in this study on the planning of heritage tourism development at Kliptown were obtained from both primary and secondary sources. The primary information was gathered through archival searches including at the collections of historical papers of the University of the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg) and the records (including unpublished consultancy reports) of the Johannesburg Development Agency, the implementation agency responsible for the development and upgrading of the Kliptown project area. More recent material on the project area was sourced from the South African Heritage Resources Agency. An internet-mediated search captured material from a range of secondary sources, including published literature and unpublished research dissertations. Figure 1 shows the location of Kliptown, one of the settlements that comprise the vast township of Soweto. Of note is that this heritage tourism development is located 15 km from Vilakazi Street and the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum. These are the core attractions for the majority of "township" tours operated in Soweto and which are mainly patronised by international tourists (see Booyens, 2021).

Figure 1. The Location of Kliptown in Soweto
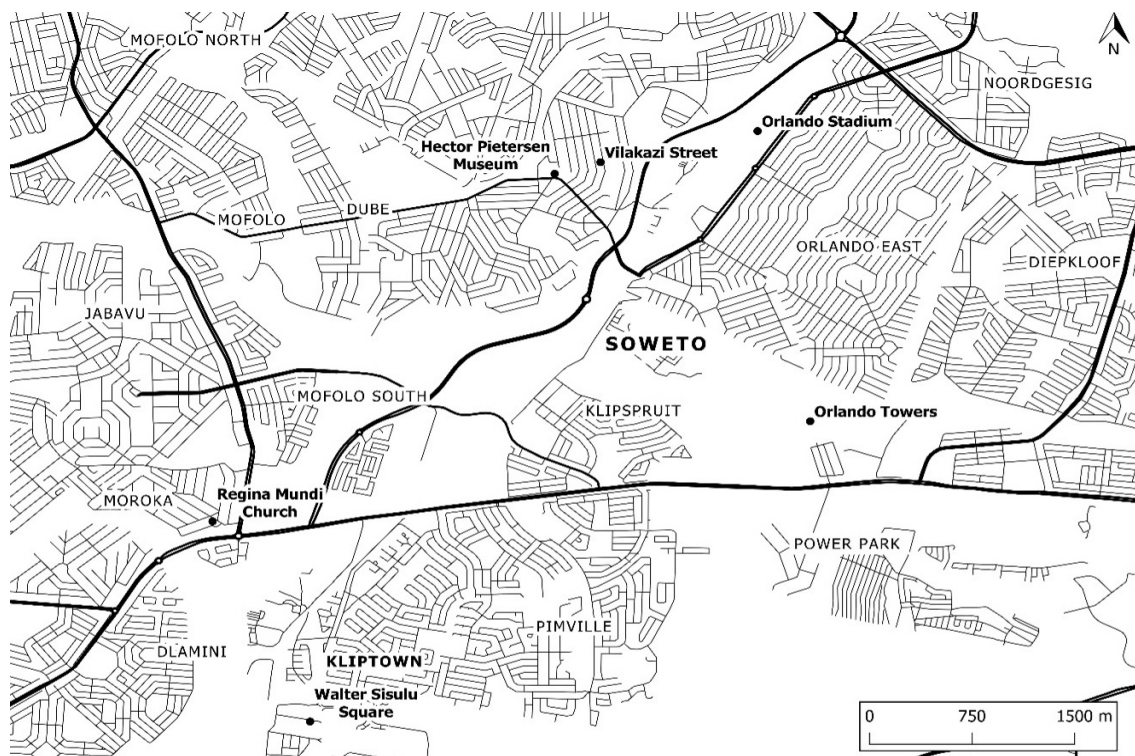
Note: Walter Sisulu Square is the centre of the area's heritage tourism development
Source: Author

RESULTS

The Kliptown area has a distinctive development history as a township in Johannesburg (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2014a). Howe (2022) views the settlement founded in 1903 as an early example of "toehold urbanization", which is interpreted as people simply "getting a foot in the door" in terms

of access to employment opportunities in major urban areas. In Johannesburg toehold urbanization emerged to serve the mining-industrial complex. Kliptown became a melting pot for diverse cultural and racial groups accessing the growing mining city (Newbury, 2011). Until 1970, the settlement was outside the Johannesburg city boundaries and from the early 1900s consolidated as a place to house the unwanted and marginalized populations that came to Johannesburg seeking work on the mines (Judin et al., 2014). In terms of colonial legislation, Africans were prohibited from owning land outside the areas designated as "native reserves". Situated beyond the municipal boundaries Kliptown, however, was a freehold area and one of the few places where Africans in urban areas of South Africa might own property (Newbury, 2011). In addition, it was one of the few spaces where "non-Europeans" could engage in trade or own businesses (Bremner, 2004).

Kliptown was a mixed or hybrid urban space, a place where different racial groups lived together (Judin et al., 2014). Bremner (2004, p. 523) records that the way Johannesburg authorities responded to the undisciplined and marginal activities taking place in Kliptown "was simply to ignore it". As a result of the area's unique history and location by 1955, when the committee for the Congress of the People, an alliance of anti-apartheid groupings, was in search of a venue that might host a public non-racial gathering, there were few better locations (Kuljian, 2009). Kliptown was selected because it was geographically beyond municipal jurisdiction, accessible to a train station, and with a large tract of land sufficient to accommodate the expected thousands of attendees for the planned protest event (Bremner, 2004). On 25–26 June 1955 almost 3000 delegates and 7000 spectators from all over South Africa converged on Kliptown to ratify the Freedom Charter document, which had been in preparation for two years (Congress of People, 1955; Suttner & Cronin, 2006). Nevertheless, as observed by Noble (2008), the site of this thoroughly inclusive event in South African history was an area that had suffered a long history of neglect in terms of its high levels of unemployment, poor conditions of housing and infrastructural shortcomings.

Unsurprisingly, Kliptown was not included in the itinerary of the earliest guided tours offered to the townships of Soweto. The tours that began in the late 1960s were organised by the Johannesburg City Council and sought to showcase to visitors the "model" housing programmes which had been established there by apartheid planning (Rogerson, 2021). Booyens (2021) aptly styles these early township tours as "propaganda tourism". In terms of tourism under apartheid the major distinguishing feature of Kliptown was that it hosted the "New Yorker" hotel, one of the small number of "non-White" hotels established in urban areas of apartheid South Africa as a result of the introduction of legislation requiring racially segregated hotel spaces (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2020; Rogerson, 2020b). According to information provided in the annual survey of race relations produced by the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), the hotel opened to visitors in 1959 (Horrell, 1959, p. 248). In the 1967 guide to Johannesburg specifically produced by SAIRR for Africans the New York was described as offering "seven bedrooms and one bathroom", catering for all designated "Non-Whites – African, Coloured and Indian" people, and that management arranged dances and social evenings "for every Thursday and Friday night" (Suttner, 1967, p. 2).

Arguably, throughout the apartheid period (1948–1991) little was done to address the Kliptown community's woeful living environment and the shelter conditions in the area worsened with an

extension of informal settlement. After the democratic transition the dilapidated state of the physical environment of Kliptown precipitated protests with residents' anger over the lack of services (Judin et al., 2014). The critical need for the area's economic regeneration only emerged belatedly on the agenda of Johannesburg metropolitan authorities in the late 1990s. Importantly, this occurred at a moment when great optimism surrounded the prospects of planned post-apartheid heritage projects emerging as popular tourist attractions (Marschall, 2005). As stressed by Kuljian (2009), the 1996 Greater Kliptown Development Framework began with good intentions. At the heart of this development programme for upgrading Kliptown, including the de-densifying and upgrading of informal housing, were proposals for establishing what was then called Freedom Square, the site of the 1955 Congress of the People, as a tourism site with a museum and enhanced public spaces. Implementation of this plan, however, did not materialise largely because of the absence of capacity within the municipality to handle an area-wide development project of this scale (Judin et al., 2014). According to Kuljian (2009, p. 457), it was five years later "before the political will, institutional capacity and funding came together to revisit Kliptown and initiate another plan". Of critical importance was the establishment of the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) to organise area-based economic development initiatives in the metropolitan area. Its funding came from both the city and the Gauteng provincial government through the resources of Blue IQ, the provincial development agency (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2014a).

It was announced in 2002 that massive investments would be committed to the renewal of Kliptown and that the area would be among a list of high priority projects. Arguably, its selection was as a result of city officials accepting that heritage tourism could significantly boost urban economic development prospects and drive the Kliptown area's urgently needed physical regeneration (Judin et al., 2014). Once again at the core of the redevelopment proposals was the creation of a monument to commemorate the Freedom Charter with a target for completion for the 50th anniversary of the adoption of the Charter – 26 June 2005. An architectural competition was launched for the redesign of the space in the environs of the Square (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2010). The object was both to address a range of community needs around housing as well as to attract international tourists to this critical heritage space of the anti-apartheid struggle. This said, as has been stressed by several observers, following the selection of the winning design and the commencement of implementation "attention to the preferences and practices of local residents declined and the emphasis on attracting tourists increased" (Kuljian, 2009, p. 457).

For the Johannesburg Development Agency (2014b) Kliptown remained "a place of hope". Nevertheless, the trajectory of the development process, designed and controlled externally and without much attention to local community preferences, became top-down driven and imposed on the local community (Bremner, 2004; Noble, 2008). By 2002 Freedom Square had been renamed the Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication to honour a former leader of the African National Congress. This renaming decision was widely felt to be hasty and inappropriate by many observers, as for the local community the chief significance of the Square was about the Freedom Charter and had very little to do with Walter Sisulu (Kuljian, 2007). Local residents were angered when government officials decided to rename what was to be called "Freedom Square" to "Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication" without any

community consultation (Kuljian, 2009; Judin et al., 2014). Further community disenchantment with the project implementation arose from the forced relocation of informal traders and with minimal attention to how the new facilities on the Square would be used or managed (Kuljian, 2009).

At its centre is the memorial to the Freedom Charter housed in a conical tower where the words of the Charter are carved on a concrete wheel surrounding a commemorative flame (Judin et al., 2014). Among others Noble (2008) stresses that the monumental scale of the new Square has not been well-received and not least because over one-third of the budget committed for Kliptown redevelopment and completed in 2005 was expended on the Square as a foundation for heritage tourism. The construction of the monument to mark the site where the Freedom Charter was adopted "was brought to a standstill several times by community protests over the non-delivery of housing" (Marschall, 2019, p. 1097). Figure 2 shows the hugeness of the Square, its neat and clean empty spaces devoid of people. What was created was a large characterless authoritarian space, which as a consequence is often unused, empty and soulless. One observer was prompted to describe it as an "out-of-time" monumental architectural and planning ensemble "which looks very much like something Nehru's India or Kubitschek's Brazil might have built in the 1950s or early 1960s" (Murawski, 2019, p. 26).

Figure 2. The Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication

Photocredit: James Gregory

Following the opening of the site in 2005 there has occurred the addition of further structures to support the Kliptown precinct and integrate it as part of the diversified township tourism product in Soweto (Booyens, 2021). These include a struggle heritage museum and a four-star boutique hotel with a conference centre. The anchor project documents produced to inform tourism development in Kliptown were overly optimistic in projections for the likely growth of numbers in international heritage tourists (see Ochre Communications, 2004). Five years after project completion the planning documents were anticipating nearly 200 000 international visitors annually to the site. Notwithstand-

ing the hopes of the Johannesburg Development Agency for increased tourism flows to Kliptown and tourism-led regeneration, the heritage tourism project has not resulted in a major upturn in tourism flows or in any radical improvement in the conditions of local infrastructure and the livelihoods of Kliptown residents. Despite the construction of the boutique hotel, which attracts mainly government and corporate events but only limited occupancy by international tourists, the much anticipated tourism spend and multiplier effects from this investment in heritage tourism simply have not materialized.

The above assessment is confirmed by the results of several other studies completed on tourism in the Kliptown area and of its local impacts in the period just prior to the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic (Morgan, 2017; Ray, 2018). For example, Muhadi (2019, p. 49) speaks of the fact that "the current number of tourists is low" and explains that in part to the lack of involvement of the local community in projects for Kliptown development. Ray's (2018, p. 73) interviews with heritage stakeholders pointed to a conclusion that the Square was "not working as a tourism site". It is evident that the city of Johannesburg's desired targets for heritage tourists remain far from being realised and that the "precinct continues to struggle with regards to the number of tourists" (Muhadi, 2019, p. 49). Although precise tourism numbers are unavailable in Ray's (2017) stakeholder interviews undertaken around the Kliptown project, it was reported by one heritage analyst that annual visitor numbers for the museum on the square might be as low as 4000 in total! In order to boost Kliptown tourism the stakeholder interviews pointed to the imperative for improved marketing of the precinct and most especially as compared to the much greater marketing attention accorded to the Vilakazi Street area and cluster of tourist attractions of Soweto (Ray, 2018). Another compelling challenge is, however, to address the bad state of the surrounding environment as regards basic infrastructure services, water and sanitation (Morgan, 2017). Notwithstanding these issues, in 2019 the Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication was declared as a national heritage site. It was identified as one of ten initial sites for the Human Rights and Reconciliation: Nelson Mandela Legacy Sites World Heritage nomination (Heritage Protection Unit, South African Heritage Resources Agency, 2019).

Significantly at the public meeting convened to discuss the World Heritage nomination process whilst community members did not oppose the declaration of the site, it was observed that "they were weary of further developments at the site while their living conditions and socio-economic situations were not considered" (Heritage Protection Unit, South African Heritage Resources Agency, 2019, p. 7). What is abundantly clear from recent research is the minimal contribution which has been made by this heritage tourism project towards uplifting the livelihoods and dire socio-economic conditions of Kliptown local residents. On several occasions since the early 2000s, the Kliptown community has been promised improved living conditions and job opportunities but these have not been fulfilled despite the community making clear that the area's heritage assets "should be used to uplift the living conditions of the people of Kliptown" (Muhadi, 2019, p. 47). Recent studies suggest that in Kliptown unemployment rates are between 60–70 percent, with 85 percent of the community living in informal housing and enduring a sanitation system dependent largely on the bucket system and chemical toilets, and with minimal public services (Lekaba, 2020). In a 2019 report produced by an agency of national government on the state of Kliptown heritage and tourism it was concluded as follows:

Despite the aims and predictions, the business plans, the community of Kliptown have yet to realize any benefits from the proposed developments. The community of Kliptown have endured many years of neglect despite the many promises made through the project, politicians and government. The lack of service delivery, increased unemployment and lowering levels of disposable income persist for the people of Kliptown (Heritage Protection Unit, South African Heritage Resources Agency, 2019, p. 2).

Overall, while local communities might not always directly benefit from flows of heritage tourists, arguably the planning of such initiatives should "include some general upgrading of the surrounding area or become nodes of urban development" (Marschall, 2005, p. 111). This was supposedly to occur at Kliptown where the planned monument of commemoration at the Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication would "not only form a new 'town centre', but constitute the focal point of a substantial urban renewal project for the entire surrounding area, which includes new roads, homes and public facilities" (Marschall, 2005, p. 111). It is evidenced that at Kliptown, as has been the case with several other heritage tourism projects implemented in the post-apartheid period, the promised developmental effects for local communities have not materialised (Marschall, 2019).

CONCLUSIONS

For the leading international geographical scholar on heritage tourism "there remains a dearth of knowledge about the dynamics of heritage tourism" in sub-Saharan Africa (Timothy, 2023b, p. 304). The pursuit of such research is particularly justified given the continued flow of new heritage-related tourism developments in this region of the global tourism economy. This article contributes to the paucity of studies which have interrogated the planning of urban heritage tourism in Africa. In the assessment by Visser (2023, p. 113) it was argued that generally across the experience of sub-Saharan Africa "urban heritage tourism is not reaching its full potential". From a socio-political perspective, Marschall (2009) points out that for previously marginalized communities the celebration of heritage can be empowering. That said, the construction of new heritage projects can be divisive in that their value as tourist attractions and generators of local incomes may on closer examination be much lower than local communities are made to believe" (p. 121). Indeed, it is argued, "one suspects that the tourism argument is sometimes mobilized to justify commemorative projects that are rather politically expedient" (Marschall, 2009, p. 121).

This would appear to be the case at least in the initial planning and rollout of the heritage tourism project in Kliptown. The evidence from Kliptown further confirms the evaluations of other heritage scholars that the government's belief that the people would "proudly embrace and protect 'their heritage' has – by and large – not materialized" (Marschall, 2019, p. 1096). In South Africa, abundant research attests that residents in townships rarely visit local heritage sites, show a lack of interest in history or heritage conservation, and seemingly have no genuine sense of ownership of heritage assets (Marschall, 2013; Ray, 2018). Local communities reject or ignore local monuments as a result of disgruntlement often over issues of inadequate consultation. An equally compelling reason for local communities to reject heritage projects relates to cost considerations with residents viewing

them as a waste of scarce resources in contexts where many people lack food, adequate shelter and basic services. At the implementation phase of heritage projects local communities often "make their approval conditional upon employment of locals and simultaneous delivery of housing and other basic needs" (Marschall, 2019, p. 1096). Nevertheless, in South Africa the post-apartheid government has moved more swiftly with the construction of commemorative monuments than with the completion of desperately needed community infrastructure. In final analysis the experience of Kliptown provides an important lesson for planners of urban tourism heritage projects. The building of monuments and the development of heritage tourism attractions in spaces where there are serious socio-economic challenges without the implementation of measures to address poverty, service delivery shortcomings and chronic unemployment poses the danger that such monuments and heritage sites can become focal points for broader dissatisfaction by communities.

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Contested Heritage in South Africa: Perspectives from Mahikeng

ABSTRACT

Mahikeng, the seat of the Ngaka Modiri Molema District and capital of South Africa's North West province, has identified tourism as an economic driver based on cultural heritage related to Batswana, Boer, and British contestation. However, the colonial heritage is underutilised as visitors come to Mahikeng (formerly Mafeking) in search of experiences relating to the siege of Mafeking, the Anglo–Boer War, and the origins of the Boy Scouts movement but leave disappointed. This heritage has been downgraded in democratic post-apartheid South Africa as there is an agenda that seeks to highlight African cultural heritage, particularly relating to the anti-apartheid struggle. This formerly suppressed cultural heritage needs to be promoted as it is crucial to South Africa's history, identity, and social cohesion. However, other heritages that are also important are falling by the wayside with the result that the country's diversity as the 'rainbow nation' is being eroded, and heritage tourism opportunities, which could prompt Local Economic Development (LED), are missed. A more critical engagement with the colonial heritage by including African perspectives, critiques, interactions, and roles within the narrative is needed.

Keywords: heritage tourism, South Africa, colonial nostalgia, Mafeking, cultural heritage

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INTRODUCTION

A recent study (Pentz & Albert, 2023} has emphasized the importance of preserving and archiving cultural landscapes. Further, protecting heritage and encouraging cultural heritage tourism is a "challenge for developing countries, particularly where heritage sites are widely spread in rural areas and may not include impressive buildings and monuments" (Snowball & Courtney, 2010, p. 563). The Ngaka Modiri Molema District in South Africa's North West province (see Figure 1) is a remote area in need of economic stimulation that has identified tourism as a potential economic driver. Local Economic Development (LED) strategies related to tourism in rural and remote areas often take the form of route tourism, which links several smaller attractions under a unified theme and collectively markets them. It is hoped that route tourism will encourage increased domestic and international tourist numbers as well as repeat visits, that people will stay longer, spend more, and that there will be significant spillover effects for local communities providing goods and services to the tourist market, thereby promoting economic development (Lourens, 2007; Rogerson, 2009).

Figure 1. Location map showing Kimberley–Taung–Mahikeng in South Africa
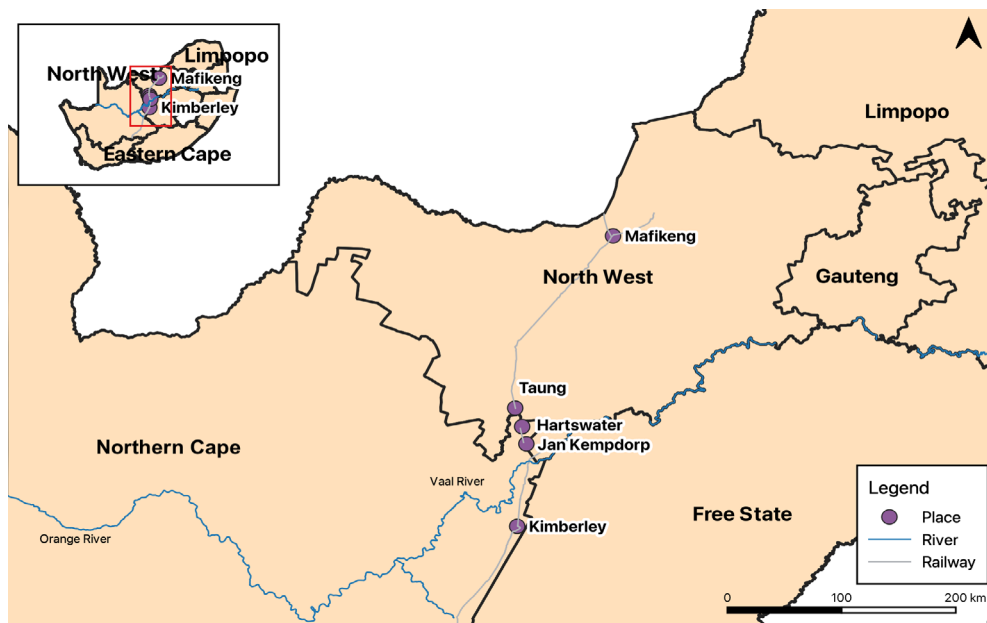
Source: Author

In order to develop a tourist route, an area needs to identify a number of attractions. Mahikeng itself is in a good position of having several diverse heritage sites that are of domestic and international significance (Drummond, Rogerson et al., 2021). The town's main claim to fame is the 217-day Siege of Mafeking during the Anglo–Boer War (now the South African War) in 1899–1900 and the subsequent birth of the Boy Scout movement. International tourists come to Mahikeng searching for this heritage but leave disappointed. This is not unique to Mahikeng, as it has been reported that "the experiential encounters of international tourists engaging with South African cultural heritage have frequently been reported to be of significant concern" (Butler & Ivanovic, 2016, p. 69). Furthermore, the town's

historical transport, and social and religious interactions with Kimberley suggest that a tourist route linking the towns would resonate with tourists interested in battlefield tourism.

In the post-apartheid era, there has been an explicit political change in government policy, focusing on the need to promote efforts to decolonise South Africa's cultural heritage and right the wrongs of the past, which suppressed African cultural expression. A sustained and comprehensive body of work by Witz (2006, 2010, 2011, 2022) and by Witz and his co-workers (Murray & Witz, 2013; Rassool et al., 1996; Witz et al., 2001) has advocated for a South African history which is accurate, reflects the lived experience of the African majority, and is representative of worker and community struggles which should be commemorated and curated in the country's museums. In Mahikeng, this national re-orientation has resulted in colonial heritage being comparatively neglected. Museum displays of the Siege and founding of the Boy Scouts are limited, while the role of Scottish missionary and explorer David Livingstone in the area is relatively unknown. There is also silence around the lives of Christopher Bethell and Charles Warren, two prominent British colonial officials who were to different degrees supportive of the Batswana (Manson, 2022; Shillington, 2021). Although Lester (2022a) emphasises that their lives did not in any way counterbalance the negative effects of colonial dispossession and violence, they did, in some ways, help to secure the Bechuanaland Protectorate, which would gain independence as Botswana. Mafeking was the extra-territorial capital of the Protectorate for seventy years, and this period as a British colonial capital is worthy of scrutiny.

This paper does not in any way call for an exclusive focus on British colonialism, but it does suggest a critical engagement with the historical experience. This also resonates with contemporary debates internationally on the "culture wars", such as the removal of Confederate leaders' statues in the USA and those of individuals associated with the slave trade in the UK (Lester, 2022b). The former Mafikeng museum exhibits on colonial life have been replaced by a focus on the anti-apartheid struggle and indigenous culture. This is also evident in the annual Mahika–Mahikeng festival, which is itself a celebration of Batswana culture and the Setswana language (Drummond et al., 2021a). This Africanist slant could be linked to aspects of the colonial experience. For example, the African role in the Siege of Mafeking was extensively documented by the noted African writer and political leader Sol Plaatje (Comaroff, 1989). Opportunities to develop cultural heritage tourism are not being pursued, and this is due to a political programme to downplay the experience and legacy of British colonial rule (Drummond et al., 2021b). A missed opportunity has been the failure to develop heritage routes that critically engage with the Siege, Boy Scouts, and David Livingstone. Highlighting interactions with colonials by African heroes like Montshiwa, Sol Plaatje, and Modiri Molema would portray African agency and resistance. Analyses of festivals show that out-of-town visitors are crucial in terms of their economic spend and impact. If Mahikeng could attract visitors from further afield, including Botswana and overseas markets, this would boost museum and accommodation coffers and promote business for tourist guides. That this is not done is evidently counterproductive in terms of lost economic tourism potential since interest in the colonial heritage exists. Questions of whose culture and whose heritage thus become important for reasons of identity, preservation, and tourist-related LED.

Heritage tourism strategies and development

Defining cultural heritage can be problematic as it includes both tangible aspects (buildings, monuments, historic sites) and intangible aspects such as traditions and customs (Throsby, 2007). However, what ultimately determines heritage is the socio-cultural value that is placed on it (Peacock & Rizzo, 2008). The question now arises as to who decides whether a certain heritage is valuable or not. This tends to shift over time with changes in political power so that the cultural heritage that was important to one group or culture, may not be important to another who wants to tell their stories and highlight their culture and heritage (Peacock & Rizzo, 2008). Timothy & Boyd (2006) assert that heritage tourism is an inherently political phenomenon that can be used to exclude certain cultures, heritages, and histories. On the other hand, heritage tourism can also be used to emphasize certain perspectives and build nationalism, social cohesion, and patriotism (Kim et al., 2007). This process has been termed 'collective amnesia' by Kim et al. (2007), as some histories are neglected and allowed to fade away while another is favoured and actively promoted till it becomes the dominant narrative, as is the case in North Korea.

A similar process appears to be occurring in South Africa as "many cultural tourist guides bemoaned the fact that certain heritage sites receive preferential treatment from the government and that a biased history seems to be portrayed in many sites across the country" (van der Merwe, 2016, p. 125). It is perceived that the heritage tourism market is a specialized market, which is dominated by the apartheid history of South Africa so heritage sites like the battlefields in Kwa-Zulu Natal which relate to colonial engagements between British, Boer and Zulu forces are not promoted to the same degree as sites like the Hector Pieterson Museum which focuses on apartheid liberation/struggle heritage (van der Merwe, 2016). This seems to be linked to political gain for local leaders and authorities as comments were made that "the government appears to be becoming increasingly selective on which aspects of heritage should be promoted/celebrated, and forgets the role played by other groups of people" (van der Merwe, 2016, p. 125).

The issue of whose culture and whose heritage are commemorated is contentious in countries across the global South with colonial legacies, due to the cultural diversity within the countries and post-colonial legacies and politics (Butler et al., 2012; Butler & Ivanovic, 2016; Hannam, 2006; van der Merwe, 2024). For example, in Fiji, the 'native' Fijian or *iTaukei* culture and heritage are preserved and celebrated over the Indian 'migrant' or *Girmitiyas* cultural heritage (Cheer & Reeves, 2015). This stems from British colonial rule, where the two cultures were set up in opposition to one another, with the *iTaukei* being favoured over indentured labourers from India who were later freed and granted legal dispensation to permanently settle in Fiji (Cheer & Reeves, 2015). Since independence in 1970, cultural issues have ensued with pro-*iTaukei* socio-cultural anxieties and political movements resulting in sociopolitical turmoil and *iTaukei* cultural heritage being preserved, celebrated and marketed for tourism (Cheer & Reeves, 2015). These cultural dynamics and questions about whose culture and heritage are complicated by recent tourism development strategies, which seek to refurbish British colonial buildings in Fiji in the hopes of prompting LED related to colonial nostalgia tourism (Cheer & Reeves, 2015).

Similarly, in Malaysia, the state seeks to promote Malay–Muslim cultural heritage to the detriment of the country's minority Chinese and Indian communities (Tan & Choy, 2020). After the Singapore–Malaysia separation in 1965, official government policies sought to identify suitable elements of Malaysian culture, heritage, and history to be promoted as representative of Malaysia's post-colonial national identity (Crouch, 1996, as cited in Tan & Choy, 2020). This led to the official marginalization of non-Malay cultures and is proving problematic for Malaysia's heritage tourism strategies, as there is a lack of Malay–Muslim architecture in the old quarters of most of the older towns and cities (Tan & Choy, 2020). Instead, there is a wealth of European colonial and Straits Chinese architecture which reflects the long, deep and lasting multi-cultural identity of the country, which does not fit in with the dominant Malay–Muslim narrative and heritage that the government wishes to promote (Tan & Choy, 2020). Until recently, the British colonial history of Malaysia had been absent from museums and official tourism promotions (Tan & Choy, 2020). However, this heritage has been revitalised as the wealth of colonial buildings provided a tourism opportunity that could not be ignored due to its potential for generating income (Tan & Choy, 2020).

Colonial nostalgia-based tourism has the potential to be highly lucrative for developing countries with colonial legacies. Indeed, there has been a boom in colonial nostalgia, with tens of thousands of British tourists visiting former colonies (Bandyopadhyay, 2018). For example, this tourism-driven economic potential has been recognised in Zanzibar, where space and culture have been harnessed by the government in an attempt to transform the old Omani sultanate section of Zanzibar City, now called Mji Mkongwe but known as Stone Town in English, into a global tourist attraction which trades on the Omani and British colonial nostalgia exotic idea of Arabian nights (Bissell, 2005). Lowenthal (2005, p. 4) described nostalgia as follows:

> *Nostalgia is today the universal catch word for looking back. It fills the popular press, serves as advertising bait, merits sociological study; no term better expresses modern malaise. If the past is a foreign country, nostalgia has made it the foreign country with the healthiest tourist trade of all.*

India is a prime example of the tourist demand for colonial nostalgia as British tourists travel to India, the jewel in the crown of the British Empire, in search of a colonial heritage, which is important to them and offers a return to an imagined and romanticized past to escape from current and future struggles (Bandyopadhyay, 2018; Bissell, 2005). "Nostalgia requires an object world to seize on – buildings, fashion, images, and the ephemera of everyday life" (Bissell, 2005, p. 221). British tourists to India want to experience the luxurious lifestyle of the Raj by being pampered, surrounded by colonial-style hotels and restaurants and visiting important historical sites (Bandyopadhyay, 2018). However, it is not just tourists from the former colonizers that are attracted by colonial nostalgia as a sanitized elite colonial lifestyle is being marketed to domestic tourists (Bandyopadhyay et al., 2008). For example, the former French colonial capital of Pondicherry (now Puducherry) has a wide array of all things French and has been called 'the French Riviera of the East' (Jørgensen, 2019). This French colonial heritage has been preserved and enhanced as it provides a distinctive place identity which is used as a unique selling point on which to market the city to international (mainly French) and domestic tourists from regional urban hubs like Chennai and Bengaluru (Jørgensen, 2019). The

majority of tourists are domestic as the Puducherry government and private sector have successfully marketed the city to young professionals as a French colonial and cosmopolitan experience weekend destination for a break from a hectic working lifestyle (Jørgensen, 2019). The main focus of domestic visits to Puducherry is not to engage with French colonial narratives but rather a mixing of East and West or Tamil and French culture based on the built environment and intangible French cultural experiences (Jørgensen, 2019).

The tourism industry and popular media often emphasize "nostalgic experiences of a sanitized colonial history" which is often at odds with government narratives of resistance against colonial powers and representations of the brutality of colonialism (Bandyopadhyay et al., 2008, p. 790). At the national level, the Indian government utilizes heritage tourism to build a Hindu-centric national identity, despite the country's vast religious diversity, by promoting a narrative of India enduring and overcoming foreign control from European colonial rulers and Muslim emperors (Bandyopadhyay et al., 2008). However, this is not the case in Puducherry, where the local government supports the tourism industry in marketing the innocent French colonial experience, as it is a significant economic driver (Jørgensen, 2019). A similar situation exists in Goa, a former Portuguese colony, which has become a popular tourist destination based on marketing its unique Portuguese colonial heritage in India, beaches and freedom from social restrictions (Gupta, 2009). In both destinations, "certain historical aspects are purposely taken up and put on display, while others are conveniently forgotten and relegated to the archive" (Gupta, 2009, p. 136). This shows the importance of place branding and marketing the unique heritage of a place to attract tourists.

In addition to the largely positive colonial nostalgia tourism framing utilised in Puducherry and Goa, none of the British tourists visiting Kolkata and Darjeeling interviewed by Bandyopadhyay (2018) wanted to talk about the dark side of colonialism but were content to reminisce on the 'good old days' when Britannia ruled the waves. The sanitised version of colonial history is problematic to post-colonial national identities and does not educate domestic and international tourists about the realities of colonial rule. Perhaps this would destroy the nostalgia and is problematic for the tourism industry and the developing countries like Fiji and India that are targeting colonial-based tourism since a sense of shame over the British Empire would surely discourage this type of tourism. Bandyopadhyay (2011) has commented on how in the twenty-first century, the attitudes of British tourists resemble colonial times as they retain power over the dominant narrative of colonialism. However, the brutality and violence of colonialism cannot and should not be ignored, especially considering the attraction of domestic tourists and national identity. In today's world where confederate leader and slave owner statues are targeted in the USA and UK as well as the Rhodes Must Fall campaign in South Africa and the global Black Lives Matter campaign, it is clear that there is an interest in a more accurate historical record and a critical engagement with colonial histories and legacies. It is argued in this paper it is possible to present a critical engagement and more accurate historical narrative in Mahikeng where there are heritage sites and a wealth of information on African experiences and perspectives of life in a British colonial town. In this case, 'the subalterns [can] speak' (Spivak, 1988, p. 24).

A popular means of encouraging cultural heritage tourism and preserving sites and artefacts of significance is to create heritage routes, which highlight a number of historically significant sites under a specific theme, particularly in rural and remote areas (Timothy & Boyd, 2006). The aims of cultural heritage routes include protecting and documenting heritage assets (often smaller sites and sites of mainly local significance), improving conservation and management of heritage assets, increasing the sustainability of tourism products and initiatives, attracting more visitors through collective marketing strategies, dispersing visitor spending towards rural and less developed areas and increasing length of stay and tourist spending (Meyer, 2004; Rogerson, 2009). This increase in tourist activity relates to LED considerations which have been recognized at the national, provincial and local government levels in South Africa for their potential pro-poor outcomes and economic diversification. However, LED strategies in South Africa often do not generate the anticipated economic returns, are unsustainable in the long-term, reliant on government support and funding, so may collapse if it is withdrawn, or are private sector driven and so exclude impoverished communities (Rogerson, 2006). Therefore, Snowball & Courtney (2010) recommend that rather than basing decisions on heritage conservation on LED strategies and financial gain, it is the non-market benefits that should be considered. This is especially true given that most successful heritage routes take between 20–30 years to mature and generate substantial economic returns for local communities (Lourens, 2007).

Using heritage routes to simultaneously protect cultural heritage assets and attract tourists is a relatively well-established LED strategy in both the global North, such as the Camino de Santiago in Spain and Route 66 in the USA, as well as the global South, such as the Dandi Heritage Route in India and the World Heritage Route in Vietnam (Snowball & Courtney, 2010). Similarly, South Africa has a number of mature tourism routes that have a pro-poor LED focus, such as the Midlands Meander craft route in Kwa-Zulu Natal and wine routes in the Western Cape (Lourens, 2007; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2011). More recently, in South Africa, there has been a focus on creating and establishing a series of heritage routes, which commemorate important historic events, places and people. These routes highlight predominantly local African heritages, such as the Liberation Heritage Route in the Eastern Cape, which recognizes the role of a number of local leaders and communities and sites of local significance in the struggle for political self-determination from colonial and apartheid forces (Snowball & Courtney, 2010). Under the apartheid government, African heritage was suppressed, and so in democratic South Africa, the ANC government has focused on narratives of the apartheid struggle, traditional African cultures, and African engagements and interactions with colonial forces. These heritages and narratives must be brought into the light, but South Africa has been described as the 'rainbow nation' due to the country's cultural diversity, and so other cultural heritages should not be neglected.

In a study of South African tourist guides' perceptions of cultural heritage tourism, 88% considered heritage to be important to the country's tourism economy, offering the view that South Africa has a rich heritage, a wide range of cultural diversity and turbulent history, all of which needs to be preserved as it is critical for nation building and for individuals to understand and appreciate their place in society and the current situation in South Africa as well as attracting tourists and promoting LED (van der Merwe, 2016). The importance of diverse cultural heritage preservation and manage-

ment is laid out in the National Heritage Resources Act, which calls for the identification, protection and management of a wide range of cultural heritage and the need to educate the population about its value (Republic of South Africa, 1999). However, a number of guides also reported that heritage in South Africa has become a racial issue, which is continuously entrenched by the current ANC ruling party, and so it seems that policy implementation on the ground is lacking (van der Merwe, 2016).

METHODS

Heritage tourism is inherently political and has been harnessed to promote a certain national identity (Johnson, 1999). The question of whose heritage and culture is preserved and promoted has been raised in a number of locations, including India and Malaysia that have undergone political change (Bandyopadhyay et al., 2008; Tan & Choy, 2020). This is now the case in South Africa, and it is this question that is considered in this paper using Mahikeng as a case study. Different heritages and cultures have been celebrated and promoted over time in Mahikeng. The author has lived in the town continuously since 1984 and has thus become an "accidental research participant" since he has witnessed the ebb and flow of the promotion of the various cultures and heritages that intertwine in Mahikeng with changes in political power (Shaw, 2013, p. 1). In recounting the development over the last forty years of the displays at the Mafikeng Museum, the use and preservation of colonial buildings, and the activities at Lotlamoreng Cultural Village, the researcher has to track the evolution of heritage preservation and promotion in relation to tourism over time in accordance with the practice of cultural geography (Söderström, 2010).

The insights were further verified and triangulated through an analysis of the state of affairs of existing heritage and cultural assets in Mahikeng. This was combined with a thematic analysis of TripAdvisor reviews from people who had visited the town between 2015 and 2019 and comments in the Mahikeng Museum's visitors' book. Given the COVID-19 related lockdown in South Africa in 2020 and 2021, which prevented tourism, no surveys or interviews with tourists to Mahikeng were possible. Following the recent call for tourism research to be less present-minded and more explicitly historical (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2023) an approach that considers the past to inform present debates is apposite. To this end, a review of the Mahikeng Mail newspaper was undertaken at the South African National Library in Cape Town as well as a desktop study of archival records into local and national press reports and government publications.

RESULTS

Tourism context in the Ngaka Modiri Molema District

Mahikeng has a long history of cultural interactions between the local African Batswana people, the British under colonial rule, and the Boers (Afrikaners) before and during apartheid. The history of the town dates back to the mid-nineteenth century when the first settlement was founded by the Tshidi

Rolong on the banks of the Molopo River and named Mahikeng, which means 'place of stones' in the local Setswana language (Parnell, 1986). An alternate name given to the settlement was Molema's Stadt, named after the chief of the fraction of the Barolong who settled the area (Parnell, 1986).

Due to its strategic location on the imperial road between Cape Town and Rhodesia, the British sought to secure the area from the Boer Republics and competing colonial powers of Portugal and Germany in Southern Africa by founding the colonial town of Mafeking (Drummond & Drummond, 2021; Drummond & Nel, 2021; Parnell, 1986). Mafeking served as the extra-territorial capital of the Bechuanaland Protectorate from 1895 to 1966, when the territory gained independence from Britain and the capital was moved to Gaborone in the newly independent Botswana.

The relocation of the capital to Gaborone and the departure of Britain as a colonial power meant that Mafeking began to feel the full force of apartheid legislation. However, in 1980 Mafeking was incorporated into Bophuthatswana, the mock independent 'traditional homeland' of the Batswana people, which was established in 1977 under 'President' Lucas Mangope. Motivated by economic opportunities, the decision by white residents of Mafeking to be incorporated into a black African-ruled 'bantustan' was unique for South Africa (Jones, 2000). Symbolic of the town's new status, the name was changed to Mafikeng to better represent the Setswana language (Parnell, 1986).

The next political change came in 1994 when South Africa gained democracy and the 'bantustans' were disbanded. The African National Congress (ANC) government set about dismantling what had been built in Bophuthatswana as it was seen as an instrument of apartheid (Drummond & Drummond, 2021). An ANC policy was to reclaim the suppressed African heritage of South Africa; hence the North West provincial government sought to emphasise the African Batswana heritage of the town and returned to the original Setswana spelling of Mahikeng in 2012. Today, Mahikeng is the main town in the Ngaka Modiri Molema district and is the capital of the North West province. It is a secondary city with a municipal population of over 300 000 people of which 97% are African, the majority culture is Batswana and the main languages in use are English and Setswana (Nel & Drummond, 2019).

In terms of the South African space economy, Mahikeng is located far from the other major metropolitan and industrial areas of the country (Drummond & Nel, 2021). In both the Global North and South, tourism is recognised as a critical sector for promoting LED and economic diversification in rural areas and small towns (Rogerson, 2016).

Tourism opportunities in the Ngaka Modiri Molema District

Cultural heritage tourist guides have identified distance as an issue in heritage tourism development and attracting tourists, as most South African heritage sites are quite remote, and the tourist facilities and infrastructure are insufficient once the destination has been reached (van der Merwe, 2016). Mahikeng is about 300 km from Johannesburg. In order to make Mahikeng an attractive tourism destination, there needs to be a diverse range of tourism activities to make the trip worthwhile.

Currently, there is a range of potential cultural, heritage, and nature assets that are underutilised and could be harnessed for tourism and tourism-led development in the district. These heritage assets, focused around Mahikeng, relate to the town's British colonial heritage, including the Siege of Mafeking, the Anglo–Boer War, and the founding of the Boy Scout movement, as well as African and Batswana cultural heritage like the Lotlamoreng Cultural Village and the role and lives of Batswana heroes like Ngaka (meaning doctor in Setswana) Modiri Molema. However, there are also tourism opportunities related to the life of David Livingstone in South Africa, Sol Plaatje, and the Mahika–Mahikeng Cultural Festival, which have not been identified.

Mahikeng is in the fortunate position of having a number of heritage assets that are of interest to both domestic and international tourists which means that the potential exists to develop them to create an attractive tourism destination. These assets could be unified under a theme to create a heritage route or an extension of existing heritage routes, such as Kimberley–Taung–Mahikeng–Gaborone, that create cross-border linkages. However, most of the town's heritage assets are currently being underutilised and neglected.

Colonial nostalgia for Mafeking

The history of Mafeking as a colonial town has left its mark on present-day Mahikeng in terms of colonial architecture, heritage, and international reputation. The relief of Mafeking and the end of the Siege gave rise to jingoistic celebrations throughout the United Kingdom and the British Empire. In commemoration of the event, streets were named after Mafeking in cities throughout the Commonwealth. The origins of the Boy Scouts movement can also be traced to the Siege of Mafeking. It is this colonial heritage that still resonates with international tourists and attracts them to the town. This colonial nostalgia tourism has the potential to be developed as there is an existing base from which to build and could be harnessed for LED.

The Mahikeng Museum is at the center of the town's tourism industry and is the main port of call for tourists looking for information on the Siege. The Museum itself is housed in the old colonial town hall, completed in 1903. Over time, the museum's displays have changed to reflect shifting political power and ideologies. The displays relating to the Siege of Mafeking and the Boy Scouts are shadows of their former selves (Figure 2). Many of the artefacts are not on display. There is also no longer a curator in charge of the museum, which partly explains the reduced museum displays, lack of maintenance and preservation of artefacts, and the outdated manner of presenting the displays and information. Comments on Trip Advisor indicate a binary perception, which broadly indicates local support for local African history, whilst international tourists bemoan the lack of displays adequately reflecting the Siege.

Due to the interest in battlefield tourism in South Africa, the Anglo–Boer War sites in the Ngaka Modiri Molema District and the Siege of Mafeking sites could be marketed under battlefields tourism and connected to other prominent battlefield sites like Magersfontein, near Kimberley in the Northern Cape (van der Merwe, 2019). Cooperation between these inter-provincial battlefield sites could result

in the development of battlefield tourism in South Africa by increasing the number of attractions and diversifying the offering (van der Merwe, 2014, 2019). The Boer concentration camp graveyard and monument near Lotlamoreng Dam is an important heritage site for the Afrikaans community in Mahikeng. In recent years it has suffered from a lack of maintenance and is currently overgrown by weeds and in a state of neglect. The Boer perspective on the Siege and war generally is one that is not proffered in the museum.

Figure 2. Remnant of Boy Scouts Memorial

A celebration of African leaders and a critical engagement with the colonial narrative

In post-colonial and post-apartheid South Africa, the ANC government has highlighted liberation heritage which has mainly focused on the apartheid struggle. This is part of an agenda to right the wrongs of the past and promote healing, as witnessed elsewhere in the world. In the case of Mahikeng, the colonial narrative can be critically engaged through the voices of African leaders who lived under British colonial rule and through the Siege of Mafeking. This process has already begun through museum displays, but it is underdeveloped and is a missed tourism opportunity in itself, as African leaders like Sol Plaatje and Modiri Molema should be celebrated more prominently.

The Mahikeng Museum could be the centre around which these African and Batswana narratives and cultural heritages are focused. The museum has a small collection of San artefacts, information on the settlement of the area by the Batswana, and displays on the apartheid struggle, which is generalised to a national level and does not highlight local historical events in any depth. Only a small cabinet displays Sol Plaatje's books and provides some information on his life and time in Mafeking during the Siege, while information on Dr. Modiri Molema is even sparser.

Sol Plaatje (1876–1932) was an intellectual, journalist, writer, politician and linguist who worked as a court interpreter during the Siege of Mafeking and kept a diary of his experiences which was published posthumously. He was a founding member of the ANC and fought throughout his life

for the liberation of African people. *The Mafeking Diary of Sol T. Plaatje: A Black Man's View of a White Man's Wa*r, edited by Comaroff (1989), could be used to widen the lens, through which the Siege is viewed and discussed. This would result in a more inclusive and historically accurate record. Moreover, it fits within the current government agenda of promoting African cultural heritage and liberation struggles.

Dr. (Ngaka) Modiri Molema (1891–1965) was a member of the Royal family of the Barolong chieftaincy who was one of the first black South Africans to qualify as a medical doctor. He became the national secretary of the ANC in 1949, served on several councils that helped to set up the independence of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and was the author of *The Bantu Past and Present: An Ethnographical and Historical Study of the Native Races of South Africa* as well as accounts of the lives of two Barolong chiefs. Molema's story is also not featured prominently in Mahikeng's current cultural heritage offering. The museum's information video features a number of Batswana cultural heritage sites like Dr Molema's home and practice, Maritiwa, which is open to visitors and is relatively well maintained, but there is not much other information at the museum or marketing to encourage tourists to visit Maratiwa or the Stadt.

Batswana cultural heritage

It is important to represent the diversity of cultures that have intertwined over Mahikeng's history and to represent and celebrate the culture of the local people. The Mahika–Mahikeng festival seeks to celebrate the local Batswana culture and Setswana language through music, dance, drama, and arts and crafts (Drummond et al., 2021a). Research showed that the 2016 festival mainly attracted local Mahikeng residents and people from the surrounding areas in the North West province and Gauteng, which suggests that the appeal of a festival that celebrates one particular culture is highly localised to areas where Setswana is spoken widely and where the Batswana culture and people are found (Drummond et al., 2021a).

A unique cultural heritage asset that is currently not being utilised in Mahikeng is the Lotlamoreng Cultural Village (Figure 3), which was designed by Credo Mutwa, an "internationally acclaimed Isanusi [traditional healer/prophet], seer, sage, healer, teacher, philosopher, historian, artist, playwright, orator, sculptor, writer and indigenous wisdom keeper" (Credo Mutwa Foundation, 2018). The village is based on the African history, legends and customs that he described in his 1964 book *Indaba My Children* (Dixon Soule Associates, 1987. The village was once popular with locals as well as domestic and international tourists but has since fallen into a state of disrepair and neglect and has not been a site of learning, cultural practice, or open to visitors for many years. The Lotlamoreng Dam complex has been identified and targeted for potential tourism-driven LED by local governments. However, the investment into Lotlamoreng has mainly been related to the dam itself and water-based recreation activities rather than restoring the cultural village. (Africa, 2006; Mokgoro, 2019; Portfolio Committee on Tourism, 2017). The Lotlamoreng Cultural Village was once a popular tourist destination and could be so again in a similar vein to the Credo Mutwa Cultural Village in Soweto. There is an interest

in Credo Mutwa and his work at the national level as the minister for the Department of Sport, Arts and Culture (DSAC), Nathi Mthethwa commented that the DSAC would collect his work and ensure that it was properly curated (SABC News, 2020).

Figure 3. Overgrown weeds and ruins at Lotlamoreng Cultural Village

CONCLUSIONS

During the apartheid era, African histories and heritages were deliberately suppressed while leaders in the apartheid struggle were imprisoned. In the democratic era, these people and stories have been celebrated. However, to more accurately reflect the historical record, be more inclusive, and better represent the 'rainbow nation', it is important that non-African heritages and non-apartheid histories are also included. There are historically intertwining cultures and heritages in Mahikeng that need to be better represented and could be harnessed for urban regeneration and LED (Rogerson, 2024), as there is a good existing base of heritage assets from which to build.

Across the board, heritage is not preserved and celebrated as it should be in Mahikeng. This has been taken up by the local newspaper, The Mahikeng Mail, which recently ran a front-page article ("Shame on you", 2023) complaining about the poor maintenance of Theresa House, a heritage building dating back to 1899 (Figure 4). There are several missed tourism opportunities relating to colonial nostalgia; battlefields tourism; Batswana culture, heritage and experiences. Important historical figures like Christopher Bethell, Montshiwa, Sol Plaatje, Modiri Molema, Credo Mutwa and David Livingstone should be critically examined. There is no need to airbrush colonial heritage from history as there is an opportunity to critically engage with it in Mahikeng through the eyes of prominent writers, activists, and African intellectuals Sol Plaatje and Modiri Molema (Molema ,1966). There are varying heritage interests in Mahikeng, and marketing is needed that is inclusive, promotes tolerance, and encourages openness in people wanting to see and experience South Africa's heritage. Knowledgeable tourist guides based at the Mahikeng Museum are needed to take visitors to all the sites of interest in the Ngaka Modiri Molema District.

Figure 4. Theresa House neglect

It has been suggested that consideration should be given to encouraging the development of a heritage route from Kimberley to Taung and Mahikeng (Sethiba et al., 2022). There are also several obstacles to the growth of heritage tourism identified by tourist guides which are under the mandates of local governments, including poor governance and management (Rogerson, 2020), particularly the poor or lack of infrastructure, maintenance and signage, high entrance fees, poor marketing, a lack of awareness and education about heritage tourism and finally, the highly politicised nature of heritage in South Africa (van der Merwe, 2016). The last of these is certainly afflicting Mahikeng and will need to be overcome if heritage tourism-led development is to be successful.

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Contested Heritage(s) – The Case(s) of the Battle of Blood River (December 16th, 1838), Dundee and Nquthu, South Africa

ABSTRACT

Battlefield tourism is a well-established niche in cultural and heritage tourism the world over. This paper explores the contested nature of a specific battlefield in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, where two separate museums exist to memorialise the same event, but from two perspectives. The Battle of Blood River (December 16th, 1838) remains a contested event in history books, portrayed from Afrikaner and AmaZulu points of view at the Blood River Heritage Site and Ncome Museum, respectively. People interested in visiting battlefields are slowly dying out, and if South Africa wants to take advantage of growing Battlefield Tourism in the future for surviving generations of those involved in these battles, a new approach will be necessary to sustain and develop this niche of cultural and heritage tourism in the country. This paper uses netnography to analyse the internet footprint of this historical event through the museums' websites. The paper argues that a more balanced and two-sided perspective should be given at both museums to grow and develop the interest in battlefield tourism across South Africa and encourage mutual visitorship to both museums on the same battlefield site.

Keywords: culture, contested heritage, heritage tourism, battlefields, South Africa

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INTRODUCTION

South Africa is a cosmopolitan country filled with varied people from different heritage and cultural backgrounds. This paper argues that heritage remains a contested concept within this 30-year-old democracy and has various consequences for heritage and cultural tourism going forward. Specifically, the focus of this paper is upon a specific historical battlefield site – the Battle of Blood River (which took place along the present-day Ncome River on the 16th of December, 1838). The battle occurred between 464 Voortrekkers (Boers who had left the Eastern Cape Frontier, disenchanted with British rule, to find new land to settle in and become independent in the interior of South Africa) and between 10,000 and 20,000 AmaZulu Warriors. It began at dawn and was over by midday, "more than 3000 Zulu casualties were counted around the laager. Only three Voortrekkers (including Voortrekker leader Pretorius) were wounded; none were killed. The Ncome River became red with the blood of the slain. Hence, the river became known as 'Blood River'" (South African History Online, 2023).

The battlefield exists across two local municipalities (both part of the uMzinyathi District Municipality – which consists of 4 local municipalities) in KwaZulu-Natal Province, South Africa. The Afrikaans site, called the "Bloedrivier Erfenisterrein" (Blood River Heritage Site), in the Endumeni Local Municipality (is located on the west side of the Ncome River – numbered 1 on the Google Earth Image); and the Ncome Museum (the AmaZulu site), which is located on the east side of the Ncome River, numbered 2 (still known by some as Bloedrivier – as seen in the Google Earth Image), in the Nqutu Local Municipality. Figure 1 shows the position and layout of each site along the river.

Figure 1. Google Earth Image of the Battle of Blood River Site

Source: adapted from Google Earth (2023)

In the context of the small towns of Dundee and Nquthu in KwaZulu-Natal, this paper examines battlefield tourism as part of the South African cultural and heritage tourism economy in light of this heritage's contested nature and representation. The focus on local development impacts is especially appropriate in the context of the problems of unemployment, poverty and the need for sustainable

livelihoods in the non-metropolitan areas of South Africa (Rogerson, 2019; van der Merwe, 2016). Previous studies have explored tourism-led development of local economies and job creation, which feature as major themes in much of the research on heritage tourism in South Africa (Marschall, 2008a; 2008b; Marschall, 2012; Marschall, 2013; Taru et al., 2014).

It is argued in this paper that heritage remains a contested concept in the 'new South Africa', and that means to tell 'both sides of the story of a particular historical event' needs to be done on a united front, not by two distinct museums adjacent to the river on the same battlefield site or precinct. This paper suggests that what is required for the Battlefields region in the KwaZulu-Natal province of South Africa to become a sustainable and more responsible form of heritage tourism will require the working together of various stakeholders and perspectives of the varied heritage(s) that are represented at the Battle of Blood River. Arguably, if South Africa is to market and sustain heritage tourism more effectively, extended research on Battlefield Tourism and heritage tourists in the context of contested heritage(s) is still necessary.

Numerous studies on heritage tourism in South Africa have emphasised the importance of understanding heritage tourists to improve cultural and heritage tourism market interpretation (Khumalo et al., 2014; Masilo & van der Merwe, 2016; van der Merwe & Rogerson, 2013). This paper focuses on the Battlefield of Blood River in Dundee and Nquthu, South Africa, and its significance in the international context of research on contested heritage and battlefield tourism. The study conducted a netnography of the respective websites of the Blood River Heritage Site and the Ncome Museum. Netnography is a research method used to study online communities and cultures. This paper also examines the local tourism development policies and challenges in maximising local tourism and presents a profile of social media perceptions of each representation of the battlefield site. The paper draws from various sources, including local planning documents (known as the Integrated Development Plans, or IDPs) of the local municipalities in the Battlefields Route area and other documentary sources, to analyse the local promotion initiatives surrounding tourism in Dundee and Nquthu (with its surrounding areas).

LITERATURE REVIEW

International perspective on battlefield heritage tourism

Battlefield tourism involves visiting war memorials, museums, battle re-enactments, and the actual battlefields themselves (Dunkley et al., 2011); and it has gained popularity worldwide (Fallon & Robinson, 2016) since the beginning of time. While there has been extensive research on World War I battlefields (Clarke & Eastgate, 2011; Seaton, 2000; Winter, 2009, 2012, 2016), with the 2014 centenary of WWI (1914–1918), many people are still visiting these sites. Battlefield tourism is a subset of thanatourism known as "dark tourism" (Kokkanikral et al., 2016; Miles, 2014; Yan et al., 2016). There are several reasons why people visit places of death and destruction, including personal interest, thrill-seeking, validation, authenticity, self-discovery, iconic sites, convenience, morbid curiosity,

pilgrimage, remembrance and empathy, contemplation, legitimisation, economic resurgence, the discovery of heritage, acts of remembrance, and personal aspirations (Clarke & Eastgate, 2011; Kiss, 2022; Kim & Butler, 2014; Ryan, 2007; Winter, 2009, 2012 and 2016). Most research on battlefield tourism focuses on representation, management, and maintenance (Garcia-Madura & Grillo-Mendez, 2023; Ryan, 2007; Millar, 2016; Zhang, 2010). However, there is a lack of research on the contested nature of heritage and the representation of the event, which this paper aims to address.

Contested heritage(s)

The concept of representing history and whose perspective it is from is a topic of debate in academic literature (Hlongwane & Ndlovu, 2019 and Winter, 2009). Several scholars have criticised the Afrikaners' perspective of this battle, saying that God could not possibly have given them the victory over the AmaZulu simply because they had made a vow with Him to build a church and religiously remember the day as a public holiday if they were to be victorious. Understanding battlefields and struggle/liberation heritage tourism requires further investigation (Baines, 2007; Bialostocka, 2013; Bialostocka, 2014; Naef & Ploner, 2016; Pentz & Albert, 2023). The Pacific War Battlefields, for example, have caused unease and shame among many Japanese people due to their ancestors' involvement in the war (Cooper, 2006). Heritage and battlefield tourism contribute to developing and understanding social memory and remembrance (Lloyd, 1998; West, 2016). Battlefields are studied as a memory or commemoration of the past (Iles, 2008; Leopold, 2007; Winter, 2012; West, 2016). It is suggested that battlefield sites possess their own life cycle of meaning and attraction, becoming not only places of memorial for a recent past generation but also a place of heritage to inform future generations (Ryan, 2007). This means they have a wider appeal to a larger audience (Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, 2004, 2008). It is crucial to carefully represent and image the battlefield to create awareness among visitors about the sobering nature of the conflict and its consequences for everyone involved. Increasingly, battlefield tours have strong religious overtones around remembrance and sacrifice, which are constituted and fulfilled in a pilgrimage (Clarke & Eastgate, 2011).

Heritage custodians and tourism authorities have a suite of moral and ethical dilemmas to reconcile in portraying the history of a particular heritage site (Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, 2004). Another important theme within battlefield tourism is the authenticity of the experience for the tourist (Geiling & Ong, 2016; Ryan, 2007; Miles, 2014; Winter, 2009). People visit battlefields for a number of reasons, and "the visitor experience is thus multifaceted with an appreciation of the site as a heritage, not a specifically dark, tourism site" (Miles, 2014, p. 145). Increasingly, contemporary research explores the meanings and motivations of people visiting battlefields with a "desire for learning and commemoration play(ing) an important part in motivating battlefield tourists" (Dunkley et al., 2011, p. 860). Stakeholders of battlefield tourism are thus coming to the realisation that these tourists are "an emotionally sensitive, nuanced and reflexive constituency" (Dunkley et al., 2011, p. 866). In this research, it will be shown that battlefield tourists are a specific niche of the cultural/heritage tourism market (Henama et al., 2016) and need to thus appreciate 'both sides of the story'.

A recent article by Smit et al. (2016) emphasises the need for more research on South Africa's military geography. Although battlefield tourism has been studied in many countries, there have been few studies on local tourism planning and how battlefields impact local economies. In South Africa, heritage and cultural tourism can be utilised as an economic development tool for several reasons (Drummond et al., 2021). Firstly, South Africa's cultural and heritage assets, such as battlefield sites, differ from those in developed countries. Secondly, many of these sites are located in remote rural areas where there are limited economic and revenue-creating activities (Visser, 2023). Thirdly, battlefield heritage and cultural tourism can promote small tourism enterprise development, such as Bed and Breakfasts in local settlements. Furthermore, little capital is required for entry-level Small, Medium and Microenterprises (SMMEs) to support heritage or cultural tourism. However, challenges related to contested heritage in battlefield tourism have not been explored in recent literature. Liu et al. (2021) argue that there is still limited knowledge about what contested heritage is and how it is realised in society. Additionally, scholars have identified issues around the contested nature of heritage in terms of battlefield tourism.

This paper aims to explore the complex relationship between tourism, memory, and the heritage of the Battle of Blood River in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. Murtagh et al. (2017) examined the intricate nature and complexity of contested heritage and cultural tourism in Derry/Londonderry, Northern Ireland, where tourists are interested in the city's dark events and subaltern expressions of memory but also saw through the propaganda and questionable ethics that created so many blatantly partial renditions of the past. Visitors to heritage sites for the Battle of Blood River should also be informed and discerning, but is this the case? Jacobs et al. (2023) propose a new theoretical framework, "matterscape, mindscape, and powerscape," for understanding the dissonance in heritage(s) that future research could explore. Heritage conceptualisation, theory development, and empirical research have shifted from a predominant focus on material objects and preservation to include heritage discourse, functions of heritage, meanings of heritage, politics of heritage, and development.

Heritage scholars are increasingly suggesting that augmented and virtual reality is the way forward in negotiating the difficult nature of contested heritage(s) (Bec et al., 2019). Both museums at Blood River could consider incorporating more AI in their displays to mediate better the histories between the Afrikaaner and AmaZulu representations of the battle. This has various resource implications for South African museums.
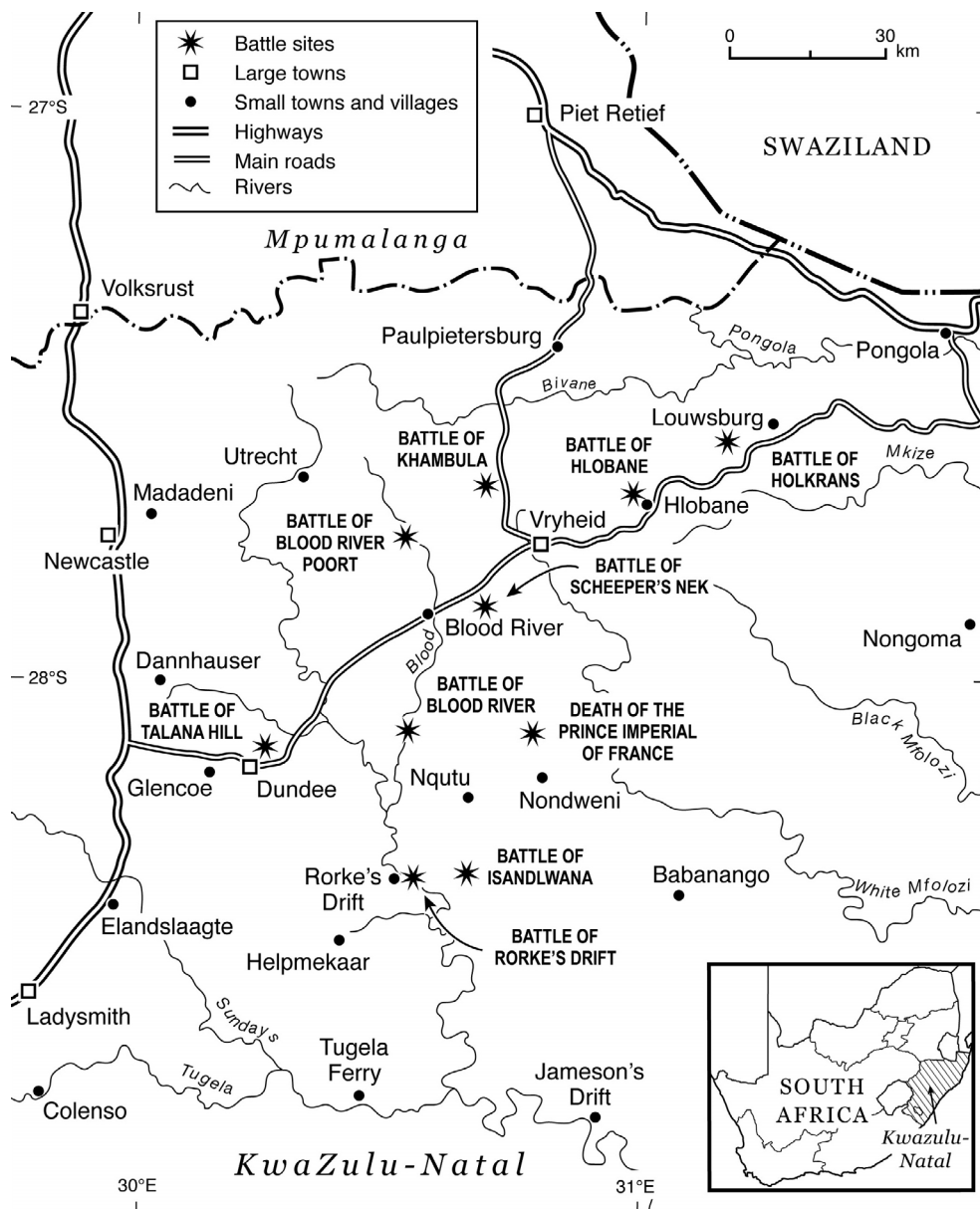
Battlefield tourism in South Africa – the case of Dundee and Nquthu in KwaZulu-Natal

Dundee and Nquthu in KwaZulu-Natal are prime examples of battlefield tourism in South Africa, which plays a significant role in the country's collective identity and history (Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, no date; Venter, 2011). After South Africa became a democracy in 1994, the government initiated the creation of memorials, monuments, and heritage sites to address the existing apartheid heritage landscape under the leadership of Nelson Mandela (Marschall, 2008: 88). Many of the battlefield

sites throughout South Africa are designated as national heritage sites and chronicle some of the most important events that have shaped South African history, ranging from colonial conflicts in the 18th and 19th centuries to the 2nd Anglo–Boer War of 1899–1902 (von der Heyde, 2013, p. 12).

According to Moeller (2005), battlefield tourism in South Africa has experienced significant growth in recent decades, particularly in KwaZulu-Natal and the Northern Cape provinces (see van der Merwe, 2019). KwaZulu-Natal alone has over 140 sites to visit, providing a detailed account of the Boer, British, and AmaZulu conflicts (Battlefields Route, no date; Rattray & Greaves, 2013). These battles are part of South Africa's history, which "stemmed from colonisation by the Dutch and the British, as well as conflicts between different African societies over resources and territory" (von der Heyde, 2013, p. 14).

Figure 2. Location of battlefields in Dundee, and Nquthu in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa

Source: Author's Map, van der Merwe, 2016, p. 189.

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Contested Heritage(s) – The Case(s) of the Battle of Blood River (December 16th, 1838), Dundee and Nquthu...

Figure 2 displays various battlefield sites that hold significance to South African history and contribute to the country's heritage. One of these sites is the Battle of Blood River, depicted in Figure 3 from the Afrikaans' perspective. Alternatively, the conflict is known as Ncome from the AmaZulu perspective and occurred when Andries Pretorius, a Voortrekker leader, led 464 Dutch trekkers to invade Zululand. The motive behind this invasion was to avenge the killing of Piet Retief and his companions, who were murdered on February 5th, 1838, by King Dingane and his Zulu people (von der Heyde, 2013).

The KwaZulu-Natal battlefields are located throughout the region and can be visited in a day's travel. Figure 2 provides an overview of their locations. A guided tour is available, where a tourist guide will drive visitors to the site and narrate the battle's events using visual aids such as maps and the surrounding landscape. Some locations have visitor centres where audio-visual aids are available to provide additional context and history, and museums on-site exhibit many artefacts.

Figure 3. Bloedrivier Erfenisterrein (28° 06′ 18″ S; 30° 32′ 28″ E)

Source: Author's Photo, van der Merwe, 2016, p. 190.

Figure 4. The Ncome Museum (28° 06′ 19″ S; 30° 32′ 45″ E)

Source: Author's Photo, van der Merwe, 2016, p. 191.

METHODS

Heritage tourists and the battlefields

This research encompassed an interpretivism approach; various pieces of grey literature were analysed in light of ascertaining the level of contested heritage(s) from both sites' perspectives on the Battle of Blood River. Stakeholder interviews were conducted with various role-players interested in and impacted by heritage tourism on the battlefields of KwaZulu-Natal. A month-long netnography analysis ascertained people's social media perceptions of each site's internet footprint.

The Blood River Heritage Site is a battlefield site that is privately owned but has administrative connections to both the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria and Pietermaritzburg. The site had 1,932 visitors from January 1st to June 30th in 2023 (J. Jansen van Vuuren, personal communication, July 27, 2023). The low number of visitors is attributed to most tour buses exiting eSwatini heading directly to the coast and visitors returning to Gauteng OR Tambo (the international airport in Johannesburg, Gauteng) going via Dundee. As a result, groups usually sleep over, visit two battlefield sites south of Dundee the next day, and exit directly back for Gauteng. This information was confirmed by another expert respondent, Sutcliffe (personal communication, June 30th, 2023), who stated that the development of the R66, a major arterial route down to Ulundi, is needed. Many tour operators bring busloads of tourists that usually arrive in Johannesburg, then travel to the Kruger National Park and Lowveld, through eSwatini, into northern KwaZulu-Natal, Zululand game parks, and Zulu heritage sites, battlefields, Drakensberg, and exit through Golden Gate before heading off to Cape Town.

The Ncome Museum was built to showcase the AmaZulu perspective of the Battle of Blood River in Nquthu. "The site was unveiled on December 16, 1998, the 160th anniversary of the battle and officially opened on November 26th 1999… However, despite the reconciliatory spirit espoused by the speakers, this was not universal, and there was 'sparse Afrikaner attendance' as well as a separate Afrikaner ceremony being held simultaneously at the Voortrekker laager monument on the opposite side of the river" (The Contested Histories Initiative, 2021, p. 11).

In comparison, from January 1st to June 30th, 2023, 2713 tourists visited the Ncome Museum (N. Gwala, personal communication, July 28th, 2023). In total, 4645 tourists visited the Battle of Blood River precinct over the 6-month period in 2023. It would be interesting to find out and note how many of these people visited both museums as part of a future research project. Ascertaining their reasons and experiences of visiting both museums would be telling too. In 1998, the local municipalities worked together to construct a bridge over the Ncome River (Figure 5), allowing people to move from one museum to another. It was officially opened on the 16th of December, 2014 by then-President Jacob Zuma.

Figure 5. Ncome Museum Pedestrian Spiral Bridge

Source: Hot Dip Galvanizers Association (2023)

RESULTS

The challenges for developing battlefield tourism

As noted in previous studies, the region's current institutional framework for tourism development lacks coordination (van der Merwe, 2014; van der Merwe, 2016). The Battlefields Route of KwaZulu-Natal Association is a private initiative promoting the battlefields in South Africa (Battlefields Route, 2014). The route began in the late 1980s with three women and was formally established in 1990 by a group of history enthusiasts and tourist guides. Its members include representatives from various public and private sector organisations, such as tourist guides, the accommodation sector, local tourism authorities, and municipal and provincial stakeholders (Battlefields Route, 2014). Amafa, the provincial heritage agency for KwaZulu-Natal, had been without a CEO for over three years, which impeded the implementation of plans and budgets. This highlights the lack of high-level leadership to support heritage tourism in KwaZulu-Natal, which needs to be addressed to ensure the leadership and strategic development of the battlefields. The absence of adequate funding and leadership has resulted in the deterioration of infrastructure at battlefield sites. As one interviewee put it, "Amafa is not responsible for the maintenance of battlefield sites, but they are doing it by default to protect the tourism industry's interests at over 45 sites in Dundee" (van Vuuren, personal communication, July 15th, 2013).

Most of the stakeholders interviewed, including accommodation owners, expressed a lack of trust and confidence in the local and provincial authorities with respect to tourism management and maintenance, which appears to be a widespread issue (Millar, 2016). Insufficient strategic direction, duplication and wastage of resources, inadequate budgeting, poor or non-existent marketing strategies, and a lack of capacity are among the shortcomings highlighted by various stakeholders. One

stakeholder stated that "the (battlefield tourism) product needs to be better promoted in a professional manner and moved forward into the 21st century. It needs to be de-politicised and targeted at what the visitor wants and will pay for. The sector is divided and not coordinated at this time" (BF/5). The fragmentation and capacity issues in the Battlefields area remain a significant problem. Tourism industry stakeholders believe that local and district municipalities have a political agenda. Many stakeholders expressed their frustration and difficulties in working with policymakers and politicians who are constantly driving the transformation agenda and saying, "We do not want you white people involved... it kind of gets our backs up after years and years of effort to make the battlefields tourism route work. Knowledge and skills are lost from the route by this attitude" (McFadden, personal communication, August 12th, 2014).

Many local and district municipalities are not paying their subscription fees to the Battlefields Route Association, which creates budgetary constraints for the marketing and promotions of the battlefields. Maintenance is once again a significant problem as many municipalities (who are mandated to run and effect tourism) are not adequately performing this function, whereas "battlefield sites need to be clean, visible and visitable – this all comes down to proper and sustained maintenance" (Battlefields Routes, 2014). Accordingly, funding remains a significant issue. For the Battlefields Route Association to effectively manage battlefield tourism in KwaZulu-Natal, an annual budget of at least R450,000 (€23,619) is required, with income from the website and affiliation fees payable by all stakeholders. There is still a shortfall of R300,000 (€15,746) (Battlefields Routes, 2014) on an annual basis. Battlefield tourism must be a "three-way process": government-led, community-owned, and private-sector funded and supported; this partnership needs to be strengthened and made more viable if battlefield tourism is to be a sustainable tool for local development in South Africa (Keitumetse, 2016; van der Merwe, 2014, 2016).

Several policy-related suggestions were made to expand and maximise the potential of battlefields as a tourism asset. Interviewees argued that the promotion of heritage tourism should be activity-based, with annual festivals and events that encompass heritage and other attractions to attract visitors. Tourists should come for specific heritage elements and then have access to a broader package. As one interviewee stated, "[a]lso in this type and stage of development of the business, it is still very much personality driven with individuals making a mark but limited to particular sites. There is a need for innovation, new ideas, and a realisation that the same old stuff will not keep selling. This is a difficult concept for the locals – what we make or can do, so what is wrong with it?" (Mcfadden, personal communication, August 12th, 2014). Furthermore, municipalities must grasp the concept of the tourism industry and the potential it holds for local development. The netnography revealed some interesting findings. Visiting both museum sites' websites is quite telling. The Blood River Heritage Site is only available in Afrikaans (with no facility or provision for translation into English or any other language); this immediately excludes tourists and non-Afrikaans speaking visitors. Figure 6 is a screenshot of their website.

Figure 6. Screenshot of the Bloedrivier Erfenisterrein website

Source: Author's own creation (visit the website at: https://bloedrivier.org.za)

On the other hand, when visiting the Ncome Museum website, one reaches a page on the internet which says that "this website may be impersonating www.ncomemuseum.co.za to steal your personal financial information". Both the Tourism KwaZulu-Natal website (https://zulu.org.za/travel/) and the Battlefields Route KwaZulu-Natal website (https://www.battlefieldsroute.co.za) feature each of the Battle of Blood River Museums on their websites. The narratives are quite different and are told from either the Afrikaner or the AmaZulu perspective; no middle ground is found. On the 4th of November, 2022, the 10th Courageous Conversations Conference – Building a Cohesive Society – A Reflection, was held at the Ncome Museum in Nquthu (across the Ncome River), where some rather engaging and meaningful discussions were had (UMsunduzi and Ncome Museums, 2022). Although, as revealed in "The Contested Histories Initiative, Ncome and Blood River Monuments, Nquthu-Dundee, South Africa", published in February 2021 – not much has changed:

The Blood River Monuments, Bloedrivier Museum are synonymous for the same site. These different names still inform the perspective of the viewer. While a new name was proposed to encompass the entire site – eKukhumelaneni umlotha *(Zulu for 'place of reconciliation') –, this never came to fruition. The Battle of Blood River and its subsequent manifestations became powerful imagery fuelling both apartheid mythology and black resistance. The nuanced interpretations from the 1990s serve a small part in rectifying the hurt stemming from this highly contested event. With attempts of reconciliation, the symbolism of the day has changed within the post-apartheid era. These attempts, however, are not without their criticism. The Eastern Bank, still run by the Voortrekker Monument, is not only a testament to the Great Trek, it is a place of nationalist pride: the Western Bank mirrors this. Rather than reconciling opposition, resistance and pain, as suggested by the Legacy Project's academic panel, it symbolises a troubling interpretation of Zulu culture created by both Afrikaner and Zulu nationalists. Neither side reconciles their own problematic past or*

the conflict between them. However, it is important to note that while historically the sites have been referred to separately as the Ncome Museum and Blood River Museum, this has changed over the ages to the Ncome-Blood River Heritage site. Nevertheless, The Bridge, which should act as a physical representation of the monument, is often locked. It is therefore clear that, while the physical spaces may change, reconciliation at the site is an ongoing, slow-moving process (The Contested Histories Initiative, 2021, pp. 14–15).

CONCLUSIONS

The various narratives that exist about the Battle of Blood River at both the Blood River Heritage Site and the Ncome Museum are contradictory and contested. Most tourists visit either one or the other and few people visits both, to get a balanced perspective of what happened that fateful day on the 16th of December, 1838. Both museum sites host various cultural and nationalistic events throughout the year and both encourage school visits, but are visitors getting a balanced view of this history? The local government, provincial government, and all stakeholders involved in the Battlefields Tourism industry need to rethink how they work together to create a consolidated and objective experience of cultural and heritage tourism in this region. This has important implications for sustainability (Csapó et al., 2010), marketability and positive local economic impacts and benefits of the battlefields in South Africa. More research is necessary to find solutions on how this would be possible. A negotiated and nuanced perspective of this battle needs to be made from both the Afrikaner and Zulu sites; then more international visitors will partake in this form of cultural and heritage tourism. As long as the footbridge between the museums remains locked from both ends, visitors will only get one side of the Battle of Blood River story.

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