

Protecting Our Cultural Capital

A Research Plan for the Heritage Sector

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Preface

The Human Sciences Research Council publishes a number of occasional paper series. These are designed to be quick, convenient vehicles for making timely contributions to debates and disseminating interim research findings, or they may be finished, publication-ready works. Authors invite comments and suggestions from readers.

About the Authors

The authors of this paper all have experience working in the heritage sector. Sandra Prosalendis, the project leader, was director of the District Six Museum from 1994 to 2002. Harriet Deacon, freelance researcher, was research co-ordinator at Robben Island Museum from 1999 to 2002. Sephai Mngqolo has been working in various capacities at the McGregor Museum, Kimberley, since 1982. He is currently head of the Museum's Living History Department.

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Contents

Introduction vii

Chapter One: What is Our Heritage? 1

- Heritage, diversity and social cohesion 1
- Defining the heritage sector 5
- Transforming the heritage sector 8
 - Equity and representivity 11
 - National legislation and co-ordinating structures 15
 - Museums 16
 - Archives 19
 - Heritage resources 20
 - Provincial legislation and co-ordinating structures 21
- Conclusions 23

Chapter Two: Challenges and New Directions 26

- Current challenges for the sector 26
- A research strategy for development in the heritage sector 33
 - Existing research 35
 - Proposed research 39
- Conclusions 45

Chapter Three: Report on the Consultative Colloquium 48

Introduction 48

Small-group sessions 49

Plenary discussion 51

Acronyms 54

Notes 57

References 63

Introduction

In 2002, the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST) requested the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) to investigate issues around cultural diversity and globalisation, cultural industries, the establishment of a cultural observatory and the use of community arts centres. All of these areas of inquiry require an understanding of cultural heritage, the heritage sector and heritage policy. The Media, Advertising, Publishing, Printing and Packaging Sector Education and Training Authority (MAPPP-SETA) also requires an audit of the heritage sector in order to develop a strategy for training in the sector, including learnerships. The HSRC commissioned this broad-brush analysis to form the basis for discussion at a colloquium on heritage issues organised by the HSRC on 31 March 2003.

After defining the sector as including declared heritage resources, museums and archives, the paper outlines the major achievements in the heritage sector since 1994. In spite of significant improvements in some areas, there remain some persistent challenges:

- The sector suffers from an image problem because heritage conservation is expensive, direct income is limited and our heritage includes the legacy of apartheid and colonialism.
- There is too little public engagement around heritage.
- Policy frameworks and management structures remain fragmented, dealing separately with museums, archives and heritage sites, and with national and provincial institutions.

- There are continuing racial and cultural imbalances in staffing, collections and interpretations.
- Current training provision does not meet the needs of the sector.

In order to help address these difficult and persistent challenges we need to continue the activities begun under DACST – now Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) – to achieve equity and representivity in the sector. However, we also need a more integrated approach to managing the sector and addressing problems; ‘arm’s length’ does not have to mean ‘hands off’, in particular:

- Creating a closer working relationship between Department of Environment and Tourism (DEAT) and DAC, and between tourism and heritage bodies, as well as auditing the contribution of the heritage sector towards regional economies, could improve the status of the sector and attract further investment by national and provincial government.
- Although much has been achieved by high-profile new projects, we need a greater focus on public participation and on (re)interpretation of existing heritage resources as agents of transformation in the sector. These strategies could help to increase public ‘ownership’ of heritage resources by encouraging broad public debate about what our heritage is and how we can protect it.
- Existing heritage workers need targeted retraining and specialist training programmes are required to provide new recruits. For example, the National Training Strategy developed by the South African Museum Association (SAMA) should be implemented.
- We need better co-ordination, communication and co-operation between provincial, local and national levels of government on heritage management, especially regarding policy formulation, funding and sharing of information. For example, bodies such as the National Heritage Council (NHC) should be established.
- Institutions in the heritage sector should also be

encouraged to communicate and co-operate both regionally and nationally. This can be done by auditing the sector thoroughly to create a shared information base, creating clear communication channels for the sharing of information and reviewing policy and legislation (especially for museums) that unnecessarily fragments the sector.

- At provincial level, research-driven, consistent and comprehensive policy and legislation should be formulated and implemented for the heritage sector. Assistance should be provided where necessary in order to ensure that this is done timeously and in a manner that facilitates co-operation between heritage bodies and institutions at national, provincial and local levels.
- Additional areas of focus will have to be developed through a process of research.

The absence of collated survey data on our heritage resources, museums and archives is a measure of the fragmentation of the sector. The paper outlines the main questions and methods that could be used in designing a survey of the sector. Collation of existing data and an audit of the function and structure of the sector will help to:

- Develop more integrated policy and legislation at a national and provincial level;
- Assist the MAPPP-SETA in developing a profile of the heritage sector; and
- Provide feedback to the heritage sector in a practical format to aid communication, co-operation and transformation.

Chapter One

What is Our Heritage?

Heritage, diversity and social cohesion

Heritage is usually defined as ‘what we inherit’, ‘what we value’ or ‘what we want to pass on to future generations’. *Cultural heritage* encompasses any cultural forms (buildings, languages, art, crafts) that we value as a society. Intangible heritage (symbolism) and living heritage (music, dance, narrative etc.) form part of our heritage resources. Even natural environments can have cultural significance as part of our heritage. Heritage is thus a very broad concept. Heritage is often thought of as national heritage – what defines us as South African, for example – but in reality it encompasses places and objects that have primary significance within a variety of cultural contexts. *The South African National Heritage Resources Act* of 1999 (NHRA), for example, provides three grades or levels of significance for heritage resources – national (Grade I), provincial (Grade II) and local (Grade III). Certain forms of cultural heritage may be of special significance to particular groups of people and serve to demarcate certain cultural, religious, ethnic or historical identities.

Heritage is thus an important indicator of, and influence on, cultural identity. It can, however, be a marker of difference as well as commonality. Defining new approaches to national

heritage has been a key element in creating more inclusive national identities. There is a growing tendency for countries to use the idea of cultural diversity as a tool for social cohesion at a national level, while maintaining a human rights discourse (ERICArts, 2001). This has spawned new forms of 'post-national citizenship': global citizenship, which allows people to assume universal rights and responsibilities, and more localised, distinctive forms of cultural citizenship, which affirm the distinctive cultural identity of citizens and assert claims for the recognition and protection of that identity. Cultural citizenship is premised on the 'right to be different *and* to belong in a participatory democratic sense' (Rosaldo, 1997: 4, our emphasis). Thus, for example, British Muslims have been making claims for inclusion as citizens simultaneously on the basis of cultural difference and universal human rights (Werbner, 2000).

There has been much debate about whether programmes maintaining cultural diversity are a good thing (because 'existing' or 'traditional' cultures, including language, should be preserved in the face of globalisation) or a bad thing (because culture should not be divided so rigorously into hermetically sealed cultural packages). Although many people worry about the subordination of local cultural forms to globally powerful ones in the cosmopolitan world of today, we believe that cultural activity will always be profoundly influenced by local circumstances. Instead of delineating bounded and unchanging 'cultures' worthy of protection from outside influence, we prefer to speak of ways in which people constantly negotiate a variety of cultural identities (national, ethnic, work-related etc.) in seeking forms of cultural citizenship. One of the ways in which they do so is by engaging in cultural activities.

The main purpose of projects supporting these cultural activities should be to encourage and protect a self-confident local voice that engages with a country, region or group's past and present. Maintaining a local and historical referent (i.e. cultural diversity) adds cultural and economic value for visitors and locals. As Parkington has suggested,

the interest of the global community is in large part in experiencing local, specific places, landscapes and heritage traces. The objective in a developing country has to be to empower local people to take advantage of global demand and support local supply. (2002: 1).

The local voice is threatened when we lack confidence about its value, not merely when we are exposed to outside influence. Building confidence about the value of our own cultural heritage is thus central to its protection and survival. It is no good using San figures on our coat of arms if we emasculate the figures.

The concept of cultural diversity as social cohesion is in some ways ironic since it implies that the acceptance of cultural differences between people has to function as their main common ground. In nations seeking a new identity this poses a risk of losing the incentive to search for other cultural commonalities besides acceptance of broad human rights discourses. For example, what does it mean to be South African now: is it about biltong, bobotie, rugby, soccer? Since rights are connected in some cases to specific, culturally-defined groups (first nations, indigenous peoples), there are also great incentives for identification with those groups. This can contribute to a situation in which certain cultural-group identities are not only primary, but almost mandatory within national identities. In the light of current equity legislation, for example, it is difficult for people to be South African without also having an identity as black or white, disabled or able-bodied, male or female, and so on. Given the flexibility of entry criteria into racially-defined groups in particular, conflict over the rights to membership can arise easily and arbitrary physical criteria (such as height or skin colour) may be applied if there is benefit or disadvantage to membership.

The notion of cultural diversity has often been used in first world contexts to allow space for minority rights within a stable polity, but in other contexts it can encourage conflict between groups by fostering ethnic tension (Lalu, 2002). More specifically:

Mahmood Mamdani's recent study of the genocide in Rwanda has described the acute tensions that have accompanied the issue of ethnic diversity and how the notion of a cultural essence lends itself to often violent outcomes for post-colonial societies... The perils of globalization, says Paul Gilroy, 'have unleashed some potent versions of national and ethnic absolutism'. Cultural diversity as a concept should therefore be used to challenge the idea that cultural identities are primordial and are related to older racial or ethnic designations. This is particularly important in South Africa where we have a history of ethnicised cultural identities. At the same time, it can promote a more equitable distribution of cultural goods in the global market. South Africa's cultural diversity is a resource of great economic and social value and the promotion and preservation of cultural diversity can therefore enhance both social cohesion and development. (Joffe et al.: 8)

Even if one accepts that cultures are not immutable or bounded, the notion of cultural diversity allows a slippage between fixed and flexible views of culture. The difference between talking about *cultural diversity* and *cultural citizenship* is that while the former suggests a diversity of cultures, the latter suggests a diversity of cultural identities. This allows us to move away from the impossible and dangerous task of trying to find and analyse a reified, separated 'mosaic' of cultures towards analysing people's multiple and overlapping social identities. Thus we can speak of heritage sites and interpretations creating a *public* which *identifies* with the heritage value, rather than a *cultural community* which is inextricably bound to the heritage site because it is *part of their culture*. Similarly, we should be aware that in talking about cultural products we often forget that the cultural dimension of the product emanates from its relationship with the producer (and the viewer, owner or user) rather than being intrinsic to the product itself (Rassool, 2002). The distinctions are fine, but important, because focusing on people rather than cultures allows us to understand cultural change, human agency and the cultural politics around heritage much more easily. It also avoids policy and practice that presents cultures in a static

format, encouraging conflict and distance between groups of people with different cultural histories. This is particularly important in a country like South Africa where conflict and inhumanity have dominated for so long and where poverty remains a critical problem.

Our ideas about what is important about the past – where we come from – constitute our concept of heritage. This shapes how we understand ourselves – it is our lifeline to identity. Our concept of what is heritage is a vital and changing one, and it is also an extremely powerful force in modern society. We need to be confident about our own heritage, but at the same time recognise the potential for conflict arising out of the idea of fixed cultural difference.

Defining the heritage sector

Although cultural heritage is a broad term covering all forms of cultural activity deemed of value, in this paper we will be focusing on the *heritage sector*: institutions such as museums, archives and heritage resources agencies mandated to manage and protect a special subset of this broad cultural heritage that we have called our ‘cultural capital’. Our ‘cultural capital’ consists of those historical resources (objects, practices and places) that have heritage value and are conserved in the national interest, as distinguished from cultural products specifically constructed for sale or distribution (for example, crafts, art, films, publications, music, language).¹ The 1995 Arts and Culture Task Group (ACTAG) designated a heritage working group to discuss museums, archives, national monuments and *amasiko* (living culture).² Living heritage can be associated with places (now called heritage sites rather than national monuments) and objects (heritage objects, archival or museum collections). Since the 1995 White Paper, however, the sector has seldom been addressed as a whole.

The heritage sector is managed through specific legislation. The NHRA protects places and objects that are of cultural

significance or other special value excluding public records, which are covered by the *National Archives of South Africa Act of 1996*.³ The *World Heritage Convention Act of 1999* focuses on protecting and identifying world heritage sites. National museums are covered by the *Cultural Institutions Act of 1998*. At a provincial level, additional legislation is being developed to manage museums, archives and heritage sites. Of course, the legislative framework for heritage intersects with broader legislative provisions, such as those on environmental management (for example, the *National Environmental Management Act*, No.107 of 1999) and provincial planning legislation.⁴

The heritage sector is responsible for the management of declared heritage resources, museum and archive collections rather than all forms of cultural heritage. This includes forms of cultural heritage that are located in or managed by certain public institutions and that are restricted in some way from being traded freely on the open market. It is not heritage value alone but 'tradeability' and ownership that make a distinction between modern crafts, antiques and museum pieces. Heritage value can be assigned to objects and places on the basis of rarity, uniqueness, representivity, associative or scientific value,⁵ on the basis of provenance (archives) or because of their contribution to an existing collection that has heritage value (museums). Maintaining these values usually precludes production of authentic artefacts, trading, modification or alteration. This places limitations on commercial activity that will be discussed below. The heritage sector is supposed to fundamentally represent the cultural capital of a nation's past – a non-renewable capital that should not be squandered and cannot be sold off.⁶

Characterising the heritage sector in terms of its management approach is quite appropriate because of the high degree of responsibility the sector bears for the cultural capital of the nation. Promoting access to heritage can often be in conflict with protecting the heritage objects and sites themselves, so access needs to be mediated and controlled. Museums, archives and heritage sites are institutions designed

to manage this potential conflict. They help protect the significance of heritage resources by maintaining them, preserving their context and educating people about their value. Interpretation is important because objects and places are often simply the things that significant cultural activity leaves behind (for example, the original transcript of a song, silver belonging to a slave-holder, the prison cell where Mandela lived, the site of District Six). The interpretive task of the heritage sector is thus central to its role, and in recent years public education has become a key concern. Museums, for example, have become 'books on walls', complex textual environments focusing on the interpretive message more than the objects (sometimes even to the detriment of engagement with their collections).⁷

In his opening address at the South African Museums Association (SAMA) Annual Conference at Robben Island Museum on 30 May 2000, the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Ben Ngubane, pointed out that museums are 'uniquely placed to help develop and promote' a new consciousness and thereby contribute meaningfully to the rebirth and renewal of South African society. He argued that the development of a new consciousness was 'founded upon a deep understanding of history'. The Minister stressed that issues related to heritage, culture and identity were 'deeply emotional' – after all these are issues that are at the very core of the transformation agenda in South Africa (Ngubane, 2000).

Interpretation is a difficult, deeply political, and often instrumental process, sometimes leading to conflict over how to understand the past. There have, for example, been disputes over access to heritage sites (for example, traditional burial sites within the St Lucia nature reserve), the significance of heritage places (for example, whether Louis Botha's statue can be dressed up as a Xhosa initiate), and the placement of memorials and graves (for example, the Solomon Thekiso Plaatje statue and Sarah Baartman's burial site).

Critics like Lowenthal suggest that heritage always 'seeks to design a past that will fix the identity and enhance the well-being of some chosen [group]' (1998: xi). Contrasting heritage

with academic history, Lowenthal argues that ‘heritage is not an inquiry into the past but a celebration of it, not an effort to know what actually happened but a profession of faith in a past tailored to present-day purposes’ (1998: x). On the other hand, Tunbridge and Ashworth have suggested that all heritage (and all history) is one-sided, exclusionary or ‘dissonant’ to some degree (1996:21). Particularly in complex post-colonial societies seeking to reconcile different viewpoints within a new political order, heritage ‘becomes a highly political and contentious arena in which decisions have to be made about its conservation, presentation and current usage against a background of various and possibly competing interpretations’. This leads to a focusing of meaning in an official interpretation and possible ‘dissonance’, or the exclusion of other interpretations (see Henderson, 2001).

The heritage sector thus has a powerful but highly challenging role as interpreter and protector of a nation’s cultural capital. It bears great responsibility for conservation but cannot sell its ‘capital’ to do this – it has to sell an interpretation of the past, or a heritage brand. These interpretations are always subjective in some way and often instruments of a broader national programme (or sometimes a narrow party-political perspective), which makes them ripe for contestation. This poses a particular challenge in developing countries like South Africa that have inherited a one-sided heritage industry and, in the new dispensation, have limited resources to spend on arts and culture while seeking to promote a new national identity.

Transforming the heritage sector

Heritage performed an important didactic function in supporting Afrikaner nationalism, separate development and white supremacy under the apartheid government.⁸ The National Monuments Council was established in 1969, replacing the Historical Monuments Commission that was formed in 1934. Both institutions focused on proclaiming old buildings with aesthetic value. By 1994, out of 4 000 monu-

ments gazetted nationally, 98 per cent represented colonial history (the balance being natural heritage, geological, palaeontological, archaeological and rock art sites) (Deacon, 1999) and 1 500 were in the Western Cape – the mother-node of colonialism in South Africa (Greig, 2000). Museums were often designed to celebrate white culture and usually represented black culture in a simplistic and largely derogatory manner. Archives also focused on collecting and accepting written materials emanating from government or wealthy white individuals and organisations; censorship of the media extended to media archives – many anti-apartheid publications were banned and could not be held in collections. In addition, most employees at government-funded archives, heritage sites and museums – and almost all engaged in interpretation and management – were white.

Against this official pattern, oppositional discourses also found their way into the domain of heritage institutions, especially in the last decade of apartheid rule. Museums like the District Six Museum commemorated struggles against forced removals before 1994 and formed a focus thereafter for community reclamation of land. Both the *Nasionale Afrikaanse Letterkundige Museum en Navorsingsentrum* (NALM) and the National English Literary Museum (NELM) collected works, pamphlets and ephemera relating to Afrikaans and English respectively, irrespective of the racial or class status of the source. NALM was one of the first museums to transform its displays and also to show the roots of Afrikaans in the Cape coloured community.⁹ By the 1980s there was also a small but vigorous archive of resistance, a counter archive, in various forms and at different sites, both private and public. Struggles were documented, oral history projects undertaken and stories recorded, in an endeavour to resist the process by which the state and its collaborators sought to forget these things.¹⁰ When the political climate changed in 1994, attention was focused on recognising these oppositional heritage resources, transforming older institutions and including more indigenous forms of heritage in the sector.

According to the new South African Constitution, adopted in 1996, the national Arts and Culture Ministry is expected to develop minimum standards that apply nationally, but national and provincial departments have to work together to develop policy on cultural matters.¹¹ The fact that (provincial) cultural matters, and archives and libraries (other than national archives and libraries) are listed both as a 'Functional Area of Exclusive Provincial Legislative Competence' and as a 'Functional Area of Concurrent National and Provincial Legislative Competence' in the Constitution causes confusion over the extent to which national and provincial departments are obliged to work together.¹² The dual listing is curious: by contrast, provincial sport and recreation are exclusive provincial competencies, but not concurrent ones, and tourism is a concurrent competency, but not an exclusively provincial one. The allocation of assets and responsibilities between provincial, local and national governments under the provisions of the new Constitution has caused tensions around funding as well as provincial independence and power, often exacerbated by party-political tensions. Overall co-ordination of heritage sector resources has suffered as management and funding responsibilities are separated or fragmented.

Since 1994 considerable work has been done on transforming the arts and culture sector. At the end of 1994 the DACST minister appointed ACTAG to formulate a new arts and culture policy, which culminated in the *White Paper on Arts and Culture* (DACST, 1995). In this document the Department set out its mission to 'realise the full potential of arts, culture, science and technology in social and economic development, nurture creativity and innovation, and promote the diverse heritage of our nation', in line with national policies of reconciliation and development. Key ideas included 'valuing diversity ... the equitable development and preservation of our experiences, heritage and symbols ... and the potential employment and wealth-creation opportunities' of cultural industries. Government-funded arts and culture activities were thus required to 'promote the full range of art forms, cultural

activities and heritage ... develop cultural industries ... and widen access to arts, culture and heritage promotion and development' (DACST, 1995).

Equity and representivity Some of the changes in the heritage sector since 1994 are thus part of a broader re-orientation of social priorities towards a human rights culture as represented by the new Constitution, including appointing more black staff to public posts to promote transformation through greater employment equity. Kobese shows that although the process has been successful on a numerical basis, some problems remain:

National affirmative action targets contained in the *White Paper on Public Service Transformation* stated that by 1999, 50 per cent of managers in the public service should have been black, while 30 per cent should have been women. The Public Service Commission informed the National Assembly's public service and administration committee on 2 March 2001, that representativeness in terms of race had been achieved at management level at national and provincial level. Nevertheless, progress varied across provinces, and there remain areas that are largely untransformed ... Blade Nzimande [suggests that] black advancement programmes have only been about the creation of a management elite, and ... treat the question of upward mobility of black workers simply as an industrial relations problem and not a training problem. (2002: 6)

There has also been tension around regional differences in the application of affirmative action and fast-track promotion for people previously classified as African, coloured and Indian (Kobese, 2002). As with any fast-track system, maintaining institutional capacity can be a problem too. A heritage training programme was set up at Robben Island Museum in 1998 (in collaboration with the Humanities Faculties of the University of Cape Town and the University of the Western Cape) and this has provided the sector with a new cadre of trained heritage workers, both black and white. At the University of the Witwatersrand, a postgraduate heritage programme has

also been established successfully.¹³ There are a number of other courses available on museum studies at Rhodes University, and the Universities of Natal, Pretoria and Stellenbosch. Meanwhile, Technikon SA withdrew their National Diploma in Museum Technology in 2001 owing to insufficient student numbers and the SAMA School of Conservation has also been closed.¹⁴

Within heritage institutions more broadly, however, assisting new appointments on the job and helping existing staff to see the benefit of new approaches has been more difficult. This is an essential part of heritage training. Training surveys have indicated the preference for in-service courses through distance learning.¹⁵ Externally-funded initiatives have been quite successful in providing access to on-the-job training, international academic contacts and improving communication between heritage workers within the country. Examples include the Nordic exchange programme with South African museums,¹⁶ the Institutions of Public Culture programme,¹⁷ the Mellon-funded archive digitisation project,¹⁸ Michigan State University's programmes,¹⁹ and the Ford Foundation-funded Legacies of Authoritarianism project.²⁰ Of course, even in these successful projects one needs to make sure that the aims of the project fit with local needs, that intellectual property rights are protected and that local institutions are credited for the work they invest. In the past few years, these projects have broken down some of the conceptual barriers between heritage workers attached to museums, archives and heritage sites, and also enabled local heritage workers to train abroad. Their most widespread benefit at a local level has been to create wider communication forums for heritage workers within the country, and to consolidate a new network of heritage workers in the country. This has been very beneficial in an environment of financial constraint and historical isolation.

In line with national strategies for reconciliation and promoting the African Renaissance, and to encourage social cohesion within a diverse and still often divided society after

1994, there was a focus on ensuring better representivity of interpretation in the heritage sector. For example, in his address at the SAMA conference in 2000 the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Ben Ngubane, called on museums to focus their energies on developing programmes and exhibitions aimed at redressing imbalances of the past in the portrayal of the history of the country (Kobese, 2002). DACST has supported legacy projects since 1996 to promote nation building and reconciliation in the country by ensuring better representation of previously disadvantaged groups in the telling of our history. Pilot legacy projects include the Chief Albert Luthuli Commemoration; the Blood River Commemoration (a monument unveiled in Ncome in KwaZulu-Natal on 16 December 1998 to remember the role of the Zulus in the battle); a Women's Monument at the Union Buildings in Pretoria (on the site of the historic women's anti-pass march of 9 August 1956); the Samora Machel Memorial (a monument unveiled on 19 January 1998 at the site of the plane crash at Mbuzini); the Centenary of the Anglo-Boer War (including an exhibition at the War Museum in Bloemfontein that highlighted the role of black soldiers); the Nelson Mandela Museum; Freedom Park in Pretoria (to celebrate the achievement of democracy and freedom and commemorate fallen soldiers); Constitution Hill (the South African Constitutional Court and various human rights commissions housed on the site of the Old Fort Prison in Hillbrow, Johannesburg, to commemorate South Africa's human rights democracy); and the Khoisan heritage project (to develop a Khoisan heritage trail).²¹ Other possible projects may honour people like Sarah Bartmann and Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe.

Another key area in which heritage work has contributed to the redress of past imbalances is the broader recognition of the importance of oral history as a heritage resource since 1994. The NHRA and the *National Archives Act* both recognise the importance of intangible heritage forms such as oral history. The DAC therefore spearheaded a National Oral History Programme, in close collaboration with the National

Archives, to document the nation's neglected experiences and memory. The National Archives heads this programme and maintains a National Register of Oral Sources. Pilot projects such as the one on the 1956 anti-pass march to the Union Buildings were initiated at national and provincial level. The Free State Archives Repository was involved in two major projects. The first, entitled 'Military Stalwarts and Veterans', focuses on collecting testimonies of all participants in the various wars and skirmishes of that region. The second is an attempt at collecting oral history from below, located in the township of Batho. The National Archives has also developed a Directory of Oral History Projects.²²

Historians (for example, History Workshop and the Western Cape Oral History project – now the Centre for Popular Memory) have of course been collecting oral histories for many years. These resources are often available to museums for use in exhibitions. Oral history is central to the telling of the story of resistance to apartheid, as can be seen in the Apartheid Museum, District Six Museum and Robben Island Museum. Such museums have structured whole collections or exhibitions around audio-visual material and oral histories. In spite of these examples and the encouragement from national government for oral history to be recognised as a key part of our heritage, there are relatively few museums not primarily concerned with the anti-apartheid era that have begun their own oral history projects (McGregor Museum is a notable exception). Oral history projects require skilled staff and can be expensive, but essentially they rely on local expertise and stimulate local interest in the museum or archive. Such initiatives should therefore be supported by DAC and its agencies, and become central to the transformation of the museum sector. While the story of the anti-apartheid struggle is our most recent touchstone for oral histories, it is also essential for DAC to support other ways of reinterpreting our heritage in interview projects about other cultural issues and by highlighting precolonial cultural forms. Black history is not just concerned with anti-colonial or anti-apartheid struggles,

and Sterkfontein is not merely about human physical evolution, but also about our *cultural* heritage as humans.

National legislation and co-ordinating structures While redressing imbalances is of course a key issue, developing better ways of managing existing institutions is also a matter of some urgency. National legislation has been passed to assist in this process (see below). This legislation, however, currently follows the different structures and legislative approaches adopted for museums, heritage sites and archives in the past, and there is insufficient co-ordination between them, or between national and provincial levels.

An integrated management structure for all heritage institutions and resources was envisaged in the proposals from the ACTAG heritage working group in 1995. This group proposed the formation of a National Heritage Council to develop a national heritage ethos and play an advisory and co-ordinating role, a National Heritage Trust to fund heritage projects, and the National Commissions for Living Culture, Archives, Heritage Resources and Museums (ACTAG, 1995). *The National Heritage Council Act* was approved in 1999 but has not yet been implemented.²³ The objects of the Council are:

- To develop, promote and protect the national heritage for present and future generations;
- To co-ordinate heritage management;
- To protect, preserve and promote the content and heritage which reside in orature (i.e. oral history, tradition, language etc.) in order to make it accessible and dynamic;
- To integrate living heritage with the functions and activities of the Council and all other heritage authorities and institutions at national, provincial and local level;
- To promote and protect indigenous knowledge systems, including, but not limited to, enterprise and industry, social upliftment, institutional framework and liberatory processes; and

- To intensify support for the promotion of the history and culture of all our peoples and particularly to support research and publication on enslavement in South Africa.²⁴

Given the confusion over national and provincial legislative competencies for cultural matters, the co-ordination functions of this body should be more clearly defined to embrace the whole heritage sector, whether funded by national government or not. The Council will include representatives of all provinces and of major heritage bodies (for example, South African Heritage Resources Agency [SAHRA], national archives, flagship institutions), and will advise the DAC Minister on heritage policy, 'co-ordinate the activities of public institutions involved in heritage management in an integrated manner to ensure optimum use of State resources ... monitor and co-ordinate the transformation of the heritage sector ... consult and liaise with relevant stakeholders on heritage matters,' among other things.²⁵ These are all critically important tasks, especially now when the heritage sector requires a more integrated national structure and the provinces need help in drafting policy and legislation.

This paper will now outline separately the major national policy changes in the three sub-sectors: museums, archives and heritage resources. A brief discussion of provincial legislation will follow.

Museums The DACST White Paper identified a number of problems in museum focus and organisation. It noted that,

the provision of museum services has lacked co-ordination, there having been no national museum policy. Planning has been fragmented, many communities do not have access to museums, and cultural collections are often biased ... Funds are needed so that new museums and museums outside the current national network can also have access to national funding. The Ministry's policy therefore calls for transformation through a systematic process of restructuring and rationalisation. (1995: 9–10)

The DACST declared its commitment to a review of the declared cultural institutions as one of its most immediate tasks. This included a 'reconceptualisation of national museums to present a nationally coherent structure ... the promotion of national museums through co-operation with provincial museum structures' (White Paper, 1995: 11). According to the White Paper, the approximately 400 state-funded museums would also be 'encouraged to redirect their outputs to new activities which reflect the overall goals of the Government ... allocations will become subject to performance measures' (1995: Chapter 5 [12]).

Since 1995, in line with broad policies for redress, some new museums have been opened, some existing museums have changed their approach to collections and exhibitions, and the Southern and Northern Flagships have been created. Since 1990 there had been considerable debate on museum policy, for example in the 1994 MUSA (Museums for South Africa Intersectoral Investigation for National Policy) report (by a committee formed under the old dispensation) and the 1994 CREATE (Commission for the Reconstruction and Transformation of the Arts and Culture in South Africa) report in which policy was critiqued. This debate was taken into the ACTAG process and recommendations were made by the museums working group to the heritage sub-group of ACTAG (Kusel, 1995: 1–2). The final report of the heritage working group proposed, among other things including the national structures mentioned above, the amalgamation of museums in Gauteng and Cape Town (ACTAG, 1995: 45). When the promised review of the declared cultural institutions was undertaken by a committee established in October 1996, it proposed the establishment of two new flagship institutions in Cape Town and Gauteng, the devolution of their satellite museums to the province or the local authority, the transfer of national museums outside Gauteng and Cape Town to the provinces and the establishment of a museum infrastructure in Mpumalanga, Northern Province (now Limpopo), and North-West Province. DACST appointed consultants to investigate the

feasibility of these proposals, focusing mainly on the flagship institutions.²⁶ Other proposals for a museums service in under-resourced provinces and a revised structure for better co-ordination and funding (such as Museum Councils) – identified in the ACTAG report and the DACST White Paper – were shelved.

The flagship institutions were created under the *Cultural Institutions Act* (No. 119 of 1998), later amended by the *Cultural Laws Second Amendment Act* (No. 69 of 2001). The Act provided for the payment of subsidies to certain cultural institutions; the establishment of certain institutions as declared cultural institutions under the control of councils; and the establishment of a national museums division. The *Cultural Institutions Act* thus really only provides an updated management framework for national museums, not a co-ordinating framework for all museums. The National Museums Division consists of heads of the flagships, institutions that form part of flagships and directors of declared cultural institutions. It thus replaces the old Committee of Heads of Declared Institutions. Its function is to draft codes of ethics for the declared institutions.²⁷ The Act applies only to national cultural institutions, which at the time included: the two flagship institutions, the Afrikaans Language Museum and Language Monument, the Engelenburghuis Art Collection, the Foundation for Education, Science and Technology, the JLB Smith Institute for Ichthyology (now the SA Institute for Aquatic Biodiversity), the Natal Museum, the National English Literary Museum, the National Museum, the National Zoological Gardens of South Africa, the Robben Island Museum, the Voortrekker Museum, the War Museum of the Boer Republics, and the William Humphreys Art Gallery. Almost all of these declared cultural institutions were deemed of national value under the apartheid government or its predecessors, and their collections, while valuable to science and to society in general, still largely reflect the specific preoccupations of their time and a small sector of our society. There are no clear processes or criteria whereby other

institutions can seek national status.

Archives As for museums, legislation has been promulgated regarding archives to manage national institutions, but at provincial level policy development has been slower. At national level there are, however, better legislative provisions for co-ordinating structures for archives than for museums. The *National Archives of South Africa Act* (No. 43 of 1996) was promulgated to ‘provide for a National Archives and Record Service; the proper management and care of the records of governmental bodies; and the preservation and use of a national archival heritage.’ It was amended by the *Cultural Laws Amendment Act* (No. 36 of 2001). Each province is required by the Constitution to pass its own archives act and set up its own provincial archives service. Thus far, only a few provinces have passed archival legislation and implementation is slow. In most provinces, the National Archives is thus still shouldering the bulk of service delivery.²⁸ The *National Archives Act* gives the National Archives a role in redressing past inequalities, requiring it to pay ‘due regard to the need to document aspects of the nation’s experience neglected by archives repositories in the past’ (Section 3d). It also requires the National Archives to perform a co-ordinating function between institutions having custody of non-public records with enduring value. The National Archives has to improve access to archives through a national automated archival information retrieval system (for public records) and national registers (for non-public records with enduring value).²⁹ The National Archives do thus play a broader co-ordinating role for the archives sector than declared cultural institutions do for the museums sector.

Other groundbreaking legislation has greatly increased rights of access to public and private archives, based on constitutional rights. Under apartheid, access to public archives was governed by the *Archives Act*, which provided for unrestricted access to public records over 30 years of age and in the custody of the State Archives Service (SAS). This

was the so-called 30-year closed period. Permission to consult records in the closed period could be granted by the SAS Director. Access to public records not in the custody of SAS was left to administrative discretion, unless another piece of legislation specifically provided for access (as, for instance, in the case of court records and deceased estates). The *National Archives of South Africa Act* (and the provincial acts modelled on it) reduced the closed period to 20 years. The *Promotion of Access to Information Act* (No. 2 of 2000) (PAIA) provides an overarching freedom of information instrument to which archival legislation is subordinate. Public records, irrespective of their location or their age, must be made available to the public on request, unless there is a ground for refusal as defined in the Act. Significantly, PAIA also legislates the right of access to records of private bodies, a unique provision internationally in freedom of information legislation. Those requesting access to private records must demonstrate that access is required in order to protect or exercise a constitutional right. Access to archives then, in principle, has been revolutionised by these developments. However, if South Africans generally are going to benefit in practice then the obstacles created by lack of resources and capacity must be addressed.³⁰

Heritage resources Policy reform is just as advanced with regard to heritage resources, which now have a national co-ordinating body and better protection for heritage resources, in addition to a broader definition of heritage resources. The DACST White Paper recommended reform of the heritage site management process by the replacement of the National Monuments Council by an agency later named the South African Heritage Resources Agency and new legislation, the *National Heritage Resources Act* of 1999. There have, however, been problems implementing the Act at provincial level (see below).

Under the NHRA, provision is made for the identification and declaration of heritage sites within a more inclusive

definition of heritage value. Intangible heritage has been specifically mentioned as part of the national estate.³¹ The question of community participation has also been highlighted in the Act.³² In conjunction with other bodies and the community, SAHRA has identified new places of national significance for declaration as national heritage sites and has begun the process of assessing all heritage sites according to the new grading system. When the NHRA was passed, all former national monuments became provincial heritage sites: some have since been regraded as national heritage sites. A National Heritage Resources Fund (NHRF) has also been established to provide funding for any project that contributes to the conservation and protection of South Africa's heritage resources that form part of the national estate. Although many of SAHRA's functions will be administrative ones within the new legislative framework, such as issuing permits, it now has a chance to broaden its role, moving from simply being a compliance agency to providing leadership on research and vision within the sector.³³

Provincial legislation and co-ordinating structures The Constitution requires each province to pass its own heritage legislation – drafting it within broad national policy frameworks – to manage all heritage resources falling under provincial competency, for example, other than declared cultural institutions and national heritage resources. To do this, the provinces need to establish Provincial Heritage Councils, Provincial Geographical Names Committees (PGNCs) and Provincial Heritage Resources Authorities (PHRAs), as well as promulgate regulations and legislation. Kwa-Zulu Natal (KZN) is ahead in this process, with both a PGNC and a PHRA as well as its own provincial legislation on heritage. Most of the other provinces (except the Eastern Cape) have either already launched their PGNC or are about to do so. However, no provinces other than KZN established PHRAs before the deadline of 1 April 2002. This tardiness temporarily invalidated the permit functions of the provincial offices of SAHRA, and

most PHRAs were also not budgeted for at provincial level in 2002. PHRAs³⁴ are now nearly established in the Western Cape, Eastern Cape and Gauteng, and regulations have been drawn up in some provinces; heritage legislation will be passed at a later stage. DAC is assisting the provinces in drawing up legal frameworks for PHRAs and PGNCs.³⁵

Most museums are managed at provincial or local level, either as provincial museums, province-aided museums or municipal museums.³⁶ Local museums have become the responsibility of provinces under the new Constitution, but because of the cost of running these museums, this has caused tension in some cases.³⁷ In most provinces, too, museum legislation has yet to be passed. The former Cape of Good Hope provincial museums and provincial-aided museums have to be managed in accordance with a 1975 Ordinance³⁸ until new legislation is passed in the Eastern, Northern and Western Cape respectively. The Western Cape Museums Service is in the process of completing provincial museum legislation for the province, based on research they have done on the sector.³⁹ The Western Cape Museums Service also plays a role in marketing and training in museums, provides technical services to smaller museums, pays subsidies and promotes transformation.⁴⁰ In the Eastern Cape, the Directorate of Museums at Bisho, in addition to paying subsidies to existing provincial museums, has funded several transformation projects and sponsored travelling exhibitions to rural museums. At present a team is working on legislation with special reference to the public entities concept.⁴¹ Museum services like these can help to ensure that provincial museums are marketed regionally and can aid transformation. Ensuring that legislation is drafted in a consistent manner across provinces requires communication between provincial museum services and the DAC.

Museum services are focused on providing services to provincial museums and while they seem to be performing a policy function as well in some regions, they do not entirely fulfil the need for co-ordinating and consultative structures for

museums at provincial or national level. The voluntary association, SAMA, and externally-funded projects such as the South African National Cultural Heritage Training and Technology Programme (see above), currently function as the main communication networks within the heritage sector. SAMA's mission is to:

- Develop and support an inclusive South African heritage practice;
- Build the capacity for an effective South African heritage industry; and
- Address and advocate critical concerns for the future of South African heritage management (Tietz 2001).

SAMA has moved towards representing the heritage sector as a whole rather than museums alone. This is a positive trend, but has caused concern among some museum workers because of the loss of a museum-specific agenda. Government, however, cannot wholly delegate co-ordination between and among museums, archives and heritage sites to a voluntary association or short-term, externally-funded initiative. Voluntary associations cannot appoint permanent staff without significant sources of funding and, because of membership fees, may find difficulty in representing all institutions. There is also no official consultation and communication channel between SAMA and DAC. These factors underline the need for Heritage Councils, and also for a national co-ordinating body for museums functioning like SAHRA does for heritage resources. Voluntary lobby groups and associations remain vitally important, however. Giving key voluntary associations like SAMA a role in certain advisory bodies may help to improve communication and accountability.

Conclusions

Political transformation after 1994 has brought to the fore the debate about who we are and what constitutes our heritage. If the heritage sector is to maintain its value as keeper of our cultural capital, institutions like museums and archives have to

be sure that they engage in this debate both at a policy level and at a community level. At a policy level, interventions based on the DACST White Paper and the broader precepts of the Constitution have focused on affirmative action in appointments, updating old legislation and redressing past biases in the identification and interpretation of heritage. A good start has been made in these areas, although much work remains. There has been less progress in developing a new national management framework for the sector, national co-ordinating bodies and encouraging co-operation between national, provincial and local levels of organisation. The museum sector in particular needs stronger national policy and co-ordinating frameworks. Progress seems to have been particularly slow at a provincial level: very little legislation has been passed and provincial co-ordination of the heritage sector seems weak. More research is also required to understand what is happening at provincial and local levels.

In its interface with the public, the heritage sector needs to communicate more effectively with the public who already (or potentially) find value in existing heritage resources, to find out why they do (or might come to) value these resources and how this relates to various forms of cultural citizenship. People use heritage resources to place themselves in the world, to identify their cultural citizenship. The definition of what constitutes a heritage resource and the institutionalised interpretations of protected resources thus need to take account of, and encourage, public ownership of these resources. Interpretation has to be accessible, allowing a diversity of values to be placed on a heritage resource by specialists, cultural producers, the general public, and so on. Heritage value is not shaped only by provenance or authenticity, but also by symbolic significances or associations, not always rooted in scientific fact. If we are to protect what people value, the heritage sector needs to listen as well as teach, develop new avenues for communicating with its public, and develop new ways to protect new kinds of heritage resources. From policy statements at a variety of levels, these ideas seem to have been

accepted generally in principle; all that remains is to create further enabling structures and legislation, and, a far more difficult task, establish how the challenges can be met in practice.

All role-players in the heritage sector need to focus on understanding heritage resources as a national asset that cannot be maintained simply by frequent dusting and good administration. Heritage workers, institutions and government agencies also need to work together in creating an environment in which our heritage resources come alive, by fostering new ways of identifying resources, research into what they represent and interest in their value.

Chapter Two

Challenges and New Directions

Current challenges for the sector

In 1995 the report of the ACTAG sub-committee on heritage identified general problems in the sector as follows:

- Fragmented policy frameworks, especially for museums;
- Fragmented management structures both between heritage institutions and between these institutions and other regional activities;
- Lack of public participation in decisions around heritage conservation and management;
- Racial and cultural imbalances in the heritage sector;
- Lack of attention to living heritage;
- Few opportunities for job creation and training;
- Low priority for financing heritage conservation;
- Lack of tax concessions for donations to heritage conservation; and
- The need for revision of the legislation. (ACTAG, 1995: 19–20)

Although national legislation has been promulgated and policy has been brought into line with the new Constitution, the heritage sector still faces most of the same challenges today, burdened with a persistent image problem; it is under intensified pressure to be an income-earner; and it is experiencing

difficulties in implementing the vision laid out in the White Paper to encourage more public access and interest, shape new interpretations of heritage and develop training frameworks. At the same time, policy frameworks and management structures remain essentially fragmented.

In a 1998 strategic report for DACST, the Cultural Strategy Group (Creative SA) defined the heritage sector as a 'cultural industry'. Cultural industries are defined as 'a wide variety of cultural activities that all have commercial organisation as their prime motivating force' (1998: 4). CreateSA (the creative industries skills development programme subsequently developed by DAC), the MAPP-SETA and the National Skills Fund have renamed these 'creative industries', softening the commercial imperative by defining them as:

Those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property.⁴²

It would seem, however, that the heritage sector is highly constrained in its commercial operations. The absence of a trade-related income from original goods in the heritage sector (unlike crafts, music, film or publishing), and the onus on providing public access and education, makes the heritage sector notoriously dependent on public finance. This is exacerbated by the need for a relatively large and often specialised staff in heritage institutions. Entrance fees are charged in some cases, but this is not lucrative given the need to encourage education through greater access and the relatively high running costs of an institution engaged in research, conservation and interpretation. Selling food, drink and souvenirs may be more lucrative, but such sales are often recorded as general tourism spending and not heritage-related income. The State of the Historic Environment audit in England shows that in heritage tourism there, 96 per cent of visitor income benefits the wider economy and only four per cent goes to the attraction itself.⁴³

The difficulty of connecting value to earnings can lead to the impression that the heritage sector is a drain on the public purse: income-generating opportunities are limited and expenditure is generally high. We will not be able to see beyond the commodity model in which heritage expenditure is a bad investment unless we understand heritage value in a different way. The most obvious thing that the heritage sector has to sell may well be an idea, a brand or a high-status association with the past, and this is a key element in tourism marketing. The re-use of historic buildings promotes conservation and also makes economic sense, providing meaningful and often attractive working or living environments for a lower cost than building a new house or office space. The cultural value of maintaining and interpreting historically meaningful spaces for people who regard these as their heritage is perhaps more difficult to quantify, but as we have seen above, it provides a touchstone for cultural identities at a number of levels.

Our heritage resources provide the background and meaning for much of our communal lives, yet the resources themselves and expenditure on these are often separated from their economically positive role in generating tourism, meaningful and sustainable environments, and so on. This is a general feature of the arts and culture field world-wide but it is particularly true of heritage and particularly evident in developing countries. It is exacerbated in South Africa by the separation between heritage and tourism at national ministerial level under DEAT (Environment and Tourism) and DACST (Arts, Culture, Science and Technology). In 2002 DACST was split into Arts and Culture (DAC) and Science and Technology (DST). The DACST and later DAC have had primary responsibility for heritage issues, but there is departmental overlap because DEAT is responsible for administering the 1999 *World Heritage Convention Act* and for tourism. In the provinces, arts and culture are separated generally from tourism at ministerial level, although the other functions allied with arts and culture (for example, sport) and tourism (for example, development) varies between ministries.

South Africa's heritage sector also struggles with a particularly difficult public image as the bastion of colonialism or apartheid. Defining the heritage sector as consisting of heritage resources, archives and museums may seem to exclude intangible forms of cultural expression that cannot be formalised in collections, and this thus ensures a continued western bias. It is a challenge to protect some forms of cultural capital in institutional contexts while adapting traditional western institutions such as museums or heritage site lists to new requirements for the protection of meaning and symbolism associated with cultural heritage. The NHRA specifically provides for the protection of objects and places relevant to heritage practices or symbolic meanings that are deemed 'intangible'. Although many museums and archives try hard to achieve representivity in collections, many older museums have been slow to modify their message in displays and collections, hampered by limited finances and staff shortages and also by the lack of a coherent new vision of cultural heritage. Serious attention needs to be paid to the ways in which indigenous knowledge can be defined and utilised in rethinking the content of our cultural heritage.

Access to our heritage resources is limited by various factors, perhaps most notably the remnants of apartheid-era bias and the high cost to poorer members of the public visiting them. It has been difficult to persuade a new generation of museum visitors to emerge because museum displays are often old-fashioned or overly-academic, predominantly in English, and because visiting them is costly even where entrance may be free. Heritage sites currently on the SAHRA list are not all provided with interpretive materials for the public, some are closed to the public because they are on private land and others are closed for conservation reasons. Archives also face particular challenges in reaching new audiences. It requires considerable imagination and resources to transform conventional archival records (as opposed to audio-visual materials) into something appealing to a popular audience. Transformation discourse in archives ('taking archives to the people') proposed, amongst other ideas,

travelling exhibitions, educational kits, web-based virtual exhibitions, publications, partnerships with museums and other heritage institutions. To date, public archives in South Africa have been singularly unsuccessful in giving effect to this vision.⁴⁴

The official plan for transformation in the heritage sector to date has focused on increasing the proportion of black and women employees and trustees and improving the representivity of museum collections and displays. Both of these aims are laudable as a first stage, but they are no replacement for effective long-term change. Simply having black staff does not guarantee that the sector will transform in its approach to representing the country's past, although it may help this effort. It is also not enough simply to bring out the dusty ethnographic collections (or even create new ones) and place them in a room marked 'Xhosa history' to complement the existing displays of 'white history'. South Africa's heritage is not a collection of ethnically-insulated stories tied together by a human rights rainbow: it is a rich mixture of cultural borrowing, conflict, change and hope. Perpetuating separate histories in the sphere of cultural heritage may foster ethnic tensions. The quest for the roots of an African Renaissance has also at times perpetuated a static and inward-looking view of African traditions. To avoid this we need to find new commonalities or forms of communication across old boundaries of class and ethnicity, beyond simply expounding tolerance of difference.⁴⁵ Both before and after 1994, a number of excellent heritage projects have worked strongly with relevant communities both to make collections and sites more relevant and to present them in a more accessible way—we need to learn from these success stories and make them more representative of the sector.

Training within the heritage sector is a key requirement for a more community-sensitive approach and the development of a more representative profession. Training surveys have shown that, in museums, academic training must go hand-in-hand with suitably supervised on-the-job learning experience

counts. Unlike in countries like Zambia, in South Africa we have not used approaches such as job-shadowing to fast-track transformation of staff at higher levels. We have also not fully embraced the opportunities offered by the National Qualifications Framework (NQF) system, which will allow standardisation of training, evaluation of programmes, and the recognition of non-qualification based competencies. In 1999 SAMA initiated a research project that proposed a National Strategy for Heritage Training (Corsane & Abrahams, 1999). This strategy proposed that DACST and professional organisations establish a National Heritage Training Institute (NHTI) associated with the National Heritage Council. The NHTI was intended to help develop training programmes within the NQF, assist in the generation of unit standards through a Standards Generating Body (SGB), liaise with the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) to recommend Education and Training Qualifications Assurance bodies (ETQAs) for the sub-sectors within heritage, and work closely with SETAs relevant to the heritage sector to develop learnerships that will allow for on-the-job training (Corsane & Abrahams, 1999: 2–3). Although, the NHTI idea was not implemented at the time, it may now have become possible with outside funding.

In the absence of such a body the process of establishing a proper framework for heritage training has been slow and fragmented. In 2001 an SGB was created for ‘Traditions, History and Legacies’ that aimed to generate qualifications and standards along an interdisciplinary perspective, in ‘heritage and community maintenance, history, archives, historical and cultural tourism’ and other areas.⁴⁶ Unit standards have been developed for tourism and in heritage studies, but the process has been slow and few of them have been formally registered with SAQA. Currently unit standards have been registered for conducting a guided cultural experience,⁴⁷ introducing South African heritage to tourists, managing cultural heritage resources in conservation areas, and weaving South African heritage into tourism.⁴⁸

Managing the heritage sector is difficult because the sector consists of numerous separate institutions that are administered and funded at different levels – local, provincial and national. Local and provincial levels are politically independent to some degree, but are dependent on national budgets and policy frameworks. This can create problems. For example, in 2002 delays in the establishment of provincial heritage resources authorities in all provinces except KwaZulu-Natal made it legally impossible for permits for provincial heritage sites to be issued either by SAHRA or provincial authorities.⁴⁹ Competition, political differences and lack of communication between the three levels of government can hamper the development and implementation of a national management strategy. There has also been insufficient engagement with international organisations like the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) and the International Council of Museums (ICOM); their African counterparts, the International Council of African Museums (AFRICOM), the Programme for Museum Development in Africa (PMDA) and EPA (*Ecole du Patrimoine Africain* – its Francophone equivalent); and other heritage organisations and institutions.⁵⁰

National government has stated its intention to manage the arts and culture sector at ‘arms-length’, allowing peer review and decision-making, and ensuring the ‘full independence of publicly-funded arts institutions, organisations and practitioners from party political and state interference.’⁵¹ Although desirable in principle, this approach can lead to a lack of common vision for transformation and, where independence from political influence is shaky, there can also be tensions between, say, provincially-funded institutions and national policy. Three-tier funding and management structures, coupled with the different histories and political loyalties of the different institutions, make co-operation difficult. Communication mechanisms between institutions are weak and patchy as neither regional structures nor voluntary associations

can achieve the breadth, focus and inclusiveness of a national body of representatives or a national forum for debate.

This paper does not suggest that the heritage sector can be 'fixed up' overnight and cannot suggest a recipe to achieve this. Many positive changes have been made at national and provincial levels. Even armed with a workable plan for change, better structures ensuring more co-operation between levels of government and between institutions, and good management practices, the transformation of institutions is a difficult and lengthy process. It is important to recognise that there are plenty of examples of good practice and dedicated workers across the whole sector; problems are not concentrated mainly in older institutions, rural institutions or poor institutions. We need to celebrate our achievements and to identify practical ways, both at a policy level and at the level of institutions, to help the heritage sector protect and popularise our heritage resources. This paper suggests this can be achieved but we need to try something that very few projects have done in the last ten years – conduct some reasonably detailed research on the sector as a whole.

A research strategy for development in the heritage sector

No comprehensive research has been done on the heritage sector since ACTAG began the policy reform process in 1994, and even this process involved stakeholder meetings as the main means of data gathering. Still, the process of policy reform has been based on sound ideas and much has been achieved. Some of the problems in the sector have arisen out of non-implementation of policy (for example, there is currently no National Heritage Council and museums still lack a co-ordinating structure). Some problems are relatively easy to solve given the political will (for example, publishing unit standards), while others are more intractable (for example, improving institutional engagement with the public). So, if we know what to do, why bother with research?

Initial changes to the sector – improving equity and representivity, proposing new management structures, defining heritage in a new way – have been inspired since the early 1990s by political change, good management approaches and modern approaches to heritage internationally. Once we have agreed on a broad framework like this, it is appropriate to look in greater detail at the South African heritage sector to track implementation and develop specific strategies and timetables for interventions to address ongoing practical problems faced by institutions, heritage workers, publics and other stakeholders in the sphere of heritage. A more holistic understanding of the heritage sector may also inform the ways in which we develop new policy and legislation.

Research on creative industries like craft and film has been conducted to help focus development strategies correctly. We should try and know at least as much about the heritage we have dedicated ourselves to protect (the heritage sector) as we have come to know about the heritage we sell (in the crafts sector for example). In the course of our own research for this paper we struggled to identify survey-type research on museums, archives and heritage sites in the country. Lists of institutions and heritage resources are more readily available, but they are not centrally collated. SAMA has compiled a list of museums⁵² and SAHRA is working on a full inventory of heritage resources.⁵³ The National Archives has published directories of archival repositories and of oral history projects. It also manages automated National Registers of Manuscripts, Photographs, Audio-visual Materials, and Oral Sources.⁵⁴

Any strategy for undertaking research in the sector must address the following key questions:

- What research has been done on the heritage sector?
- What were the motivations for such research?
- How has research on the sector influenced policy or practice?
- What information might help in future decision-making on policy and implementation plans?

Existing research It is perhaps indicative of the fragmentation of the sector that there is little collated survey-type information available about heritage resources as a whole, from before 1994 or thereafter. Where research on cultural industries has been done, the heritage sector has been neglected generally. Where heritage has been a focus of the research (primarily in the context of tours and craft which fall outside the heritage sector as defined in this paper), the dearth of readily available information has prevented detailed conclusions being drawn and recommendations for further research have not been implemented. We may value our heritage, but we certainly do not seem very committed to finding out about it. Perhaps because of substantial agreement about the problems we face in the sector, we think we know enough already.

In 1997 DACST began a two-year process of research and strategy formulation for the cultural industries. In 1998 the *Cultural Industries Growth Strategy (CIGS) Report*⁵⁵ emerging out of this process recommended a Cultural Industry Development Programme (CIDP) and the formation of a Cultural Industry Development Agency (CIDA). The process also produced a preliminary audit of certain cultural industries.⁵⁶ Although heritage is also defined as a cultural industry, it was music, film, publishing and craft that were defined as priorities for the CIGS. These latter sectors show potential for future growth based on growing international tourism and new trade agreements, reduced local censorship, quotas for local content in broadcasting and so on. In addition, analysis of these sectors can use established value chain models. Perhaps the heritage sector has been neglected within CIGS and in other studies⁵⁷ because it not easy to analyse within these models and seems unlikely to generate new forms of income.

During the CIGS process, DACST and the Department of Labour (DoL) began to communicate around the provision of training within the creative or cultural industries. This was part of the DoL's broader strategy of addressing the problems of unemployment, skills gaps and skills shortages within the

country. The MAPPP-SETA was created to oversee the creation of skills development interventions in these industries. CreateSA was then formed by the SETA and the Departments to formulate a skills development programme in the creative industries, prioritising craft and design, music, the performing arts, film and video production, multi-media and heritage. While heritage has now made it onto the priority list, the focus seems to be almost exclusively on small craft and tour operators. The learnerships proposed by CreateSA's briefing document in heritage development, for example, are 'designed to assist communities in exploiting their cultural heritage to establish a range of creative SMMEs.'⁵⁸ While the briefing document cannot be expected to cover everything at this early stage, the issue of training for the transformation of museums, so essential according to the DACST White Paper, seems to have lost its urgency. It might be instructive to ask why the heritage sector is a priority in the skills development programme.

In CreateSA's briefing document they list their primary objectives as 'research, skills audit, analysis.'⁵⁹ Although this is laudable, their document suggests that all the creative industries can be understood in terms of a value chain, involving products being produced for sale, and that they are all characterised by 'high rates of self-employment and freelancing', a predominance of 'micro-enterprises', seasonality and unpredictability of demand. This is certainly true of many of the creative industries, and even of some aspects of heritage-related tourism, but it is not true of the heritage sector as we have defined it in this paper. In our opinion, a failure to recognise this difference will result in the loss of opportunities to intervene in the institutionalised heritage sector. It is a measure of the difficulty of defining and prioritising the heritage sector within the framework of cultural or creative industries, and within the segmented ministerial structure of DAC and DEAT, that there is no clarity on whether heritage sector training for museums, archives and heritage resources should fall under the ambit of MAPPP or the tourism SETA,

known as THETA⁶⁰ (Tourism, Hospitality and Sport Education and Training Authority). Currently heritage training could fall under both bodies.

Given the importance of cultural heritage in providing local and national culture ‘brands’ for the country, it is not surprising perhaps that the main interest in auditing and understanding this has come from the tourism industry. It is also perhaps in tourism that financial models for understanding brand value have been used most widely. In 1999, South African Tourism commissioned a Collaborative Action Process ‘*Strategy in Action Report*’ by the Cluster Consortium⁶¹ that addresses the development of the tourism sector. Appendix C2 of that report covers the heritage tourism sector⁶² and recommends that DEAT and DACST commission an audit of heritage tourism associations and needs, and develop a heritage tourism charter and guidelines to facilitate community-based heritage tourism development. The research project was supposed to be jointly commissioned by DACST and DEAT to facilitate community-based heritage tourism development, but to the best of our knowledge this has not yet been done.⁶³

It is also in the tourism sector that we find public lists of heritage resources: tourists usually rely on local tourism offices providing overviews of local attractions. It is essential to provide information about heritage resources to tourists and locals. As Australian research has shown, a national list of heritage sites provides tourists with reasons to visit certain areas:

A point of particular interest emerging from the survey was the high rating that tourists gave to the provision of information about national listing of a site... Accessibility, marketing activities and the flow of information about locations all appear to be important determinants. Nevertheless... national listing would be a very important source of information for people interested in visiting cultural heritage attractions. (see Cegielski, Janeczko, Mules & Wells, 2001)⁶⁴

Local tourism agencies are also the main mechanism currently providing regional linkages between heritage sites, which has been identified elsewhere as a key factor in the successful marketing of heritage resources.⁶⁵ The tourism industry is thus a key player in understanding the heritage sector, remembering that one of the uses of tourism-generated income must be to channel money back into conservation of heritage resources.

Thus, although there has been recent interest in researching the heritage sector in South Africa, notably from CreateSA and from SATOUR, the primary focus of this interest has been encouraging small businesses providing tours and craft sales for community-based heritage tourism. Ambivalence in the policy arena about further assistance to what are sometimes seen as apartheid-era institutions has perhaps tended to focus interest in heritage development on community craft markets, cultural villages and heritage tourism in townships and rural villages. Although such areas require urgent development attention, we suggest that in policy and its associated research programmes it is essential to differentiate between legally protected heritage (what we have called the 'heritage sector'), goods developed for sale (including township craft etc.) and tourism (including small tour operations). One of the key criteria for differentiating the heritage sector from other sectors is the legislative framework for protecting heritage assets: heritage is the cultural capital we want to protect and have taken legal steps to do so. We are not suggesting that other activities are not part of our 'cultural heritage', simply that the structure of the craft or tourism industries is better understood in terms of production value chains, visitor numbers and other analytical tools not suited to heritage management.

The heritage assets currently protected in institutions and through SAHRA may be seen by some as constituting an apartheid millstone, tainted by its past and essentially unmarketable, compared to the fresh and untrammelled expressions of 'the community'. While a breath of fresh air is essential, even in the hallowed halls, existing assets are a

resource for deep and sometimes critical reflection on our past. The legal framework for protecting heritage resources does now recognise a broad range of community activities, places and things as being heritage-worthy. Gradually, new forms of heritage and new interpretations are being recognised legally as heritage assets and programmes need to be developed for speeding up the pace of change. Communities should be encouraged to take advantage of existing heritage resources and new opportunities to celebrate and publicise their cultural heritage to the world, and heritage institutions should help this process. How cultural heritage is celebrated (selling crafts, registering a heritage resource, providing tours of the area, or all three) may influence the relationship between communities and various sector providers (craft learnerships, SAHRA involvement, tourism infrastructure). From a policy perspective, however, the heritage sector should be understood and managed separately from craft or tourism, seeking alliances and exploiting commonalities wherever possible but essentially protecting what is defined as the nation's cultural capital.

Existing research on the heritage sector is limited within the framework of the cultural industries and tourism projects at national level, but some data is available from other sources. In 1999 SAMA commissioned survey research to establish museum training needs (Corsane & Abrahams, 1999). The Western Cape Museum Service has also done some research on provincial museums to inform the writing of museum legislation, and the Eastern Cape Directorate of Museums and regional branches of SAMA have done some regional questionnaire research too. These data sets can perhaps be used in helping to put together some survey information on museums. Other data may also be identified as a result of discussions on this paper.

Proposed research An audit of the heritage sector can help national and provincial strategic planning by identifying synergies between heritage and other creative industries, and

by helping address some of the problems facing the heritage sector in particular, for example, by helping to design workable policy and co-ordinating frameworks (especially for museums). One of the reasons that existing data on the sector is so fragmented, however, is that there is no central strategy or collection point for heritage sector research, at least in part because there is no central co-ordinating body for the sector as a whole, either within or outside of government. This problem needs to be addressed because in order to be really effective the proposed research needs to be part of national and provincial strategic planning processes.

The heritage sector audit should, as far as possible, match audits of other cultural industries. Other cultural industries such as craft have been assessed using value chain models (following items from production to sale) and by documenting:

- The size of the industry;
- The structure of the industry;
- Characteristics of the market;
- Spatial distribution of crafters and markets;
- Earnings and contribution to the economy;
- Obstacles and opportunities for the industry.⁶⁶

The functions of the sector also need to be identified because they are critical in identifying appropriate management structures.⁶⁷ As has been argued above, the heritage sector has a specific function to perform as the protector of our cultural capital, which includes the identification through public engagement of what people value, conservation of heritage sites and objects, and the encouragement of public access to heritage resources and educational materials. The heritage sector must perform this function over and above the functions of cultural industries (earning money by producing cultural products), and cultural heritage as a whole (creating a touchstone for our cultural identities). Mapping out the functional relationships between sectors (for example, craft and heritage), between sub-sectors within heritage (museums, heritage sites and archives), and the relationships between

provincial, local and national institutions, can suggest opportunities for a more integrated policy approach, for cross-sector learnerships, and for management structures that recognise the interrelationships between tourism, the heritage sector and other cultural industries.

In order to map out the current structure and content of what constitutes our heritage and how income can be generated from it without loss of cultural capital, we need to collate specific information about the number of heritage sites, museums and archives, their distribution, focus, visitor numbers and profiles, earnings and expenditure. Lists of heritage sites, archives and museums obtained from various organisations (starting with SAHRA, SAMA and the National Archives) must be evaluated for completeness and institutions must be contacted for further details. There are institutions that fall outside the ambit of these bodies and their number and characteristics should also be established. Analysing survey data on heritage resources can help us to protect them better. For example, the Historic State of the Environment Audit in England found that 'more than 60 percent of registered parks and gardens are privately owned. Many form parts of small businesses, are expensive to maintain and will be vulnerable to any increasing burdens.'⁶⁸

One problem in following other audit models is the unsuitability of production-based economic models to understand the way in which the heritage sector generates income. Thus, while the audit formats for other cultural industries should be adopted where possible, economists should be commissioned to investigate the applicability of tourism-sector financial models to the heritage sector. Comparable audit models such as the Historic State of the Environment Audit should be investigated.⁶⁹

Although conceiving of heritage as an engine for tourism provides a good motivation for doing the research and possible models for understanding income, it could over-emphasise the function of interpretation through tours,

focusing on management of new tourism initiatives. For example, the Heritage Tourism project planned to:⁷⁰

- Conduct an audit of the existing associations involved in promoting heritage and/or tourism;
- Conduct an audit of the key cultural and regional initiatives, including the cultural heritage route projects within the SDIs and the Norwegian Agency for Development Co-operation (NORAD), the World Heritage Sites and the Legacy projects;
- Identify gaps or contradictions within the existing legislation;
- Develop a preliminary charter for heritage tourism; and
- Develop a toolkit or guidelines for individuals, companies or associations to assist them to develop heritage to tourism products.

These are all useful steps to take in attempting to explore the tourism aspect of the heritage sector better, but a broader approach is needed to help address the need for reform and integration of heritage institutions and to understand the role of the heritage sector in protecting our cultural capital. To achieve this, the audit should attempt to examine the ways in which heritage institutions are effecting change; map the communication channels between institutions, and with various levels of government; and assess whether heritage institutions are functioning to identify what we value as various communities and in various contexts, and to educate us about the significance and the need for protection of heritage institutions. It might also be helpful to collect information as part of the audit on what a cross-section of the South African population believe constitutes their cultural heritage.

The heritage sector would therefore benefit from an audit producing the following information:

- The size of the industry (number of institutions and sites);
- Structure of the industry (typology of institutions and sites);

- Characteristics of the market (for example, limits on sale of items, as discussed earlier);
- Spatial distribution of the industry (distribution of institutions and sites);
- Visitor numbers and annual pattern of visitors;
- Earnings and contribution to the economy (expenditure and income information from questionnaire to institutions; tourism research on spin-offs to the broader economy; other economic models);
- What constitutes our current protected heritage (collections, sites and objects) and whether any collections or sites are threatened;
- Heritage resources that should be protected or listed in terms of the heritage legislation but are not currently being protected;
- What a cross-section of the South African people believe to constitute their cultural heritage;
- Whether heritage institutions are functioning to identify what we value as heritage resources in various communities and in various contexts, to educate us about them and to protect their significance;
- Whether heritage institutions are engaging sufficiently with schools (visits by schools, links to curriculum) and tertiary institutions (meshing of research agendas, collaborative projects and funding);⁷¹
- How heritage institutions are effecting transformation in staff, collections, interpretations and management approaches;
- What communication channels exist between institutions, and with various levels of government;
- Obstacles and opportunities for the industry through analysis of data gathered; and
- Practical ideas for heritage workers to implement in furthering transformation and development in the sector.

Analysis can provide a framework; best practice ideas can be gathered from questionnaires to institutions. The following methodologies might be employed:

- Assessment and collation of existing information;
- Identification of an audit model using comparative research on tourism and heritage audits elsewhere;
- Collation of directories of institutions and sites, with addresses and type of institution;
- Collation and administration of visitor surveys showing public perceptions of institutions;
- Administration of a general public survey on public perceptions of institutions and of what is our heritage;
- Administration of a questionnaire sent out to all institutions and sites asking about income and expenditure, types of collections, staff complement, examples of best practice, ideas for income generation etc.; and
- Soliciting of information on subsidies from various levels of government.

Since policy-making has to be conducted at provincial as well as national level, this research might produce maximum benefit for all if it is organised centrally but data-collection is managed regionally. Regional organisations like SAMA and tourism bodies can perhaps perform a data-collection role. Questionnaires sent out through the SAMA regional networks in 1999 to help develop a national strategy for heritage training had a 61 per cent return rate (Corsane & Abrahams: 4). Regional SAMA branches and other organisations such as the Directorate of Museums in Bisho,⁷² are also currently collecting information about transformation and other issues so there could be ways of combining information-collection strategies. In the 1999 SAMA research, questionnaire information was primarily useful in backing up information collected in 'workshop meetings with practitioner groups in the key centres and the meetings with the training providers', which was described by one of the research leaders as the 'most useful' method of data collection.⁷³

Conclusions

A traditional western museum has been described, tongue in cheek, as:

an institution for the preservation and display of objects that are of interest only to their owners. It is also a place where paintings, bric-a-brac, trophies of the chase etc., may be deposited whenever their owner wishes to have them stored temporarily without expense to himself.⁷⁴

The same could be said of many other ‘heritage’ collections. Those things that have found their way into heritage collections in the past for the wrong reasons can still have heritage value today. However, we all recognise the need to move away from an obsession with protecting western culture at the expense of local cultural forms – defining local heritage simply in terms of what sells to tourists while defining high culture or the possessions of the rich and famous as being more worthy of heritage status than the cultural traces left by ordinary people.

We have come to realise, more slowly, the importance of community engagement with and ownership of heritage resources and institutions. At national level much good work has already been done in making the heritage sector both more representative of our cultural diversity and more relevant to our society, for example through the Legacy Projects. Although much has been achieved, we now need a greater focus on public participation and on (re)interpretation of existing heritage resources as agents of transformation in the sector. These strategies could help to increase public ‘ownership’ of heritage resources by encouraging broad public debate about what our heritage is and how we can protect it. We need to know more about how communities perceive heritage value, because if we are not protecting the things we value as a society, we are not achieving the aim of the heritage sector.

As curator of our cultural capital, the role of the heritage sector is to make the old relevant to the new, while trying to

make money out of valuable things that need protection and cannot be sold. Heritage, essentially, sells knowledge of the past that helps to shape present identities, tourism brands, and a sense of place. This makes the heritage sector very important to the nation and its economy, both nationally and locally, but it also makes sector income difficult to generate and even more difficult to measure when compared to other cultural sectors such as craft and film. The heritage sector needs to protect our cultural capital, but it often receives less finance than is required to do so. Creating a closer working relationship between DEAT and DAC, and between tourism and heritage bodies, as well as auditing the contribution of the heritage sector towards regional economies, could improve the status of the sector and attract further investment by national and provincial government. Some institutions have found it difficult to reinterpret colonial- or apartheid-era collections in a relevant way. The dearth of unit standards and in-service opportunities for heritage training is also an ongoing problem. Existing heritage workers need targeted retraining and specialist training programmes are required to provide new recruits. For example, the National Training Strategy should be implemented.

The heritage sector in South Africa has historically been characterised by fragmentation of legislation and policy, a lack of knowledge about the sector and weak communication networks within the sector. Legislation has been revised but this has not fully addressed the problem. The delegation of heritage functions from national to provincial governments, the lack of clarity over provincial autonomy, and the weakness or tardiness of provincial engagement has exacerbated these problems. We need better co-ordination, communication and co-operation between provincial, local and national levels of government on heritage management, especially regarding policy formulation, funding and sharing of information. For example, bodies such as the National Heritage Council (NHC) should be appointed. Institutions in the heritage sector should also be encouraged to communicate and co-operate both

regionally and nationally. This can be done by auditing the sector thoroughly to create a shared information base, creating clear communication channels for the sharing of information and reviewing policy and legislation (especially for museums) that unnecessarily fragments the sector. At provincial level, research-driven, consistent and comprehensive policy and legislation should be formulated and implemented for the heritage sector. Assistance should be provided where necessary in order to ensure that this is done timeously and in a manner that facilitates co-operation between heritage bodies and institutions at national, provincial and local levels.

More specific areas of focus will be developed in the course of the proposed research. Understanding the functional relationships between sectors (for example, craft and heritage), between sub-sectors within heritage (museums, heritage sites and archives), and between provincial, local and national institutions, can suggest opportunities for a more integrated approach to policy, training and management structures. The absence of collated survey data on our heritage resources, museums and archives is a measure of the fragmentation within the heritage sector. Collation of existing data and an audit of the heritage sector will help to develop more integrated policy and management structures at a national and provincial level; to assist the MAPPP-SETA in developing a profile of the heritage sector for creating learnerships; and to provide feedback to the heritage sector in a practical format to aid communication, co-operation and transformation.

Chapter Three

Report on the Consultative Colloquium

Introduction

The Colloquium was held at the Centre for the Book in Cape Town on 31 March 2003 to discuss the paper, *Protecting our cultural capital: A research plan for the heritage sector*, and to formulate a problem statement for the sector. A copy of Chapters One and Two of this publication was circulated beforehand. About 40 people attended, representing the following institutions: DAC (Phakamani Mthembu), SAHRA (Ciraj Rassool, Mary Leslie, Janette Deacon, Lesley Townsend and David Hart), HSRC (Sandra Prosalendis, Harriet Deacon, Utando Baduza, David Chidester, Tracy Randall, Mbulelo Mrubata and Luvuyo Dondolo), SAMA (Helene Vollgraaff, Rooksano Omar, Khanyile Jezi), UCT (David Worth, Noleen Murray, Moliehi Ntene, Renata Meyer, Antonia Malan), UWC (Richard Whiteing), SATOUR (Sanjiv Singh), Western Cape government (Melanie Atwell, Mogamat Hartley, Nombulelo Mfeka, Chantelle de Kock), IZIKO (Henry Bredekamp, Lalou Meltzer) National Library of South Africa (Gabrielle Ritchie), Robben Island Museum (Mavis Smallberg, Matsosane Molibeli, Zwelibanzi Sicheka), PURE Consulting (Juanita Pastor-Makhurane), Tony King, Sarah Winter and Mogamat Faseigh Salie.

The colloquium began with a presentation of the paper by the authors. A discussion of the paper was followed by a session to develop ‘problem trees’ (represented in Figures 1 and 2) for the sector, facilitated by Tony Morphet (former Head of Department of Adult Education at UCT). Not everyone was able to stay for the whole day, so the problem trees may not reflect everyone’s views. As points raised in discussion have been incorporated into Chapters One and Two, this chapter provides a summary of the problems and possible actions highlighted by those participants who were present for the final session of the Colloquium.

Small-group sessions

Group One, major problems identified:

- There is a lack of management training for heritage practitioners;
- There is a lack of understanding within government structures about the heritage sector;
- Co-operative governance is underdeveloped in government heritage structures;
- There are problems with the definition of the word ‘heritage’: Whose heritage? What is South African heritage?
- DAC competes with the heritage sector instead of managing or facilitating its activities;
- There is no proper implementation strategy (roll-out plan) for the sector;
- Heritage practitioners in the sector are trained to conserve heritage, not to manage it and make it profitable;
- There is a lack of communication among and between heritage workers and stakeholders;
- There is a general lack of funding for projects in the sector;
- There is an incoherent implementation of policies in the sector;
- The sector needs someone to identify gaps, conflicts, and opportunities emerging between heritage sub-sectors and facilitate communication on these issues.

Group Two, major problems identified:

- There is a lack of ‘ownership’: whose heritage is it?
- The sector is fragmented at national, provincial and local levels;
- The relationship between DAC and DEAT is very poor, especially regarding co-ordination of related functions; This leads to confused lines of communication, bureaucratisation and a legislative void;
- There is a lack of creative partnerships;
- DAC’s relationship with the sector is too ‘top-down’;
- There is a lack of agreement on values, processes, terminology, planning, land use management etc;
- There is a lack of capacity in the following areas: leadership, skill, management, fundraising, human resources etc;
- There is no clear demarcation between funding for local museums and national heritage projects;
- There is no relationship between analysis and policy development;
- The heritage sector is over-commercialised to cater for the tourist market;
- There is a lack of transformation, community involvement and training in the sector;
- There is a lack of communication and a poor working relationship between heritage practitioners and specialists.

Group Three, major problems identified:

- The mechanical structure of the sector hampers lateral thinking, eg. funding and training across disciplines;
- There is too little co-operation between national, provincial and local tiers of government;
- There are varying definitions of heritage: whose heritage?
- Government does not take responsibility for co-ordinating heritage institutions it does not fund;
- The sector is poorly resourced and funded;
- There is no central policy ‘think-tank’;
- The sector is fragmented;

- There is a need for the transformation of the South African heritage product: South Africans are not users and do not feel welcome;
- There is need for a ‘South Africanisation’ of the ‘brand’ of the heritage sector;
- There is a need for the exchange of information;
- There is a need for better public participation processes;
- There is a lack of local participation and consultation.

The problems identified by all three groups are represented diagrammatically in Figure 1 on page 52.

Plenary discussion

In the plenary session, the group identified several short-term strategies to be undertaken to address key problems facing the heritage sector. These strategies are set out in Figure 2 on page 53 and were prioritised as follows:

- Debate within communities to ascertain what people understand as heritage and what needs to be done in the sector;
- Form a strong lobby group: new organisation? SAHRA? – use lobby group to talk to national/provincial portfolio committee;
- Communicate with DAC;
- Define the role of the National Heritage Council;
- Add content to the debate about what ‘Heritage’ might mean;
- Circulate information about the sector;
- Make a political commitment to improving capacity and resources;
- Strengthen and integrate training in the sector;
- Aggressively investigate other sources of funding;
- Recognise existing associations in the sector;
- Send a copy of this paper and proceedings to National Heritage Council’s first meeting;
- National Heritage Council to meet lobby group;
- Set up communication networks between institutions.

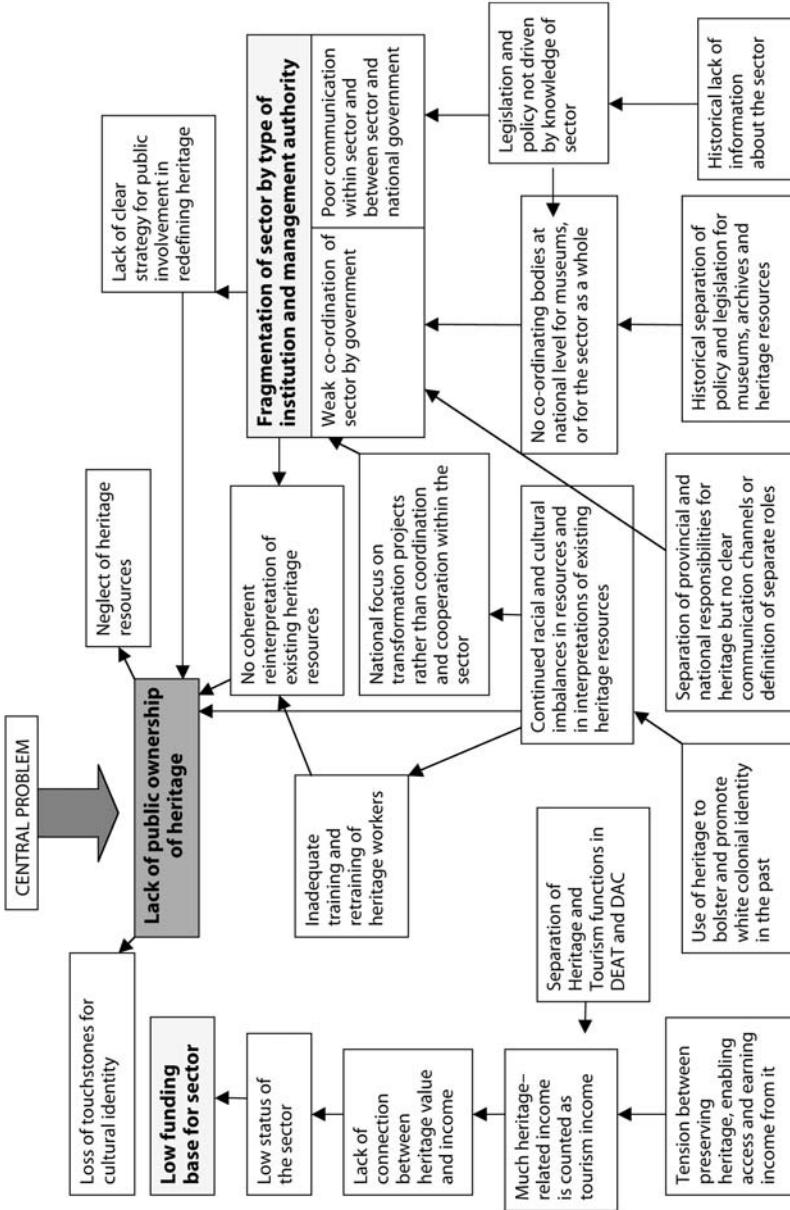


Figure 1: Key problems facing the heritage sector

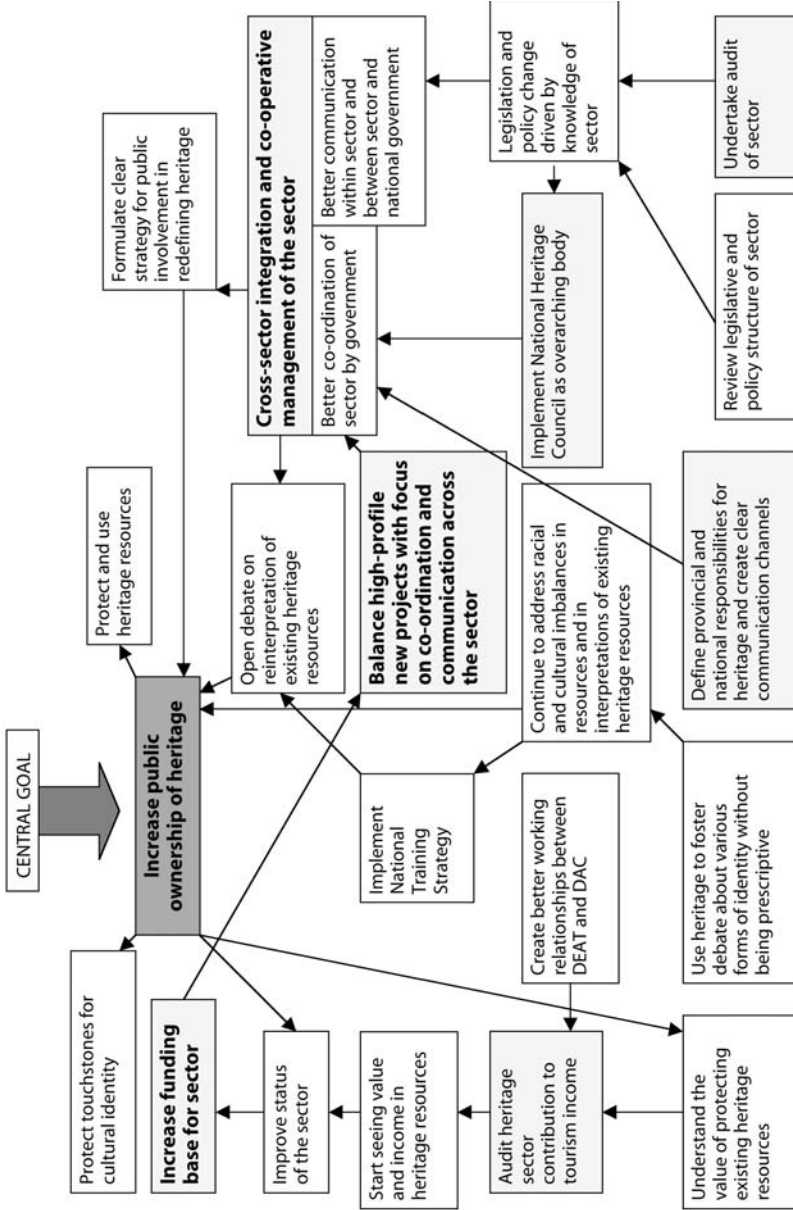


Figure 2: Short-term strategies to address key problems facing the heritage sector

Acronyms

ACTAG	Arts and Culture Task Group of 1995
AFRICOM	International Council of African Museums
CIDA	Cultural Industry Development Agency
CIDP	Cultural Industry Development Programme
CIGS	Cultural Industries Growth Strategy Report
CRC	
CREATE SA	Commission for the Reconstruction and Transformation of the Arts and Culture in South Africa
DACST	Department of Arts Culture Science and Technology (now DAC)
DAC	Department of Arts Culture
DEAT	Department of Environment and Tourism
DoL	Department of Labour
DST	Department of Science and Technology
EPA	Ecole du Patrimoine Africain
ERICArts	A pilot inventory of National Cultural Policies and measures supporting cultural diversity
ETQAs	Education and Training Quality Assurance Bodies
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
ICCROM	International Centre for Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOM	International Council of Museums
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
ILO	International Labour Organisation
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
MAPPP-SETA	Media Advertising Publishing Printing and Packaging Sector Education and Training Authority
MSU	Michigan State University
MUSA	Museums for South Africa Intersectoral Investigation for National Policy

NALM	Nasionale Afrikaanse Letterkunde Museum en Navorsingsentrum
NELM	National English Literary Museum
NHC	Natural Heritage Council
NHRA	South African National Heritage Resources Act of 1999
NHRF	National Heritage Resources Fund
NHTI	National Heritage Training Institute
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Co-operation
NQF	National Qualifications Framework
PAIA	Promotion of Access to Information Act (No. 2 of 2000)
PGNCs	Provincial Geographical Names Committees
PHRAs	Provincial Heritage Resources Authorities
PMDA	Programme for Museum Development in Africa
SAHRA	South African Heritage Resources Agency
SAMA	South African Museums Association
SAQA	South African Qualifications Authority
SAS	State Archives Service
SATOUR	South African Tourism
SDI	
SETA	Sector Education and Training Authority
SGB	Standards Generating Body
SMME	Small and medium enterprises
THETHA	Tourism, Hospitality and Sports Education and Training Authority
UCT	University of Cape Town
UMEA	
UWC	University of the Western Cape

Notes

- 1 There is a soft boundary between these categories, of course, since films for example, like all audio-visual publications, are required to be deposited with the National Film, Video and Sound Archives under the *Legal Deposit Act*. V Harris, comments on this paper, Dec. 2002.
- 2 See ACTAG policy proposals for heritage, heritage sub-committee, final draft 15 June 1995.
- 3 As amended by the *Cultural Laws Amendment Act* of 2001.
- 4 Thanks to Melanie Attwell for this point, 'Protecting our Cultural Capital' HSRC Colloquium, 31 March 2003.
- 5 See NHRA 1999 Section 3.
- 6 The NHRA provides for the sale of protected buildings but not abandoned heritage objects like archaeological or palaeontological remains. Ministerial permission is required for the sale of items in museum collections. The NHRA also restricts the export of heritage objects, including archival materials.
- 7 RM Tietz, comments on this paper, Dec. 2002.
- 8 Between 1984 and 1994, national state-funded museums were administered under the Department of National Education and Culture ('general affairs' museums) or the Department of Education and Culture ('own affairs' museums). Before 1994, the State Archives Service – there were no provincial or local government archives services – was a directorate in the Department of National Education, as was the National Monuments Council.
- 9 RM Tietz, comments on this paper, Dec. 2002.
- 10 V Harris, comments on this paper, Dec. 2002.

- 11 See Paragraphs 104 and 44 and Schedule 4 of the Constitution, cited in DACST White Paper (1995): Chapter 3 (2), http://www.dac.gov.za/legislation_policies/legislation.htm. See also Schedule 5, Part A of the Constitution which gives provinces power to pass their own legislation. National government cannot overrule any provincial legislation unless it is in conflict with the Bill of Rights.
- 12 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, as adopted on 8 May 1996 and amended on 11 October 1996 by the Constitutional Assembly (<http://www.polity.org.za/html/govdocs/constitution/saconst.html>). Thanks to David Hart for this point made during the 'Protecting our Cultural Capital' HSRC Colloquium, 31 March 2003.
- 13 Their website is: <http://www.wits.ac.za/gshass/heritage.htm>; V Harris, comments on this paper, Dec. 2002.
- 14 RM Tietz, comments on this paper, Dec. 2002.
- 15 RM Tietz, comments on this paper, Dec. 2002.
- 16 UMEA's web site is www.umu.se/kultmed/webbustalling/index_en.html.
- 17 See Institutions of Public Culture: A Collaborative Cape Town – Atlanta Program (2000–2004) (http://www.emory.edu/COLLEGE/ILA/ILA_divisions/CSPS/institutions.html).
- 18 Digital Imaging South Africa is a Mellon Foundation Project funded for three years, which is digitising anti-apartheid journals published between 1960 and 1994 (<http://disa.nu.ac.za/>). For an interesting overview see Geber H (n.d.)
- 19 There are many MSU initiatives. See in particular the South African National Cultural Heritage Training and Technology Programme (<http://www.saculturalheritage.org/index.html>).

- 20 A conference and publication project involving the University of Wisconsin, Robben Island and representatives from South America and the Philippines (<http://wiscinfo.doit.wisc.edu/globalstudies/LOA/>).
- 21 Draft document on the National Legacy Project http://www.dac.gov.za/about_us/cd_heritage/legacy_project/legacy_project.htm.
- 22 See *About the National Archives – National Oral History Program* on <http://www.national.archives.gov.za/>; V Harris, comments on this paper, Dec. 2002.
- 23 *National Heritage Council Act* 11 of 1999 as amended by the *Cultural Laws Second Amendment Act* 69 of 2001 (see http://www.dac.gov.za/legislation_policies/acts.htm).
- 24 See *National Heritage Council Act* 11 of 1999, Section 4.
- 25 See *National Heritage Council Act* 11 of 1999, Section 10.
- 26 See Simeka Management Consulting (1998).
- 27 We are in the fortunate position that both the International Council of Museums (ICOM) and the Museums Association (UK) have recently published revised codes in 2000 and 2002 respectively. In 2001 SAMA produced a *Guide to Ethics for South African Museums* based on the ICOM code. This will have to be revised (RM Tietz, comments on this paper, Dec. 2002).
- 28 V Harris, comments on this paper, Dec. 2002.
- 29 See *National Archives of South Africa Act* 43 of 1996, Section 3.
- 30 V Harris, comments on this paper, Dec. 2002.
- 31 See NHRA Part 1, Section 3(2)(b).
- 32 NHRA section 5(4) reads: ‘Heritage resources form an important part of the history and beliefs of communities and must be managed in a way that acknowledges the right of affected communities to be consulted and to

- participate in their management.’ Section 38(3)(e) requires consultation before development.
- 33 Point made at the ‘Protecting our Cultural Capital’ HSRC Colloquium, 31 March 2003.
 - 34 PHRAs have their own Provincial Heritage Resources Councils, distinct from the broader Provincial Heritage Council.
 - 35 Information from provincial officials in the Northern Cape.
 - 36 Declared cultural institutions are managed nationally, and some museums fall outside the ambit of state structures entirely.
 - 37 Thanks to Rooksano Omar for this point, ‘Protecting our Cultural Capital’ HSRC Colloquium, 31 March 2003.
 - 38 Museums Ordinance No 8 1975.
 - 39 Western Cape Museum Service (2002). Provided by Eureka Barnard, Deputy Director of the Western Cape Museum Service.
 - 40 Mackenzie P (2002) *Budget Speech*. Provided by Eureka Barnard, Deputy Director of the Western Cape Museum Service.
 - 41 RM Tietz, comments on this paper, Dec. 2002.
 - 42 See CreateSA (c. 2002) *Briefing Document* (http://www.createa.org.za/objects/Briefing_Document.doc).
 - 43 English Heritage press release 857/11/02, 25 November 2002 *Make the past pay: first ever historic environment audit shows England neglecting major economic asset* (www.historicenvironment.org.uk).
 - 44 V Harris, comments on this paper, Dec. 2002.
 - 45 For example, a recently opened permanent exhibition at the Amathole Museum, *Across the frontier*, emphasises a

- common history; RM Tietz, comments on this paper, Dec. 2002.
- 46 *Government Gazette*, Vol 427, No 21999, 22 January 2001, Notice 68 of 2001.
- 47 See <http://www.theta.org.za/nqf/Guiding/Docs/TG13.doc>.
- 48 To view an up-to-date list of unit standards, visit the SAQA website (<http://www.saqa.org.za/>).
- 49 A court case, *Gordon Neville v. SAHRA*, established this in the Eastern Cape.
- 50 See ICOMOS (http://www.icomos.org/ICOMOS_Main_Page.html); ICOM (<http://icom.museum/>); ICCROM (<http://www.iccrom.org/eng/news/iccrom.htm>); PMDA (<http://www.heritageinafrica.org/frames.htm>); AFRICOM (<http://www.african-museums.org/menuenglish.html>).
- 51 DACST *White Paper* (1995) Chapter 3(9).
- 52 It is not known whether this list is complete. Regional offices may have more complete lists.
- 53 A list of all former national monuments exists but since the promulgation of the NHRA some have been declared as Grade I national heritage resources and the rest remain provincial heritage resources.
- 54 See National Archives website <http://www.national.archives.gov.za/>. V Harris, comments on this paper, Dec. 2002.
- 55 DACST (1998) *Cultural Industries Growth Strategy (CIGS) Report* (http://www.dac.gov.za/reports/creative_SA_report/csa1.doc).
- 56 DACST (1998) *In short: the South African cultural industries* (http://www.dac.gov.za/reports/music_pub_film_craft/cult_indust_summary.doc and http://www.dac.gov.za/reports/music_pub_film_craft/summary.doc).

- 57 See for example ILO – funded studies on *The production of culture* (Joffe, 2002). Documents obtained from DAC via HSRC.
- 58 CreateSA (c.2002) *Briefing Document* (http://www.createsa.org.za/objects/Briefing_Document.doc).
- 59 CreateSA (c.2002) *Briefing Document* (http://www.createsa.org.za/objects/Briefing_Document.doc).
- 60 See <http://www.theta.org.za/>.
- 61 Cluster Consortium (1999) *South African Tourism, Collaborative Action Process, Strategy in Action Report* (<http://www.nedlac.org.za/research/fridge/satourep/>).
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