

**- Battlefield Tourism in South Africa with Special Reference to
Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift KwaZulu-Natal -**

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Battlefield Tourism in South Africa is an increasingly important tourism product in northern KwaZulu-Natal. Rising visitor numbers to the famous Anglo-Zulu battlefields of Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift over the past ten years have created certain challenges to the management of the area. Thanatourism is a form of Cultural Heritage Tourism that comprises visits to battlefields. Thanatourism sites often attempt to interpret sensitive events of the past. This requires management skills different to those needed by other heritage attractions. One of the issues faced by management is dissonance in heritage, which refers to dilemmas associated with reconciling the interests of rival groups with separate stakes in the development of controversial sites. This study attempts to investigate the level of dissonance present at the battlefields of Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift and to identify ways of reducing it.

A qualitative approach was applied to capture the different opinions of four major stakeholder groups as present in Seaton's Force Field Model (2001): the subject groups (Zulu and British), visitor groups, owners/controllers of heritage and the host community. An ethnographic investigation combined with an analysis of the tourism situation on the battlefields revealed that the levels of dissonance between the stakeholders are much lower than expected. This is achieved through the prioritisation of heritage at provincial level, the balanced narratives of tour guides, increasing economic prosperity and the participation of the host community in heritage development.

The findings imply that despite South Africa's colonial and apartheid past, Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift manage their dissonance successfully. It is suggested that in order to sustain this development, cooperation between tourism and heritage should be improved and the guiding environment should be more regulated and controlled. Also, new memorials on the battlefields have to be authentic and subject groups must be able to relate to them.

BESTUURSOPSOMMING

Slagveldtoerisme is 'n toerismeproduk wat al hoe belangriker word in noordelike KwaZulu-Natal. Verhoogde besoekersgetalle die afgelope tien jaar by die bekende Anglo-Zuluslagvelde van Isandlwana en Rorkesdrift stel bepaalde uitdagings aan die persone in beheer van die gebiede. Thanatoerisme is 'n vorm van kulturele erfenistoerisme wat die besoeke aan slagvelde behels. By thanatoerismegebiede word dikwels gepoog om sensitiewe gebeurtenisse van die verlede te interpreteer. Dit vereis bestuursvaardighede wat verskil van dié wat benodig word by ander erfenisattraksies. Een van die kwessies waarmee bestuurders gekonfronteer word, is dissonansie of onenigheid betreffende erfenis. Dit verwys na bepaalde kwessies rakende die versoening van die aansprake van strydende groepe met verskillende belange in die ontwikkeling van kontroversiële terreine. Hierdie studie poog om ondersoek in te stel na die vlak van dissonansie by die slagvelde van Isandlwana en Rorkesdrift en om maniere te identifiseer waarmee dit verminder kan word.

'n Kwalitatiewe benadering, soos uiteengesit in Seaton se sogenaamde Force Field Model (2001), is toegepas om die verskillende menings van vier belangrike insethouders te bepaal. Die insethouders is: die groepe wat as onderwerpe dien (Zulu en Brits); besoekersgroepe; eienaars of erfenisbestuurders en die plaaslike gemeenskap. 'n Etnografiese ondersoek, gekombineer met 'n analise van die toerismesituasie op die slagvelde, het getoon dat die vlak van dissonansie tussen die insethouders baie laer is as wat verwag is. Die rede hiervoor is waarskynlik die belangrikheid wat aan erfenis verleen word op provinsiale vlak, die gebalanseerde aanbiedings deur toergidse, toenemende ekonomiese welvarendheid en die deelname van die plaaslike gemeenskap aan erfenisontwikkeling.

Die bevindings dui daarop dat, ten spyte van Suid-Afrika se koloniale en apartheidsverlede, dissonansie bevredigend bestuur word by Isandlwana en Rorkesdrift. Om dit so te behou, word voorgestel dat samewerking tussen toerisme en erfenis verbeter moet word en dat die toergidsbedryf beter gereguleer en gekontroleer moet word. Nuwe gedenktekens op slagvelde behoort geloofwaardig en identifiseerbaar vir alle onderwerpsgroepe te wees.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AMAFA	Amafa is Zulu for heritage. Amafa refers to Heritage KwaZulu Natal (Amafa Heritage Council), Amafa Akwazulu
CSM	Church of Swedish Mission
DAC	Department of Arts and Culture
DACST	Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology
ELC	Evangelical Lutheran Church
ELCSA	Evangelical Lutheran Church South Africa
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
Impi	Regiment of soldiers in the Zulu army
Inkosi	King, chief – a person of importance
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
MECs	Members of Executive Councils
NHRA	National Heritage Resource Act
PHRAs	Provincial Heritage Resource Authorities
R	Rand (currency of South Africa)
SAHRA	South African Heritage Resource Agency
SAHRA Council	South African Heritage Resource Agency Council
SAHO	South African History Online
THETA	Tourism Hospitality & Sports Education & Training Authority
TKZN	Tourism KwaZulu Natal
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
VC	Victoria Cross
VFR	Visiting Friends and Relatives

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1 CHAPTER: THE PROBLEM AND ITS CONTEXT

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

Battlefield Tourism is a significant focus area within the field of study of Thanatourism/Dark Tourism [defined in par. (paragraph) 2.5]. Thanatourism/Dark Tourism focuses on sites of death and disaster (Dann & Seaton, 2001; Lennon & Foley, 1999), and forms the contextual umbrella under which Battlefield and War Tourism fall. Smith (1996:248) argues that the memorabilia of warfare and allied products probably makes up the largest single category of tourist attractions in the world. Thanatourism/Dark Tourism specifically makes an increasingly valuable contribution to the development of heritage tourism world wide (Shackley, 2002).

Attractions of death and disaster have always been and will continue to provide a reason and motivation for travel. The origins of these fascinations go back to antiquity, when pilgrimage was a common form of travel and involved a journey to places associated with the death of an individual or with special religions. Sometimes these places also had mystical significance (Lennon & Foley, 2000). Nowadays, wars, battlefields, cemeteries, and concentration camps amongst others, are being packaged by the tourism industry and sold to the public. This is very often done for entertainment purposes. The commercial aspects of Thanatourism/Dark Tourism sites can lead to potential conflicts between rival groups who have separate stakes in the development of controversial sites (Dann & Seaton, 2001). Since it is very unlikely that this particular motivation for tourism will ever disappear, efforts should be focused on resolving or at least softening controversies surrounding attractions of death and disaster with regard to cultural heritage. This is particularly important in countries with a colonial background. Against the above background, questions arise about certain aspects of managing, marketing and interpreting battlefield products and sites.

The battles of Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift are regarded as two of the most important battles fought on South African soil with regard to the outcome of the battles and the political consequences. Both battles between the British and the Zulu's took place on the

same day, 22nd of January 1879. Early in the morning at Isandlwana, the British army suffered the most humiliating defeat in its history against a native military force (TKZN, n.d.). In the afternoon, the British destroyed the Zulu army at Rorke's Drift (TKZN, n.d.). The Anglo-Zulu wars lasted for seven months.

Until 1994 the battles of Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift were mostly commemorated to remember British heroism and patriotism (Seaton & Lennon, 2004). Today these monuments are allowed to continue existing, partly because the battlefields appeal to British tourists who make up a large number of the tourist population visiting South Africa. Since 1994, however a counterbalance has been sought in the depiction of cultural heritage through the development of Zulu cultural centres at the battlefields. Despite these efforts, tensions have arisen among the stakeholders due to the diverse cultural perspectives within South Africa. The past dominance of imposing heritage in South Africa together with the turbulence of a changing government (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996) has created controversy amongst the various cultural groups. This has been generated by the unacceptable interpretation and commodification of atrocity and human tragedy.

As a result of the commodification of the battlefield product, which has taken centre stage in the economic and social revival of northern KwaZulu-Natal, it is suggested that it is the tourists' perceptions, desires and concerns that guide the planning authorities and not the subject groups (the British and the Zulus), who actually form the heritage.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT AND RESEARCH AIM

Thanatourism/Dark Tourism not only implies visiting sites associated with death, atrocity and human suffering, but also relates to the difficulties that are faced in the management of such a site. Management of a Thanatourism/Dark Tourism attraction is a peculiarly intense and sensitive issue which is difficult to undertake. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) observe that misuse and abuse of sacred values for market benefits and entertainment purposes are more likely to occur at atrocity sites than at other heritage sites. The specific issue of managing Thanatourism/Dark Tourism sites and interpreting the 'heritage of

atrocities' has not yet been thoroughly examined in the general literature on cultural resource management.

This dissertation attempts to understand the multifaceted nature of the controversy generated by the use of the heritage of atrocity as tourist attractions. Further, this work tries to comprehend the macro-environmental factors, such as the political (colonial heritage, post-apartheid area), economic (commercialisation), social, and cultural forces shaping this controversy. In particular, dissonance in the interpretation of colonial battlefields, where the conquerors turn into the tourists of today (Smith, 1996:255), is investigated in this study.

Dissonance in heritage is frequently caused by colonialism where alien settlers never constituted the majority of the local population, and is in particular exacerbated by commercialisation. While it is understood that resolving heritage dissonance is critical to the sustainability of heritage resources, there is an evident lack of awareness of the problem.

The aim of this study is to provide a holistic approach in which dissonance at the South African Thanatourism/Dark Tourism attractions of Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift can be reduced through active management within a multicultural post-apartheid society. This could promote harmony and understanding among South Africans. The approach entails a close dialogue between all stakeholders of the heritage site, as every stakeholder group has different ideas, concerns, feelings and experiences regarding the heritage attraction.

1.2.1 Research question

Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) point out that heritage dissonance is inherent in every heritage and that it occurs universally. In other words, although it cannot be erased from heritage, it can be reduced and balanced. The consequence of dissonance, according to psychologists is that people will adjust their patterns of behaviour so as to reduce dissonance and move towards consonance. Against the above background, the following research question is formed:

How can dissonance at the battlefields (Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift) in KwaZulu-Natal be reduced through management to promote harmony and understanding amongst South Africans?

1.2.2 Objectives

Based on the above research question, the objectives of this study are:

1. an examination of the concept of Thanatourism/Dark Tourism
2. an examination of the theoretical background of dissonant heritage and the 'Heritage Force Field Model' as developed by Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) and Seaton (2001)
3. to provide a historical overview of the battles of the Anglo-Zulu war campaign in 1879
4. an examination of the development of South Africa's heritage policies
5. an investigation of the development and current status of battlefield tourism in the KwaZulu-Natal Province
6. the identification of major conflicts fuelled by dissonant heritage resulting from the interpretation and use of heritage among stakeholders at Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift, including:
 - owners and controllers
 - adjacent communities and townships
 - the visitors
 - the subject groups (Zulus and British)
7. Based on the findings of the above management guidelines are developed in order to balance and reconcile existing dissonant heritage at the battlefields of northern KwaZulu-Natal.

1.2.3 Research expectation

South Africa's history of colonialism and dominating regimes such as that of apartheid, as well as its multiculturalism, create the potential for tremendous dissonant heritage. The research expectation is that high levels of dissonance will be encountered at the heritage sites of Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift.

1.3 DEFINITION OF TERMS

Cultural Heritage Tourism

Cultural Heritage Tourism entails travelling to experience places, artefacts and activities that authentically represent the stories and people of the past and present. It includes irreplaceable cultural, historical and natural resources (National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2005).

Thanatourism/Dark Tourism

Thanatourism is a form of Cultural Heritage Tourism that comprises visits to battlefields, murder and atrocity locations, places where celebrities died, graveyards and internment sites, memorials, events and exhibitions featuring relics and the reconstruction of death (Seaton, 2000a).

Heritage of Atrocity

The heritage of atrocity closely ties in with Thanatourism/Dark Tourism. It is defined by Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996:94) as 'deliberately inflicted extreme human suffering'.

Battlefield Tourism / War Tourism

Battlefield Tourism/War Tourism specifically focuses on famous war sites, battlefields and cemeteries, however, it falls under the umbrella term of Thanatourism/Dark Tourism, because it includes visits to sites of destruction and death.

Dissonant heritage

Dissonant heritage refers to competing spatial implications and dilemmas linked to reconciling the interests of, and potential conflicts between, rival groups who hold separate stakes in the development of controversial sites (Dann & Seaton, 2001).

1.4 METHODOLOGY

This is an explorative study based on personal observation and in-depth interviews with selected respondents. The literature review provides a relevant discussion on Thanatourism/Dark Tourism and heritage dissonance. These concepts can be evaluated using the 'Heritage Force Field Model' by Seaton (2001:123). The literature review also establishes a theoretical framework against which empirical research can be done. The empirical research has a qualitative and a quantitative component. This is necessary for collecting data from the battlefield area and from each of the stakeholder groups of the battlefields in northern KwaZulu-Natal.

Quantitative data in the form of statistics was obtained from various tourism and heritage organisations at national and provincial level to determine the current tourism situation in the northern KwaZulu-Natal area. This type of information only constitutes a minor part of the study, whereas the bulk of it is made up of qualitative research.

Qualitative research techniques were used to obtain information from stakeholder groups on the battlefields by applying the 'Heritage Force Field Model' by Seaton (2001:123) (refer to par. 3.4.1). While the model measures the perceptions, attitudes, beliefs and feelings of the stakeholders, it is not the number of responses that matters, but rather how

detailed and rich these responses are. Qualitative research is suitable for the analysis of emotional topics where the richness of information is important. Another factor that leads to the use of qualitative research techniques is that there are only a limited number of respondents of each stakeholder group on the battlefields. It is not possible to measure frequencies and other quantitative data with a small number of responses.

Therefore, in order to obtain an answer to the research question, it is not only necessary to quantify some of the information but also to take an in-depth look at the stakeholder situation on the battlefields.

1.5 LIMITATIONS

The parameters of this study are limited to the battlefields of Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift. The results obtained cannot be generalised and applied to other Thanatourism/Dark Tourism sites. Values, feelings, attitudes and beliefs of stakeholder groups are specific to the heritage sites under study. However, results on battlefield tourism statistics can show implications for other heritage sites in the area.

1.6 BENEFITS OF THE STUDY

The significance of this study is manifold. Firstly, it contributes to the still indefinite topic of Thanatourism/Dark Tourism. A theoretical framework adds to the understanding of the topic area which is regarded by some reviewers (Ashworth, 2002; Kazalarska, 2002) to be lacking in recent studies. As Seaton and Lennon (2004:85) state: "there are more questions than answers in relation to Thanatourism". Secondly, it is one of the first studies to apply the 'Heritage Force Field Model' (Seaton, 2001:123) to an international case study. Hence the model is going to be illuminated and examined.

Thirdly, a major theme or contribution of this dissertation is to discover stakeholders of heritage in South Africa, which through political change, has come to the fore. Tunbridge

and Ashworth (1996) have identified South Africa as a country with both major dissonant heritage in the immediate future and an exceptional need to resolve it. Before being able to resolve or decrease dissonant heritage, however, the lack of information about the perception of dissonant heritage by urban residents and its impact upon them has to be overcome (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). The future evolution of multiculturalism with respect to sustainable cultural heritage also forms part of the research agenda.

Lastly, the results of this dissertation is to explore the Force Field Model through a South African case study that can be expected to assist other Thanatourism/Dark Tourism attractions in South Africa and to decrease tensions at heritage sites by developing awareness and managerial support for such sites in South Africa.

To summarise, this study can contribute to academic literature as well as having the practical implication to support communities and managing authorities at Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift.

1.7 DISSERTATION OUTLINE

The study commences with a discussion of the problem statement, explaining the dilemma with regard to the management of dissonance and the importance of solving it. Next, the research objectives are stated, followed by a literature review in chapters two, three and four which first discusses related topics such as heritage tourism and Thanatourism/Dark Tourism, including Battlefield and War Tourism. Chapter three then indicates that the 'Heritage Force Fields Model' and dissonant heritage are becoming important topics in the management of the 'heritage of atrocity' and stakeholders. Chapter four gives an historical context to the specific battles of Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift. The methods of investigation are discussed in chapter five. Data has been collected from a variety of sources, though the dissertation mainly relies on qualitative interviews held with the stakeholders of the battlefields. The analysis of results is presented in chapters six and seven. First, the legislative background of heritage protection is explained and then the overall situation is described on the battlefields with regard to tourism management and heritage resource management. In chapter seven, the amount of dissonance is analysed

for every stakeholder group. Chapter eight concludes the results and makes management recommendations to reduce dissonance at South African battlefields.

2 CHAPTER: BACKGROUND TO HERITAGE TOURISM

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The concept of Thanatourism/Dark Tourism and Battlefield Tourism and War Tourism can widely be described as special interest tourism. The literature review covers studies that are directly and indirectly related to the research problem. Due to the limited existence of academic literature related to Thanatourism/Dark Tourism, the literature review begins by assessing heritage tourism within a wide context. Heritage, the heritage production process and heritage tourism are reviewed. The specific field of Thanatourism/Dark Tourism, as a field of research that has emerged from heritage studies will be placed within the wider context of heritage studies in this chapter. Battlefield Tourism and War Tourism are discussed under the umbrella term of Thanatourism/Dark Tourism. The history and value of War Tourism and Battlefield Tourism are also discussed in detail in this chapter. Subjects that are more specific to the research topic are reviewed in chapter three - dissonance in heritage, the importance of stakeholders and the 'Heritage Force Field Model', as these topics lead to the framework of the study and generate the theoretical background.

2.2 HERITAGE

History is what a historian sees as worth recording, while heritage is what contemporary society chooses to inherit and to pass on (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996:6). Until recently heritage referred to an individual's inheritance from a deceased ancestor (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996:1). In the 1970s, however, heritage took on another meaning, when tourism marketers and tourism researchers in Europe realised that some people travelled specifically to gain a deeper understanding of culture and heritage (McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Prentice, 1993). Consequently the link between tourism and heritage was recognised 20 years ago (Chambers, 2005; McKercher & du Cros, 2002).

Today, the definition of heritage covers a wide area of human interest and is used more and more for tourism purposes. The International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) defines 'heritage' as a broad concept that includes tangible assets, such as natural and cultural environments, landscapes, historic places, sites and built environments, as well as intangible assets, such as past and continuing cultural practices, knowledge and living experience (ICOMOS, 1999). The chairman of the National Heritage Memorial Fund, Lord Charter (in Hewison, 1989:15) refers to heritage as: "Anything you want". Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) agree that the word 'heritage' is used extensively, which results in the stretching of the concept to incorporate various meanings.

Heritage is divided into tangible and intangible heritage. Tangible heritage assets include all assets that have some physical embodiment of cultural values, such as historic towns, buildings, archaeological sites, cultural landscapes and cultural objects of items of movable cultural property (UNESCO, 2000). Intangible heritage consists of 'soft' culture, such as the practices, representations, expressions and the knowledge and skills that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage (UNESCO, 2003). Also, the setting or cultural space is important, as intangible heritage is intrinsically linked to a place or context and removing the heritage asset from its context may affect its authenticity. Intangible heritage comprises, among other elements, oral traditions and expressions (including language, performing arts, social practices, rituals and festive events) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe as well as traditional craftsmanship (UNESCO, 2003). Tussyadiah (2005) concludes that the development of heritage tourism has generally been based on what people perceive as built-tangible heritage. McKercher and du Cros (2002) explain that intangible heritage is still relatively new and that the management of intangible heritage in most countries is only in its early stages.

2.3 THE HERITAGE PRODUCTION PROCESS

A selection of the past is involved in both history (scientifically based) and heritage (contemporary society) and this can automatically create a potential for discrepancies in interpretation or meaning. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996:7) have developed a heritage

model (see figure 2.1), whereby a historic resource is turned into a heritage product, through a process of interpretation and packaging. The heritage production process can be said to have a consumptive foundation, as the processes of selection and targeting are also used as part of the marketing process.

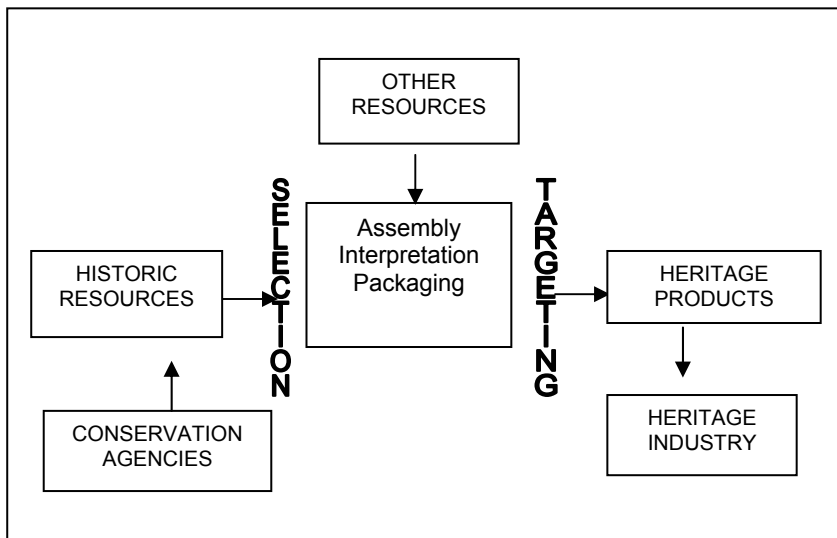


Figure 2.1: Heritage production process (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996:7)

Hewison (1987) describes heritage as a process of commodification and trivialisation, during which history has been replaced by a heritage industry. As a result, a false view of the past is presented. Hewison (1989) later broadens the idea and argues that heritage will reverse and affect history in the long run. This will mean that the actual understanding of history will be replaced by an image of the past as its reality. Another negative typology entails 'tabloid history' (Walsh, 1992) and 'bogus history' (Hewison, 1987). It can be argued that the heritage creation process is controversial in a number of respects, with one of the frequently occurring issues being of commodity value above authenticity (refer to heritage as an economic resource par. 3.2.1.3).

Heritage assets have been increasing since the 1980s (Goulding, 2000:835), therefore greater attention is being paid to heritage conservation, preservation and tourism. With legislation such as heritage acts and media events such as the World Summits and the United Nations World Heritage Conventions, populations all over the world have adopted

heritage as a new field of interest. Winter (2000) speaks of a 'memory boom', and argues that the obsession with memory arises from a multiplicity of social, cultural, medical and economic trends and developments which are of a diverse but interconnecting kind. Laenen (1989), on the other hand, argues that the main reason for the massive interest in heritage and the past can be located in the moral, social and identity crisis that nations have experienced over the past decades. As peace periods in most Western countries are increasing, people's interests can now turn to heritage and the past, thereby replacing previous preoccupations with essentials such as food, clothing and shelter.

2.4 HERITAGE TOURISM

The complex relationship between heritage and tourism is revealed by the merging boundaries between culture and leisure (Goulding, 2000; Nuryanti, 1996; Teo & Huang, 1995). What has previously been of little mass interest can now be described as a new industry - heritage industry (Hewison, 1987; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Cultural Heritage Tourism involves travelling to experience places, artefacts and activities that authentically represent the stories and people of the past and present. It also includes irreplaceable cultural, historical and natural resources (National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2005).

Heritage tourism studies encompass a wide variety of different themes. Studies generally deal with the analysis of museums, landscapes, artefacts and activities that focus on representing different aspects of the past (Halewood & Hannam, 2001). Recent studies of heritage and tourism (Hall & McArthur, 1993; MacDonalds, 1997), however, have tended to concentrate on the 'power' of tradition that implies stability or continuity in a community, whereas tourism per se involves change. Heritage tourism studies are also related to the dichotomy of preservation/conservation and consumerism/commercialisation (McKercher & du Cros, 2002). It is therefore not surprising that a dialogue concerning the heritage and tourism is often characterised by a series of contradictions (Nuryanti, 1996).

McKercher and du Cros (2002) in their work on partnership between tourism and cultural heritage management discuss in detail the problems and tensions between the two partners. They claim that Cultural Heritage Tourism needs to include both cultural heritage management and tourism management. However, in reality, many heritage attractions fail to either reach their tourism potential or their heritage potential, as ignorance leads to suspicion of the other's motives (McKercher & du Cros, 2002:3).

Chambers (2005) in her discussion on heritage and the nation identifies the connection between national heritage and tourism and, in contrast to other authors, describes it as a 'give-and-take' relationship. Robins (1999:27) further highlights the importance of heritage for tourism in contemporary society:

“In a world where differences are being erased, the commodification of place is about creating distinct place-identities in the eyes of global tourists... [heritage] represents a protective strategy of response to global forces.”

The opinions expressed above show that heritage and tourism through their competing approaches, can be rather unstable partners involved in many issues which can cause friction and therefore impact on the entire heritage asset and on the level of dissonance. However, they also show that if heritage and tourism are properly managed in a partnership relationship, the outcome can be rewarding for both contemporary society and for nation building.

2.5 THANATOURISM / DARK TOURISM

Seaton (1996:240) refers to 'Thanatourism', as a phenomenon that involves travel to a location wholly or partially motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death, particularly, but not exclusively, violent death. Thanatourism is also referred to as 'Dark Tourism' (Lennon & Foley, 2000), 'fatal attraction', 'death spots' (Rojek, 1993) 'heritage that hurts' (Beech, 2000:30) or 'atrocities heritage tourism' (Ashworth, 2004:95). There are still many overlaps in the terminology of this specific niche of tourism. Although Dark Tourism is the term currently used in the literature, this dissertation will make use of

the term Thanatourism, as it is believed that the term Dark Tourism can be misleading and judgemental. Other authors, namely Alexander (2004) agree with the misleading message of the term Dark Tourism.

The reason for coining a certain term or label for this type of tourism was to describe the specific sites and to allow scientific fieldwork to be conducted without fear of misunderstanding (Foley & Lennon, 1997). Thanatourism is a form of cultural heritage tourism that includes visits to battlefields, murder and atrocity locations, places of death of celebrities, graveyards and internment sites, memorials, events and exhibitions featuring relics and the reconstruction of death (Seaton, 2000a). A growing heritage industry over the last 30 years has made it clear that attractions are often linked to death, disaster and suffering. Heritage embraces so many areas in tourism that Thanatourism has developed into its own category. As Seaton (1996:234) points out: “death is the heritage which everyone shares”. Seaton also highlights the problem regarding the use of the term, suggesting that if the term Thanatourism would be legitimised, more authors would publish under the heading of Thanatourism. He suggests that aspects of Thanatourism address desires and interests which do not have a legitimate right to existence within the moral standards of the 20th century. Thanatourism is therefore often presented as ‘heritage, education or history’ (Seaton, 1996:244), resulting in the reason for the interdisciplinary approach of this study and its supporting literature.

The terms Dark Tourism, Thanatourism and heritage dissonance were added to the vocabulary of cultural tourism studies in 1996, the same year when studies on post-modern tourism were initiated (Kazalarska, 2002). Postmodernism may have been a major milestone for Thanatourism to come into existence as a change in attitude in Western societies towards sensibility is a fundamental aspect of postmodernism and a starting point for Thanatourism (Huysen, 1990:335). Sutton and House (2000) state, “Postmodernism is a general orientation to the world, a way of apprehending or experiencing the world which challenges enlightenment notions of reason and truth through ‘an incredulity toward all meta-narratives and totalising thought’”. Thanatourism also indicates a fundamental shift in the way in which death, disaster and atrocity are being handled by those who offer such tourism products (Lennon & Foley, 2000).

The concept of Thanatourism was conceptualised by three leading sets of authors (Dann, 1998; Lennon & Foley, 2000; Seaton, 1996; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Not all of them have reached consensus on their perspectives and attempts to define the term which emphasises the difficulty involved in setting parameters for the concept (see table 2.1).

Table 2.1: Definitions of and perspectives on the concept of Thanatourism

Authors	Definition	Perspective
Dann (1998), Seaton (1996) Dann and Seaton (2001)	<u>Thanatourism</u> : travel to a location wholly or partially motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death (Seaton, 1996:234)	focuses predominantly on historical and contemporary typological dimensions (Dann & Seaton, 2001:25)
Lennon and Foley (1999, 2000)	<u>Dark Tourism</u> : tourism sites associated with death, disaster and depravity (Lennon & Foley, 2000:13)	less concerned with types of dark tourism and focused on the ethnical and ontological aspects. Postmodernist framework, rather than a traditional form with a distinctive pedigree (Dann & Seaton, 2001:25)
Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996)	<u>Dissonant Heritage</u>	no focus on typology or ethnical dimensions, but attention paid to problems of ownership, control and representation inherent in all heritage development (Dann & Seaton, 2001:25)

(Dann, 1998; Dann & Seaton, 2001; Lennon & Foley, 1999, 2000; Seaton, 1996, 2001; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996)

As table 2.1 shows, there are a number of differences between the terms associated with attractions of death and disaster, especially when it comes to the last perspective (i.e. dissonant heritage). Dissonant heritage is of vital importance when analysing stakeholders on the battlefields. The first two typologies, Dark Tourism and Thanatourism are currently almost used interchangeably.

The term Dark Tourism is the most recent descriptive term for the activity of visiting tourism sites associated with death, disaster and depravity (Lennon & Foley, 2000). Many authors in their book reviews of Lennon and Foley's (2000) work on 'Dark Tourism' (Ashworth, 2002; Reader, 2001) recognise the importance of this ground-breaking study. There have, however, also been critical remarks such as that of Ashworth (2002) who states that Lennon and Foley's work lacks a solid theoretical framework. According to him, it: "neither raises the ethnical issues which are central to many of the current debates about heritage nor even the impact of these upon the practical choices inherent in the management of such sites" (Ashworth, 2002:244).

When looking at some of the different perspectives and definitions of the phenomenon of Dark Tourism, it becomes evident that the concept itself is not sufficiently developed to build a comprehensive conceptual framework for the problem being studied. Especially, since it does not provide a tool for managing the conflicts often presented at Dark Tourism sites. Therefore this study refers to the typology of Thanatourism.

2.5.1 Thanatourism studies

Topics which receive much attention in Thanatourism literature include interpretations of events such as slavery (Dann & Seaton, 2001), deaths of celebrities, assassinations of politicians (Lennon & Foley, 2000), the Holocaust (Beech, 2000; Lennon & Foley, 1999) and prison islands such as Robben Island and Alcatraz (Strange & Kempa, 2003; Strange, 2003). As the emphasis of this dissertation is on Thanatourism on battlefields, the next section gives an introduction to War and Battlefield Tourism.

2.5.1.1 *War Tourism*

War Tourism is a significant part of Thanatourism. War Tourism studies had received a lot of attention in literature, even before the concept of Thanatourism appeared. Controversy over how to interpret war is not new, and tourism approaches of education versus entertainment are discussed in many war tourism studies. Ways in which to present war are discussed extensively in the case of Civil War sites in the United States (Abroe, 1998;

Hanink & Stutts, 2002), sites related to the two World Wars (Edwards, 2000; Seaton, 1999, 2000; Seaton, 2000b, Slade, 2003) and the Vietnam War tourism sites (Henderson, 2000).

Historically, wars were fought on battlefields, where troops assembled, strategies developed and wounded soldiers could be rescued. Battlefields are important for future generations because battles no longer take place in this form due to changes in military engagement (Smith, 1996:262; Smith; 1998:204). War today is fought with high-tech technology; it is not restricted to a field and the action is broadcast live on television (Smith, 1998:206). As a result, there will be little increase in sacralised battlefield sites; however, the importance of existing ones will increase as part of the commemoration of a bygone era (Hanink & Stutts, 2002; Sampson, 2004; Seaton & Lennon, 2004).

Commemoration lifts from an ordinary historical sequence those extraordinary events which embody the deepest and most fundamental values. It is in this sense a register of 'sacred history' (Lloyd, 1998). Lloyd (1998) also elaborates on the symbols of commemoration which might be externally the same for victory and defeat, but internally the sense of 'sacred history' and the associated values can be polarized. This can be seen as a source of dissonant heritage (refer to par. 3.2.3.3).

2.5.1.2 Battlefield Tourism

Battlefields are sacred grounds, to be memorialised in order to remember the bravery of 'the fallen', motivate national reconciliation and provide information for schools of military studies (Smith, 1996). Battlefield Tourism makes up a large section of War Tourism and is not a new phenomenon. As early as 1815 the Battle of Waterloo attracted spectators, while fighting took place (Gold & Gold, 2003; Seaton 1996). The first tour to Waterloo took place in 1854 (Lloyd, 1998). Seaton (1999:139) states that Waterloo generated a popular, new kind of Battlefield Tourism. Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, Waterloo remained Belgium's most popular tourist attraction (Seaton, 1999). Thomas Cook started tours in South Africa to visit battlefield sites even before the Boer Wars ended in 1902. The High Commissioner had to stop the tourists from coming, as they interfered with the fighting (Lloyd, 1998). From the 1920s onwards, tourists visited the battlefields and memorials of the First World War (Seaton, 2000b). Recently destinations as diverse as

Southeast Asia, Balkan Europe and the Middle East (Gold & Gold, 2003) have contributed to and widened the scope of what is today a booming sector of the international tourist market, increasingly served by specialised tour operators. Since the 19th century, along with the development of guidebooks, brochures and maps there has been uncertainty about the appropriateness of battlefield travel (Lloyds, 1998). Lloyds (1998) in his book on battlefield tourism extensively examines the dichotomy between tourists and pilgrims to battlefields, and the related developing sensitivity of the latter. Pilgrims largely felt uneasy due to the presence of tourists at battlefields. The House of Commons even attempted to keep tourists from going on to battlefields until relatives of the dead had had a chance to visit the fallen's graves (Lloyds, 1998).

Lloyds (1998) argues that the growing popularity of battlefields with travellers coincided with changes in attitude to the dead. Increased sensitivity to the need to remember and to commemorate the dead developed. Over time: the higher the loss of combatants, the stronger the need to commemorate them (Edwards, 2000). This became especially evident during the Anglo-Boer war, when a society with royal patronage was founded to locate and tend the graves of individual soldiers in South Africa (Lloyd, 1998). After the 1930s even young people started visiting battlefields. Alexander (2004) states that people who visit battlefields have different motives to do so and hence several studies on motivation, perspectives and experiences of battlefield visitors have been conducted (Alexander, 2004; Lloyds, 1998; Seaton, 2000b; Slade, 2003).

These days the sites of famous battles, such as Somme and Flanders, Crecy and Agincourt, Passchendaele and Ypres¹, Bull Run and Gettysburg, Rorke's Drift and Mafeking, Gallipoli and Culloden, which served as places of political, social and cultural history, are only bare fields (Gold & Gold, 2003:108). An attempt needs to be made to interpret battlefield sites objectively. Gold and Gold (2003) point out the importance of the interpretive narratives among minority groups or 'conquered peoples', who today recognise and resent their exclusion from the established history of conflicts. This can

¹ Somme, Flanders, Passchendaele and Ypres are battlefields from the First World War (1914-1918). Crecy and Agincourt are battles fought in the Middle Age between the French and the British (1346). Rorke's Drift (1879) and Mafeking (1899-1900) are battles fought in South Africa between the British, Zulus and the Boers. Bull Run and Gettysburg are famous battles from the America Civil War (1861-1865). Gallipoli was the battle of independence by the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps in Turkey in 1915. Culloden (1745-1746) represents a key moment in the development of the Scottish nation and the Union of British states.

lead to a process of adjustment which helps the excluded gain a stake in the interpretation. This aspect is also important for the contested and dissonant heritage of the Anglo-Zulu wars. Dissonant heritage is not only caused by ethnic groups, but also by conflicts between supporters of local self-determination and national authorities when it comes to the question of commemoration (Edwards, 2000).

2.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter looks at the wider issues related to Heritage Tourism, Thanatourism and War and Battlefield Tourism. The heritage industry has increased substantially over the past 20 years, which has had implications for the management of and relationships between tourism and heritage, as conflicting interests can develop between the two. Also because of the appearance and growth of postmodernism, Thanatourism has been able to develop into its own category, specifically looking at attractions which have to do with death, disaster and genocide. Battlefield Tourism falls under Thanatourism and focuses specifically on famous war sites, battlefields and cemeteries. The development of new heritage categories implies that these attractions have specific needs in terms of management issues, as they often operate in very sensitive social and cultural environments. The next chapter picks up on the specific management issues with regard to Thanatourism sites. It looks at the key players involved, and also focuses on the relationship network which is developing amongst them.

3 CHAPTER: HERITAGE DISSONANCE: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter develops a theoretical background for management issues found in Thanatourism. The concept of dissonance in heritage is introduced in detail here. Heritage uses and users play a major role in the balance of dissonance. The different uses of heritage resources in the cultural, political and economic spheres are also discussed. Categories of dissonance give an indication of where dissonance is potentially very high. Battlefields are then discussed under the heading of 'heritage in atrocity'. The paragraph on types of atrocity gives the number of atrocity sites and discusses the issues of colonialism and dominating regimes as a broad atrocity. The colonial world is here discussed with special interest to Africa. Then strategies are looked at to deal with dissonance in heritage, which leads the discussion to the management of stakeholders. Rival stakeholders in heritage can often have a detrimental impact on the heritage resource. Seaton (2001:123) has developed a model to assess and evaluate stakeholders in a mode of time and power, which is used as the basis of this research.

3.2 CONCEPT OF DISSONANT HERITAGE

Before looking at the concept of 'dissonant heritage', it is important to first understand how dissonance arises. Looking back at Hewison's (1989) understanding of heritage, it is obvious, that some authors (Hewison, 1989; Morales & Mysyk, 2004) are not impressed by the process of heritage development. Hewison labels heritage managers as a 'new breed' of managers, and accuses them of presenting heritage as a unified image "where change, conflict and clashes of interests are neutralized within a single seamless and depthless surface" (Hewison, 1989:22). From the above it can be argued that the modern approach of how to present the past is one of the causes of increased dissonance in heritage.

The concept of dissonance in heritage was developed by Tunbridge and Ashworth in 1996 with the purpose of finding a term what could embrace all the difficulties of heritage management issues. Dissonant heritage, as mentioned earlier, is not synonymous with Thanatourism/Dark Tourism. Instead of focusing on typology or ethnical dimensions, Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) discuss problems of ownership, control and representation inherent in all heritage development sites. Ashworth's (2001) most recent study focuses on the dissonance in heritage within the tourism sphere of atrocity.

Synonyms for dissonance can be discord, disagreement, conflict or difference. The antonym would be harmony or consonance. Other terms to describe dissonance in heritage are 'contested memory' or 'layers of meaning' (Strange, 2003:91).

Since its origin, the concept of dissonance in heritage has been used to approach the difficulties of heritage management issues in two ways. Firstly, Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996:30) argue, that it keeps the ideas of discrepancy and incongruity at the forefront. This idea helps to immediately ask the question "between which elements does dissonance occur?" Secondly, dissonance is an expression which originated from the field of music and psychology. Music makes use of 'dissonance', meaning a disharmonious combination of sounds. Psychology uses 'dissonance' in a cognitive context as: "a state of psychic tension caused by the simultaneous holdings of mutually inconsistent attitudes or the existence of a lack of consonance between attitudes and behaviour" (Sears *et al.*, in Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996:20). The psychological analogy stresses the consequence of dissonance, namely that people will adjust their patterns of behaviour so as to reduce dissonance and move towards consonance. Lastly, there are two questions which need to be addressed: between which stakeholders does dissonance occur, and what can be done to move towards consonance?

Similar tensions of various intensities and with various impacts can be observed in the tourism industry. Discrepancy and incongruity signify a lack of agreement and consistency between elements involved in the process of heritage production. Heritage dissonance provides a tool for description of interpretation and a guide to planning interventions (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996).

Two important characteristics are central to the discussion of dissonance. Firstly, dissonance belongs to the nature of heritage. It will occur wherever the heritage assembly process takes place. Secondly, dissonance is universal in that it is a condition, active or inactive to some degree of all heritages. As Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996:68) argue: “most dissonance is trivial, ignorable or bearable; much is avoidable, often quite simply, and much that is not avoidable is certainly mitigable in various ways”. Awareness and knowledge of heritage management is definitely a start to the process of bringing harmony into heritage. Strange (2003:1) talks about ‘symbiotic commemoration’, where one group profits from the other and visa versa.

3.2.1 Heritage uses and users

Dissonance occurs through the uses and users of heritage. The three types of heritage use (culture, economics and politics) is a resource upon which extensive activities or industries have been constructed (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). The three categories of heritage uses certainly overlap and it is important to realise that the overlap is often the cause of dissonance.

3.2.1.1 *Heritage as a cultural resource*

The museum is the archetype of heritage as a cultural resource. A museum collects, acquires, conserves, restores, secures in safety, registers, and documents and displays tangible artefacts as heritage (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996:35). The function of museums has evolved as they have moved from playing a passive role to taking on an active one. Their role is no longer mere collection, but has become cultural transmission. The main concern of museums today has moved from authenticity of the object to an authentic experience (Kazalarska, 2002). It is well known that collections in museums have political implications. Museum collections are assembled and presented to legitimise a particular political ideology. Another cultural resource in heritage today is the experience of intangible culture, such as dances, battlefields, festivals, events, theatre and more.

3.2.1.2 *Heritage as a political resource*

The political influence on heritage on a macro-level is seen as a practice where nation building takes place and national identities are formed. This process is discussed in some of the studies of Chambers (2005), Henderson (2001), Mistry (2001) and Palmer (1994). Mistry (2001) in his analysis of cultural production in post-apartheid South Africa links together culture, identity and the state. A possible overlap with heritage as a cultural resource can be seen in Eagleton's statement (in Mistry 2001:3): "Culture requires certain social conditions; and since these conditions may involve the state, it can have a political dimension too". The relationship between the conservation of the past and present politics is strong, permanent, intimate and quite unavoidable (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996:46). Evidence for the presence of a political influence can be found South Africa when in 1994, for instance, heritage legislation was implemented in order to promote the role of, national museums and galleries to help form a national identity (Deacon, 1999).

Through the heritage production process and the assembly of the heritage product, messages with contemporary political issues can be communicated, which often become a source of dissonance. The political involvement in the development of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington D.C., for instance, is an example of political influence on heritage. It has been argued that the original proposal for this museum, under the then President Jimmy Carter, was developed to appease Jewish supporters who were angered by the sale of F-15 fighters to Saudi-Arabia (Lennon & Foley, 1999:47). It should also be considered how the development of these kinds of sites is sometimes funded by government bodies.

To sum up, not all heritage is deliberately used for political purposes, but even heritage institutions devoted to non-political causes reflect ideas and employ approaches that are currently in fashion, or are thought to be 'politically correct'. Some of the major sources of dissonance in the political use of heritage identified by Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) include: the relocation and misplacement of heritage, the repatriation of objects, the disinterment, transportation, and re-interment of human bodies or parts, the abandonment of heritage; the misuse of heritage, often as a result of misplacement; the deliberate destruction or concealment of heritage and the deliberate extension of the rights over heritage, or over the spatial representation of heritage.

3.2.1.3 *Heritage as an economic resource*

Cultural heritage tourism is one of the most obvious and visible uses of heritage as an economic resource. The heritage production process (figure 2.1,p.12) shows that a consumptive foundation is evident. Economic exploitation of heritage is often not very compatible with historical authenticity (Laenen, 1989). The literature on authenticity is vast (Binkhorst & van Duim, 1995; Goulding, 2000; MacCannell, 1976; Urry, 1990). Many authors directly blame the heritage industry for substituting authentic experience with choosing to present commodified leisure to the public (Goulding, 2000; Tirsten, 1993). There is an ongoing debate in the literature on heritage, with some authors even claiming that true authenticity does not exist (Ashworth, 1995). Often, the commodification of heritage is seen as a negative process, as authenticity is thereby reduced. Commodification refers to the process by which heritage assets come to be evaluated primarily in terms of their exchange value in the context of trade (Goulding, 2000). On the other hand, MacDonald (1997) argues that Heritage Tourism can actively be used to develop a community and its identity, while giving back strength and pride to it.

An economic heritage resource implies that the market which includes the tourist gains influence. To relate heritage tourism to potential economical dissonance, Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996:62) pose the following two questions: “to what extent is the tourist the same sort of heritage consumer as the other consumers, and does the tourist consume the same heritage product as the other users?” If the answer to both questions is ‘yes’, then the potential for dissonance is low, harmony can be established at a site. If the answer is ‘no’, then further research is necessary to find out whether such differences are likely to be a source of dissonance.

Several authors (Ashworth, 1995; Seaton, 2000b) have studied the characteristics of the heritage tourist and have realised that it is not possible to generalise about the motivations or attitudes of these tourists. The difficulty to do so arises from the multi-functionality of heritage facilities and from the multi-motivation of heritage consumers (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). In addition various motives stem from visitors’ attitudes towards history.

3.2.2 Heritage users

The unavoidable multi-use of the same heritage site often results in dissonance. There is substantial dissonance potential between tourists and residents, in particular, when they have different understandings of the cultural and political uses of the same heritage site. A significant case study with a high level of dissonance was that of a traditional cultural celebration in a rural Mexican community in Huaquechula (Cano & Mysyk, 2004). Residents and tourists did not consume the intangible cultural product in the same way, which almost led to the termination of this important festival for the community. This case study overlaps with heritage as a political resource as contradictions between the goal of the state and the goal of the community unfold here (Cano & Mysyk, 2004). Often the level of dissonance depends on the historic resource, the intensity of using it and the message created by using it.

Furthermore, there is dissonance potential among the different types of heritage users (residents included) – history connoisseurs, families, students, leisure and business visitors - in terms of motivations, expectation, and cultural background.

3.2.3 Categories of dissonance in heritage

Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) in their discussion on dissonance in heritage mention some categories in which the potential for dissonance is often high. Whatever strategy is adopted by managers, there is always a series of problems present when it comes to the interpretation of atrocity.

3.2.3.1 *Commodification*

The process of creating heritage out of history creates tensions associated with the process of commodification. Dissonance potential exists in all phases of heritage production and consumption, starting from product development, market segmentation, targeting, to the final product consumption. From the producer's point of view, the management issue in the development phase of a heritage site is generalisation versus particularisation (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996:22). This issue can be related to the

following phases - in segmentation and targeting, tensions can arise due to failure of accepting a segmented market and failure of targeting certain segments.

The heritage users have to manage the dichotomy of expectation versus experience delivered by the producer, so that it does not result in production inefficiency or customer dissatisfaction.

3.2.3.2 *Place product*

Dissonance may occur in a heritage site's relation to time and space. Heritage products have their place in a larger spatial and temporal hierarchy and can be easily overshadowed by products of a higher 'rank'. For example a national or international heritage product would overshadow any contradictory regional heritage product. Additionally, there are the so-called place-products in which the sense of place is an integral part of the product. If the product is removed from the place it is linked to, dissonance is likely. The interpretation of atrocity events may be complicated by the nature of the sites associated with them. Some sites may be difficult to access, others may not have boundaries, such as battlefields, and a third set of sites may not even have a relation to the event itself. Interpretation and management becomes complex and difficult in the third case, and sometimes managers have to apply locational creativity. An example of this is the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington D.C. This Museum was built in the United States, which is neither the site of mass execution (Poland), nor the homeland of the perpetrators (Germany), nor a country that has a significant relationship with the victims (Israel). Dissonance among the various stakeholders thus arose because of this issue.

3.2.3.3 *Multi-use*

Dissonance is also implicit in the multi-buying and multi-selling of any heritage resource. As discussed earlier, many different groups of people buy the heritage product. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1995) argue that multi-use in general does not necessarily lead to dissonance, but that user markets that are distinctly different tend to create conflict. For

instance, at the Anglo-Zulu battlefields, British tourists, Zulu tourists, family members, and tourists in general would all have different backgrounds and perceptions about the battles.

3.2.3.4 Content of the message

Heritage is created through interpretation and this implies the existence of messages. It is the content of messages that can create dissonance in heritage. Interpretation is a selection of messages that can lead to a site being understood in one way and not another, can determine whether a site is successful and attractive or whether it is doomed to fail. Interpretation of a message also decides whether a site is authentic and real. Dann and Seaton's (2001:14) study of slavery in American plantations, for example, revealed a contested heritage in which history is being told through 'rose tinted spectacles': "In the sanitized American past not even slaves are wretched: porch columns and chimneys raise the restored slave quarters to standards of overseas' dwellings...The touristic past jettisons seedy reality for spurious romance" (Lowenthal, in Dann & Seaton, 2001). The danger lies in the interpretation, as it confuses history and uses narrative techniques to maintain interest. This could remove the reality much further from the simulation, a distance that Levi (in Lennon & Foley, 2000:156) refers to as a gap in reality.

No interpretation can sometimes also be a form of interpretation. Lennon and Foley (2000) perceive this as a very effective technique of presenting a heritage site. They state that a massive degree of barbarity is achieved at the almost 'un-interpreted' site of Birkenau (concentration camp). The loneliness of the marshy site provides visitors with the opportunity of reflecting without prescription or direction. To 'un-interpret' a site, managers must assume that visitors' conclusions can only move in one direction. Managers also have to be aware of the fact that not interpreting sites means silence, which brings with it the problem of displacement and may encourage future generations to forget or ignore the incidents. Guides as a technique of interpretation of a message is vital in the battlefield area of northern KwaZulu-Natal.

Dissonance in the content of the message may be caused by different factors. Since interpretation involves communication, just as in every communication process, there could be a failure in the transmission of the message. The message could be

contradictory, distorted, even ignored or may just not be relevant to modern times.

Very often when it comes to the interpretation of Thanatourism, the intended message is different from the received message. Dramatic differences can occur in peoples' interpretations of the heritage of atrocity. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996:112) argue that some visitors to such sites may create 'protective barriers' against the understanding of the atrocity, in other words, make use of a protection mechanism. On the other extreme, visitors' fascination with horror may dominate the experience and overshadow the educational intent of the message. However well the intended message is expressed, it may have little to do with the motives, expectations or experiences of some of the visitors to the site.

3.2.3.5 *Atrocity as entertainment*

The past shows that atrocity sites can be turned into entertainment attractions. As mentioned earlier, through the multi-use of a site, the commodification-related type of dissonance is exacerbated. Atrocity and horror can be deliberately transformed into entertainment attractions. This is possible when as a result of the passing of time, the impact of the event has been softened and the visitors are not personally involved anymore. However, Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996:115) still ask the question, "if such healing is a matter of time, then when does atrocity become acceptable entertainment and for which group?"

3.3 THE HERITAGE OF ATROCITY

Dissonance in heritage became a researched field in heritage tourism research (Strange, 2003; Kazalarska, 2002; Harrison, 2004) after the publication of Tunbridge and Ashworth's (1996) discussion of the concept. Not only the dissonance aspect has become important in tourism heritage studies, but also the acceptance that places of human suffering or atrocities have formed their own important category. Lennon and Foley (2000) and Seaton (1996) echo this development. Tunbridge and Ashworth (2001) discuss the heritage of

atrocities, which is defined as a case of 'deliberately inflicted extreme human suffering' in a separate textbook (i.e. *Horror and Human Tragedy Revisited – the Management of Sites of Atrocities for Tourism*).

The reason for looking at this concept is twofold. Firstly, the heritage of atrocities is significant to any heritage users, as the curiosity of people about the suffering of their own people, has been evident throughout history. Hence, the suppliers, through entertainment and education have an important tool, as atrocities become one of the "most marketable of heritages and one of the most powerful instruments for transferring political and social messages" (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996: 95).

Secondly, the dissonance created by the interpretation of atrocities is very intense and lasting and also very complex for victims, perpetrators and observers. The controversies related to the identity of both victims and perpetrators which can create a heritage dissonance problem, and also the danger of solving this problem can have great political consequences. In essence, the heritage of atrocities is highly sensitive and emotionally charged and is able to create extreme dissonant heritage.

It is hard to define atrocities and delineate its boundaries. Wikipedia (n.d.) defines atrocities as a term used to describe crimes ranging from an act committed against a single person to one committed against a population or ethnic group. Today it can be described as any event that is abnormally bad (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). To determine boundaries, Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996:94) define atrocities in two overlapping ways. Firstly, atrocities are an "act of singular cruelty, wickedness or ruthlessness deliberately perpetrated by people against people". Secondly, "it means occurrences which are especially shocking or horrifying to others". Kazalarska (2002) highlights the responsibility implicit in the occurrences as an important element of atrocities, as this in many cases becomes the prime source of dissonance in the interpretation.

The heritage of atrocities therefore relates to a concern with relics, artefacts, buildings, sites and place associations, as well as intangible accounts of the atrocities. It also has to do with dissonance issues raised by victims, perpetrators, bystanders and others (Kazalarska, 2002; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996).

3.3.1 Types of atrocity

In an attempt to outline the fundamental categories of atrocity, Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996: 96) have created categories of atrocity which they claim are not exhaustive (see table 3.1).

Table 3.1: Categories of atrocity

General categories	Specific categories
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Natural or accidental disasters by alleged human action or neglect • Acts of perpetration by an entire group of people on another group • Atrocities in the context of war 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Atrocities which have existed in former judicial systems • Maltreatment of racial, ethnical or social groups • Large scale killing and massacre • Most extreme category of genocide

(Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996:96)

The substantial number of categories in table 3.1 show that sites of atrocity cover a wide range of historic resources. Battlefields with a colonial context fall under the atrocities of war, and more specifically under maltreatment of racial, ethnic or social groups in South Africa. Chapter four highlights how the highly motivated British army was to start a war against the Zulu nation which resulted in the conquering of the Zulu nation by the British army.

3.3.2 Heritage dissonance in the post-colonial world

Colonialism is, among others, a form of heritage of atrocity that can be found in former colonialist countries. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996:97) classify this atrocity as 'broad-group' atrocity, in which all members of one country are victims or perpetrators, even inheriting the status of victim or perpetrator from events that occurred many generations earlier. Membership of the group of victims or perpetrators is automatic and compulsory, rather than the result of individual circumstances and judgement.

Colonial heritage is represented by the architecture, urban planning and infrastructure introduced by various European colonial regimes throughout the world, during the period between the latter half of the 15th century and World War II (Brooks, 2001). The period since World War II has been characterised by the dissolution of most of the established colonial regimes (Brooks, 2001). This has resulted in economic progress in some former colonies, while others have been facing severe economic, social and ethnic problems. Brooks (2001:32) states that in most cases the colonial powers were driven out of the country and were reluctant to return. In other countries links were retained and other cultural influences, such as language and administrative or trading patterns, remained.

In order to deal with the legacy of the colonial past and the challenge of presenting it in a contemporary way, authors on colonial heritage have explored destinations as diverse as Brisbane and Perth (Jacobs, 1996), South Africa and Canada (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996), Hong Kong (Henderson, 2001), Singapore (Teo & Huang, 1995), the Bahamas (Palmer, 1994), the Fiji Islands (Harrison, 2004), Kyrgyzstan (Thompson, 2004), and Delhi (India)(King, 1976). Many of the countries in the case studies strive towards effective planning and management of Heritage Tourism. However the levels of success in this regard differ. In Hong Kong the co-operation between heritage and tourism is well managed (Henderson, 2001). Singapore, on the other hand rejects its colonial heritage (Teo & Huang, 1995). On the Fiji Islands and in Kyrgyzstan the alienation of certain groups from heritage in multi-cultural societies is being experienced (Harrison, 2004; Thompson, 2004). Also, in a multi-ethnic nation the development of heritage tourism arguably becomes more sensitive (Thompson, 2004).

Thompson (2004), in her analysis of Kyrgyzstan's heritage after independence from the USSR, focuses on the aspect of forming a new identity for the people which is also relevant within the South African context. She concludes that the Kyrgyz government desires to increase the contribution of tourism to the economy with tangible heritage, rather than forming a Kyrgyz identity with intangible heritage. Economic growth is currently affecting the direction of heritage tourism development strategies which are aimed almost exclusively at attracting international visitors (Thompson, 2004). The challenge facing the heritage tourism sector is to find a balance between tourism and cultural heritage management, between the consumption of extrinsic values by tourists

and the conservation of intrinsic values by cultural heritage managers (Fairer-Wessels, 2005; McKercher & du Cros, 2002).

Palmer (1994) has studied the relationship between tourism and colonialism and the implications that this has for the development of a national identity in the Bahamas. Her arguments rely on the historical process of colonisation. Destinations which previously relied on their colonial rulers for economic welfare now rely on these same countries to provide tourists (Palmer, 1994). This pattern also applies to South Africa.

3.3.3 Heritage dissonance in post colonial African cases

A lot of academic work has been produced on colonial heritage in cities (Jacobs, 1996; King, 1979; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Western, 1985). There is, however, a lack of research on colonial heritage in rural areas that this dissertation attempts to address. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) have studied the dissonance of urban colonial heritage in Africa. The authors have realised that usually the African response to decolonisation is to remove obvious monuments representing colonial dominance, and to replace these with new monuments demonstrating a sense of 'freedom'. A change of street and place names is also a usual means of eradicating colonial influences. Another trend is the marginalisation² of inner cities, where the threat to the urban heritage identity may far less be the result of physical displacement, than of neglect (Western, 1985). The inner cities of Nairobi, Maputo and Harare are becoming increasingly unsafe and dilapidated areas. Nairobi, Harare and South Africa are cities and countries where there has been a high concentration of British settlers (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996).

The authors conclude that the cities of Harare and Nairobi, that have a long colonial history, show evidence of heritage dissonance as a result of neglect, lawlessness and a failure of environmental control. Colonial heritage has not been a priority of the governments and is thus dilapidated. South Africa, which has long suffered under colonisation and dominating political regimes, such as that of apartheid, could follow the

² The inner city is deserted by people; it becomes an irrelevant island in a sea of informal squatter settlements. The inner city may experience substantial withdrawal from the elite population whose heritage it projects (Parnell & Pirie, 1991).

path of Harare and Nairobi, but instead currently shows a momentum towards distinctive multicultural reconciliation (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Despite these efforts, most of the colonial heritage in cities such as Kimberley and Cape Town is still far removed from the majority of the population. Pietermaritzburg has been pointed out as a city that tries to include different heritages by, for example, erecting the Gandhi statue.

In contrast to Tunbridge and Ashworth's (1996) work, this study deals with rural colonial heritage sites. The battlefield sites in northern KwaZulu-Natal have not only been influenced by decolonialisation, but also by apartheid. Apartheid as a dominating regime is seen as an extension of the dominating institutions of colonialism. Although the battles in question took place in the colonial period, the apartheid regime increased the notion of dissonance in heritage.

Nuryanti (1996) adds another dimension to colonial heritage studies when he argues that heritage tourism in developing countries poses not only problems of planning and management, but also the problem of development. He refers to the fact that heritage tourism not only involves reconstructing the past, but also reconstructing the economy.

3.3.4 Strategies of atrocity management

The management of heritage when, it is colonial or derived from dominating regimes, is arguably different than of other types of heritage. Attention needs to be paid to questions of landownership, competition between old and new, changing lifestyles, the selection of what should be preserved from a former colonial era and the interaction between hosts and tourists (Nuryanti, 1996).

Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996:104) identify three management strategies for the heritage of atrocity, which all have their limits. The first is the management of victimisation, the second is the management of perpetration and the last is reconciliation through reinterpretation.

3.3.4.1 *The management of victimisation*

The management of victimisation looks at the viewpoint of the victims and includes personalisation, groups as victims, and the acceptance of blame by the victims. Personalisation helps people to understand the enormous scale of the atrocity. Instead of focusing on an entire group, personalisation focuses on one person or a small group as a symbolic representation of a wider situation. For instance, Anne Frank became a symbol for World War II and the systematic persecution of Jewish people. The intention of the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg is similar. Here the visitor's experience is personalised as identity cards of people who suffered under the system are handed out.

A second management strategy is to pronounce a group as a victim. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996:106) highlight that self-identification of a whole ethnic group as collective victims can be a powerful tool for state-building. This is called the 'all hands against us' model, and influences a belief in independent self-reliant actions. One extreme example is the Afrikaners (Boers) who were not only in conflict with the native inhabitants, but also with the liberal and imperial British. Victimisation of the Afrikaners and a focus on self-reliance was fuelled by the 1980's sanctions and the virtual non-existence of external supporters for the apartheid regime.

Finally, a rare method of managing atrocity is by means of the victims partially accepting the blame, or by means of placing the atrocity in a wider context in which the victims in some sense become accomplices in their own victimisation. For instance, the Peace Memorial Museum in Hiroshima has been reinterpreted to present the wider context of Japanese aggression in World War II (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996:108).

3.3.4.2 *The management of perpetration*

Managing the heritage of the perpetrators is similarly difficult to managing the heritage of the victims. As a whole, since the perpetrators are responsible for the atrocity, they often prefer denial. One of the simplest group strategies employed here is deliberate collective amnesia. This means that the events of the atrocity are lost in memory. Historians do not write about the history, no commemoration is practiced, and where the event surfaces it is

ignored or labelled as irrelevant. It is argued though that this strategy can only be used by the first generation after the event, as the second generation is not that emotionally involved and will start to question its history (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996).

If this strategy fails, there are two other approaches that can be used. Relativism as approach seeks to alleviate the blame by making the group of perpetrators as large as possible. In other words, if everyone is guilty, no one can be blamed. Whereas demonisation as approach seeks to limit the blame to a specific group, separate from society as a whole. This group can then be labelled as completely guilty, thereby excluding the rest of the population from blame. Demonisation seeks to achieve dehumanisation so that fingers can be pointed at a group which is not even regarded as being human (e.g. the Nazis). Another more aggressive strategy is to blame the victims for their own dilemma - they brought the atrocity upon themselves through their own actions or even through their failure to avoid the perpetrators' actions.

3.3.4.3 *Reconciliation through reinterpretation*

The management tool of reconciliation through reinterpretation may be difficult and dangerous to use if a deliberate policy of reinterpretation of events intends arriving at a completely different position than before. It must be remembered that current reinterpretation can reverse perceptions about the atrocity. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996:112) point out that this has often happened in a settler-native relationship, when settler minorities have lost control over interpretation.

Whatever strategy is adopted a series of problems is always present when it comes to the interpretation of atrocity. In order to manage and understand a Thanatourism site, managers and owners should be in close contact with the 'subject groups', relatives and visitors, if they want to be successful and reduce dissonance.

3.4 STAKEHOLDERS AND THE HERITAGE OF ATROCITY

This section looks at the management concept of stakeholders as it relates to the concept of dissonance in heritage and the problems which can arise if it is not managed in a sensitive way. Management practices such as stakeholder assessment, evaluation, involvement and collaboration have increased dramatically over the last ten years (Hall 2000, Roberts & Simpson 1999). Increased collaboration and cooperation are major issues in the area of tourism planning (Latkin & Bertramini, 2003) and are linked to the concepts of sustainable development and tourism (Cope, in Aas *et al.* 2005). Collaboration and cooperation are also significant to integration and participation in community-based tourism (Mitchell & Reid, 2001). An advantage of stakeholder collaboration is that it adheres to the idea of democracy, as well as Agenda 21³, which thus legitimises its activities (WTTC, 1996).

The identification of stakeholders is a complicated task (Reed, 1997). A stakeholder can be defined as a person who has the right and capacity to participate in a process of decision making (Gray, 1989). Stakeholder collaboration is a “process of joint decision making among autonomous, key stakeholders of an inter-organisational, community tourism domain to resolve planning problems of the domain and/or manage issues related to the planning development of the domain” (Jamel & Getz, 1995:188).

The concept of stakeholders is becoming increasingly important in heritage management, especially with the community having become an owner and custodian in heritage (Nuyanti, 1996). This process of joint decision-making will in all likelihood reduce conflict in the long-term. Nuyanti (1996) argues that challenges include establishing communication channels and increasing equality and income. However, addressing the imbalance of power between stakeholders with the aim of reducing it is another challenge. Table 3.2 gives an explanation of the advantages and disadvantages of stakeholder collaboration.

³ Agenda 21 for the Travel & Tourism Industry seeks environmentally and cultural sustainable development - a sectoral sustainable development programme based on the Earth Summit results (WTTC, 1996).

Table 3.2: Advantages and disadvantages of stakeholder collaboration

Advantages	Disadvantages
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • equitable approach as views of stakeholders are legitimised as those of experts • cost effective solutions by pooling resources • makes use of local knowledge • adds value by building on knowledge and insight • gives a voice to those who are most affected by tourism • allows stakeholders to take responsibility, the result is self-reliance which leads to a greater degree of consensus and shared ownership 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • added cost of planning and development • the identification of legitimate stakeholders is difficult • the capacity of stakeholders to participate is questionable • local elites – the silent majority will often be superseded • addressing power imbalances • not all interested parties have the required capabilities to be involved • in less developed countries there are operational, structural and cultural limits to collaboration

(Adapted from: Aas *et al.*, 2005)

With regard to heritage in particular, stakeholder collaboration is a difficult task as all heritage development is a form of appropriation with regard to ownership and the staging of heritage by ‘someone’ about ‘some subjects’ (Ashworth, 1991 in Seaton, 2001). Heritage development inevitably excludes or marginalises stakeholders. Keeping in mind that heritage is a selection of history; other versions of the same event might be suppressed or marginalised. A stakeholder, according to Gray’s (1989) definition above, could be anyone who is affected by the action of others.

It is clear that not all stakeholders will be included or even identified through the heritage development process. Another aspect is the inconsistency of time and power (refer to par. 3.4.1.1). A heritage site is not static and because of the changes inherent in the passing of time and power, stakeholders might be identified in future which were not important in the past (Seaton, 2001). The implications of including stakeholders lead to the next paragraphs, which form the discussion of the ‘Heritage Force Field Model’.

3.4.1 Stakeholders in heritage – the Heritage Force Field Model

The value of stakeholders and the analysis of heritage management contain many questions with regard to the method which should be used to curb dissonance at heritage sites. Authors such as Pearce (2000) and Seaton (2001) have researched the complexity of the subject in search of a framework that could give some support and insight into the management of heritage sites.

Pearce (2000:61) has developed a matrix of cultural production and clashes, which provides a framework to analyse the forces present in the construction of cultural heritage (see appendix A). The elements involved are the importance of the 'human scale' (individuals, family, local community, ethnic group, nation, world) and generic elements that are implicit in the human condition (tension, history, nature, material culture, beliefs, political and economic pressure, modes of self-conscious cultural reproduction). A force field is created by the modes of interaction by the elements (Pearce, 2000:61). Although this matrix gives insight into the complex nature of cultural heritage, it merely presents a 'sketch' of the dynamics of cultural heritage and will therefore not be used for the purposes of analysis in this study.

Seaton (2001:123), a lead researcher in the field of Thanatourism, has developed a tool to accommodate competing interests of rival stakeholders in heritage with regard to power and time. This model (see figure 3.1), is called the Heritage Force Field Model and will be used as the basis of the empirical part of the dissertation.

<p>Owners/controllers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Goals/interest of institution? • Goals/interests of financial backers? • Goals/interests of animators-researchers, creatives, etc.? • Other groups/interests (e.g., governmental?) 	<p>POWER and TIME</p>	<p>Host Community</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Their relationship to heritage narrative and subject groups, and to owners/controllers? • Their partnership in, and benefit from, heritage development? • Their acceptance of visitor numbers
<p>POWER and TIME</p>	<p>HERITAGE DEVELOPMENT</p>	<p>POWER and TIME</p>
<p>Subject Groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Their benefit from narrative? • Degree of participation? (whose story? Whose blame? Whose heroic narrative? Whose exclusions/silences?) 	<p>POWER and TIME</p>	<p>Visitor Groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Their relationship to subject narratives/silenced narratives? • Their relationship to and with, subjects, owners/controllers, and host communities? • Their tastes-aesthetic, historical etc.?

Figure 3.1: Heritage Force Field Model (Seaton, 2001:123)

The owners/controllers are represented by people who have an institutional interest in heritage development. Seaton (2001:124) points out that they fulfil an allocative and operational function, such as managing heritage or tourism organisations. The host community is represented by people who live near the heritage site. The subject groups consist of those people whose story forms part of the heritage (Seaton, 1996:124). The visitor groups are the people who visit the heritage site.

Although Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) have developed the theoretical background of dissonance in heritage, Seaton (2001) expands on this idea and presents a framework to understand and identify firstly, the stakeholders, secondly, their relation to each other and thirdly, to uncover dissonance in a heritage development. Seaton (2001:124) puts it as follows:

“The interest and goals of the four groups [stakeholders] may produce a wide permutation of different relations and alignments, ranging from harmony through common interest that may lead to contestation or opposition to a heritage development or even spoliation, once it is in place”.

Seaton’s remark echoes Hall and McArthur’s (1998) recognition that many of the problems of tourism and heritage have arisen due to a lack of interaction and involvement. Hall and McArthur (1998) agree with Seaton (2001) on the need for stakeholder collaboration to increase quality of planning and reduce the likelihood of conflict.

Dissonance is found in various forms and in different levels of intensity. The model below (table 3.3) based on Seaton (2001), shows that there is a continuum of levels in controversial history, whereby the two extremes are least and most controversial.


Table 3.3: Continuum of the Force Field Model

Example 1		Example 2
Sole subject of narrative	Owners/controllers	One-sided, representing subordinated groups
Framing narrative that reflects subject’s views	Subject groups	Framing narratives that do not reflect the subjects’ views of themselves
Staged in the community of controllers and owners	Location (host)	In a foreign location (foreign to heritage)
Visitors from surrounding areas	visitors	Visitors with different nationalities, backgrounds and attitudes


Example:

LEAST
controversial heritage development


continuum



MOST
controversial heritage development



A small local museum, established by voluntary effort within a village



A military exhibition developed by an invader in an occupied country, portrays the indigenous inhabitants in a derogatory way

(Adapted from Seaton, 2001: 124 -127)

Seaton (2001) states that between the two extremes there are a number of variations of interactions within the Force Field. This is important to realise for the analysis of the battlefields of Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift. As stated, the Force Field Model will be used as the basis of the empirical work.

3.4.1.1 Time and Power

'Time' and 'power' are very important components of the Heritage Force Field Model, as the two variables suggest that interests between the four stakeholder groups are dynamic, not static, and can change over time (Lowenthal, 2000; Seaton, 2001). Former subject groups who have been excluded from the narrative may increase their social power to change the way they are represented; audiences might change their tastes and require different displays; owners and controllers may modify their aims and objectives (Seaton, 2001). Seaton (2001) concludes that heritage is as much a product of present perspectives as past events, both enhanced and degraded by each new generation. Since heritage is never stable and is never a complete condition, it is a constantly evolving process of accommodation, adjustment and contestation (Seaton, 2001).

Seaton does not consider heritage as a battle of historical truth and 'bad faith' or commercial and political issues, but as a complex configuration. Therefore:

"The Force Field model seeks to depict how the agencies and social actors involved in heritage development, and the political and temporal environments in which they interact, may produce a more complex configuration of influences than the assumption of this two-cornered fight between truth and falsehood" (Seaton 2001: 126).

One implication of the acceptance of the potential need to accommodate all the stakeholders in the Heritage Force Field Model is that the historical significance and interest of an event alone does not inevitably authorise its status as a heritage theme at any place (Seaton, 2001). Seaton's model will be applied in this study as it is more flexible than Pearce's matrix (2000) and allows the researcher freedom to explore related issues.

3.5 CONCLUSION OF THE LITERATURE OVERVIEW

The literature overview consists of three chapters (chapter 2, 3 & 4). The first chapter (chapter 2) relates to Heritage Tourism and the origin of Thanatourism as a concept. The second chapter (chapter 3) looks at dissonant heritage issues, connected to Thanatourism and related to Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) as the leading authors in this field. Chapter four is an historical overview of the Anglo-Zulu battles and will follow.

Dissonance is a complex concept with many facets. An important aspect is that dissonance is intrinsic and universal to every heritage site. The interpretation of cultural and heritage sites is complex in that it relates to people living within an environment and the human perceptions and expectations that affect the way in which a site is interpreted and perceived (Upitis, 1989). Therefore, management becomes an important issue related to dissonance. The fact that dissonance is intrinsic to the nature of heritage does not mean that it cannot be managed. This however requires more sensitive and active management efforts. Part of the management process is the importance of stakeholders. Seaton (2001) has developed the Heritage Force Field Model which consists of four stakeholder groups - owners/controllers, the host community, subject groups and visitor groups – to accommodate competing interests of rival stakeholders in heritage with regard to power and time. This model forms the basis of this study and gives a structure to the analysis in chapter seven.

The literature on Thanatourism as subject field is not sufficient to analyse the research topic. The decision to adopt an interdisciplinary (heritage, heritage tourism, Thanatourism, dissonant heritage, stakeholder analysis) approach is warranted. The Heritage Force Field Model and to an extent the concept of dissonance in heritage, both serve as a tool for description and as a guide to the management of intervention. The next chapter gives a historical background to the battles of Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift. This is important, as historical details can easily lead to issues of dissonance at the battlefields today.

4 CHAPTER: AN HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE ANGLO-ZULU BATTLEFIELDS IN KWAZULU-NATAL

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapters (2 & 3) dealt with an analysis of the existing literature on the topic. This chapter concentrates on the Anglo-Zulu war in 1879. The most established heritage product in South Africa is the narrative relating the founding of the Afrikaner state and society and the British imperial saga (Ashworth, 2004). The most important battlefields are those where the battles of Isandlwana, Rorke's Drift and Ulundi took place. The Anglo-Zulu war campaign has had an interesting effect on historians who ask "how could it happen? More than 120 years later, and after hundreds of thousands of written words on the subject, we are still unsure" (Lock & Quantrill, 2002:16). The Anglo-Zulu battles have both puzzled many people and have touched them emotionally until today. They thus provide the material for a long-enduring myth (Buthelezi in Lock & Quantrill, 2002). This chapter focuses on the historical background of the battles, as information from the past can have a considerable influence on the content of the battle narrative and on the issue of dissonance.

4.2 ORIGINS OF THE WAR

The British took control of the Cape in 1806. Constant struggles took place between the British, the Boers (the descendants of the original Dutch settlers) and various African groups. By this time Zululand had emerged as a strong and aggressive kingdom under the reign of King Shaka. In the 1870s it was threatened from two sides as a result of the rapid expansion of European colonial communities; the British in Natal to the south and the Boers of the Republic of Transvaal to the west (see figure 4.1). In 1873 a new Zulu king Cetshwayo kaMpande initiated a programme of internal reforms aimed at revitalising the state and reintroducing centralised autocracy supported by a military system (Knight &

Castle, 1994). Guy (2001:9) in his description of the Zulu kingdom at the time of revitalisation points out that the bulk of the kingdom's people opposed the reversion to the horrors of Shaka's rule but did not dare show how they felt. This observation can also have implications for war commemoration in the present. At the same time, the British regarded the Zulu kingdom as a threat to their own interests in the region. It was therefore just a matter of time before the two nations, the British and the Zulus would confront each other about their different aspirations. Lock and Quantrill (2002) believe that the war was engineered and that the British were looking for every opportunity to start a war.



Figure 4.1: Map of the battlefields of the Zulu Kingdom and disputed land (Adapted from TKZN, 2003:3)

The alleged reason for the British to invade Zululand was a land dispute (Mthethwa, 2002), although, the disputed land east of Umzinyathi River (Buffalo River) and west of Ncome (Blood River) had been investigated by a British Commission in 1877 and the matter had been settled in favour of the Zulus (Friend, 2005). In 1887 the British High Commissioner to South Africa issued an ultimatum to Cetshwayo to disband the Zulu army, to stop the many executions, to give missionaries freedom to teach and to grant young Zulu men the freedom to marry (Deflem, 1999). The Zulu king did not give in to these demands, which ultimately led to the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879. As a result, the Zulu king was brought under British colonial rule. The most important battles of this campaign were those of Isandlwana, Rorke's Drift and Ulundi. The battle of Ulundi took place on the 4th of July 1879⁴ and marked the end of the Zulu War, as well as the break up of the Zulu nation. The battlefield of Ulundi is not analysed in this dissertation due to time and financial constraints. Three years later, the mighty Zululand was declared a British protectorate and in 1897 became part of Natal (Deflem, 1999).

4.2.1 Battle of Isandlwana

“Some white men covered their faces with their hands,
Not wishing to see death. Some ran away. Others were indignant;
although badly wounded they died where they stood, at their post”
(Chadwick *et al.*, 1991)

The battle of Isandlwana is important in the history of South Africa, as the British army suffered its biggest ever defeat at the hands of a native military enemy. Mthethwa (2002) compares it to the American's defeat in Vietnam and the French's defeat at Dien Bien Phu⁵. He further argues that Isandlwana, Vietnam and Dien Bien Phu have become the

⁴The British army marched towards King Cetshwayo's kraal. The Zulu army attacked with 20 000 men against the British with a force of 5 300 men on foot and 899 mounted men. The British, attacking in a square and not on an open field, armed with rifles, soon approached the kraal. Chief Cetshwayo had not stayed to watch the defeat of his army. The royal kraal of Ulundi was burnt to the ground and by the end of August Cetshwayo himself had been made a prisoner of the British (Britishbattles.com, n.d.).

⁵ The War of Indochina from 1953-54 (Dien Bien Phu, n.d.).

symbols of hope and determination in the fight by indigenous people against foreign domination and imperialism (Mthethwa, 2002).

After the ultimatum to King Cetshwayo had expired, five British columns marched into Zululand, all from different directions. One of the columns⁶ set up a camp under the Isandlwana Mountain. On the 22nd of January 1879, a scouting party of mounted troops spotted the 24 000 - strong Zulu main force. The Zulu Impi had already started marching from Ulundi on the 17th of January 1879 (Knight & Castle, 1994). The fight began that day on the 22nd of January 1879. The Zulus attacked in the famous Buffalo formation (Impondo zankomo), the centre (chest) made a frontal assault on the enemy while the horns rushed out to surround it on each side (Friend, 2005). Due to many factors and conditions, which have been thoroughly discussed in military history (Deflem, 1999; Rattray & Greaves, 2003; Knight & Castle, 1994; Mthethwa, 2002), the British were defeated. By about 3pm, the British position had been overrun, and those who tried to escape the slaughter attempted to flee via the saddle between Isandlwana and Black's Koppie. Most of these fugitives were stopped by the Zulu's right horn, and only a few on horseback managed to get away (TKZN, n.d.). These men ran through the today famous fugitive trail⁷ and reached Rorke's Drift. Both sides were heavily affected in the battle. An estimated of 1 357 British and 30 00 Zulu warriors were killed. When receiving this news, King Cetshwayo said:"...alas, a spear has been thrust into the belly of the nation" (Friend, 2005).

4.2.2 Battle of Rorke's Drift

"The white men had by this time made their preparations;
They were quite ready. The Zulus arrived at Jim's House (Rorke's Drift).
They fought, they yelled, they shouted:
'It dies at the entrance! It dies in the doorway!'
They stabbed the sacks; they dug with their assegais.
They were struck; they died"
(Chadwick *et al.*, 1991)

⁶ The column totalled some 4 907 men and included 302 wagons and carts, 1 507 oxen and 116 horses and mules (TKZN, n.d.).

⁷ This is the route that British fugitives took to escape the Zulu army after the battle of Isandlwana. Two soldiers reached Rorke's Drift (TKZN, 2003).

The Battle of Rorke's Drift was fought on the same day, the 22nd of January 1879, just a few hours later than the battle of Isandlwana. The Zulu Impi (Regiment of 4 000 soldiers) of Prince Dabulamanzi followed the fugitives to Rorke's Drift and crossed the Buffalo River. It has, however, been argued that King Cetshwayo had given clear instruction that his warriors should not cross the river (Friend, 2005). It has also been suggested that Prince Dabulamanzi acted contrary to the King's instructions when he commanded the army into Rorke's Drift. Many British people argue that this battle was therefore not necessary (Friend, 2005). However, from the Zulu perspective the actions of Dabulamanzi are justifiable, as the British Commission had decided in the Zulus favour concerning ownership of this particular piece of land (see above) (Mthethwa, 2002). Furthermore, the Zulus argue that the British should have evacuated the depot at Rorke's Drift, as there were only 150 men left to fight and since it was a non-strategic depot (Mthethwa, 2002).

The 100 able man and 50 wounded in the hospital built a fort with biscuit boxes and mealie bags around Rorke's Drift to protect themselves. The Zulu attack was launched at around 4:30 pm. Fierce fighting continued until around midnight, when the Zulu attack began to slacken due to sheer exhaustion. Firing finally ceased at around 4 am the following morning (TKZN, n.d.). At dawn, the Zulu army rose up again, but just to move back down to the Buffalo River, where they crossed back into Zululand⁸.

This battle at Rorke's Drift is of exceptional military importance as 11 Victoria Crosses (VC's, decoration of bravery) were awarded to the British soldiers. This is the battle where the second most Victoria Crosses (VC) were awarded in British military history. The battle to exceed this, was the Battle of Inkerman in the Crimean War held on the 5th of November 1854, where a total of 12 Victoria Crosses were awarded (Friend, 2005; Britishbattles.com, n.d.). Today most of the guides and visitors, however, claim that the battle of Rorke's Drift received the highest number of VC's. From the Zulu perspective, it is argued that the decision to fight for a non-strategic depot was profitless and that as such, the awarding of 11 VCs was a bad decision, but understandable in the light of the Isandlwana defeat (Mthethwa, 2002). Mthethwa (2002) argues that the VCs were awarded to overshadow

⁸ The British lost 15, plus two men who were to die later from their wounds. The Zulus army lost over 370 warriors who were counted and buried in two mass graves, and at least a further 100 were dragged away by the departing warriors towards the river (TKZN, n.d.).

the defeat at Isandlwana and to boost soldiers and to reclaim superiority of the British army.

4.3 CONCLUSION

This chapter describes the Anglo-Zulu war campaign in 1879. Isandlwana was a significant battle in South Africa's history, as the Zulus were the first native army to defeat a British army. The battle of Rorke's Drift was of equal importance as after the battle a high number of VC's were awarded. History, however is not easy to formulate. The historic description shows that facts can be interpreted from different perspectives and that details and the importance of an event can be changed. Today there is a vast amount of literature to demonstrate and explain what happened during the two battles of Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift and this evidence shows that people are still emotionally involved in the topic. The importance of the battles in history and the related emotional involvement could lead to new dissonance developing. The next chapter discusses the methodology utilised in this dissertation.

5 CHAPTER: METHODOLOGY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter dealt with the historical background to the Anglo-Zulu battlefields in KwaZulu-Natal. This chapter describes the methodology which is used in this dissertation. The empirical investigation mostly follows a qualitative research approach and the main method used is ethnographic fieldwork which includes observation and in-depth interviews. Four target populations have been identified in this research study, namely the owners/controllers of the battlefields, the host community around the battlefields, the subject groups and the visitors to the battlefields. Different methods are used to measure the needs and demands of each of these target populations. The quantitative research approach is used to a lesser extent and includes the use of tourism data to assess the current state of tourism at the battlefields in northern KwaZulu-Natal. This chapter also includes information on population and sample methods, data analysis and the validity of these methods.

5.2 QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE APPROACHES TO RESEARCH

The methodology applied in this study, will be an explorative one, whereby the research approach will have a qualitative and minor quantitative research component.

5.2.1 The quantitative approach

In general, the quantitative approach is defined as more formalised and more explicitly controlled research (Mouton & Marais, 1988:155). The quantitative component of this study aims to capture tourist statistics in KwaZulu-Natal and in particular from the battlefields in question. It was difficult to show clear tourism figures due to the lack of tourist statistics over the past ten years and by the fact that the information was not clearly presented. In fact, Battlefield Tourism data has only become reliable over the past three

years. As a result of this there are limitations with regard to the accuracy and consistency of tourism statistics at the battlefields. Due to this lack of reliable quantitative data interviews with key informants from relevant tourism authorities are imperative to give a more accurate overview of the region. This can present a perspective how the battlefields are seen and managed within the overall aims and objectives of tourism in KwaZulu-Natal.

5.2.2 The qualitative approach

The qualitative approach, in contrast, is seen as less formalised and focuses on the texture and feeling of the social situation, with rich, full and holistic data (Miles, 1983:117). Due to the complex nature of the research topic, the main approach of the study dictates the use of qualitative research methods. Walle (1997) argues that quantitative/rigorous methods are often incapable of dealing with vital and complex problems in tourism. Walsh (2002) states that qualitative research refers to an interpretative method of collecting and analysing data to explore and/or explain a phenomenon. Rigor is sacrificed for the sake of attempting to answer questions which formal methods cannot easily pursue (Walle, 1997). This qualitative approach is very useful in the case of this study as it allows the respondents sampled to 'speak for themselves', to discuss topics which they find important, and to generate new topics. The qualitative research approach has also been of use in terms of developing a broad research expectation to guide the investigation (refer to par.1.2.3).

The three major components of this qualitative research are data (obtained from interviews and field diary notes as the only source); analytical and interpretive procedures, such as coding, to arrive at findings; and a final written report such as this dissertation to present the findings.

It must be emphasised that the qualitative approach followed in this dissertation has limitations in that it is not representative, which may have been the case had a quantitative approach been followed.

5.2.2.1 Ethnographic fieldwork

The overall situational background of this study has been established through the use of literature, tourism statistics and interviews with key informants from tourism and heritage authorities. Different types of qualitative research exist: the constant comparative method or grounded theory, ethnography, the phenomenological approach, life histories and controversial analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994). An ethnographic approach has been chosen as it is regarded as the most appropriate method for data collection and analysis, mainly because of the flexible and sensitive stance this method employs.

The aim of the dissertation is to make a qualitative attempt to address the main issues of dissonance in heritage, by means of using ethnographic fieldwork. Ethnographies (from the Greek *ethnos* = nation and *graphein* = writing) are studies that sketch an overall cultural setting (Rubin & Rubin, 2005:196), such as that of the battlefield region in northern KwaZulu-Natal. For the purposes of gathering information for the study the researcher spent two weeks at the battlefields of Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift in May 2005. Doing ethnographic fieldwork, when living in an area among the groups under study, generally involves the researcher assuming the role of participant-observer. He/she gathers data by means of conversing and interacting with people in a natural manner, and unobtrusively observing their behaviour. During this particular research period, the researcher spoke to 53 representatives of the four stakeholder groups at the battlefields (see appendix B).

5.2.3 Literature survey

The literature survey has been divided into three chapters (2, 3 & 4). The researcher felt that this was appropriate in order to organise the related topics logically. The literature survey covers the following themes:

- Heritage, Heritage Tourism, Thanatourism/Dark Tourism, War and Battlefield Tourism (chapter 2)
- Dissonant heritage, the heritage of atrocity, stakeholders in heritage (chapter 3)
- An historical overview of the battles of Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift (chapter 4)

The literature survey provides the necessary background to Heritage Tourism, Thanatourism, Battlefield Tourism, and dissonant heritage which form an investigation into the levels of dissonance at the battlefields in northern KwaZulu-Natal.

5.2.4 Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework utilised and examined in this dissertation consists of the Heritage Force Field Model (figure 3.1, p. 40), developed by Seaton (2001:123), as well as the theory of dissonance in heritage as developed by Ashworth and Tunbridge (1996), both of which emerged out of the literature survey. The Heritage Force Field Model has been used as a guideline throughout the study of the battlefield sites. Building on the theory of Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996), Seaton (2001) developed the Heritage Force Field Model in order to visualise the stakeholders who regulate dissonance in heritage. The model comprises the four stakeholder groups: the subjects groups of heritage, the owners/controllers of heritage, the spatial host communities of heritage development and the visitors.

Seaton takes into account 'power' and 'time', as certain groups may have more power to influence heritage than others. However, the power of groups may not be static and may change over time. The same may occur with the balance of power among the various groups (Seaton, 2001). In addition, a heritage site may produce a more complex configuration of influences than the mere assumption of authenticity (Seaton, 2001).

5.3 DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES AND PROCEDURE

Qualitative methods give researchers the opportunity to get 'close to their data', to obtain in-depth knowledge about a phenomenon and to conclude concepts from collected data (Burgess, 1984). Both the social situation where the investigation takes place, as well as the respondent's own interpretation thereof is important. Techniques such as interviews, group interviews and participant observation are frequently used in qualitative research

(Walker, 1985). For the data collection procedure in this study, the Heritage Force Field Model was used as the point of departure. The data was collected from the four groups mentioned in the model, i.e. the subject groups, the owners/controllers of heritage, the host communities of heritage development and the visitor groups. In-depth interviewing, unobtrusive observation and documentary sources, such as annual reports of Amafa Heritage Council, provide the necessary background data for this study. Figure 5.2 gives an overview of the four different stakeholder groups of the heritage resource (Anglo-Zulu battlefields) with reference to the specific procedures used to obtain data and units of analysis from each group.

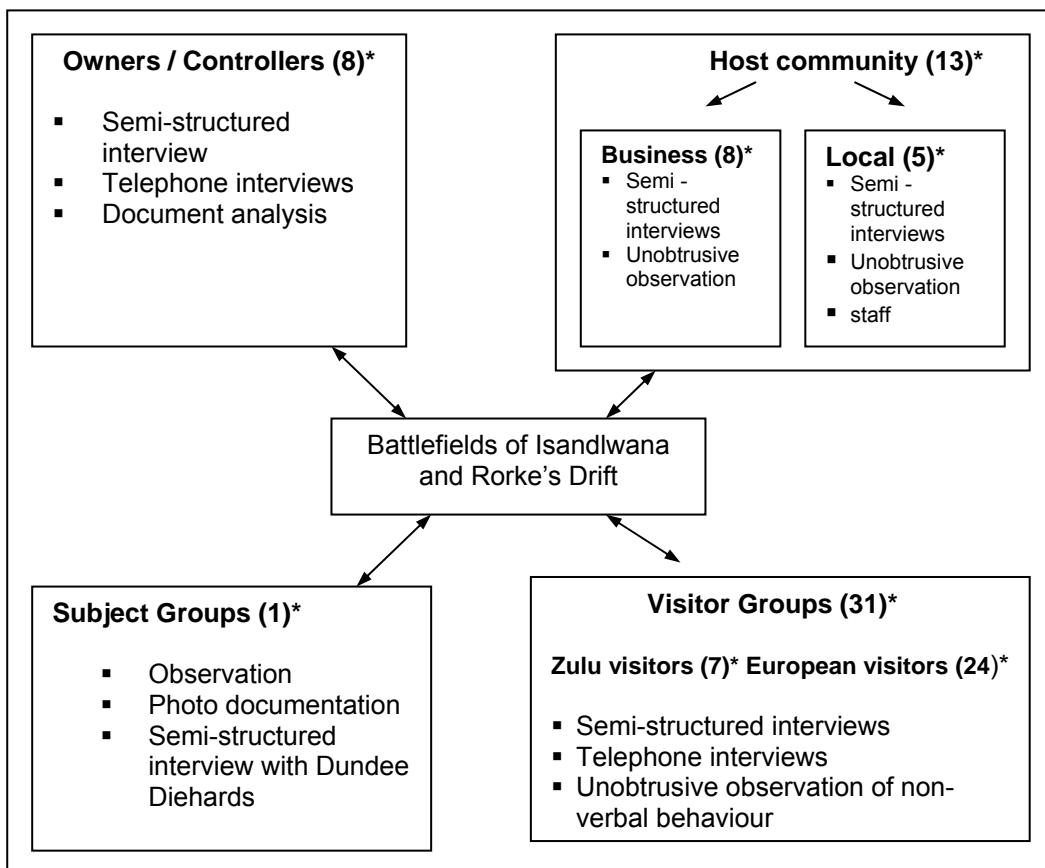


Figure 5.1: Data collection procedure

It is understood, that each stakeholder group comes from a different social, political and educational background, hence every group has to be approached differently to increase the efficiency of communication and accuracy of information.

* Number of respondent in each stakeholder group interviewed.

5.3.1 In-depth and telephone interviews

For the purpose of this investigation and because of the nature of the research expectation, interviews are regarded as an appropriate data collection technique. The reason for this is that they are practically feasible and allow the respondent to talk in-depth about a set of topics and to share as much information as possible in an unconstrained environment. An interview is made up of a minimum of points and guided questions which the researcher uses to ask key respondents about facts, as well as about their opinions and insights into certain occurrences (Cooper & Schindler, 2003). In-depth interviewing is an important method which can be used to find out about certain relationships and networks in the cultural setting of battlefields. Therefore, in the case of this study, the implementation of semi structured in-depth interviews is most appropriate. In-depth interviews are defined as ranging from totally unstructured to partially structured interviews, making use of interview questions for each stakeholder group (see appendix C). One of the major advantages of this type of interview is the relaxed environment in which they take place. The interviewee is neither constrained by time nor by the topic.

The limitations of in-depth interviews as a data collection technique must, however, also be taken into consideration. The greatest disadvantage is that only small numbers of people are usually interviewed, which does not allow for a standard statistical analysis of the results (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994).

The interviews were recorded with a dictaphone or by means of taking notes. The type of recording utilised was situation and/or the stakeholder group dependent. The researcher for example felt, that the dictaphone could have had a negative impact on the outcome of interviews within the local community in that interviewees might have felt intimidated or uncomfortable, as they are not used to working with electronic devices. Also, using a dictaphone might have meant that the environment would be less relaxed. The researcher therefore made notes of what local community members had to say. Interviews with visitors to the battlefields were also conducted without a dictaphone, as noise disturbance impacted negatively on voice recording. The interviews during which written notes were made were transcribed immediately to promote accuracy.

The dictaphone was, however, used to interview owners/controllers and the business community. The records were transcribed once the researcher returned to the University of Pretoria. Dictaphone transcripts are able to reproduce what interviewees said in detail and therefore impact positively on validity.

Telephone interviews were used when the interviewee was not available on site during the visit or when the researcher only learned about the existence or importance of that person at a later stage. Telephone interviews are not ideal as interviewees do not initially trust the interviewer and 'small talk' to warm up is not possible. Also, the fact that facial expressions cannot be seen makes it difficult to sense when a question is sensitive. Despite the drawbacks of telephone interviewing, budget and time constraints sometimes meant that there was no other option. Telephone interviewing and e-mail conversations were also used for the purpose of asking follow-up questions.

To enhance the credibility of the methods, interviewees who are knowledgeable and experienced were chosen. Furthermore, a variety of people with different perspectives was interviewed. This should lead to an overall balanced response to the research question (Rubin & Rubin, 2005:68).

5.3.2 Unobtrusive observation

Unobtrusive observation is used to support other data collection procedures and is viewed as the most important methodological tool in ethnography (Pauli & Schnegg, n.d). In the past, observation especially in tourism research has often been criticised for its weak theoretical basis and its sometimes eccentric eclecticism (Seaton, 1997). However, as Seaton (1997) mentions in his study on festivals, observation can provide useful support by providing reliability cross-checks, supplementary data and explanatory data. Furthermore, this method helps capture the complexity of the multi-cultural stakeholder experiences at the battlefields, situated in a multi-cultural context. Some cultures might not be willing or able to answer certain questions, or might not be able to verbalise the answer. In this case, non verbal behaviour could be analysed to find an answer. Observation is also helpful for the formulation of sensitive questions. The information

which was gathered by the researcher using the unobtrusive observation technique was stored in the field diary notes.

5.3.3 Document and image analysis

Documentary data has also been used in this research. It is considered by Saunders and Lewis (1997) to be a different type of secondary data which includes written and non-written documents (e.g. images, recordings). Gathering documentary data involves analysing and evaluating the data. It is a historical or contemporary confidential or public record, reports, government documents and opinions (Cooper & Schindler, 2003:152). Both this data and organisational sources have played a major role in researching the history of the Amafa Heritage Council of KwaZulu-Natal (refer to par. 6.3.2). Document analysis often increases reliability as more than one source of evidence is used. This method was applied to all stakeholder groups, where both documentation and interviews were made use of.

Photographs (i.e. images) were also taken on the battlefields in order to document the battlefields landscape and noteworthy tangible heritage assets at Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift. These photographs are utilised in the dissertation as visual evidence to complement the analysis in chapter six and seven.

5.4 SAMPLE METHODS

In order to investigate the state of awareness, knowledge, interest and tensions in heritage conservation and tourism development in the KwaZulu-Natal region among the different stakeholders, four groups of respondents are identified. These are seen as representatives of people who are aware of dissonance at the battlefields. These are the four stakeholder groups that were interviewed: the subject groups, the owners/controllers of heritage, the host communities of heritage development and the visitor groups. One of the limitations of the semi-structured interview technique is that the number of respondents for each group was relatively small. In addition, time and financial constraints, as well as

the remoteness of the area meant that there were an uneven number of respondents per group (see figure 5.2).

5.4.1 Selection of the sample

There are various ways in which a sample can be drawn; the general distinction made is between probability sampling and nonprobability sampling (Babbie, 1992:230)

5.4.2.1 *Probability sampling*

The elements are chosen from a population on the basis of random selection and the characteristics particular for that part of the universe (Babbie, 1992).

5.4.2.2 *Nonprobability sampling*

In those cases where probability sampling is regarded as not being feasible and in the context of this study, three methods of nonprobability sampling exist that can be considered:

- Convenience sampling: This sampling method depends on the convenient availability of respondents (Dooley, 1990:142). Here, for example, the researcher interviews people passing him/her on the street. For the purposes of this investigation, this sampling design was used to interview visitors (refer to par. 5.5.2) to the battlefield. People were randomly stopped and ask to give their opinion based on the semi-structured interview schedule (see Appendix C)
- Quota sampling: This sample tries to match the demographic profile of the population (Babbie, 1992:230) as this was not the aim of the researcher; this method was not deemed appropriate for the study.
- Purposive sampling: This sample of respondents is chosen on the basis of the researcher's knowledge of the characteristics of the universe and the aim of the

investigation (Babbie, 1992:230). For the purposes of this study, purposive sampling was used to interview the owners/controllers (refer to par. 5.5.3) and the local and business community (refer to par. 5.5.4) as stakeholder groups.

In qualitative research, the sample design is usually purposive. This means that small numbers of people with specific characteristics, behaviour and/or experiences are selected to facilitate a broad comparison between certain groups that the researcher thinks likely to be important, rather than taking a random cross-section of the population to be studied (Walker, 1985).

As quota sampling did not appear feasible, it was decided to make use of nonprobability purposive and convenient sampling. For obvious reasons no sample was drawn for the subject groups, as they were analysed purely by observation on the battlefields. However, the Dundee Diehards fall under this category and therefore represents one sample.

5.5 POPULATION: STAKEHOLDER GROUPS

In this section the sample method, the population sampled and the gathering of data for each group are discussed separately (also refer to Appendix B).

5.5.1 Subject groups

The subjects are the actual deceased people who are commemorated. In the case of the Anglo-Zulu battlefields, these are the British and the Zulu soldiers. No sample was drawn here, but instead the history of the battlefields was studied in detail. This includes its presentation, commemoration and even its re-enactment. To find out about certain re-enactment festivals, in-depth interviews were conducted with a re-enactment group in Dundee. Another way of dealing with the subject groups was by taking photographs to visually support certain tangible issues with regard to the battlefields.

5.5.2 Visitors

For this group nonprobability sampling was applied, however, the group was further split into two sub-groups, with convenience sampling applied to the European sub-group and purposive sampling applied to the Zulu sub-group. In total 31 visitors were interviewed, with 24 respondents randomly interviewed on the battlefields; and seven respondents purposively sampled. It was observed of the European sub-group that 80 per cent of visitors travel in groups with a tour guide. The guide usually starts at Isandlwana and ends the tour at Rorke's Drift with detailed narratives on the Anglo-Zulu war at both sites. Hence, when visitors arrive at the battlefield at Rorke's Drift they are familiar with the story, the area and the battlefields. For this reason most of the interviews were conducted at Rorke's Drift. Only 20 per cent who took a self-guided tour were interviewed.

Moreover, most of the interviewed groups were of European origin; only seven respondents interviewed had a Zulu background. This included one emotional Zulu perspective of the battlefields that was accessed from Rorke's Drift VC web page (Mthethwa, 2002), and with whom the researcher communicated by e-mail (Mthethwa, 2005). To counteract the fact that the visitor groups were predominantly European, it was decided to purposively select six Zulu respondents who reside in the adjacent areas. Although familiar with the battlefields and the narratives, they can also be regarded as 'visitors' to the sites. These 'information-rich' individuals were selected to represent a lacking Zulu-visitor perspective and as representatives of their community in terms of opinion.

5.5.3 Owners/controllers

For this group nonprobability sampling was applied using purposive sampling, as it was necessary to purposively 'handpick' the most 'information-rich' individuals. In certain studies it is necessary to acquire the opinions of experts, particularly in qualitative and exploratory studies. Therefore the researcher decided to interview representatives of Amafa, the KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Authority, the curator of the Talana Museum, the manager of Tourism Dundee and the Deputy CEO of the Voortrekker Monument. The eight respondents that were identified are directors and managers in executive positions

who have a holistic view of the battlefields and dissonance. In-depth interviews were arranged after respondents had been telephoned and informed about the topic of the research. The respondents are geographically located in Ulundi, Dundee and Pretoria. These interviews illuminate the meaning and focus of the battlefield attraction as part of the overall management approach of these authorities. SAHRA was not involved as they coordinate the identification and management of national estates which have been graded of as being of national significance (GRADE I). The battlefields represent GRADE II.

5.5.4 Host community: local and business communities

Nonprobability sampling using purposive sampling was also applied for this group for the same reason as above; selecting the most informed and experienced individuals. In-depth interviews were conducted to find out the interests or tensions present in the communities adjacent to the battlefields. During the fieldwork the researcher noticed that the host community is divided into two distinct groups.

The first group consists of the local communities adjacent to the battlefields. They are mostly Zulu settlements on tribal land with a traditional structure. The respondents identified are staff working at the battlefields and the interviews took place at their place of work. The second group consists of the business community. The respondents are mostly of European origin and live in towns close by, such as Dundee, Vryheid, Ulundi and Newcastle. The respondents identified from this group are owners of travel related businesses, and include owners of accommodation, tour operators and tour guides. The interviews mostly took place in Dundee. Differences in point of view regarding values and differing economic situations is what most distinguishes the one group from the other.

Approaching the local communities in an unstructured way helped break the ice and overcome language barriers to some extent. Tuan (in Uptis, 1989) in her work on interpretation of cross-cultural sites notes that local rural inhabitants have complex attitudes, which can be expressed by them only with difficulty and indirectly through behaviour, local tradition, lore and myth. This view was taken into consideration when the interviews were carried out. The local community is represented in the study by staff working at the battlefields, and living in the adjacent communities, as well as two other

members of the community. Although the researcher received answers to some of the questions asked, it was felt that the cultural divide did impact on the outcome of the interview. The issues of trust and language prove to be obstacles to carrying out the field work. Due to budget constraints it was not possible to make use of the services of an interpreter which is a limitation of the study.

5.6 DATA ANALYSIS

5.6.1 Qualitative data analysis

The qualitative data gathered for this research is predominantly text-based (53 in-depth interviews). In order to have a systematic overview of the data so as to get a clear idea of coverage and scope, the data analysis make use of a coding process. This approach is preferred as it can locate and retrieve the issues, topics, information, examples and themes which do not appear in an orderly or sequential manner in the data (Mason, 1996). Rubin and Rubin (2005) refer to the importance of qualitative data analysis as revealing patterns or stitching together descriptions of an event into a coherent narrative. Also, it gives analytical 'handles' to the data, helping the researcher decide how to focus the analytical activities, what is relevant and what is not and how to develop explanations and arguments. The process of analysing transcribed text data is well described by Henning and Rensburg (2004:104) in figure 5.3.

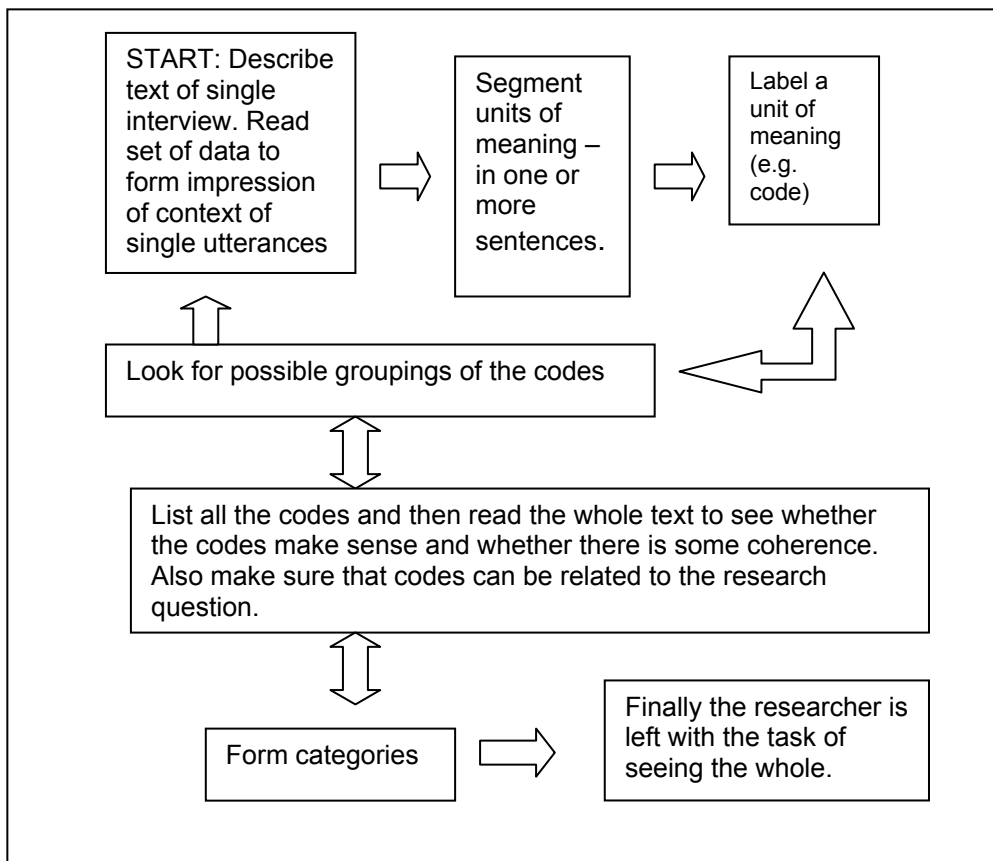


Figure 5.2: The process of qualitative data analysis (Adapted from: Henning & Rensburg, 2004:104)

The process of analysis starts with transcribing raw data. The researcher must then read through it, and select certain codes according to what the data means to him/her (Henning & Rensburg, 2004). A code consists of certain themes, events and topics that occur in the text. These codes are then categorised. A category begins to show the themes that are constructed from the data and that are used in the discussion.

Analysis took place throughout the entire research process. As soon as an interview had been conducted, the content was examined. Based on this ongoing analysis, questions were modified for the subsequent interviews and follow-up questions were formed to pursue new ideas. After all the interviews had been completed, common themes, contradictions and ideas were retrieved. Rubin and Rubin (2005) argue that qualitative data analysis is not about counting, but about fracturing data (Maxwell, 2005). The goal of the analysis is to reflect the complexity of human interaction by portraying this in the words

of interviewees' and through actual events. This complexity can hence be made understandable to others.

Several authors (Henning & Rensburg, 2004; Pauli & Schnegg, 2002) argue that some writers do not agree with qualitative research and that they see it as "a thin description that simply reports facts, independent of intention or circumstances" (Holliday in Henning & Rensburg, 2005:102). However, social research and interpretive data are not just aimed at gathering data. Henning and Rensburg (2004) argue that the analysis process plays a big role in research and that this is where the quality of thinking becomes evident.

5.7 VALIDITY

Validity usually refers to the correctness or credibility of a description, conclusion explanation, interpretation, or other sort of account (Maxwell, 2005:106). Unlike quantitative researchers, qualitative researchers rarely have the benefit of control in advance. One must try to rule out validity threats once the research has begun (Maxwell, 2005). When looking at validity threats, the researcher looks at ways in which the research can go wrong.

Two important validity threats are researcher bias and reactivity. Bias refers to the researcher's subjectivity which develops with the presence of data that fits the researcher's existing theory or preconceptions and the selection of data that he/she finds particularly relevant (Miles & Huberman, 1994). According to Maxwell (2005) neither of these issues can be eliminated from qualitative research, but they can be understood and integrated into the study. With regard to this dissertation, a certain bias may be present, as the researcher's approach is characterised by a specific assumption about the situation regarding heritage. If the answers given in the interviews go in another direction, the researcher could become inflexible in terms of his/her approach by not listening to the actual situation on the battlefields. Furthermore, with the considerable amount of transcribed data available, researcher bias could be expressed by only selecting certain comments and by not taking every stakeholders' views into account.

The question of objectivity and subjectivity is always present in qualitative research. Smaling's (1993) conception (the Munchausen conception) of objectivity is considered the most appropriate for this investigation. This approach focuses on 'letting the object speak'; the researcher's personal experience is not seen as a possible threat to objectivity, but as an instrument where objectivity is the intelligent learned use of his/her subjectivity, not an escape from it; objectivity is mainly seen as the style of an interested, involved and open attitude of mind (Smaling, 1993).

Reactivity in an interview situation is also called 'reflexivity'. This means that what the informant says is always influenced by the interviewer and the interview situation (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). In relation to the battlefields, reflexivity can be very high when interviews are conducted with the members of the local community in an environment that is unfamiliar to them. In addition, people from African cultures tend to give answers that they think comply with the interviewer's expectation. Not only cultural differences and barriers have to be taken into account, but also a feeling of estrangement and discomfort in a certain surrounding.

5.7.1 Strategies to increase validity

The researcher was involved in observation and interviews for a period of two weeks. During this time many hours were spent on the battlefields. Repeated observation, as well as the sustained presence of the researcher in the setting studied can rule out preconceptions (Maxwell, 2005).

The production of so called 'rich' data (Maxwell, 2005) is another strategy to increase validity. This is reliant on interviews, which are verbatim transcripts. The research not only relies on the notes that were taken on what was deemed important. Triangulation is another method used in this dissertation, whereby information is collected from a diverse range of individuals and settings. In order to validate the information gained from the interviews, documents and current text books were also used.

In Africa cultural research is beset by literacy, linguistic and other cultural problems, and also by the fact that there are more immediate priorities for researchers and subjects alike such as medical research and economic research (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 1996). In this case, the researcher encountered communication problems with the different stakeholders and different cultures, which has implications for the results of the study. Working with a mother tongue interpreter living in one of the communities could have reduced the impact of this limitation, but budget limitations made this impossible.

5.8 CONCLUSION

This investigation is based on a qualitative research approach which includes ethnographic analysis. In-depth interviews were conducted with 53 respondents from different stakeholder groups (owners/controllers, the host community, visitors and subject groups) on the battlefields of Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift. Other methods that were applied are unobtrusive observation, telephone interviewing and document analysis. A minor quantitative approach contribution included the use of descriptive statistics or variables in order to ascertain the current state of battlefield related activities in northern KwaZulu-Natal. Given the limited nature of studies on dissonant heritage in rural battlefield areas in South Africa, this study is therefore a preliminary study focusing on a particular case study. As such, the findings contribute to the overall discussion about conceptual frameworks for Thanatourism and dissonance and suggestions for future research in this area. The next chapter aims to analyse heritage tourism at the Anglo-Zulu battlefields of Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift, focusing on cultural heritage protection in South Africa and the status quo of tourism in KwaZulu-Natal.

6 CHAPTER: AN ANALYSIS OF HERITAGE TOURISM AT THE ANGLO-ZULU BATTLEFIELDS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Changes in South Africa's political situation in 1994 resulted in a new constitution and new legislation, both of which have since had an impact on heritage legislation. Government started focusing on rectifying the imbalance of heritage in South Africa by recognising oppositional heritage resources, transforming older institutions and including more indigenous heritage (Deacon *et al.*, 2003). In order to understand the development of cultural heritage protection, this chapter starts with a discussion about the South African national legislative situation on the protection of cultural heritage and tourism, before moving on to legislation at provincial level in KwaZulu-Natal. Thereafter, an overview is given of the tourism situation in South Africa and specifically the battlefield area in KwaZulu-Natal. To obtain a wider perspective, the relationship between tourism and heritage management is then established. The discussion continues to assess the value of tourism in northern KwaZulu-Natal and the chapter concludes with the observation that there is a divide in the development of the two battlefields which originated under the apartheid regime.

6.2 CULTURAL HERITAGE PROTECTION IN SOUTH AFRICA

In order to understand and appreciate heritage protection and management today it is important to realise where heritage protection originated, as well as its value within the South African context (see figure 6.1). South African governments have a long standing tradition of heritage conservation, dating back to the first legislation on the matter in 1911 (Kotze & van Rensburg, 2002). Later, heritage was used to support Afrikaner nationalism, separate development and white supremacy under the apartheid government (Deacon *et al.*, 2003). All of this changed when South Africa adopted the National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999 (hereafter referred to as the NHRA). The NHRA replaced pre-

apartheid and apartheid legislation that is manifested in the Bushmen Relics Protection Act 22 of 1911, the National and Historical Monuments Act 6 of 1923, the Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act 4 of 1934 and the National Monuments Act 28 of 1969 (Kotze & van Rensburg, 2002). As most of the previous acts focused on proclaiming old buildings with aesthetic value, 98 per cent out of 4 000 monuments of national heritage represented colonial history when South Africa became a democracy in 1994 (Deacon *et al.*, 2003). Figure 6.1 gives an overview of the heritage evolution in South Africa since 1911.

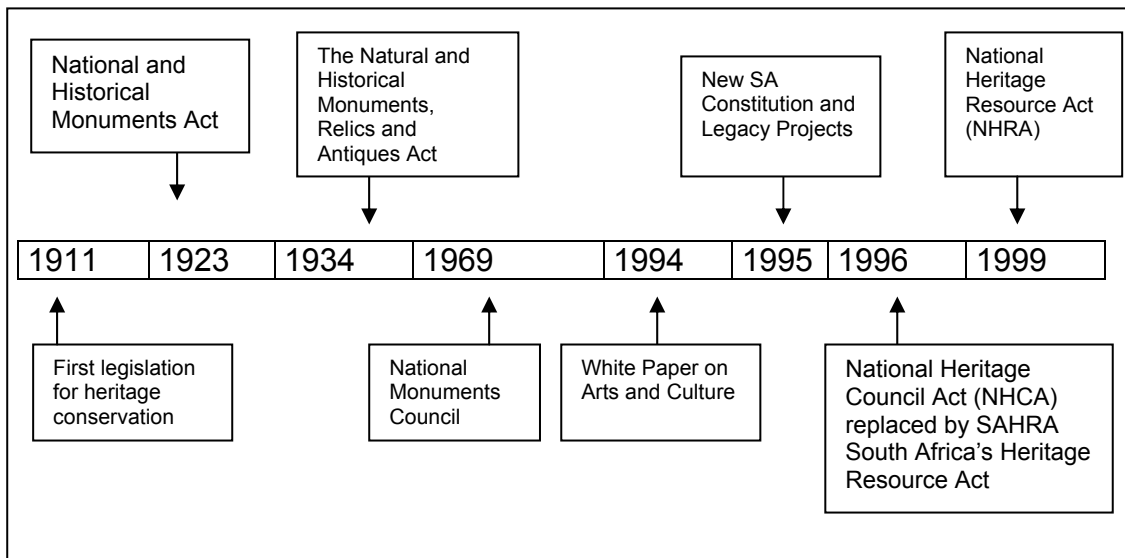


Figure 6.1: Evolution of heritage protection in South Africa (Adapted from Kotze & van Rensburg, 2002)

Since 1999 the NHRA has attempted to create an integrated framework for the protection of cultural heritage with regard to the management and development thereof, as well as participation in and access to heritage resources (Kotze & van Rensburg, 2002). The NHRA's aim is to recognise past injustices, strive to be united in diversity, facilitate healing, material and symbolic return, and to promote new and previously neglected research into South Africa's rich traditions and customs (Kotze & van Rensburg, 2002). The act also specifically takes into account intangible heritage forms such as oral history (Deacon *et al.*, 2003). Kotze and van Rensburg (2002) further suggest, that compared to previous acts the NHRA provides comprehensive protection of South Africa's cultural heritage as a whole.

The management of cultural heritage takes place on national, provincial and local levels of government. Management on national level is assigned to the South African Heritage Resource Agency (hereafter referred to as SAHRA) and the South African Heritage Resource Agency Council (hereafter referred to as SAHRA Council). The objective of SAHRA is to coordinate the identification and management of national estates which have been graded of as being of national significance (GRADE I). The SAHRA Council reports to the Minister of the Department of Arts and Culture (Sibayi, 2005).

The NHRA furthermore provides for the establishment of Provincial Heritage Resource Authorities (PHRAs) by the Member of the Executive Council (MECs) of each province. These authorities manage the heritage resources which have been graded as being significant for the province (GRADE II). The PHRAs report to the MEC and not to SAHRA but are nonetheless expected to notify SAHRA of the presence of any heritage resources in their province which are of national significance (Sibayi, 2005). Heritage resource management at local level is performed by municipalities. There have, however, been problems with implementing the act at local and provincial level.

6.2.1 Challenges in the cultural heritage sector

In the past the heritage sector suffered from a lack of financial means, which has had many implications for the management thereof. Deacon *et al.* (2003) in their report on cultural protection in South Africa state that there has been some improvement in the sector, but that many issues remain:

- The sector suffers from an image problem because heritage conservation is expensive, direct income is limited and South African 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 provisions do not meet the needs of the sector.

The heritage sector in South Africa has historically been characterised by a fragmentation of legislation and policy, a lack of knowledge about the sector and weak communication networks within it. The delegation of heritage functions from national to provincial governments, the lack of clarity about provincial autonomy, and the weakness or delay of provincial engagement has exacerbated problems. Better co-ordination, communication and co-operation is needed between provincial, local and national levels of government on heritage management, especially regarding policy formulation, funding and sharing of information.

6.2.2 Heritage and tourism management at national level

The Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) is the executive body for heritage issues. Since 1994 considerable work has been done in transforming the arts and culture sector. In 1995 the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST) developed a new Arts and Culture Policy, the White Paper on Arts and Culture Heritage (DAC, 1996). In 2002 DACST was split into Arts and Culture (DAC) and Science and Technology (DST). Some people ironically describe this department as the entertainment, song and dance component of the government. Dr. P. Jordan (2004) the minister of Arts and Culture, projects the ministry as the custodian of South Africa's diverse cultural, artistic and linguistic heritage. It can also be regarded as the depository of our collective national memory.

In South Africa there is a separation between heritage and tourism at national ministerial level with tourism falling under the Department of Environment and Tourism (DEAT) and heritage falling under the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC). The DAC has primary responsibility for heritage issues, but there is a departmental overlap as the DEAT is responsible for administering the 1999 World Heritage Convention Act and for tourism. Cultural and Heritage Tourism has experienced a boost over the last ten years (Burger,

2004). Heritage resources are integrated into communal life and if communities were to reap economic benefits, this would be a crucial way of increasing economic upliftment. Yet, the heritage resources themselves and expenditure on these are often separated from their economically positive role in generating tourism.

McKercher and du Cros (2002) argue that often each department or sector has a different disciplinary focus and serves a different role in society, has different political overlords and is accountable to different stakeholders. The end product is often ignorance of the other sector. Therefore, tourism and cultural heritage management operate parallel to each other rather than in tandem. Although functions overlap in South Africa, it is argued that the sectors on national level work independently of each other rather than in partnership (see appendix D: relationship continuum).

6.2.3 Heritage legislation at provincial level - KwaZulu-Natal

The constitution requires each province to pass its own heritage legislation – drafting it within the broad national policy framework and to manage all heritage resources falling under provincial competency (Deacon *et al.*, 2003). KwaZulu-Natal is ahead in this process, having established a Provincial Heritage Resource Authority (PHRA) called Amafa/Heritage Kwazulu Natali (hereafter referred to as Amafa) as well as its own provincial legislation on heritage. No provinces other than KwaZulu-Natal established PHRAs before the deadline of 1 April 2002, however, PHRAs are now in the process of being set up in the Western Cape, Eastern Cape and Gauteng, and regulations have been drawn up in some of the other provinces for heritage legislation to be passed at a later stage. The DAC is assisting the provinces in drawing up legal frameworks for their PHRAs (Deacon *et al.*, 2003).

The foundation for Amafa was laid in 1979 when a Monuments Committee was established by the erstwhile KwaZulu homeland government and from this committee the KwaZulu Monuments Council (1989) developed. After the transition of 1994 the Minister of Education and Culture of the day appointed a task team to investigate and report on the future of monuments in the new KwaZulu-Natal province. The outcome of the task was

the promulgation of the KwaZulu Natal Heritage Act (Act No 10 of 1997) in January 1998 that came into effect on the 1st of June of the same year. Amafa was established in terms of the Act in order to administer heritage within the province of KwaZulu-Natal. The KwaZulu-Natal Heritage Act was in fact also used as the basis for the drafting of national heritage legislation (Amafa, 2004b).

During the past years, Amafa has had to adopt more responsibilities, such as taking over the management of new heritage centres and staff previously managed by Provincial Museums Services and the Ezemvelo KwaZulu-Natal Wildlife Service. Responsibility was also taken for sites previously maintained by district municipalities.

Amafa's mission is to: "strive for excellence in the conservation, management, interpretation and sustainable utilization of the heritage resources of KwaZulu-Natal for present and future generations" (Amafa, 2004a).

Amafa has six goals which guide the authority to strive towards fulfilling its mission (Amafa, 2004a):

1. to promote awareness of the significance and value of cultural heritage resources while ensuring that cultural heritage management is integrated into economic, social and environmental activities in the province;
2. to ensure that the full cultural diversity of cultural heritage resources in KwaZulu-Natal is conserved and managed;
3. to promote the sustainable and equitable use of cultural heritage resources in the province, while implementing the controls necessary to ensure sustainability and equity;
4. to facilitate public access to cultural heritage resources and provide appropriate auxiliary services, including opportunities for education and research;
5. to support tourism in KwaZulu-Natal by providing appropriate visitor facilities and experiences;
6. to employ suitably qualified personnel to ensure that cultural heritage management is conducted effectively.

These goals indicate that Amafa has a sound foundation which can be used to address historical imbalances in the province. To some extent goals four and five touch on tourism management issues, which show the willingness of cultural heritage management to manage heritage within tourism management parameters.

6.2.4 Heritage and tourism management at provincial level

The relationship between cultural heritage management and tourism management is different at provincial level than at national level. Amafa is responsible for heritage issues, while Tourism KwaZulu-Natal (TKZN) is in charge of tourism-related issues. Cultural heritage management seems to support tourism but with not much cooperation between the two taking place. A memorandum of understanding has, however, been entered into with the Provincial Tourism Authority – Tourism KwaZulu-Natal (TKZN) (Marshall, 2005). The KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Act, 1996 provides for the establishment of a body to develop, promote and market tourism in KwaZulu-Natal within the framework of government policy. A formal liaison committee will compare the 5-year plans and make sure that the two sectors are in tandem (Marshall, 2005). It has been observed, that links between these organisations need to be strengthened in order to create opportunities for joint service delivery (Amafa, 2004b; Marshall 2005).

It seems that at provincial level, tourism management and heritage management in KwaZulu-Natal are moving towards a 'working relationship'. This emerging trend is described by McKercher and du Cros (2002:16) as the realisation of common needs and interests, as well as the beginning of dialogue and a working relationship to ensure that the interests of both sides are satisfied. This relationship is opposed to the one at national level, where the two sectors seem to run parallel to each other, with limited co-operation taking place. This relationship at national level is described as one of sharing the same resources and deriving mutual benefits from their use, but as still largely functioning separately and independently of each other. There is some dialogue, but little cooperation or even recognition of the need to cooperate (McKercher & du Cros, 2002:16) (see appendix D).

6.3 THE TOURISM SITUATION IN KWAZULU-NATAL

In general, foreign visitor arrivals to South Africa grew by 10.4 per cent between 1999 and 2003, despite declines in 2001 and 2002, which were due to the 9/11 attacks and the Iraqi crisis. The exceptional growth in 2002, due to the hosting of the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, contributed to the overall growth pattern (van der Merwe, 2004). Thomson (2005) states that overseas arrivals to South Africa in 2004 increased marginally by 0.4 per cent, which confirms that at least an additional 1 951 508 foreign travellers visited South Africa in that year. African arrivals also increased by 3.9% in 2004 to 4 707 384 visitors. In total 6.7 million people visited South Africa in 2004. What is interesting to note is the decline in the numbers of visitors from main source markets such as the United Kingdom (UK), Germany, France and the Netherlands, and the increased support from other markets such as China and Central and South America (Thomson, 2005; van der Merwe 2004).

The KwaZulu-Natal province attracts a considerable and growing number of foreign visitors arriving in South Africa. A steady increase can be observed in the period between 1999 (500 000 visitors) and 2003 (600 000 visitors). This presents an increase of 20 per cent.

In 2004, 14 million domestic trips were made to the province (TKZN, 2005), which shows an 18 per cent decrease compared to the years before. This decline cannot be over evaluated, however, as the given number only includes those that lasted longer than 24 hours. In general, KwaZulu – Natal province shows a steady influx of tourists, even demonstrating a slight increase.

6.3.1 Destinations in KwaZulu-Natal

KwaZulu-Natal is one of the most diverse destinations in South Africa, offering a range of tourism products that ranges from sea holidays to bush adventures and from cultural experiences to historical attractions. Foreign visitors usually prefer the region of Durban, Zululand/Maputaland, Drakensberg and the North Coast, with the battlefields being the least visited region where the number of visitors is under 10 per cent (figure 6.2). One,

however, needs to take into account that the other regions are long established tourism regions, whereas the battlefield area with the battlefield route only developed from 1998 onwards. The Battlefield centenary celebration in 1999 has contributed a great deal to the awareness of people of the battlefield area (McFadden, 2005). In addition, Battlefield Tourism and/or military history is a very specific niche market and only attracts those visitors who are specifically interested in this topic. The most recent available statistics of foreign visitors visiting the battlefields is 6 per cent in December 2004 (TKZN, 2005).

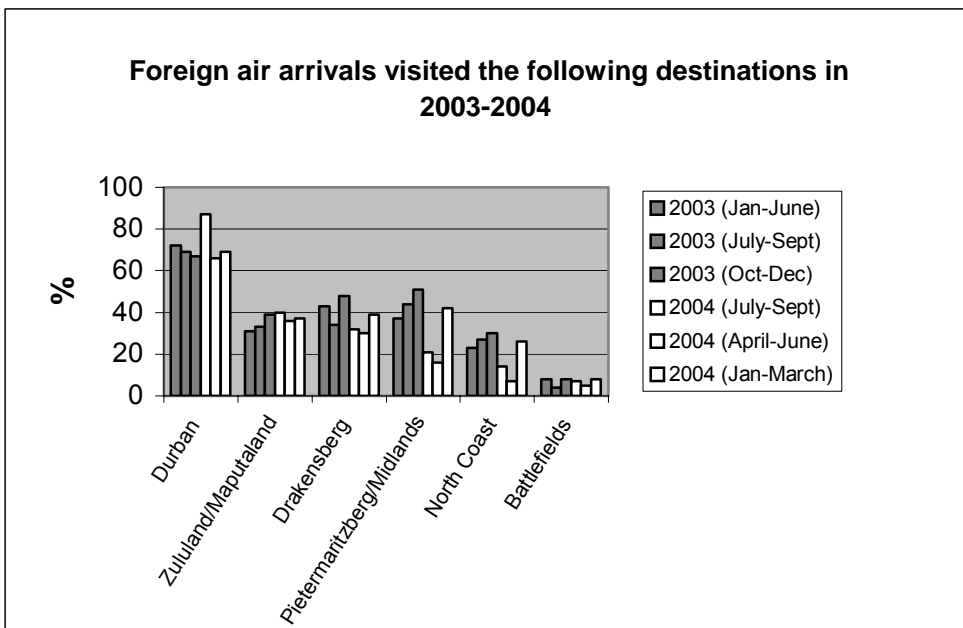


Figure 6.2:
Foreign air arrivals visiting KwaZulu-Natal (Adapted from: TKZN: Research Reports, 1997-2005)

Domestic visitors prefer travelling to areas such as Durban, the South Coast, Pietermaritzburg/Midlands, the North Coast and Zululand/Maputaland. The battlefields with the Drakensberg/Griqualand are visited by between 3-14 per cent of domestic visitors to KwaZulu-Natal (TKZN, 2002; TKZN, 1997-2005).

In general, the battlefield area is not the most popular one in the choice of destinations by domestic and international visitors. However, this area was recently recognised as a

branding area by TKZN, which changed its branding strategy to the 'Zulu Kingdom' in 2003 (Röhrs, 2005; Kohler, 2005)

The Zulu Kingdom brand consists of eight equal sub brands, namely the South Coast, the Elephant Coast, Durban, the Uklahlamka Drakensberg, Zululand, Pietermaritzburg/Midlands, the North Coast and the Battlefields. The provincial brand works in tandem with the area brands, though every area is responsible for its own marketing, which is usually done by the district municipalities (Kohler, 2005). TKZN is also involved in the marketing and promotion of big events for the province (Kohler, 2005). The battlefield area is represented by an entire brand, which indicates that it has the potential to gain much more interest and awareness.

6.3.2 Battlefield routes in South Africa

The battlefield route concept whereby battlefields are identified and a route is developed around them has become a popular concept world-wide. South Africa realised the significance of battlefields as a niche market and jumped on the band wagon in 1990 when the first route in northern KwaZulu-Natal was developed (McFadden, 2005). South African military history in general has become very popular since 1994. Pam McFadden, museum curator for Talana Museum in Dundee was invited to the International Battlefield Conference in the UK in 1993. At the time she saw only two exhibits of South African military history in the military museums she visited in the UK. In 2002 she returned to the UK and every single museum she entered had an exhibit on the Anglo-Boer war in South Africa. Interest for South Africa military history has subsequently increased and people have started to realise the importance of these battles due to their international involvement (McFadden, 2005). Figure 6.3 visually shows the three battlefield routes that exist in South Africa.

At the moment three official battlefield routes exist in South Africa. The first and most developed route is the 'Battlefield Route KwaZulu-Natal', which promotes many different war campaigns, as this area is very rich in battlefields, memorials and history.

The second route is located in the Kimberley area and is called the 'N12 Battlefield Route'. This route promotes the second Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902. Most of the major and minor battles took place within an hour's drive from Kimberley. The route follows the N12 and the major battles are well sign-posted (South African Military Society, 2000).

The third route has only been developed recently and is called the 'Zoutspansberg Skirmishes Route' in the Limpopo Province. It includes some significant sites related to the first Anglo-Boer War from 1880-1881 (South African Tourism Updates, 2005). The region was relatively untouched during the first year of the war, but the war later moved into the Zoutspansberg area where many battles were fought.



Figure 6.3: Map of battlefield routes in South Africa

(based on map adapted from: <http://geography.about.com/library/cia/blcsouthafrica.htm>)

Battlefield routes appear to be very popular not only in South Africa but also globally, and the challenges are to develop sustainable tourism in especially those areas which are not economically well-developed. McFadden (2005) states that northern KwaZulu-Natal initially developed the battlefield concept in South Africa; and that this concept has now been applied to different areas in the country. Cemeteries and memorials are scattered throughout the countryside and the potential for the development of new routes exists.

6.3.2.1 *The battlefield route in northern KwaZulu-Natal*

The first battlefield route was developed in the 1990s by four towns: Dundee, Newcastle, Ladysmith and Vryheid - that have the battlefield history in common. From these four initial towns the route has now grown to include 15 towns and all the areas in between (McFadden, 2005). The two governing district municipalities - Amajuba to the north and Umzinyathi to the south – are the custodians of this frontier land that abuts the Midlands in the west, the Drakensberg in the north and Zululand to the east (TKZN, 2003). The geographical and temporal context makes it difficult to create one comprehensive route, as northern KwaZulu-Natal is an area where many battles of many different campaigns took place in the past. Thus, historically, the area is very important and incorporates different routes, promoting different campaigns and battles (for area maps refer to Appendix E).

'King Shaka's Way' is situated in the south-east and mostly promotes battles of early African wars, the Voortrekker-Zulu wars and the Anglo-Zulu war 1879. The 'Remembrance Route' crosses through the entire area from the north to the south, mainly including battles and memorials of the second Anglo Boer war 1899-1902 and the Bhambatha Rebellion in 1906. The 'Rifleman Road' is situated around Ladysmith and Volksrust in the west of the area and emphasises most of the battles and memorials of the second Anglo Boer war. The 'Warriors Trek' is situated in the Zululand area, emphasising second Anglo Boer War battles and Anglo-Zulu battles. The 'Siege Salute' route concentrates on the Ladysmith Siege and the area around Ladysmith. The last route is called the 'Red Soldiers March' and is situated in the middle of the battlefield area. This route looks at the Anglo-Zulu war and the first Anglo-Boer war (Battlefield Route Brochure, n.d.)

6.3.2.2 *Tourism development on the battlefield route*

Two factors contributed to the development of the battlefield route in KwaZulu-Natal, once Amafa had taken over heritage management and TKZN had recognised the battlefields as one of the province's brands. Through the recognition of and awareness by two of the main stakeholders in the industry, tourism became more regulated, which laid a

cornerstone for tourism development in the area. Once the battlefields had been established as prime heritage attractions, other attractions and auxiliary services followed. Adventure and wildlife experiences, as well as cultural and art products contributed to the growing portfolio of northern KwaZulu-Natal. The tourism industry is thus growing as a result of the diverse attractions in the district, which is evident in a number of eco-tourism projects that have recently been developed: numerous bed and breakfast establishments, game reserves, Zulu cultural tours, birding and adventure activities (TKZN, 2003). McFadden (2005) emphasises that the battlefields are no longer the sole selling product: rather a range of products is attracting a range of people.

Röhrs (2005) points out that Battlefield Tourism is a very specific theme, which only attracts a certain niche market. The Anglo-Zulu battlefields are mainly visited by British tourists - as reflected in figure 6.4. According to TKZN, the majority of visitors in 2004 came from South Africa (53 per cent) and the UK (27 per cent). These visitors are primarily interested in seeing the battlefields because of family links to the battles or a particular fascination with military history. The histories of South Africa and Britain are linked by colonialism. As mentioned earlier (chapter 3), it can be argued here that South Africa which previously relied on its colonial rulers for economic welfare, now relies on the UK to provide it with tourists. The remaining visitors come from South Africa's major source markets, the USA, the Netherlands, Germany and France. The visitors mostly come to South Africa on holiday; business and VFR (Visiting Friends and Relatives) are minor reasons for visit (see figure 6.5). These countries were historically not as involved in the battles as the UK, which means that they do not show a big interest in them today. However, because of the presence of other attractions the number of visitors to the battlefield area might increase in the future. Visitor numbers from other markets could also grow, when shifting the focus of the narrative to the less important participating nations in the wars (i.e. Canada, Italy and the Sothos).

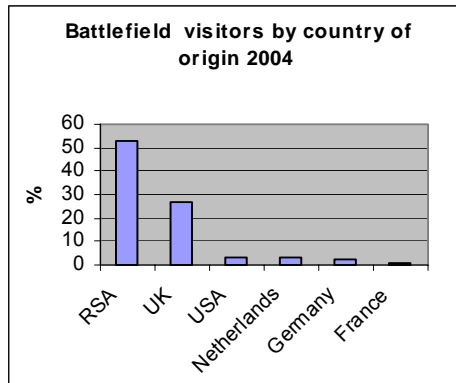


Figure 6.4: Battlefield visitors in 2004

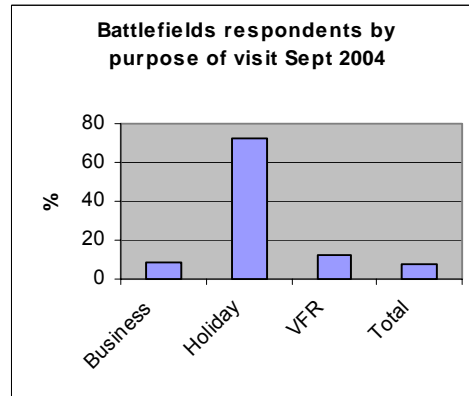


Figure 6.5: Battlefield respondents in 2004

(Source: Kohler & Pakati, 2004: TKZN: *KwaZulu-Natal Visitor Book Project Report*⁹)

With regard to target markets, it is mostly elderly people, with an historic interest, or very young people such as school children on a school field trip who visit the battlefields (McFadden, 2005).

The battlefields in northern KwaZulu-Natal also experience seasonality. Figure 6.6 shows that there is a valley period due to a market drop in the number of international and domestic visitors from May to June and November.

⁹ The visitor book project is one of the methods used by TKZN to collect tourism information. The book is distributed to all publicity associations, information offices and a range of tourism amenities and facilities throughout the province (Kohler & Pakati, 2004).

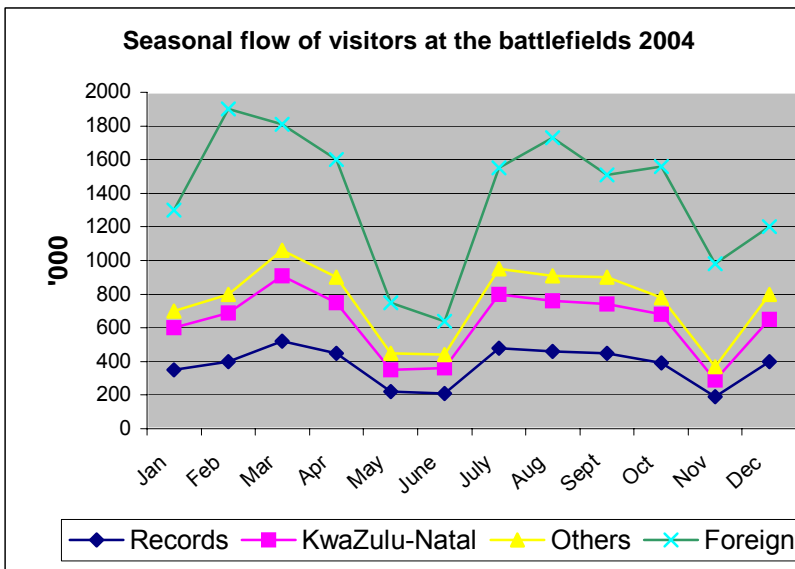


Figure 6.6: Seasonal flow at battlefields in 2004

(Source: Kohler & Palati, 2004: TKZN: *KwaZulu-Natal Visitor Book Project Report*)

As May and June are winter months, many domestic travellers do not travel to the battlefields. In addition, May and June are not popular months for overseas visitors, as this is the time prior to the summer vacation overseas, which starts in July and ends in early September. Domestic numbers pick up from July with the school vacation and again in December with the summer vacation in South Africa.

It is interesting to note that one of the major decision-making processes for visitors to the battlefields is word-of-mouth communication along with history books and travel brochures (Kohler & Pakati, 2004). Media such as word-of-mouth and travel brochures are nothing new; however, the idea of history books as a medium of communication is a recent phenomenon and is represented by dedicated sections on military history in bookshops in the UK.

6.3.3 Attractions in the battlefield area

The following graph shows cultural and heritage attractions in KwaZulu-Natal. The years from 1994 until 1999 are not as well covered in terms of data as the years leading up to 2004. There are two reasons for this. Firstly data from this period is either rare or not available and secondly, visitor numbers for this time are probably minimal and therefore do

not have a significant impact. All the attractions plotted on the graph (figure 6.7) are in northern KwaZulu-Natal and are managed by Amafa, except the Talana Museum and Blood River, which are managed by other organisations.

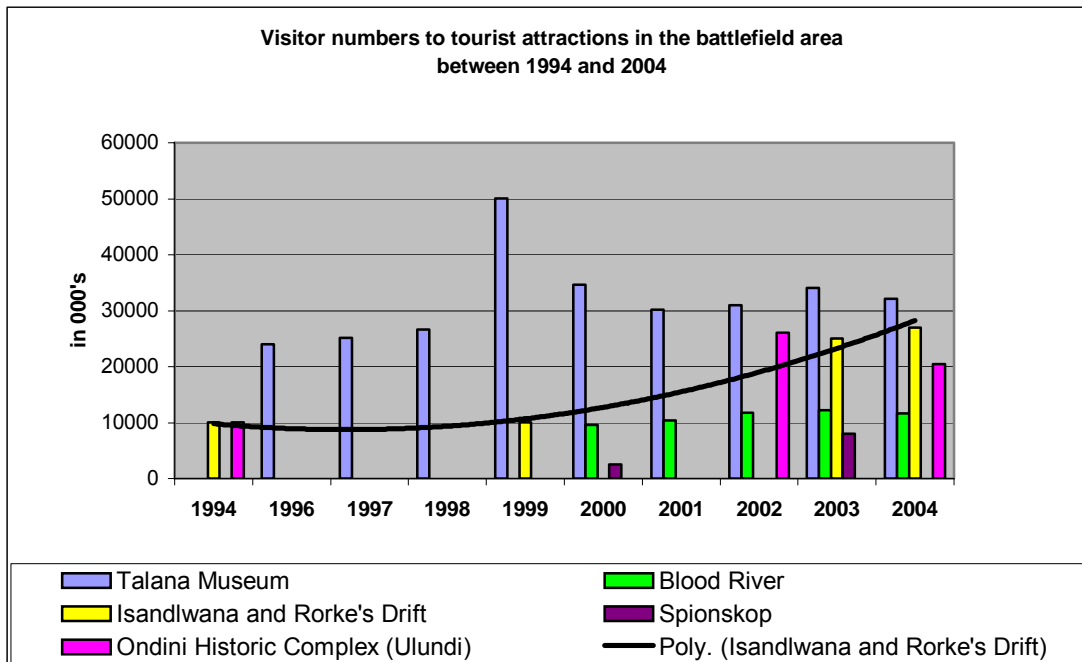


Figure 6.7: Visitors numbers to battlefield related attractions in KwaZulu-Natal 1994-2004

(Sources: Talana Museum Annual Report, 2004; Amafa Annual Report 2004a; Kruger, 2005)

According to visitor numbers, the most important cultural attractions in the battlefield region are the Talana Museum in Dundee, the Ondini Historical Complex in Ulundi and the battlefields of Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift. Figure 6.6 indicates that many heritage attractions have become more accessible and popular. The trend shows that visitor numbers in general are either increasing or remain stable. Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift show a major increase from 10 000 visitors in 1994 to 27 000 visitors in 2004. Visitor numbers to Blood River are also steadily increasing. The Ondini Historic Complex in Ulundi, however, only had 20 500 visitors in 2004 compared to the year before when 27 000 came to see the complex. This decline can be ascribed to road works which has deterred visitors and the numbers expect to rise once the road works have been completed (Amafa, 2004b).

It is interesting to note that visitor numbers increased after the 1999 highlight of the Talana Museum – the 100th anniversary of the Anglo-Zulu battles. McFadden (2005) explains that the Talana Museum, which is the core museum of the battlefield route, received double the number of tourists that year in comparison to other years. McFadden (2005) states that commemorations and anniversaries create awareness and that the tourism industry is able to utilise this advantage today: “we discussed that at Indaba... you can definitely see that awareness has been created, as more and more tour operators are asking for battlefield tours, wanting information”.

Amafa has many other attractions in its portfolio, such as Nodwengu (capital of King Mpande), the KwaDukuza & Shakan site (King Shaka memorial and KwaDukuza Interpretive Centre), Emakhosini (Valley of the Kings), ‘Sites of Conflict’ (conflict region around Ladysmith), Platrand Battlefield, KwaCeza (homestead of King Dinizulu), the Nelson Mandela capture site, the Nkandla Heritage Project (grave of King Cetshwayo), the grave of Prince Dabulamanzi KaMpande and the Hlatikulu Project (assassination of King Dingane in the Hlatikulu forest) (Marshall, 2005). These attractions are not yet of importance to visitors as tourism infrastructure is not yet in place. These developments in the ‘pipeline’ show however the cultural heritage tourism potential in the region.

6.3.4 Disparity between the battlefields of Isandlwana and Rorke’s Drift

The development of the two battlefields Isandlwana and Rorke’s Drift has progressed very differently since the battles took place in 1879. Although the battles are linked by a temporal context, geographically they are situated in two politically different regions. White Natal (Rorke’s Drift) is separated from black KwaZulu (Isandlwana) by the Buffalo/Umzinyathi River, which has an impact on the level of tension or dissonance that exists today. Therefore it is important to understand the political history of KwaZulu and Natal.

6.3.4.1 History of KwaZulu and Natal

KwaZulu-Natal as a province has not always been a fused area. After the Anglo-Zulu war 'Zululand', a 'native reserve' was established by the British for the Zulus in Natal. The name of the 'Zululand homeland' was changed to KwaZulu in 1970 (SAHO, n.d.). As part of the structure of apartheid the South African government set up the so-called 'homelands'¹⁰. At the time the country was divided into four provinces (Transvaal, Natal, Cape Province and Orange Free State) and ten homelands. Hence Natal was a province and KwaZulu a homeland, geographically located within the boundaries of Natal.

In 1970 a territorial authority was set up for the Zulus, and in 1972 this was converted into the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. Its members were to honour and respect the state President and the paramount Chief, but did not swear allegiance to the South African government. The Zulu royal family was also denied executive powers (SAHO, n.d.). In 1977 the homeland was granted additional powers of self-government by South Africa (Manby & Fellow, 1993).

The now KwaZulu-Natal came into being on 27 April 1994, when the first non-racial elections were held in South Africa, and the former province of Natal merged with the non-independent homeland of KwaZulu, the area was re-named KwaZulu-Natal.

Clearly, the political background of KwaZulu-Natal has had a great influence on the commemoration and preservation of the battlefields today. Although the battlefield area has been identified as having an important heritage, the battlefields are nonetheless governed by different stakeholders with different priorities (i.e. Amafa, TKZN, ELC).

a) Isandlwana

Isandlwana was situated in the KwaZulu homeland prior to 1994. Like all the homelands in South Africa, KwaZulu was desperately poor and depended on subsidies from South African taxpayers to survive (Manby & Fellow, 1993). The KwaZulu government had more

¹⁰ The homelands were ethnically based reserves to which black people were forcibly moved out of 'white' South Africa (Marinovich & Silva, 2001).

pressing priorities than the battlefields with a pitiful budget, a vast population, most efforts were put into resources such as schooling and health, and little was done regarding battlefields for many years (Marshall, 2005). In fact, it was necessary to raise funds through public subscription in order to develop the battlefields.

Prior to Amafa's involvement, the Isandlwana battlefield had deteriorated significantly. Marshall (2005) recalls that there was a road running right through the base of Isandlwana Mountain, a taxi rank at the bottom of the mountain, and a school and a store at the foot of the mountain. The adjacent mission station and church which were later incorporated into the battlefield proposal had also fallen into total disrepair (Marshall, 2005).

b) Rorke's Drift

Rorke's Drift on the other hand was situated in 'white' Natal to the west of the Buffalo River prior to 1994. The Natal Provincial Administration had jurisdiction in this area and developed the Rorke's Drift Museum. The development at Rorke's Drift was funded by the provincial authorities with taxpayers' money. Marshall (2005) states, "if you have a look at Rorke's Drift you'll find it much more upmarket and more high-tech and you can say to yourself they have spent much more money here than at Isandlwana".

6.3.4.2 Executive authority for KwaZulu-Natal

Once the authorities came to the realisation that the one battlefield site (Isandlwana) was an extension of the other (Rorke's Drift), Buthelezi the chief of KwaZulu, motivated the establishment of the joint Executive Authority of KwaZulu Natal in 1985. Although it was not endorsed by central government, the Zulu government and Natal provincial administration realised the necessity of mutual responsibility towards these heritage assets and that they had to develop a mechanism in order to work together. Marshall (2005) explains that the Executive Authority never really merged the two sites, but that there was a degree of co-operation which was supported by various committees. One of the results of the Executive Authority was the development of the linking road between Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift.

6.4 CONCLUSION

Cultural Heritage Tourism in KwaZulu-Natal has experienced a major boost over the past ten years. Organisations such as Amafa and TKZN have been established and are operating effectively. Unlike any other province, KwaZulu-Natal is proactive in developing heritage legislation and managing its heritage. Although heritage and tourism are different operating organisations, a partnership approach is developing, which can add major value and attractiveness to the area. It is evident that tourism development is increasing.

Although the battlefield area only contributes a minor share to the total tourism volume of KwaZulu-Natal, this area is becoming increasingly important. Visitor numbers have more than doubled over a period of ten years and awareness has been established. Battlefield Tourism and military history are not the main focus areas anymore and other products have been added to increase the market. With these changes taking place in the area, more development is expected in the near future, which in turn can lead to more tourism investment. With the increase of tourism development in the battlefield area, dissonance analysis becomes a major issue regarding the tourism product.

Amafa effectively took over the management of both heritage sites in 1998 and Amafa has therefore inherited two battlefields that are linked to each other. These sites, however, have different levels of development due to political, cultural and economic influences. This disparity causes dissonance regarding commercialisation issues. As a Zulu visitor to Rorke's Drift states: "I fail to comprehend why there was such disparity between Rorke's Drift and Isandlwana, but it dawned on me when I realised who were the victors [British] there" (Mthethwa, 2002). The next chapter analyses the stakeholders in the battlefield area to determine the level of dissonance present in the area.

7 CHAPTER: ANALYSIS OF DISSONANCE ON THE BATTLEFIELDS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter seven attempts to determine the level of dissonance around the battlefield heritage resource, by analysing four stakeholder groups - subject groups, visitor groups, owners/controllers and host community groups. The Heritage Force Field Model (Seaton, 2001:123) is used to establish a framework for the analysis of dissonance and it is observed that the stakeholders groups interact differently and on different levels with each other. The owners/controllers and the host community show great levels of interaction and are evaluated under one section (refer to par. 7.4-7.6); whereas the subject group and the visitor group show interconnectivity in terms of dissonance (refer to par. 7.1-7.3).

7.2 STAKEHOLDER GROUP: SUBJECTS

During the fieldwork the researcher closely observed tangible and intangible evidence of the battlefield's subject groups (i.e. the British soldiers and Zulu warriors), about whom the heritage narrative is being told. As Seaton (2001) notes, the construction within heritage narratives depends on the involvement and participation of certain groups. They may be represented or misrepresented not only by what is included, but also by what is left out (Seaton, 2001). Over the past ten years the narrative of the two groups has changed and the next two years, 2005 to 2007 especially, should show significant changes because of of different political, social-cultural and economic influences which may lead to a balance of narratives on the battlefields.

Throughout the research it became evident that there are two types of heritage assets that represent the subject groups – tangible and intangible heritage. Tangible heritage refers to heritage assets on the battlefields that a visitor can see and touch, such as the monuments, the buildings and the landscape. Intangible heritage becomes important in terms of the storytelling of guides and re-enactment festivals.

A battlefield without the story that goes with it does not provide a thrilling experience. The guides therefore become translators of the past – they are the connecting elements between the past and present, between the subject groups and the visitors. With their narrative and interpretation they can influence the experience of visitors. Chronis (2004) and Cohen (1985) observe that a guide is a narrator, he is an agent who relates the story through a particular medium; this act is not a repetition of a fixed story, but a personalised expression of the storyteller's own reading and poetic talent. The majority of visitors coming to the battlefields choose a guided tour, less than 25 percent are self guided visits (Friend, 2005; McFadden, 2005).

The impact of guides on dissonance will be discussed under the heading of visitor groups, as the guides have a clear and substantial impact on visitors. As stated previously, another manifestation of intangible heritage is the re-enactment group, the 'Dundee Diehards', who are discussed towards the end of this chapter.

7.2.1 Interpretation of battlefields today

In general, there is dissonance in the interpretation and representation of tangible features on the battlefields of Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift. The British have benefited from the narrative at Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift, although they were defeated at Isandlwana. Written and verbal testimony of the Anglo-Zulu war is seen as a major source when commemorating the event. British history was written down in much detail - the names and numbers of the fallen soldiers remembered by many people, as well as the fact that only 55 soldiers survived the Isandlwana battle. The British army is honoured with memorials, graves and displays in the museum. Piecing together what really happened on the battlefields remains problematic.

The Zulus only made use of the "technology of the conqueror, the power of literary documentation and written precedent of the permanence of the printed word" (Guy, 2002:8) quite late in their history, and records of the war from the Zulu perspective often only appear in the form of verbal testimony which is more difficult to collect and interpret. It is difficult to assign a balanced meaning to these events when mainly people with an

eurocentric background and education are interested in tangible history, the tangible reinterpretation and rediscovery of it. Museums are part of the tendency of the Western culture, where African culture is comfortable with intangible structures. However, in 2002 a textbook was published 'Zulu Victory – the Epic of Isandlwana and the Cover-up', by Lock and Quantrill which deals with the Isandlwana war from a Zulu perspective. Buthelezi states in the foreword that it is refreshing to describe the battle for what it was: "...a magnificent Zulu victory against an invading superior army" (Lock & Quantrill, 2002:14). Buthelezi also points out that it is high time that the writing of African history rids itself of the legacy of colonial romanticism (Lock & Quantrill, 2002:14). However, the lack of interest and awareness on the Zulu side, as well as the negligible number of tangible sources pose a problem for recreating a balanced narrative, especially when a 'museum culture' still needs to be developed amongst the local Zulu people (Kruger, 2005). On the other hand, there are some individuals, such as the Rattray family who have put in major efforts to discover Zulu history (Herbert, 2002).

7.2.2 Isandlwana

The battlefield of Isandlwana is today a fenced-off area. The original parameters of the battlefields have been preserved with a game reserve included in the area. Within the fenced-off battlefield area there are two dirt roads that lead the visitor to the top of Isandlwana Mountain. Figure 7.1 gives an impression of how the battlefield of Isandlwana has been developed for tourism purposes. Just inside the gate (4*) the Zulu memorial is situated (5), in close proximity is the plaque for the British gunners (6). A colonial cemetery (8) which consists of a few memorials, as well as stone cairns¹¹, is located at the top of Isandlwana Mountain. Originally there were 293 cairns that marked the graves of soldiers (7), but some of them have been destroyed (Rorke's Drift VC Discussion Forum, 2004). These cairns are only associated with the British who died in the battle. Just outside the fence, situated in the adjacent community, is a Zulu cultural village (10) and the Isandlwana information centre (1).

¹¹ Stone cairns are heaps of stones on a grave which indicate where the dead are buried. At Isandlwana these cairns are white washed (see figure 7.3 image 7).

* Numbers are positioned on figure 7.1 and indicate buildings and facilities on the Isandlwana battlefield.

At the information centre that includes a small museum the researcher carefully observed the exhibits without doing an in-depth analysis as this is beyond the scope of this study, and came to the conclusion that they give the visitor a balanced impression of the narrative. The information centre is established in the old mission building of St. Vincent, which was originally a training college for priests. One of the Bishops, Douglas McKenzie was posted in Zululand and built the mission and the church (Marshall, 2005). Marshall (2005) points out that the church (2) is in fact a memorial to the British who died in the battle of Isandlwana. Close to the Isandlwana information centre is a small arts and crafts centre (3) which is very poorly stocked.

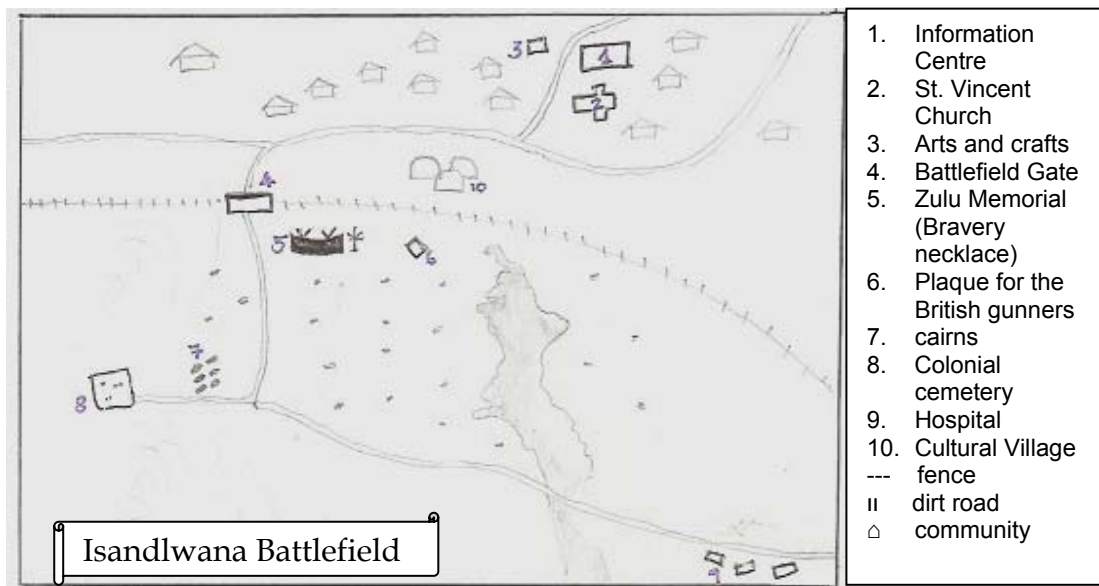


Figure 7.1: Buildings and facilities at the Isandlwana battlefield

When Amafa took over management of the battlefields in 1998, the outcome of negotiations was that the Mangwe Buthanani¹² Tribal Authority would give up the battlefield land for Amafa to preserve and manage as a cultural heritage site. In exchange Amafa returns 25 per cent of the entrance fees to the community (D’lamini, 2005; Marshall, 2005), where R 21 000 was paid to the community in 2004 (D’lamini, 2005). The property

¹² The Mangwe Buthanani Community under Inkosi (chief) Mazibuko is located around the Isandlwana battlefield near Nqutu in the Umzinyathi District Municipality area. The tribal system is still partially upheld on the east site of the Buffalo River.

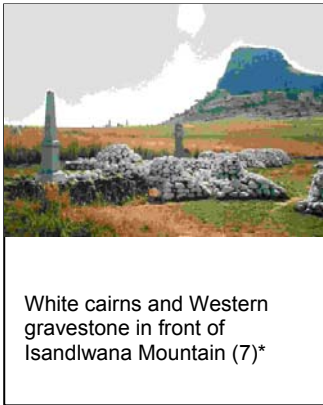
and land usage issues at Isandlwana are transparent, which mitigates bureaucratic problems and should arguably also help ease the problem of dissonance.

7.2.2.1 *British Commemoration at Isandlwana*

The Isandlwana battlefield site lies in a valley between two mountain ranges. The battle took place in front of Isandlwana Mountain (refer to figure 7.2, image 7). The name 'Isandlwana' means 'little fist', although the British thought it looked more like a sphinx. The mountain is significant and has become a symbol of this battle. Soon after the battle the British erected memorial stones and obelisks at the foot of the mountain, such as the Monument for the 24th regiment, the Police memorial and the Maritzburg Old Boys memorial. These memorial stones are all in Western style, in the form of white pillars/obelisks engraved with the names of fallen British soldiers. As a result this area is often referred to as the colonial cemetery (8) (refer to figure 7.1).

Furthermore, the battlefield is scattered with white-washed cairns (7) (refer to figure 7.2, image 7), under which generals or commanders from the British army are buried. When the family was sure about the exact site of death of a family member, they erected a white gravestone on that spot. Therefore, it can be stated, that some of the British commanders and soldiers are commemorated individually.

At the foot of Isandlwana Mountain, close to the entrance gate is another plaque which is in honour of the British gunners (6) who died in the battle. The plaque gives the names of the gunners and was unveiled on the same day the Zulu memorial was unveiled.



White cairns and Western gravestone in front of Isandlwana Mountain (7)*



Gravestone at the colonial cemetery (8)*

Figure 7.2: Images of British commemoration at Isandlwana

7.2.2.2 Zulu commemoration at Isandlwana

Until 1999 there was no memorial to commemorate the Zulu army at the Isandlwana battlefield. Pat Stubbs owner of Isandlwana lodge claims that she was the first person in the area to commemorate Zulu warriors when building Isandlwana Lodge in 1998 (2005). The columns that support the roof of the lodge and each bedroom are named after a famous warrior in the Zulu kingdom (see figure 7.3, first image).

In 1999, to commemorate the 120th anniversary of the battle, a monument to the Zulu dead was unveiled. The memorial is a 'bravery necklace' in the form of a buffalo formation, since symbolism plays an important role in the new Zulu monuments. This Zulu memorial consists of a circular concrete platform symbolising the kraal of Zulu rural communities. Four bronze headrests and a bronze necklace represent the Zulu badge of honour that is presented to individuals by the King for acts of exceptional courage and bravery. The memorial also symbolises the horn of the buffalo (Izimpondo zenkomo), the famous encircling tactics that the Zulu Impis used with skill and precision at Isandlwana. Another feature of the memorial, though it is not often mentioned, is the presence of the *Ziziphus Mucronata* or Buffalo Thorn tree, the tree of the kings.

* Numbers refer to position of tangible heritage assets on figure 7.1.

This tree is of exceptional importance as it is symbolically used by Zulu elders as the medium between this world and the next world¹³ (Friend, 2005).

The memorial is located at the foot of mountain, close to the entrance gate (5). As not everyone knows why this location was chosen this causes some dissonance. Many ask why the Zulu memorial is not next to the British memorials. The reason for the current location apparently has a symbolic explanation. At the time of choosing the location the general feeling of all the stakeholders was that it would not be right to place the Zulu memorial in the British camp. Its present position can be regarded as significant as this is the location from where the Zulu army attacked in the buffalo formation. The location of the memorial also encourages guides to tell the battle from the Zulu perspective (Jones, 2005).



Isandlwana Lodge: Columns named after a famous member of the Zulu kingdom: Ndabuko, Cheswayos' brother who commanded the Umbonambi regiment at Isandlwana



Zulu memorial at Isandlwana: bravery necklace in the Buffalo Formation (5)*



Buffalo Thorn tree, next to the memorial at Isandlwana (5)*

Figure 7.3: Images of Zulu commemoration at Isandlwana

Monuments in general are not part of the Zulu culture, although they do commemorate tangible and intangible heritage. The memorials are highly appreciated despite the fact that some Zulu traditionalists feel that such battlefield edifices are not part of their culture

¹³ Should a person die some distance from his kraal, a delegation takes a small branch of the buffalo thorn tree to the place where the person died for the spirit of the dead person to enter the branch. The branch is taken to the home kraal whilst the spirit bearing branch is reassured the whole distance so that the spirit is not lost. Arriving at the kraal the branch is placed in the cattle kraal where it is eaten by the cattle (KwaZulu Natal Department of Economic Development and Tourism, 2001)

* Numbers refer to position of tangible heritage assets on figure 7.1.

(Ross, 2003). Zulu graves¹⁴ have a tradition called Isivivane. An Isivivane (symbolic resting place) is a cairn of stones to which each person who passes by adds a stone. The act constitutes an appeasement of the spirits; one comes in peace and trusts in having a safe journey. An Isivivane is quite different to a pile of stones on top of a grave. Adding a stone to an Isivivane also indicates respect for the local chieftain and that one comes in peace.

The Zulu memorial is a joint project between Amafa and the Zulu people, although it was not designed by the Zulu community, but by an Afrikaans sculptor, Gert Swart in Pietermaritzburg. This decision was taken for practical reasons, as it is very difficult to find a Zulu person who is experienced in designing and casting in bronze. Most of the cost was borne by the Amakhosi (chiefs) who contributed cash or cattle. The idea was that the new project should belong to the people and to increase participation in heritage the adjacent communities paid for it. Although the inhabitants are aware of the presence of the memorial, they find it difficult to identify with it or to assign a meaning to it. Another aspect of the memorial is that no inscriptions or names have been added to it. To a non-Zulu, it is a meaningless huge bronze necklace and for visitors who do not have a guide, the memorial would be without meaning.

Some people argue that the new Zulu memorial is not a memorial from the Zulu perspective, but that it gives Western people a place to reflect on Zulu bravery. It is stated that the little Buffalo Thorn tree planted next to the memorial is probably more important to the Zulus than the memorial itself (Rattray, 2005). The different values allocated to tangible heritage assets by different stakeholder groups can have major impacts on the level of dissonance at the battlefields.

¹⁴ Not only the Zulus have the graves called Isivivane, but it is also a tradition with other tribes, for example the Sothos.

7.2.3 Rorke's Drift

The battle site of Rorke's Drift/Shiyane¹⁵ has been considerably modified since the battle took place on the night of the 22nd January 1879. None of the buildings standing at the time remain and even the vegetation in the area is different (Amafa/Heritage KwaZulu Natali, n.d.). The building which used to be situated where the museum is today was built by James Rorke¹⁶ and became Missionary Otto Witt's¹⁷ first house. It was afterwards taken over by the British and was used as a hospital. Today the church stands on the site where the commissioner's store used to be, which was also known as the Rorke's Drift trading store. The house and the cook house are the only buildings that remain from the time of the battle and are still intact. Rorke's Drift is an example of how local indigenous inhabitants experienced the intrusion of colonial power: 'First comes the trader, then the missionary, then the red soldier'. (Rorke's Drift VC, n.d.).

The Zulus were defeated at Rorke's Drift, and therefore the tangible commemoration on site is in favour of the British. An information centre (4) (refer to figure 7.4), a shop, a tea garden (4) and a museum (1) are built on the property of the battlefield. An in-depth analysis of the displays and the museum is beyond the scope of this study, however, the displays were observed and the researcher came to the conclusion that they give the visitor a balanced impression of the narrative. The total area is fenced off, but not impenetrable, and the Rorke's Drift battlefield is thus situated in the heart of the community. The post office is adjacent to the tea garden (4), there is a church (2) on site, and the local school children daily cross the battlefield to school (10). The buildings here were rebuilt soon after the battle and are today partly used by Amafa.

¹⁵ Shiyane, is the hill behind the trading post and is known to the Zulu as the eyebrow (Rorke's Drift VC, n.d.).

¹⁶ In 1849 a trader named James Rorke purchased a tract of land measuring a thousand acres on the banks of the Buffalo River in Natal. On the river bank at a place close to where Rorke settled was a natural ford across the river, which is referred to in South Africa as a 'drift'. A drift that in time would bear his name (Rorke's Drift VC, n.d.).

¹⁷ In 1878 a Swedish missionary, Otto Witt, took up the incumbency of what is now a Mission Station. Rorke's store was transformed into a makeshift church. Witt also decided to rename the area Shiyane to Oskarberg, in honour of the King of Norway and Sweden (Rorke's Drift VC, n.d.).

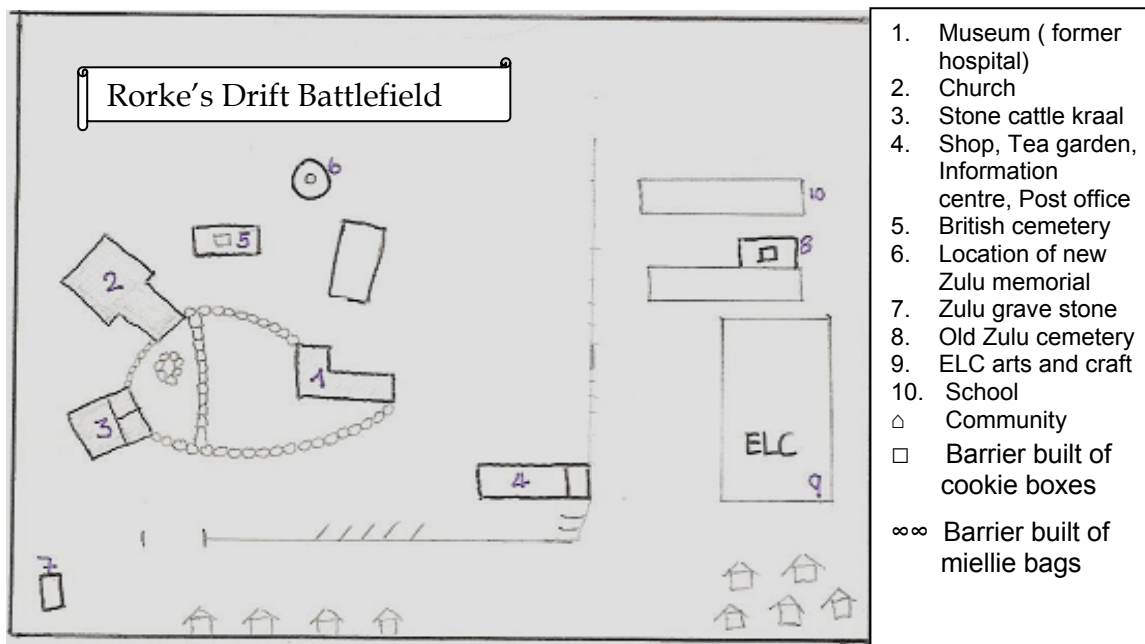


Figure 7.4: Buildings and facilities at the Rorke's Drift Battlefield

When Amafa took over the heritage site at Rorke's Drift, negotiations were not as simple as with regard to the land usage situation at Isandlwana. At this battlefield three parties are involved in the property question – the Evangelical Lutheran Church (ELC)¹⁸ (9), the community¹⁹ and Amafa. Complications with the ELC centre have arisen due to the issue of land ownership. Originally the property belonged to the Church of Sweden Mission (CSM). The CSM and other mission societies then transferred the land to the ELCSA-Property Management Company, which obtained the land and land rights from ELCSA partner organisations (Bausch, 2005). The ELCSA is in the process of transferring the land back to the community. The transfer process is not yet complete and on paper the land still belongs to the church (Bausch, 2005). This has implications for applying for government assistance, as the land does not yet belong to the community. Currently Amafa pays an annual lease of R7 000 a year to the ELCSA for the right to run the museum and the battlefield site (Lamberts, 2005). However, big developments are

¹⁸ ELC centre was the only Fine Arts and Crafts centre in South Africa at the time. It was established in 1963 by the Swedish couple Ulla and Peder Gowenius and produced high quality work, generating employment and developing economic self-sufficiency for the local community (Hobbs & Rankin, 2003). In 1982 the centre closed, when the Swedish artists left. The ELC workshops continued operating as a business and in 1994 the artists from the community came together and decided to re-open the centre and make it work for the community (Hobbs & Rankin, 2003).

¹⁹ The Rorke's Drift community is not traditional; the community was located on the 'white' Natal site in the past and is not under an inkosi (chief) system.

planned for Rorke's Drift in cooperation with the ELCSA and the aim is to develop and integrate the arts and crafts centre, the workshop and the curio shop (Bausch, 2005; Marshall, 2005).

The different owner and controller groups create heritage dissonance in the community that derives from a political background (Lamberts, 2005). Due to the ambiguous situation in the community at Rorke's Drift, dissonance levels are higher there.

7.2.3.1 British Commemoration at Rorke's Drift

The British soldiers are commemorated with a stone obelisk some three metres high and a low stone wall surrounding the graves (5). On one side of the memorial there is a laurel wreath enclosing the regimental number 'XXIV' with a cross above it. On the other three sides are the names of the dead. The former hospital has been turned into a museum (1). The defence line and place of last retreat are represented by stones laid in the grass.



British stone obelisk in the grave yard (5)*



Museum and former hospital and defence lines on the ground (1)*

Figure 7.5: Images of British commemoration at Rorke's Drift

* Numbers refer to position of tangible heritage assets on figure 7.4.

7.2.3.2 The Zulu Commemoration at Rorke's Drift

The Zulus are commemorated with three gravestones. One is a small Western-styled gravestone quite a distance away from the main battlefield outside the defence line, which was unveiled in 1979 (7). No names are mentioned on it. The gravestone bears the engraving, "In proud memory of the brave Zulu warriors who fell at the battle of Rorke's Drift 22 January 1879, some of which are buried here". Two other gravestones (8), which mark two of the mass graves, are situated far outside the defence line and are poorly maintained. The casual visitor mostly notices the obvious gravestone in front of the stone built cattle kraal.



Zulu memorial at Rorke's Drift (7)*



Zulu gravestone which marks a Zulu mass grave at Rorke's Drift (8)*



New Zulu memorial, which was erected in July but has not been officially opened - Leopard is lying on a pile of shields (6)* this photograph was taken in a near by shed before it was erected.

Figure 7.6: Images of Zulu commemoration at Rorke's Drift

At this stage an imbalance of tangible heritage is evident at Rorke's Drift. The battle is interpreted from a British perspective with the presence of defence lines and the place of last retreat. Also, the British gravestone is very well maintained. Although the Zulu army is commemorated by two Western gravestones a discrepancy is present. One is well maintained but the other two are so far away that guides do not take the tourists there. Imbalance is created through the location of memorials, the size of gravestones and their maintenance.

* Numbers refer to position of tangible heritage assets on figure 7.4

Amafa erected a new memorial for the Zulu dead at Rorke's Drift in July 2005 (during the period of this study) which is related to the Zulu culture but has not officially been opened by the Premier of the Province. The memorial statue depicts a pile of shields with a leopard lying on top of it and a Buffalo Thorn tree growing out of the centre (refer to figure 7.6 image 6).

This memorial symbolises burial rituals of the Zulus on the battlefields 120 years ago. In cases where the Zulus could not bury their dead, they placed the shield of the dead person on the body, which was regarded as equal to a normal ceremonial burial. Marshall (2005) says with this memorial "we symbolically bury the warriors who died here" with the leopard symbolising bravery and royalty and the Buffalo Thorn seen as the tree of the kings.

The memorial at Rorke's Drift was developed with more community participation than the memorial at Isandlwana. A competition was held for anyone to come up with a proposal for the Zulu memorial at Rorke's Drift. Marshall (2005), the Director of Amafa, remembers that the most voted for proposal was not the one he liked. The House of Traditional Leaders²⁰ finally decided on the shields with the leopard. The development of the memorial was done in a more equitable and traditional fashion than the memorial at Isandlwana. Over the past years there has been a shift towards involving the Zulu people to participate in the portrayal of their own heritage. This should have a positive impact on reducing dissonance, in both the proposal and execution phases of the new memorial.

This memorial statue will be situated in the position from where the first Zulu attack was launched, close to the British cemetery, but outside the defence line. When events or functions take place between the two memorials, each group can be close to its dead and Amafa management will therefore experience no logistical problems. At Isandlwana in contrast, there are logistical problems, as the two memorials are further apart and the

²⁰ The South African Constitution established the right of communities living under traditional law and custom to influence the way in which the country is run. Houses of Traditional Leaders have been established at national level and in some provinces carry out an advisory role in government. The Traditional House advises the national government on the role of traditional leaders and on customary law. It may also conduct its own investigations and advise the President on request (International Marketing Council of South Africa, n.d.).

physical positioning of an event/function has caused disharmony. It is important to note that commemorative events are usually celebrated by descendants from both subject groups at the same time at the same place.

7.2.4 Re-enactment group – Dundee Diehards

The Dundee Diehards is the only professional re-enactment group in South Africa. The team was founded in 1999 and has participated in many re-enactments, displays and documentary films. The group consists of 24 fully equipped redcoats/khaki soldiers, a team of 30 fully equipped Zulu Warriors and a Boer Force (Jones & Mitchell, 2005). Re-enactment takes place three to four times a year. The Dundee Diehards see themselves as an 'edutainment' organisation - entertaining and educating people about warfare, soldiers' bravery, and awareness and sending a message about the evil of war. The Diehard team re-enacts the Anglo-Boer-Zulu battles as authentically as possible and focus on everything from details in uniforms to combat tactics.

Although the Diehard team is a business (host community), it was decided to discuss the re-enactment group in the subject group sections, as they create an intangible link between the past and the present. Emphasis lies on intangible heritage assets, rather than business.

Tensions can easily arise in battle re-enactment as the history which some people would rather prefer to forget suddenly comes alive in an intangible way. The Anglo-Zulu war re-enactments are enjoyed by both 'armies', the Zulus and the British. The Zulus are for the first time physically experiencing what happened 120 years ago and are being made aware and proud of their warrior ancestors: "no ill feelings whatsoever from the Zulu side. In fact, they thoroughly enjoy the whole thing and socialise with us afterwards" (Jones & Mitchell, 2005). The Zulus want to remember the history, as opposed to some other groups (Boers, British etc.) who do not want to remember.

Re-enacting the Boer wars is sometimes more difficult and associated with a lot more dissonance compared to re-enacting the Anglo-Zulu wars. "This is not a generalisation" as

Jones (2005) emphasises, and “it is not what most sensible educated people think, but you still get a few small pockets of Afrikaners (Boers) who hate the British”. This disharmony was experienced in the Free State, where the Dundee Diehard team was asked to re-enact the battle of Surrender Hill. In history, 120 years ago, the Boers surrendered and handed over their weapons to the British. Jones and Mitchell (2005) state that during the re-enactment, however, the “Boers would not hand over their weapons; they are still fighting the battle”. Something similar was experienced when the Dundee Diehards were re-enacting the battle of Majuba, Jones Mitchell (2005) also recalled. It can be argued that some cultural groups and levels of society are more willing to forgive than others.

This sentiment is also echoed by the tangible set up of commemorative events at the Blood River/Ncome Heritage site²¹. As opposed to Rorke’s Drift and Isandlwana where the memorials are all on one property and managed by one organisation (Amafa), the Blood River site has a separation approach. The Voortrekker²² memorial is on one side of the river, whereas the Zulu memorial was built three kilometres away on the other side of the Ncome/Blood River a few years ago. No bridge at this stage connects the two sites that commemorate the same battle. Moreover, on the 16th of December (Reconciliation Day), two separate commemorative festivities take place, one at each site (Kruger, 2005). Both sites have a completely different interpretation of the event, something which can leave visitors confused and puzzled.

Although there is a large interest in re-enactment in the wider community, problems are experienced with Amafa’s attitude. The Diehard team has to request for Amafa’s permission to do re-enactments on the battlefields. Since Amafa does not appear to support the Diehard group, this has resulted in the group not gaining access to the battlefields.

²¹ The Blood River/Ncome Heritage site is a battlefield where the Boer war campaign against the Zulus took place in 1838. Today it is managed by the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria as a legacy project.

²² The Voortrekkers were white Afrikaner farmers, then known as Boers, who in the 1830s and 1840s emigrated in what is called the Great Trek from the British controlled Cape Colony into the erstwhile black-populated areas north of the Orange River.

7.2.5 Conclusion for subject groups

Tangible and intangible aspects play an important role when presenting heritage. The following figure visually shows the imbalance of heritage interpretation on the battlefields (figure 7.7). Although dissonance is still experienced by the subject groups (British and Zulus), a tremendous effort has been put into the representation and interpretation of the recently almost forgotten Zulu subject group in order to reduce dissonance in heritage.

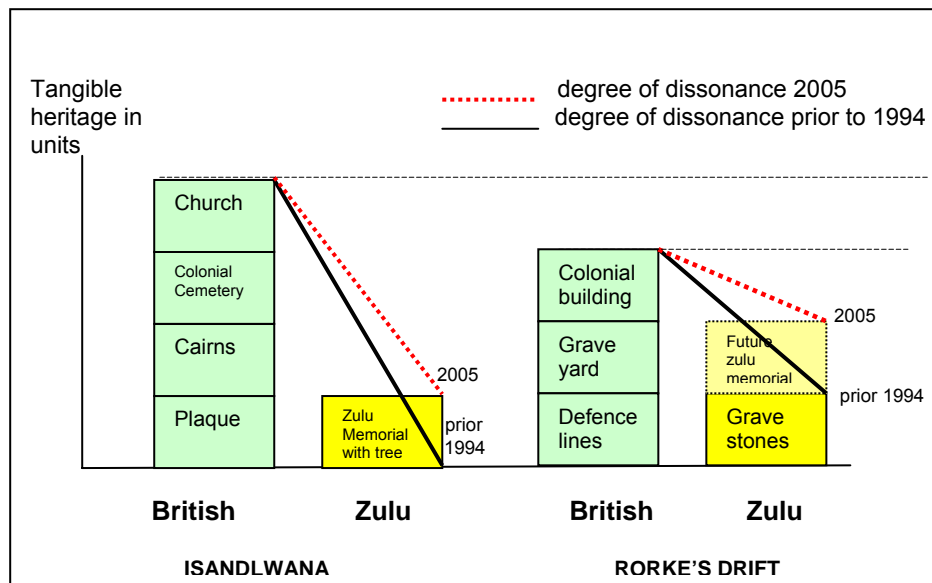


Figure 7.7: Visual display of dissonance (tangible aspects)

Every block in figure 7.7 represents a tangible unit which in turn represents a subject group. The green blocks represent the British and the yellow blocks represent the Zulus. The degree of dissonance is shown in a temporal context and is measured from the dotted line at the top. Dissonance prior to 1994 was higher than currently experienced.

The degree of dissonance is measured from the line from where dissonance in heritage would be equal. Hence, Isandlwana in general shows more dissonance than Rorke's Drift. The degree of dissonance has however decreased for both battlefields over the past ten years.

The management of dissonance is sensitively handled by encouraging community involvement and participation as early as during the proposal and execution phases. The managing body has learned from the development of the first memorial at Isandlwana and is now trying to reduce dissonance between the subject group and the community at Rorke's Drift by involving the descendants of the subject group. The importance of a memorial being motivated by the descendants of the subject group is illustrated in the case of the little 'Bighorn' memorial in the United States (US). The Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument near Crow Agency, Montana, commemorates one of America's most significant and famous battles, the Battle of Little Bighorn (National Park Service, 1999). American people erected a memorial on behalf of the Indians without involving them. This was consequently torn to pieces by the latter (Rattray, 2005).

The location, maintenance and size of memorials are also important aspects when developing new memorials. It is better if the new memorials are more visibly situated for the visitors and are not hidden away. The new Zulu memorials are integrated with the old British memorials. The Zulu memorials are placed in historical context and represent forgiving and respectful unity. Commemoration events will therefore be better organised logistically in the future.

An example of a problematic choice of location is the Ncome/Blood River battlefield. At Ncome/Blood River both cultural groups' heritages are represented, but there is no feeling of unity, integration, or forgiveness and reconciliation.

With regard to Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift commemoration and interpretation have largely moved away from a mono-cultural, attitude which honours only the British perspective, to a more balanced approach. Nevertheless, based on countable and tangible commemoration, the interpretation is still largely British on both battlefields.

The memorials that have been added to the battlefields are attempts to depict the battles from a Zulu perspective. Some stakeholders argue that the memorials are impressive and also the most spectacular on the battlefields. Others, however, think that the attempts are not enough. Whatever the case may be, it can be argued that the subject groups, especially the Zulus and their narrative, have gained power over the past ten years. With

the change of heritage legislation in 1994 and the takeover of Amafa, narratives have been newly identified and interpreted. In addition, unimportant narratives, have recently gained more importance. However, less famous and major subject groups, such as the involvement of other nations (European involvement) and tribes (Sothos) is not yet included in the narrative and could add an extra dimension to the dissonant heritage at the battlefields.

The way that the Dundee Diehards (an intangible aspect in the narrative of the subject group) depict the narrative, is generally enjoyed by all members of the Anglo and Zulu cultural groups. This is not the case for their depiction of the Boer wars, where dissonance seems to remain in certain instances. Furthermore, major dissonance is present between the owners/controllers and the Dundee Diehard group. Many intangible aspects of heritage (refer to par. 7.5) play a significant role on the battlefields. These have the ability to rectify the imbalance in tangible heritage and are discussed in the next section on visitor groups.

7.3 STAKEHOLDER GROUP: VISITORS

Visitor groups represent the market for Battlefield Tourism. A market holds permanent power to shape heritage and attraction development (Seaton, 2001; Swarbrooke, 2003). The visitor group is influenced by both the tangible and intangible aspects of the battlefields. The former relates to the tangible representation of the subject group, the latter is the intangible account of interpretation as brought across by the personal tour guides. The intangible account is an important aspect of the experience of the battlefields, because without a narrative the 'remains' on the battlefields are difficult to interpret. A visitor who did not have a personal tour guide said: "here are just stones lying around" (In-depth interviews with visitors, 2005).

At this stage more than 80 per cent of visitors to the battlefields go on a guided tour, while 20 per cent choose to do a self-guided tour. A guided tour requires at least an entire day's

time, as most of the tours start at 9 am and finish at 4pm or 5pm (Friend, 2005; McFadden, 2005).

The standard guided tour starts at the battlefield of Isandlwana, where the morning is spent, where after Rorke's Drift is visited in the afternoon. Some guides deliver an extra service by visiting other attractions, such as a 'native' Zulu store or the German settlement of Elandsplaagte, which are not far from the battlefields, therefore the products increase and the visitors experience the entire area, not only the battlefields. Others divide the narrative of the battlefields into two days, as the input of information from both battles is very high. During the fieldwork one tour group was encountered which had come up from Durban and had been shown most of the attractions between Durban and the battlefields.

For visitors, the battlefields tour is a cultural and emotional experience and not a relaxing visit. Taking into account the kilometres travelled, the input of information, the hot climate and the time constraints under which the tour guide or operators have to function, most of the visitors interviewed seemed exhausted, which put constraints on the interviews conducted. The reason why most interviews were conducted at Rorke's Drift, is that the majority of the tours end at Rorke's Drift and the guides finish the battlefield narrative there. Visitors are by then familiar with the narrative, the area and the battlefields and have experienced the total tourism product.

The high percentage of guided tours echoes the importance of the guides. Dahles (2002) states, those tourists view and interpret local sights and heritage assets through the eyes and words of the guides. Visitors experience the environment according to the way in which a particular guide reconstructs the battle landscape and represents it in the narrative. Due to the dependency of visitors on tour guides and the influence that a guide has on visitors, it was decided to discuss tour guides in the visitor group analysis, although guides can also be seen as members of the subject group or host community.

The purpose of this section is to develop an understanding of the perception and experience of the visitors and whether they notice any form of dissonance, as well as the attitude of the guides towards the visitor and subject groups.

7.3.1 Visitors – tangible aspects

7.3.1.1 *European perspective*

The visitor groups to the battlefields are mostly represented by South Africans and visitors from the UK. As military history and Battlefield Tourism are specialised areas, visitors are often interested and have prior knowledge. Their main motive is to ‘experience’ and gain first hand understanding of the area and they therefore choose to go on a guided tour. Other visitors might be drawn to the mysticism of the land. Most of the respondents interviewed (90 per cent) were of European origin and in most cases their expectations were exceeded. They enjoyed both the battlefields and the narratives. What was often mentioned as a negative aspect is that maintenance of, amongst others the tangible heritage assets, at Isandlwana and Rorke’s Drift could be improved. This includes the readability of inscriptions on the gravestones, the displays and interactive components in the museum and the matter of soil erosion. Interpretation of the battlefields by visitors can also be influenced by the representation of the subject groups. Most of the visitors (70 per cent) thought that the Zulu memorial at Isandlwana is well executed and suitable. The majority of visitors, however, commented that Rorke’s Drift also needs a Zulu memorial in a more prominent spot, as visitors currently have to look very hard to find the Zulu gravestones. Dissonant heritage is created as a result of unbalanced tangible narrative.

7.3.1.2 *Zulu perspective*

From a research point of view it was difficult to find Zulu visitors to the battlefields; the percentage of visitors is still small. However, in order to include this important group in the study, accounts from Zulu staff around the battlefields have been included and one perspective has been taken from the Rorke’s Drift VC web page (Mthewtha, 2002). These respondents have all personally visited the battlefields and have formed an opinion about the new developments. It can be argued, however, that as most of these people work in the tourism industry they have a more balanced opinion. However, to overcome this possible weakness, questions were asked on the opinion of family members.

Through e-mail communication the perspective of a Zulu male, Mr. Mthethwa, was added to the visitors' perspectives. Mthethwa claims to be disappointed with the set-up at Isandlwana. When he visited the battlefield in 2002, the British Union Jack flag was flying solo among three flagless masts; he had to use a toilet which had no running water and the Zulu memorial bore no names or explanations as to what it stood for. "I, one of the children of Isandlwana left Isandlwana disappointed and proceeded to Rorke's Drift" (Mthethwa, 2002). While progressing to Rorke's Drift, Mthethwa was disappointed because the Buffalo River was still sign-posted with a colonial name that had not been changed to Umzinyathi River, even to this day. When he arrived at Rorke's Drift, he realised that the museum there is well organised, that they have running water, a state-of-the-art computer with clearly defined defence lines and a battlefield plan with audio-visual assimilation material (Mthethwa, 2002). However, Mthethwa's disappointment mounted when he realised that there is still no proper memorial dignifying the death of the Zulus at Rorke's Drift. Mthethwa (2002) ends his commentary about the battlefields with the remark:

"May the 'Spirit of Isandlwana' guide the 'Children of Isandlwana' in battles at hand; battles against poverty, illiteracy, disease, racism and battles for Black Economic Empowerment, prosperity, peace and the African Renaissance. But how will the "Spirit of Isandlwana" prevail if the honour and dignity of those who fell there is not properly restored?"

It must be noted that Mr. Mthethwa has not since 2002 visited the battlefields under question and has not witnessed the new Zulu memorial at Rorke's Drift. It seems that Zulu visitors who do not live in the area experience more dissonance with regard to the message content and interpretation than other visitors.

The awareness of Zulu people living and working around the battlefield area is much higher than a decade ago. Since Amafa took over the management of Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift, tourism has gained in importance and greater awareness of the battles. In the province's schools the children learn about the famous battle at Isandlwana, and because of increased awareness, people are very proud of their history today. However, the process of developing awareness is a long one. As previously mentioned, it is the old people who do not know much about the battles; and it is the young people who learn about it at school. The traditional storytelling or oral transmission of tribal stories has not

been evident, as children mostly learn about their history from school and not from home (Buthelezi, 2005a,b).

In general, the local community is very pleased with the Zulu memorials; they call it 'proper representation'. However, many people are not sure about the symbolism of the memorial. The importance is that there is 'something' for the Zulus on the battlefields. When asked whether they can identify with the memorials, many thoughtful moments of silence passed and the majority of the respondents (90 per cent) ended up saying that they could not do so. A small number of respondents could apparently identify with the memorials. Some other people suggested that they would like to see a memorial from the British to the Zulus to honour the first victory of a 'native' army. Apart from working there, most of the people did not appear to have an interest in the battlefields.

Based on what was gleaned from the limited number of respondents it can be argued that visitors who come to the battlefields with an interest and a motive are more affected by tangible representation than representatives who live in close proximity to the battlefields. This conclusion can however not be generalized for all visitors or all people living in the area.

7.3.2 The role of the tourist guide - intangible aspect

A tourist guide is an important component of the tourism product. He/she constitutes a strategic factor in representing an area, in influencing the quality of the tourist experience, the length of stay, and the resulting economic benefits for a local community (Dahles, 2002:783). Cohen (1985:10) describes a guide as a 'pathfinder' who provides access to an otherwise non-public territory, and a 'mentor' who serves as a guru to the visitor, or seeker, guiding him/her towards insight, enlightenment or another spiritual state. In general, the role of a guide is one of mediator (Dahles, 2002:786), providing mediation between the tour operator/agency and the tourists. The guide is portrayed as someone who builds bridges between different groups of people through the deployment of money, services, access and information (Gurung *et al.*, 1996). Cohen *et al.* (2002) also state that the modern, professional guide is more akin to a mentor, but at the same time provides mediation and interpretation.

The role of the mediator is not problem free. As Bras (in Dahles, 2002) points out, guides are not altruistic mediators by vocation. They also run small enterprises and therefore need to generate an income. Their knowledge of the local culture is not limited to facts, figures, and *couleur locale**; it also includes the art of building a network, of monopolising contacts, a familiarity with the operations of the tipping and commission system, a notion of trends in tourism and knowledge of the characteristics of tourists and their countries of origin. All of this converges to make the encounter with tourists as profitable as possible for the guides themselves. Schmidt (1979:53) compares guides to a shaman who ‘...must translate the unfamiliar’. Guides are therefore supposed to not only know the culture that they are interpreting well, but to also ‘...understand the tourists visiting from another culture’. Guides have the ability to change their narrative content, penetrate different layers of the narrative, according to the needs of the visitor group. Therefore they can ‘tune’ or manipulate the dissonance of a narrative according to the group. Guides are therefore not only mediators, but also important strategic intangible assets in heritage management.

7.3.2.1 Battlefield guides in South Africa

The Tourism, Hospitality & Sports Education & Training Authority (THETA) is a government body that is responsible for the training and assessment of guides in South Africa. Guides are registered with the provincial tourism department and they may only operate in the area in which they have been trained and for which they have been registered (THETA, 2002).

Guides can train to operate in the entire country (national guide) or in certain provinces (regional/provincial guide), or they can, to become a specialist, train for a certain attraction (site guide). The battlefield guides fall under the last category. These guides have attained the minimum qualifications in order to operate in a limited geographical area, for example, within the boundaries of the battlefields. Battlefield guides are specialist guides and deal largely with groups of people who already have a degree of knowledge.

* *Couleur locale* is French and means local colour, referring to the guide’s knowledge of a limited geographical area.

At this stage there are 37 battlefield guides registered with THETA (McFadden, 2005). Operating in a small geographical area and having highly specific knowledge, turns the guiding industry in a highly competitive environment at the battlefields.

As the tourism industry in South Africa prior to 1994 was largely dominated by whites, there are currently many white battlefield guides and only one Zulu guide. This imbalance of guides may cause some dissonance in the interpretation of a guide's story. One major challenge for the area is the headhunting²³ of good Zulu guides. However, the business community, represented by Pam McFadden of the Talana Museum in Dundee and David Rattray of Fugitives Drift Lodge are involved in a number of initiatives to involve Zulu people as guides in the tourism industry and are attempting to standardise the narrative through the Battlefield Guide Association (BGA). In order to become streamlined and to deliver a better service, the Battlefields Guide Association (BGA) is about to be registered with THETA (McFadden, 2005). This would assist in reaching certain objectives which include promoting and maintaining the highest standards for professional tour guiding; organising or arranging educational courses, lectures and excursions and distributing pertinent information to members, to promote, support or oppose any legislative or other measures which affect its members in order to protect their interest (BGA, 2005). This association can also assist in easing dissonance between guides and other parties with interest in the area.

The guide's fees range from R 500 per group (3-4 people) per day to R 700 per person per day. The rate appears to depend on the level of knowledge, continuous research activity, as well as the reputation of the guide. David Rattray, for example, asks one of the highest rates in the industry. His family has been involved in battlefield history for many generations and he has gained fame by lecturing on South African battlefield history abroad. His narratives have also been recorded on tape cassettes and CDs. Rattray's narrative of the Zulu account is reputed for its balance and detailed information (In-depths interview with visitors, 2005).

As military history does not draw large numbers of visitors, many of the guides work on a part time basis. Most of the current guides operating in the area are self-employed and do

²³ Headhunting is the practice of trying to attract people in senior positions or specialist fields away from their present jobs to work for one's own or a client's company (Allwords, n.d.).

not engage in guiding as their main business. Many of them own a tourism-related business in addition, such as accommodation facilities or a restaurant. It can therefore be argued that the guiding business is not money, but passion-orientated, with history and its interpretation standing in the foreground. To establish a professional status for themselves, military history guides need passion and an extensive body of knowledge. The transfer of information of battlefield guides takes on an almost academic character. They also have to keep up-to-date with new publications and engage in research on new information about the events concerning and on the battles (McFadden, 2005). Evan Jones (2005) states that military history guiding is the most mentally demanding form of guiding. The guides have to know the narratives very well because if they do not, people query them. A lot of people are very well-read and the guide has to be on his/her toes. Military history is constantly being re-interpreted and the guide is therefore a lifelong researcher in the field.

7.3.2.2 *Narrative of battlefield guides*

It is beyond the scope of this study to analyse the guides' narratives about the battlefields of Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift. Several accounts and interviews have however been looked at in detail, which enables the researcher to comment on the performance of tourist guides in the area.

More than 70 per cent of visitors interviewed commented on the fact that the battlefield guides' narratives were balanced. With many respondents having a good understanding of the two battles, it is interesting to note that they were both impressed and influenced by their guide. In fact, they were influenced to such an extent that they did not notice the imbalance of tangible memorials on the battlefields. When asked whether they were aware of such an imbalance the respondents often seemed overwhelmed and did not have an answer (many respondents from the UK behaved in this way). South African visitors had mostly done some reading beforehand and could therefore observe an imbalance. Visitors who had taken a self-guided tour were more aware of the imbalance in tangible memorials, as that was the only 'narrative' they had. They did not have access to the intangible part, which the guide would have provided.

It can be argued that the battlefield guides have the ability to rectify the tangible imbalance of the subject groups by means of relating an intangible narrative. Many of the 37 guides try to do this, though not all of them have this intention or ability. One lodge owner, who wishes to remain anonymous, made the following comment; “Satisfaction of visitors depends on how the guide was handling the day. Guides from Dundee still behave like they are colonialists, never mind [supporters of] apartheid!”

7.3.3 Conclusion for visitor groups

Tangible and intangible heritage are creating a balance that is important for the management of dissonance on the battlefields. Figure 7.8 visually attempts to show the relation between the different heritage interpretations – tangible and intangible. Every coloured block shows a tangible unit that represents one of the subject groups. The green blocks represent the British and the yellow blocks represent the Zulus. The dotted colourless blocks illustrate the intangible heritage. The degree of dissonance is shown in a temporal context and is measured from the dotted line at each top. The graph shows that since the intangible interpretation of heritage has been added, dissonance has decreased (degree of dissonance). This is especially the case for visitor groups who choose to go on a guided tour. The guides’ narratives can be assumed to add and balance the missing part in tangible features.

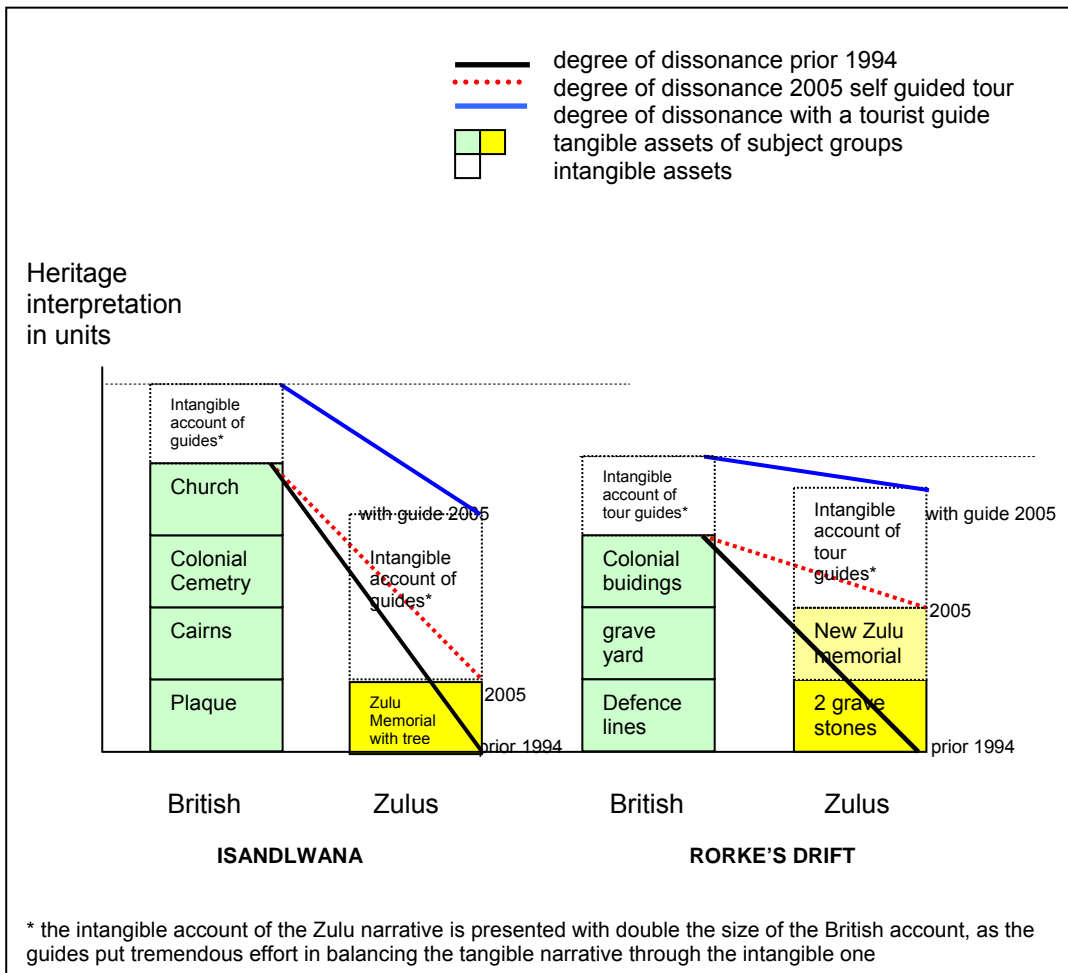


Figure 7.8: Visual display of dissonance (tangible and intangible aspects)

It is equally important to note the differences in levels of dissonance between Rorke's Drift and Isandlwana. The illustration shows that Isandlwana in general, experiences more dissonance than Rorke's Drift. The reason for this can be found in the actions of the governments of KwaZulu and Natal before the province was amalgamated. Natal used to be under British rule and the British have a tradition of commemoration and gravestones. This tradition possibly influenced the setting up of Zulu mass gravestones at Rorke's Drift in 1979 under the apartheid regime. Dissonance could therefore not subsequently increase as it did at Isandlwana where there was no memorial to the Zulu dead. The tangible memorial to the Zulus is evidently present, although the significance of meaning of these Zulu gravestones is not as clear to the Zulu people as it is to the British.

Since the number of visitors to the battlefields has increased over the past ten years, their lobbying power regarding the battlefields has also increased. It is often the visitors who inquire why there is no memorial to the Zulu dead at Rorke's Drift, for instance, and this puts pressure on management to give to the visitors what they want. If this is the case, the following question can be asked: to what extent are the battlefields 'window dressed' or memorials 'created' with the aim of doing away with the old regime's legacy as soon as possible and of portraying a new reconciled image for the sake of the visitors.

The Anglo-Zulu battlefields are currently making an effort to compromise and to fulfil the desires of different cultures. Rattray (2005) argues that South Africans are quite good these days at being all accommodating, taking everyone into account and trying to solve as much dissonance as possible. For instance, the statue of Queen Victoria²⁴ in Pietermaritzburg was not taken down; instead the queen will be joined by a statue of Cetshwayo²⁵. Thus, two people who went to war with each other will be standing side by side. The same approach has been taken in Durban regarding the statue of Louis Botha²⁶. Instead of taking down the statue, Botha will now be joined by Dinizulu²⁷. Other examples are the construction of Freedom Park next to the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria.

7.4 STAKEHOLDER GROUP: OWNERS/CONTROLLERS

The purpose of this section is to develop an understanding of the relationships between the owner/controllers of the battlefields and the host community. The provincial government owns the battlefields whereas Amafa Heritage Council controls the battlefields. It has been observed that Amafa and the host community have a certain

²⁴ Victoria (1819-1901) was the queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland from the 20 June 1837 until her death. The reign of Victoria was marked by a great expansion of the British Empire (Wikipedia, n.d.).

²⁵ Cetshwayo kaMpande (1826-1884) was the king of the Zulu nation from 1872 to 1879 and its leader during the Anglo-Zulu War (Wikipedia, n.d.).

²⁶ Louis Botha (1862-1919) was an Afrikaner and first Prime Minister of the modern South African state, which was then called the Union of South Africa. His first act as prime minister of South Africa in 1910 was to release King Dinizulu from St. Helena, which was seen as an act of reconciliation by the white people, especially the Afrikaners (Wikipedia, n.d.).

²⁷ DiniZulu succeeded his father Cetshwayo, and fought side by side with General Botha against the British at the Battle of Keats Drift (SABC News, 2005a).

relationship with certain overlaps so that they can be combined into a single entity, similar to the case of the subject and visitor groups for purposes of this study.

Amafa plays a prominent role in heritage development in KwaZulu-Natal and has a special responsibility towards the stakeholders of the battlefields. As Amafa's role has changed over time, the impact of this change has also been significant on the host community. Towards the end of this chapter, the dissonance present in the relationship between these groups will become evident.

7.4.1 Amafa – politically imposed power

Amafa as a heritage organisation was introduced in chapter five (par. 2.3). The Council of Amafa is responsible for the promotion and coordination of heritage in KwaZulu-Natal and is appointed and operated by government legislation. Amafa is a successful organisation with a strong legal background and has grown from being a little monuments commission (1979) and monuments council (1989), to becoming the Provincial Heritage Council of KwaZulu-Natal (1998). Amafa has constantly increased and has taken on more responsibilities, without an increase in budget (Amafa, 2004b). Nonetheless, the organisation has used its limited resources to address imbalances in heritage conservation, often making use of external grants and donations (Marshall, 2005). When it was formed, Amafa was under the Department of Education and Culture which provided it with a grant. In 2004 a new provincial government was elected which created a separate body for Arts, Culture and Tourism. Amafa consequently fell under this department, but only for a short period. The Premier of KwaZulu-Natal soon decided that Amafa should be transferred to the Office of the Premier. Ndebele (2005), the Premier of KwaZulu Natal, emphasises:

“Our heritage and its place in our social and economic lives is an enduring symbol of KwaZulu-Natal. To ensure that this matter is addressed as a central priority of our government, I have moved this responsibility and the public entity, ‘Amafa aKwaZulu’, to the Office of the Premier”.

The Premier of KwaZulu-Natal personally oversees the heritage situation in the province. The future of KwaZulu-Natal's heritage has thus been substantially improved by this transfer to the highest level of commitment to heritage conservation (Marshall, 2005). With the transfer, the budget for Amafa has increased and the value of heritage in the province has also been promoted.

Amafa's head-quarters are in Ulundi and 111 people are employed by this multi-racial organisation (Marshall, 2005). The staff employed on the battlefields consists mostly of Zulu people and employees have a good working relationship with Amafa and the visitors. Most of them are very happy in their job which is also important information to unveil to tourists. The service by the staff was described as friendly by the visitors interviewed. Those employees who are not satisfied with their job gave reasons such as too much work, low salary and no challenges. None of the employees felt any form of tension or resentment towards white visitors from abroad or from white South Africans.

Judging from the above it can be stated that Amafa has gained a considerable amount of politically imposed clout amongst the stakeholders. This development is able to change the balance of power between the stakeholders in the battlefield area, as regulations and measures of control are being put into place.

7.4.2 Amafa's power relationships

Research prior to the change in power of Amafa in 2005 shows, that Amafa has up to now had different relationships with different stakeholders. Two very distinctive relationships are the liaisons it has had with the business community, which refers to the tourism industry; and those it has had with largely economically disadvantaged local host communities adjacent to the battlefield areas. A tense relationship between Amafa and the business community has been observed. This arises from the dichotomy of development and conservation, which is tourism management versus cultural heritage management. The link with the local communities can be compared to a father/child or leader/follower relationship, and tensions are less likely to develop, as the stakeholders do not see each other as equals.

7.4.2.1 *Amafa and the business community*

Through its increased power, Amafa has emerged as a dominant stakeholder, which is led by a strong-minded director, which leads to the arguable disempowerment of other stakeholders, and that can result in feelings of resentment and distrust.

Lowenthal (1998) raises this issue when he observes that cultural heritage managers can sometimes take their stewardship of assets so seriously that they become overly possessive or selfish in their treatment of such assets when challenged by other stakeholders whose requirements will differ or ultimately overlap. In addition to a power shift, strong individuals in either tourism or heritage can cause dissonance or tension to increase.

The history of cultural heritage management, especially of a mature tourism destination, has been one of trying to reassert cultural heritage management as the dominant stakeholder and in doing so to reduce visitor numbers in order to preserve a heritage site (McKerchner & du Cros, 2002). Political attitude can influence this process. In South Africa, at provincial level, KwaZulu-Natal is currently emphasising the heritage theme. In contrast, at national level, tourism has been declared one of the major economic growth contributors to the GDP (SABC News, 2005b). Therefore, two different tendencies are observed in one country. South Africa is not yet a mature tourism destination; hence the focus at national level is to increase the numbers of visitors. At provincial level, however, KwaZulu-Natal strongly focuses on heritage management.

In the interview with Marshall (2005), a certain negative attitude came across towards tourism stakeholders. This was presented in the remarks about lodge owners, battle re-enactment and economic distribution in the battlefield area. The remarks in the interview also indicate that Amafa is more sympathetic to the needs of the local community than to those of the business community. Marshall (2005) states: “The guys who made the biggest contribution [local communities] are not getting the lion share and its going elsewhere [business community] but we are doing our best to turn that around”. An economic spin off was one of the results that Amafa promised local communities when they signed their land away. Hence, Amafa might be pressured to deliver on its promises.

Amafa believes that the white tour operators and business owners are succeeding in their businesses, but that the Zulu operators and the communities have not benefited from the same kind of success. To rectify the economic imbalance in the area, Amafa has initiated and developed Isandlwana Lodge, signed a memorandum with TKZN and is planning future developments for Rorke's Drift, including assisting the local communities in building a cultural village.

7.4.2.2 *Amafa and the local communities*

Amafa appears to have a father/child or leader/follower relationship with the rural communities. This metaphor implies that one party is stronger than the other or that there is a system of subordinates and principals. Using the metaphor of father and child the prime feelings would be admiration and obedience, but also opposition and anger which could lead to hostility and dissonance. The communities around the battlefields went through a stage of fear before they accepted Amafa as the new stakeholder.

The rural communities now perceive Amafa as their saviour or giver of opportunities. Amafa is very well established with the Mangwe Buthanani tribe at Isandlwana. Good communication and good relationships are maintained, with concerted efforts to keep the community content. Some economic spin-offs followed by charity initiatives have increased the potential of the region. Over time, fear and resentment have made place for trust and cooperation. Despite these positive developments, not every community feels the same. Rattray (2005) argues that in the community at Rorke's Drift is rather hostile towards Amafa because of various decisions that were made, such as that of erecting fences around the battlefields.

In 2004 the Mangwe Buthanani community at Isandlwana took the initiative to build their own cultural village adjacent to the battlefields. Their role (metaphor) thus changed from that of a child to that of a young adult who forms his/her own ideas. This grassroots initiative was taken without agreement from Amafa, and Amafa stopped the project. However, the plans for the cultural village are currently being reassessed and orchestrated by Amafa. Amafa is currently showing the community how to properly execute such a project and is going to choose a new location for the cultural village. There has thus been

a move from a grassroots initiative to a project developed in partnership with another stakeholder and no resentment or dissonance has been observed in the community. The community sees Amafa as their helper and executer of better ideas with better resources.

7.4.3 Conclusion to owners/controllers

Amafa, as the Provincial Heritage Council has thus gained considerably more power than all the other stakeholders. As a result of its increased power, the relationship with one of the local communities has changed to become a partnership, while the relationship with the business community has changed into one of conflict. Amafa gives the local communities a voice and an opportunity; they now have the chance to reap benefits from tourism. The local community's well-established partnership with Amafa also gives it access to knowledge and financial resources.

7.5 STAKEHOLDER GROUP: HOST COMMUNITIES

The analysis of the host communities is divided into two main paragraphs. One of the paragraphs looks at the business community that comprises the 'white-owned' businesses that are mostly situated in small towns adjacent to the battlefields; while the other one focuses on the local adjacent communities, which comprise the local Zulu settlements.

7.5.1 Local community

In geographic or spatial terms, human settlements in close proximity to a given heritage site could be considered as comprising the community (Joppe, 1996). In this study, the lowest level of administration is defined as the local community that is under the control of local administrative levels and tribal law. The local community includes the loose settlements adjacent and close to the battlefields. This area is huge as the Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift battlefields are 30 kilometres apart. Before Amafa managed the

battlefields, northern KwaZulu-Natal was often described as an economically deprived area with little or no economic opportunities. According to Marshall (2005), people there were literally starving. The battlefield itself was also in a state of deterioration.

When Amafa first moved into the area, people in the community were fearful and sceptical. Elizabeth D'lamini (2005) secretary to the Inkosi (Chief) of the Mangwe Buthanani tribe points out that one of the fears was that the people would be evicted from their land once a game reserve was created. This fear originates from the apartheid era when forced removals²⁸ were effected to create separate living areas for different ethnic groups. It took the community a long time to understand the intentions of Amafa and to trust the heritage council. With time and tangible results, cooperation with Amafa has increased. For example, Amafa relocated an entire school from the foot of Isandlwana Mountain to a different location, renovated and enlarged it. It also relocated a shop without the owner experiencing any financial drawbacks. A road was also built between Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift which improved peoples' access to resources (i.e. schools, shops, water). In general, the community needed a lot of reassurance that it would not be misused by Amafa.

Negotiations both between the tribal authorities and Amafa and among members of the tribe have proved to be difficult and tensed. Some people did not agree that the land should be given to Amafa. Marshall (2005) recalls that the negotiations were involved and difficult and that during the process two Amakosi²⁹ were assassinated. It is questionable whether the decision to lease the land was as voluntary it appears. The outcome of the negotiations was that the Mangwe Buthanani people receive 25 per cent of the entrance fees to the battlefields from Amafa and that in return Amafa is allowed to lease the battlefield land from the community.

The community at Rorke's Drift is not in the same fortunate position as bureaucracy complicates decision-making. There is a lot of tension due the involvement of three stakeholders, i.e. the church (ELC), Amafa and the community. Although the land at

²⁸ During apartheid, some 3.5-million people were forcibly removed to other areas over from their homes under the Group Areas Act and other laws in a space of a few decades (Manby & Fellow, 1993).

²⁹ In the context of 1879, Amakosi are chiefs of the Zulu nation (Lock & Quantrill, 2002).

Rorke's Drift is currently being leased by Amafa no provision is made for the community to receive any benefits from this lease.

It is important to realise that during this period, when Amafa first moved into the area, Zulu heritage was not a major consideration for the Zulu people. Issues, such as poverty, illiteracy, disease and racism, and the issue of Black Economic Empowerment and concern for prosperity and peace stood in the foreground. The result was that the concern about an unbalanced narrative did not bother the Zulu community. The manager of the ELC arts and crafts centre puts it this way: "the dilemma derives from the way of thinking. The Zulus are used to suffering, therefore they ignore everything around them and they make sure that they can cover the essentials of the day". When Amafa took over, awareness about the battles increased and the issue of a balanced narrative became more important. It is since 1998 that economically better positioned Zulus such as the current Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini³⁰ and Mangosuthu Buthelezi³¹ have initiated the discussion about dissonance on the battlefields and what can be done to rectify it.

7.5.1.1 Local community and its relationship with other stakeholders

The local community in general, respects Amafa for what they have done. However, when promises are not delivered, the community still expresses dissatisfaction. For instance, initially, when there was no substantial economic spin-off, criticism arose and the community started questioning whether it had been the correct decision to give its land away. Occasionally the village youth express bursts of anger by throwing stones at tourists, but such incidents are rare. Children are now educated in school, about tourism and the impact their behaviour can have on the industry (Jones, 2005).

Amafa, together with the support from the business community, did deliver on its promises to the surrounding communities to a certain extent. In fact, Amafa is the biggest employment provider in the area. Also, with Amafa's assistance the communities have received foreign investment – a lodge was built at Isandlwana by two American ladies and accommodation was added at Rorke's Drift. During the construction of Isandlwana Lodge

³⁰ King of the KwaZulu Tribal authority.

³¹ Zulu Leader and founder of the Inkatha Freedom Party, 1975.

80 jobs were created and the lodge currently employs 18 people³². In addition cultural tours into the community now take place. Tourism generates charity which has become another facet of the economic spin-off in the area. While the community has not yet made a lot of money out of the situation, the benefits can be enhanced through charity. Isandlwana Lodge gives the visitors the opportunity to actively experience the local community through tours and involvement and charity and tourism have thus been turned into a combined concept, a concerted drive for action. Motivated by the lodges many charity and volunteer projects have been launched to help develop the community³³.

An important aspect is that Amafa seems to develop the battlefields together with the communities and not in isolation from them. For example, the communities are allowed to access the battlefields to sustain their livelihoods, to allow their cattle to graze and to collect firewood (at certain times of the year). D'lamini (2005) points out that the communal grazing land is sometimes badly managed and that the only areas which have a lot of grass are those of the battlefields.

“When we were young we didn't see large trees and long grasses [sic]. Once the Battlefield was fenced the grazing was under control [sic]. Wild Life Foundation have promised that the community would be allowed [to access the battlefields] when it's time to cut trees and bushes to clear the walking trails [sic]. There's a time in February when they give us one month to do that” (D'lamini, 2005).

The research shows that not much dissonance is experienced by the local community. When locals were asked whether they feel any resentment when seeing white people walk across their battlefields, more than 80 per cent of them answered that white tourists equal economic activity.

The development of the battlefields has brought some changes to the communities. Economic activity and upliftment have contributed to lowering the levels of dissonance with regard to other stakeholder groups. The image of the 'bad white man' has been replaced

³² The local tribal trust gets 3 per cent of the gross turnover and can own up to 10 per cent of the lodge - money goes into the trust to be used for schools and clinics, in order to benefit the entire community (Stubbs, 2005).

³³ Examples are a mobile dental clinic, a new soccer field which was donated by the University of Swansea, a box of pencils which came from an American couple, as well as the adoption of two children by an American couple (Stubbs, 2005).

by that of a white man who brings money, employment and charity. This view is echoed by Ashworth (2004) who studies 'apartheid tourism'; He suggests that locals welcome the income more than they resent the intrusion. The question can be asked: to which extent does the economic situation have an impact on reconciliation? Does dissonance appear when economic upliftment does not take place?

7.5.2 Business community

The business community consists of mostly white people who have lived and worked in the battlefield area for a significant amount of time. Most of them have capitalised on the tourism business that has been attracting large numbers of visitors since the start of the development of the battlefield route. In general the business community is organised and members have good levels of cooperation and understanding. Many meetings are held and attended. Amafa is also represented at these meetings and a considerable amount of tension and anger is addressed towards it as Heritage Council. During the interviews with the business community, many remarks and comments were made to express anger, frustration and tension towards the management and leadership of Amafa. Amafa seems to have strong leadership, and ideas that do not blend in with its convictions are not accepted. For example, a hot air balloon was about to be launched at Isandlwana to fly over to Rorke's Drift. Permission was asked from Amafa, but was refused (Jones, 2005).

7.5.2.1 *Business community and its relationship with other stakeholders*

The business community and Amafa have a competitive relationship, charged with tensions. Since Amafa has taken over, problems with access have arisen especially at Rorke's Drift. Fences have been put up for security reasons and access has been controlled by Amafa. A key to the private gate is kept by the church, which allows local people to use it. People have been asked to use the main gate, park in the area provided and take the very short walk to the battle site (Natal Witness Reporter, 2002). This means that tour guides, operators and re-enactment groups are restricted in their movements and businesses. These new restrictions to access were apparently not well-received by some members of the well-settled business community (Citizen, 2002): "The KwaZulu-Natal

Heritage Council last week laid charges of malicious damage to property, allegedly involving two tour operators”. This follows an incidence in which a padlock on a gate to the Rorke’s Drift battle site was cut open with a bolt-cutter. In order for Amafa to manage the battlefields holistically, respected people in the business community have had to concede defeat, something not all of them are happy about.

Another pressing issue for the business community is the entrance fees that have been raised by Amafa to pay for the guides. Many guides do not agree with this regulation. Additionally, although meetings between the business community and Amafa take place, communication between the two stakeholder groups is not well established. Changes are often made to the battlefields and guides and tour operators are not informed about this. There is thus a lack of communication and partnership between Amafa and the business community with rising disharmony and dissonance.

In contrast, the business community is very involved in the economic upliftment of the rural communities. Charity, cooperation and employment are aspects most businesses pay attention to. Dissonance is thus low between the local communities and the business community.

7.5.3 Conclusion for host communities

The visitor groups and subject groups form an entity; in the same way the host community and owners/controllers can be grouped together. Amafa is a very strong stakeholder in the force field of the battlefields and due to its increased power in relation to the other stakeholders; a tense relationship has developed with the business community. This relationship is mostly characterised by distrust, anger, irritation and frustration. Multi-use and commercialisation have led to the rise of dissonance between owners/controllers and the business community, especially regarding the issue of preservation of the area versus commercial use. It can also be observed, however, that tension is slightly decreasing, as all players know who is currently leading the force field i.e. business owners. Changes always bring tension that will fade with passing time when groups settle down again.

Rattray (2005) notes: “So, I’m not really in the fighting mood now, I have been in the past, quite acrimonious stuff but now I’ve got bigger and better things now” (see figure 7.9).

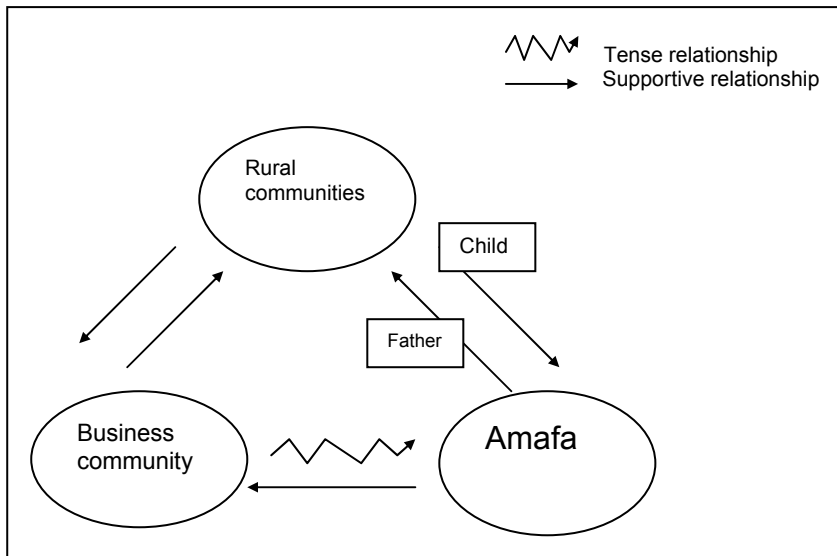


Figure 7.9: Relationship model between the three stakeholder groups

The rural communities on the other hand are delighted by the changes in the force field due to the increased power of Amafa, as they are reaping more economic benefits from the battlefields. Economic upliftment, access to grazing fields, more employment, charity and awareness have turned things around for the rural community. The current relationship can be described as a father/son, leader/follower relationship. This specific relationship leads to a greater deal of communication and awareness building, compared to a relationship where both partners have an equal say, as is the case with the business community.

7.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter analyses the sources of dissonance among the four stakeholder groups – subject groups, visitors, owners/controllers and the host community in detail. The analysis shows that some groups have higher levels of interaction and dissonance than others.

Dissonance is still apparent when it comes to the subject groups as far as tangible heritage assets are concerned. A tremendous effort is however being made by all stakeholder groups to balance this out. Guides especially are trying to compensate for the imbalance of the tangible heritage assets by means of telling balanced narratives about the battlefields. Therefore dissonance in the subject and visitor groups is relatively low. Dissonance in the business community, which forms part of the host community, is relatively high. The local communities, also part of the host community, hardly show dissonance. The owners/controllers do not experience dissonance either, having entered the force field only recently and having caused a shift in the balance of power. In general, the force field of the battlefields is quite peaceful which goes against the initial expectations of the research. The next chapter looks at the implications of this study for the management of the area.

8 CHAPTER: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This dissertation evaluates dissonance at the Thanatourism attraction at the Anglo-Zulu battlefields, with special reference to Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift in northern KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. The central question throughout this work is how dissonance can be reduced at South Africa's Thanatourism heritage sites. In order to address the research question, the concepts of heritage management, Thanatourism and dissonance management have been explored. The literature review has revealed that dissonance is intrinsic to heritage and though it can never be resolved, it can be reduced. Moreover, dissonance is often greater at Thanatourism attractions than at other heritage attractions. In addition, the colonial history in South Africa has reinforced a cultural polarisation between the 'colonisers' values and the indigenous people's values. Also, the apartheid period in South Africa has meant that existing differences in economic well-being between different racial groups were exacerbated. The combined issues of cultural heritage, Thanatourism, colonialism and apartheid would suggest that a large degree of dissonance should exist in South Africa.

The historical background is important in order to understand the complexity and myths surrounding the significant battles of Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift. The overview of South Africa's heritage policies shows that South Africa has always been involved in conserving national heritage. Due to land distribution in the apartheid regime, a disparity of development at heritage attractions is observed. After the change in government in 1994, implementers of heritage legislation have engaged in active maintenance of the country's diverse cultural heritage to try and accommodate all parties involved. KwaZulu-Natal was one of the first provinces that created successful provincial heritage legislation and that perceived heritage as a priority and still does.

The investigation of the development of Battlefield Tourism in northern KwaZulu-Natal shows that tourism is a major contributor to economic upliftment in the area. Given the

increasing visitor numbers and increased awareness of heritage, the battlefields are important for product development as they are the motivator to add on other tourism products. The battlefields also contribute to effective multi-cultural, inclusive heritage management. Based on the above it is important that battlefield attractions are managed in a way that considers dissonance and aims to minimise it.

The overall picture of the situation in the battlefield area has been established through literature, statistics about tourism and interviews with key representatives of the tourism industry and local authorities. Quantitative analysis was done in order to analyse relevant visitor statistics and to establish the tourism volume in the battlefield area. The lack of consistency of the available data made it difficult to establish a detailed picture regarding tourism. The qualitative approach is the major research approach in this study. This was chosen as it allows the respondents sampled in the study to 'speak for themselves', discuss topics which they find important and to generate new topics. An ethnographic approach was chosen because of the flexible and sensitive stance that this method employs.

The researcher spent two weeks in the battlefield area to gather information about the four stakeholder groups (subject groups, visitor groups, owners/controllers, the host community) drawn from the Heritage Force Field Model by Seaton (2001). These groups were sampled using nonprobability convenience and purposive sampling methods. The data collection procedures included in-depth interviews, telephone interviews, unobtrusive observations and document analysis. Different data collection techniques were applied to different representatives of the stakeholder groups. Several key issues are discussed in this study, arising from an analysis of the interviewees' comments. The transcribed text data was coded in order to make analytic sense of the data. Given the fact that there are limited studies on dissonant heritage in battlefield areas in South Africa, this is a preliminary study focusing on a particular case study. As such the findings will contribute to the overall discussion about conceptual frameworks for Thanatourism and dissonance, as well as help make suggestions for future research in this area.

Despite the cultural gap between the Zulus and the white settler community, the analysis of the Anglo-Zulu battlefields indicates that dissonance has been successfully managed to

a certain extent. The stakeholder analysis identifies four key issues which have led to the mediation of dissonance. These include the prioritisation of heritage on a provincial level, tour guide performance, increasing economic prosperity and participation of the local community.

8.2 FINDINGS FROM THE FIELDWORK

Seaton's (2001) Heritage Force Field Model suggests (Figure 3.1, p. 40) that heritage development and dissonance is shaped by the change of power and time amongst four different stakeholder groups – owners/controllers, the host community, subject groups and visitor groups.

8.2.1 Stakeholder group: subject groups

The main outcome for the investigation of the subject groups is that major dissonance exists in tangible heritage. There are more tangible heritage assets commemorating the British soldiers than there are remembering the Zulu warriors. The situation is slightly better at Rorke's Drift. Apart from the imbalance in the number of memorials, dissonance is created through the location of memorials, the size of gravestones and the levels of their maintenance. On the other hand, tension is decreased through the participatory approach of the community in the establishment of new memorials. Also, the guides' intangible balanced narratives help to mediate the dissonance associated with the tangible heritage. This information has substantial major implications for guiding management decisions on the battlefields in future. In addition, the subject groups, especially the Zulus will gain more influence (power) in the future, as battlefield awareness grows. With a growing awareness the former inequality of interpretation could even boost the interpretation from the Zulu perspective.

8.2.2 Stakeholder group: visitor groups

As the number of visitors to the battlefields has increased over the past ten years, their lobbying power has also increased. Other important issues include the findings that European visitors to the battlefields in general are often unaware of dissonance, but that Zulu visitors experience dissonance, especially at Isandlwana. Whether or not visitors experience an imbalance also depends on how much literature they read about the battles before coming to the battlefields. Focusing on the change of power and time, one can assume that as time passes and awareness increases, the Zulu visitors will gain more power in the heritage development process. More than 80 per cent of visitors go on a guided tour; therefore the guide becomes the most important mediator of the past and the present. They decide how deep they want to penetrate the 'layer of meanings'. The guides at the battlefields provide a narrative which has the power to reconcile between intangible and tangible heritage. In the future, guides need to pay more attention to management aspects, as their jobs are vital to lower the dissonance level on the battlefields. A cooperative management approach is needed between the guides and tourism organisations, as well as heritage organisations in order for a holistic management approach promoting harmony and understanding amongst South Africans.

8.2.3 Stakeholder group: owners/controllers

Amafa is a strong stakeholder in the heritage force field. The Heritage Council has improved its power by changing government departments and gaining more political and financial support. There is a conflict between Amafa and the business community, arising from the issue of preservation versus commercialisation. Amafa and the local host communities are not in conflict. On the contrary, Amafa gives the local communities an opportunity to economically develop the battlefield area. The local communities are in a well-established relationship with Amafa, which gives them economic and knowledge resources. Isandlwana is in a slightly better position with regard to Amafa than Rorke's Drift, due to the complicated land usage regulations. Over time Amafa has gained substantial power over the local communities.

8.2.4 Stakeholder group: host community

Different groups in the host community have reacted differently to changes on the battlefields. In general, the local communities have experienced positive results from the heritage process. Their economic situation, livelihood and employment have improved as they now receive financial support from charity initiatives. Dissonance is thus eased by economic factors. The business community has reacted to the change of power with anger as they now have to adhere to new regulations. The conflict between Amafa and the business community centres on the question of preservation versus commercialisation. Dissonance has also arisen due to multi-use of the battlefield area. However, it is observed that tensions are decreasing slightly as the force field is currently settling down after it was stirred by key players. The dissonance could be reduced in future through a cooperative partnership approach between tourism and heritage that could eventually result in a holistic management approach of the battlefields.

8.2.5 Overall outcome

Overall, the level of dissonance is far lower than expected prior to the research. However, in certain stakeholder groups, dissonance occurs where it was least expected. For instance, more dissonance was expected in the local host communities than in the business communities. This is unlike most other former settler-native relationships. Table 8.1 demonstrates major issues which reduce or increase dissonance on the battlefields.

Table 8.1: Major issues of dissonance

	Aspects reducing dissonance	Aspects increasing dissonance
Subject groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Construction of new memorials - Participation of locals in all phases of the project - Location, maintenance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of memorials Zulus can relate to - Number of memorials
Visitors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Balanced narrative of guides 	
Owners/controllers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Priority of heritage issues increased due to restructuring of provincial government departments - Financial improvement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Politically imposed power
Host community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Economic upliftment of community - Increase of livelihood - Increase of charity initiatives - Participation of host community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Business community does not work in partnership with heritage management agency

The majority of the aspects are found in the 'reducing dissonance' category. The table also shows that aspects that increase dissonance do not weigh as heavily as those that decrease dissonance.

In summary, the results of the research are contrary to those anticipated in the research expectation, namely that a lot of dissonance was to be expected on the Anglo-Zulu battlefields of Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift. In general, KwaZulu-Natal has succeeded in readjusting its cultural heritage and reducing dissonance. A lot of effort has been put into balancing heritage between the subject groups and promoting an integrated and inclusive approach.

The results of this research on KwaZulu-Natal (Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift), are contrary to Tunbridge and Ashworth's findings of dissonant heritage in South Africa in 1996. They claim that heritage in South Africa is a black man's burden. According to them, most of the colonial heritage is highly dissonant to the majority of the population. They conclude:

“It is apparent however that successful capitalist’s quasi-western heritage creation is continuing in South Africa, not with standing that country’s economic plight. It is clear that this is also more or less dissonant with respect to the majority of the population and that this dissonance will have to be adjusted, and quickly” (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996:258).

One can conclude that with regard to the Anglo-Zulu battlefields of Isandlwana and Rorke’s Drift, dissonance has been successfully balanced contrary to Tunbridge and Ashworth’s findings of nine years ago.

8.3 POWER AND TIME RELATIONSHIP

Seaton (2001) points out that a heritage resource is not static. Through time, power and importance of stakeholders it is likely to change. Figure 8.2 illustrates the relation of time and power over the last 15 years for all the stakeholders.

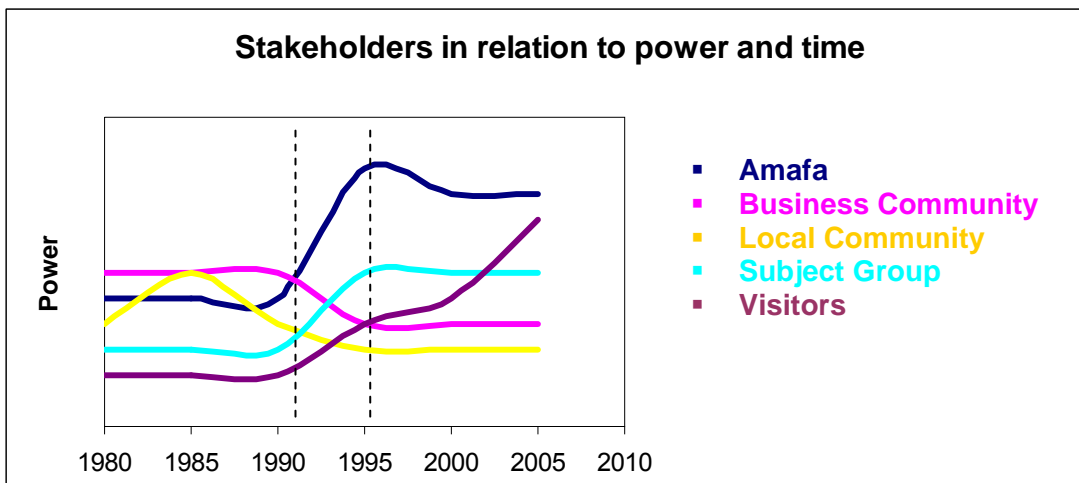


Figure 8.1: Power and time relationship

This figure indicates the change of power of all of the stakeholders over the past 15 years. Major changes for every stakeholder group took place between 1990 and 1995 which was the time of political restructuring in South Africa, when it was moving from apartheid to

democracy. Amafa, the subject groups and visitors gained power, whereby the business community and the local communities arguably lost power.

Amafa gained power subsequent to 1994 with the increased prioritisation of heritage in KwaZulu-Natal. This has had an impact on visitor groups, as cultural heritage visitors play an increased role in tourism in South Africa. These groups have the power to influence the interpretation of the battlefields. This has arguably contributed to the business community losing power, as they used to be the major controllers prior to 1994. This development is visible in the restriction of access to the battlefields and the disgruntled mood in the business community. The subject groups have gained more power compared to the time prior to 1994. The narratives of the main parties are being considered, interpreted and narrated to the visitors. The local communities have arguably lost power, as they have receded into a father/son relationship with Amafa. However, the local communities indirectly benefiting from the power structure on the battlefields, although this power is dependent on Amafa. Therefore, ultimately, the power issue can be seen as a shortcoming for the communities.

8.4 REVISITING THE FORCE FIELD MODEL

An analysis of the four stakeholder groups shows how they interact and which issues they have with each other. Most dissonance is identified between the subject groups and the visitors groups, as well as between the owners/controllers and the host community. On the continuum of dissonance, the Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift battlefields can be placed in the middle. However, Rorke's Drifts shows slightly less dissonance than Isandlwana (refer to figure 8.3) on the dissonance continuum.

Throughout the analysis it is apparent that Isandlwana shows more dissonance than Rorke's Drift. Isandlwana is a sacred place of heritage and important historically, as the British army was defeated for the first time by a native army. The foundation for dissonance is arguably wider at Isandlwana. The visual displays (refer to figure 7.7 and 7.8) also demonstrate the difference in dissonance. Another important factor which resulted in this observation is the location of the battlefields. Rorke's Drift is located in a

historically ‘white’ community; therefore heritage is familiar to the host. In contrast, Isandlwana is hosted in a historically Zulu community, who are unfamiliar with a predominantly still western heritage style.

Table 8.2: The battlefields placed on the continuum of the Force Field Model

Owners/Controllers	Amafa puts great effort into representing both narratives
Subject Groups	Presence of a narrative that does reflect both parties’ views
Location (Host)	Heritage is familiar to the ‘white’ community but still unfamiliar to the local Zulu community
Visitors	Both visitors from surrounding areas and from different nationalities, backgrounds and attitudes
<p>least controversial heritage development ←————→ most controversial heritage development</p> <p>less dissonance ←————→ more dissonance</p> <p style="text-align: center;"> X X Rorke’s Drift Isandlwana </p>	

The management strategy applied to both battlefield sites consists of reconciliation through reinterpretation. Reinterpretation has had a major impact on the image of the battlefields; it is done in a sensitive way that avoids contradiction in the narratives. This is unlike most other settler-native relationships (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996)³⁴. A major factor for reconciliation through reinterpretation is the importance of the guides as mediators. The guides have a strong influence on shaping the level of reconciliation. In future, if the guiding structure on the battlefields changes, dissonance could improve or worsen.

³⁴ In contrast, the deliberate policy of a reinterpretation of events has resulted in different interpretative positions at the battlefield of Blood River. This means that Blood River/Ncome Heritage site has seen more controversial heritage development, i.e. more dissonance.

The analysis has revealed that dissonance exists not only between stakeholders, but also within stakeholder groups. This can clearly be seen in the host community group which is divided into a business community and a local community. The business host community is divided by different attitudes towards the tourism aspect of the battlefields. This means that different groups of visitors experience the battlefields differently, depending on the tour guide they choose. Owners/controllers also have different motives and they have to follow their agenda. The diversity of the stakeholders makes it difficult to create a generic group in the predefined squares of the Heritage Force Field Model. The model should be adapted to incorporate this aspect, as it can not be generalised for all individuals in a stakeholder group. Key stakeholder groups as well display a diversity of opinions. It should be made clear that internal matters in a stakeholder group are also influenced by power and time. These issues have implications for the results of the dissertation. The following figure (figure 8.3) displays proposed alterations to the Heritage Force Field Model. The break up of the stakeholder groups in more squares indicates the diversity of stakeholders.

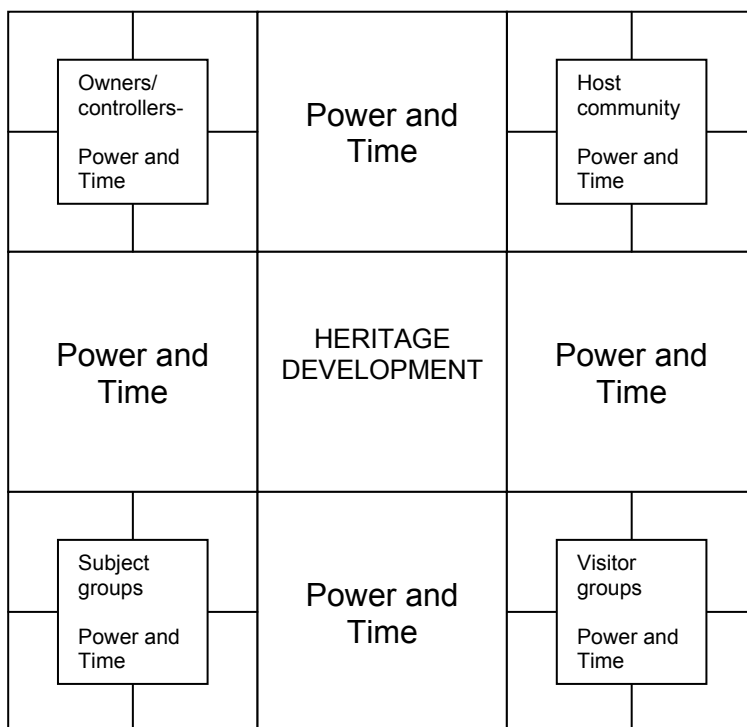


Figure 8.2: Alterations of the Force Field Model

8.5 MANAGEMENT RECOMMENDATIONS/IMPLICATIONS

Despite the unexpectedly positive outcomes of dissonance management on the battlefields, heritage management could nonetheless be improved and designed in a sustainable manner. KwaZulu-Natal could be a role model for other provinces in terms of managing heritage attractions and in particular Thanatourism attractions. Although this guidance should actually come from national level, KwaZulu-Natal is a pioneer in heritage management in South Africa closely followed by Western Cape Heritage.

The complexity of the dissonance topic cannot be denied. As Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996:263) point out: "...all is so complex, so difficult to understand let alone intervene in, that dissonance will inevitably occur, with probably disastrous consequences". As mentioned earlier there is an evident lack of awareness of the dissonance problem. Although there is not a large degree of dissonance at the battlefields, this is not the result of active dissonance management. This, however, is crucial to achieving sustainable cultural heritage.

It could be argued that non-management is acceptable since time will eventually erase contentions over heritage. Time is certainly an important factor, but as the graph shows above (figure 8.2), time can also increase dissonance with changes power between stakeholder groups. Hence, proactive management of the heritage attraction is needed to alleviate dissonance.

Recommendations for stakeholder groups:

As Amafa is the key managing legislative body for heritage it is the only organisation in the position to promote changes in order to achieve greater harmony. Its management should address and continue to intensively work on the following recommendations.

Amafa should:

- Create not only awareness of history and the past, but also create awareness of dissonance at heritage attractions
- Integrate the analysis of dissonance into the management process

- Monitor the occurrences of dissonance in each phase of the process to counteract certain developments early
- Make dissonance potential visible and comprehensible to all groups of heritage users involved. This may at least reduce the magnitude of dissonance
- Encourage closer dialogue between all the stakeholders of the battlefields
- Establish communication lines - monthly meetings should be set up as information forums, monthly news letters could be published to keep information flowing among all the stakeholders
- Form stronger and trusting partnerships between stakeholders
- Pay special attention to the guides, who play such an important role in the narrative of the battlefields, – the BGA is a good organisation to regulate the guiding environment
- Put more effort into the development of Zulu guides
- Realise the importance of innovation of intangible heritage management in the future
- Balance the subject group's memorials and make sure they are authentic
- Include little known, minor participants of the war in the tangible narrative, to attract more visitors to the region and to increase marketing
- Build a memorial to the Zulu dead that the Zulus can relate to – an Isivivane
- Motivate the British authorities to build a memorial for the Zulus at Isandlwana to recognise and honour them as the first native army who defeated the British

Amafa needs to put an appropriate management structure into place for all stakeholder groups to apply these recommendations. By doing so, a proactive and transparent approach can be followed by all stakeholder groups, not only Amafa, to work towards harmony at the battlefields.

8.6 IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study contributes to the field of heritage and battlefield studies in South Africa. The research provides insight into how to manage dissonance at battlefield sites and can contribute to the quality, authenticity and credibility of such attractions in South Africa. In addition, the study highlights the willingness of people to portray an image of progress and caring towards the new heritage of the country.

Moreover, the battlefields have substantial marketing value and could compete globally for 'best management practices' of such attractions. An ethnographic study such as this cannot be generalised to other heritage attractions in South Africa. However, other battlefield routes in South Africa can learn from the implications of dissonance at the Anglo-Zulu battlefield sites of Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift. As this is a preliminary study focussing on Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift, future research should consider addressing all Anglo-Zulu battlefields, inter-alia Ulundi.

Future research should be done on dissonance in Thanatourism attractions in different battlefield areas in South Africa. These could then contribute to the overall research into Thanatourism and dissonance analysis. These research results are limited to one area (Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift), and one war campaign (excluding Ulundi) in northern KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. As such, Battlefield Tourism needs to be studied further. Other studies could include the study of dissonance on other battlefields, where battles took place between different cultural groups, such as the Boer wars against the British and the Zulus. Other famous battlefields are Spioenskop, Majuba and Ulundi in KwaZulu-Natal. The aspect of comparison of levels of dissonance between cultural groups would then become more interesting.

Furthermore, in order to gain more insight into the guiding industry on the battlefields, a study could be designed to understand the interpretative narrative of the guides and its implications. Dissonance analysis is applicable to other cultural heritage products, as well as museums and guided tours. With more studies on dissonance in heritage, South Africa as a country could be placed on the global dissonance continuum so as to assess the level of dissonance and the level of awareness and management needed to curb this.

The relatively low level of dissonance that was identified in this study of KwaZulu-Natal battlefields is a worthy contribution which other heritage attractions in South Africa can be inspired by.

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APPENDIX A

Pearce (2000) Model on Cultural Clash

Activities, interactions, and emergent tensions relating to the construction of heritage at various scales of social organization (Pearce, 2000)

Scale \ Activity	Tensions	History	Nature (i.e., view and use of land and its raw materials)	Material culture	Beliefs (religious/political/ideological, etc.)	Direct political/economic pressure	Mode of self-conscious cultural reproduction
Individual	Conflict between Us and Other (racial, cultural, religious)	Desire to preserve memories; selective autobiography	Competition to secure appropriate share	Individual tastes; clothes; possessions; souvenirs; psychology of shopping	Personal beliefs	Individual compromises	Chosen attitudes of conformity and rebellion
Family	Human fallibility (greed, voyeurism, callousness, nostalgia, etc.)	Desire to preserve family memories, create family histories	Production and consumption practices seen as "appropriate"	Choice of domestic interiors; clothes; heirlooms; shopping practices	Nature of family tradition	Aspirations to improve status, often seen in technological terms	Mother's knee; father's stories; "learning from Nelly"
Local community	Perceived "economic" pressures of raw material, labor, debt, etc.	Selection of origin stories, local accounts	Chosen construction of nature as land allocation; building; food	Creation of culture through pick a' mix fashion	Mix of local family traditions, which constantly change	Efforts to channel local resentments, resistance to pressure to change	Accredited seniors; religious; "big men" employers; local institutions
Ethnic group	Clash between elite and popular culture; speed of global communication, including electronics, travel, tourists	Creation of origin stories; "ancestors" management of discourses	Creation of narratives about "well-ordered landscape," "good food," "proper work"	Manipulated use of material symbol; creation of relics	Construction of cultural identities as a holistic worldview	Perceived fragility of "traditional ways of life"; threats to craft production	Choice of those vested with cultural reproduction role, associated institutions
Nation/sovereign state	Media agendas; political and military force; pressures of population and space	Harnessing of major resources to production of selected elite historical narratives	Construction of narratives about, e.g., "the rice paddy landscape," "French cuisine"	Creation of icons; effects of mass production; raw-material pressures; "high culture" and art	Chosen attitudes of inclusion and exclusion, and their "real" effect	Creation of stance favoring production over consumption; tax generation; internal suppressions	State education systems; agencies of cultural stewardship; roles of these in hierarchy
World	Professionalisms and others	Competition between grand narratives involving concepts like neocolonial, Western, Oriental	Choice of various narratives to be disputed/reconciled—e.g., Unesco list of world heritage sites	Creation of world-class icons—e.g., Mona Lisa	Construction of major competing systems—e.g., Christianity/Islam/Judaism; capitalism/communism	Permitted actions of transnational companies; warfare; terrorism	International agencies; travel and communication; international media; pressure groups; think tanks

APPENDIX B

Interview Structure and Contact Details

Important contact details for the battlefield area in KZN (listed alphabetically)

Name	Company	Telephone	E-mail
Barry Marshall	AMQAF (Director)	Tel: 035 870 2054 Cell: 082 820 1771	amafahq@mweb.co.za
Cebo Sibiyi	Community representative	083 417 9061	
Cecilia Krueger	Heritage Site Blood River	034 632 1695 012 326 6770	erfenis@voortrekkermon.org.za
Dalton Ngobese	Barman and culture guide	034 271 8301	
David Rattray	Fugitives' Drift	034 642 1843	info@fugitives-drift-lodge.com
Decima Jones	Dundee Tourism	034 212 2121	
ELC Craft Centre		034 642 1627	
Elizabeth D'lamini	Coordinator for the Wild Foundation (US)	072 539 5116	edlamini@kznatal.co.za
Evan Jones	Tour operator/ Tour guide	034 212 4040 082 889 3979	battlepackers@telkomsa.net
George Mitchell and Peter Jones	Dundee Diehards	082 541 4151	tourism@dundeekzn.co.za
Gustav Röhrs	Zululand Tourism Officer	035 874 5576 082 801 0551	mel@zululand.org.za www.zululand.org.za
Hlengiwe Buthelezi	Restaurant Rorke's Drift	083 522 6481	
Inkosi Mazibuko	Chief of community	082 450 8415	inkosi@kznatal.co.za
Isandlwana Interpretive Centre		034 271 8165	
Karen Kohler	Tourism KZN Research manager	031 366 7550	kkohler@iafrica.com karen@zulu.org.za
Mike Nel	Tour Guide	082 366 2639 034 212 2601	mike@dundeekzn.co.za
Mthembeni Zulu	Manager of Arts and Craft Centre	082 805 3207	
Ncome-Blood River	Heritage Site	034 632 1695	erfenis@voortrekkermon.org.za
Neville John Worthington	Tour Guide	034021201347 083 592 0150	
Pam Mc Fadden	Curator of Talana Museum	082 8704750 082541 4832	info@talana.co.za www.talana.co.za
Pat Stubbs	Isandlwana Lodge	034 271 8301/4/5 082 789 9544	info@isandlwana.co.za
Paul & Christine Lamberth	Rorke's Drift Lodge	034 642 1805	info@rorkesdriftlodge.com
Rorke's Drift Museum		034 642 1687	
Rudi Bausch	Manager ELCSA		rbausch@elcsa.co.za
Sean Friend	Battlefield Guide	082 367 9100	seanfriend@bigfoot.com
Sonto Buthelezi	Receptionist Rorke's Drift	072 527 4774	
Zanele Zulu	Receptionist at Isandlwana	072 036 7150	

APPENDIX C

List of Guiding Interview Questions to the Different Stakeholder Groups

Questions to members of local community (Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift)

Personal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name? - What is your occupation? - Where do you live? - How long have you lived here? - Did you lose relatives/ancestors in the Anglo-Zulu wars? - Do you have a relation to the wars?(memories) - Do you have recollection/memories or stories to tell?
Battlefields	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Have you been to the Battlefield sites of Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift? - What do you feel about the battlefields? - Are you aware you live close to battlefields? - Are you interested in the battlefields? - What do you think of tourism? - What are your feelings about tourism on the battlefields? - Do you mind having white/black tourists walking around these fields?
Funeral rituals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How do you commemorate dead family members? - Did warriors or soldiers in the wars bury their dead? - How did they do it? Was it important? - What is/was the rituals?
dissonance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Do you feel angry / disadvantaged with regard to the Zulu commemoration on the sites? - What is your opinion of the new memorials? - Are you proud of the new memorials? (British and Zulu) - Do you think the type of commemoration depends on the outcome of the battle (victory/defeat)?

Questions to staff at battlefields

Personal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name? - Position held? - Where do you live?
Job	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Are you happy working here? - Do you identify yourself with your job? - Is the job chosen by interest or just because it's a job? - Have you learnt a lot? - What do you think about white (British) visitors? - Do you have any feelings towards them? - Do black groups come and visit?
Battlefields	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - When were the Zulu memorials established? - How did it happen? - How much does it cost? - What was the aim of that? - Who were the prime movers? - What proportions of the visitors to the battlefields visit the cultural and the visitor centre? - What is the local acceptance of the battlefields around the communities?
Dissonance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How do you feel about the presentation of Zulu and British culture? - Do you think the type of commemoration depends on the outcome of the battle (victory/defeat)?

Questions to professionals/specialists

Personal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name/Position - Where do you live? - How long have you live in the battlefield area?
Organisations/ Companies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name of organisation/company - How long your company/organisation does exists already? - Where does your organisation/company fit/link with other tourism institutions (e.g. KZN, Heritage KwaZulu-Natal) - What's your company's purpose and perspective? - What is your company/org. exactly doing? - Why was the company/org. established? (do you think it was useful?)
Visitors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How many visitors are there to the battlefield roughly (monthly, yearly etc.) - Do you think the amount increased or decreased since 1994 - What nationality? - With the 100 year anniversary did u observe any change in visitor numbers? - What you think are the major motives of visitors? - What do they expect? - Do u think they are satisfied with the received product? - What proportions of the visitors to the battlefields visit the cultural and the visitor centre?
Battlefields Strategic views	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can you see any changes to the battlefields since 1990? (Physical, political, social, environmental) - What place do the battlefields hold in marketing and promotion and in product development currently, what was their value in the past? - What is the plan with the battlefields in the future, where do you see the battlefield product in 10 years - Is there a strategic view?
dissonance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Who would you consider to be the main stakeholders of the battlefields? - Are you aware of any tension (contested heritage) between stakeholder groups? - Do you know of any hostility? - If so, of what kind of nature are the problems arising? - Do you think black surrounding communities (Zulu's) care about the battlefields as much as British representatives do - Do u think, it's a problem that Zulu heritage is not as well represented as British? - Are there any Zulu enterprises with regard to the battlefields? - Do you think the type of commemoration depends on the outcome of the battle (victory/defeat)?

Questions to (Vortrekker Monument and Nature Reserve)

Personal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name/Position
Organisations/ Companies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name of organisation/company - How long your company/organisation does exists already? - Where does your organisation/company fit/link with other tourism institutions (e.g. KZN, Heritage KwaZulu-Natal) - What's your company's purpose and perspective? - What is your company/org. exactly doing? - Why was the company/org. established? (do u think it was useful?)
Battlefield Site	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How long is blood river/Ncome in your portfolios - What else is in your portfolio - do you think the contradicting interpretation is meaningful to the visitor? - Why is Blood River managed by Voortrekker? - How is Blood River/Ncome managed? - Do you have any combining events at the 2 places
Visitors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How many visitors are there to the battlefield roughly - Do you think the amount increased or decreased since 1994 - What nationality? - With the 100 year anniversary did u observe any change in visitor numbers? - What you think are the major motives of visitors? - What do they expect? - Do you think they are satisfied with the received product? -
Battlefields Strategic views	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can you see any changes to the battlefields since 1990? (Physical, political, social, environmental) - What place do the battlefields hold in marketing and promotion and in product development currently, what was their value in the past? - What is the plan with the battlefields in the future, where do you see the battlefield product in 10 years - Is there a strategic view?
dissonance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Are you aware of any tension (contested heritage) between stakeholder groups? - Do you know of any hostility? - If so, of what kind of nature are the problems arising? - Do you think black surrounding communities (Zulu's) care about the battlefields as much as Boer representatives do - Do u think, it's a problem that Zulu heritage is not as well represented as Boers? - are there any Zulu enterprises with regard to the battlefields?

Questions to visitors

Personal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - From where are you from? - How big is the party you are travelling in? - What type of tour are you doing?
Battlefields	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Where did you initially hear about Rorke's Drift and Isandlwana? - Is it the first time you visit the battlefields? - What are your main motives to visit the battlefields? - How was the overall experience of your visit to the sites? - How did you benefit from your visit to the battlefields?
Dissonance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How do you feel about visiting Isandlwana which is characterised by the victory of the Zulu army? - How do you feel about visiting Rorke's Drift which is characterised by victory of the British army? - Do you experience any imbalance or tension on the battlefields? - What is your experience on general impression of terrain, cleanliness and staff?

Question to the Dundee Diehards

Personal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name/ Position - Where do you live? - How long have you live in the battlefield area?
Background	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Where did the idea come from? - Who are the movers of this organisation - How was the name of the company chosen?
Organisations/ Companies	<p>Name of organisation/company</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How long your company/organisation does exists already? - Where does your organisation/company fit/link with other tourism institutions (e.g. KZN, Heritage KwaZulu-Natal) - What's your company's purpose and perspective? - What is your company/org. exactly doing? - Why was the company/org. established? (Do you think it was useful?) - How the company does earn an income?
Battles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Where do the re-enactment shows take place? - What is the cost of a battle re-enactment? - The costumes/uniforms, where do you get them from? Are they authentic - Where do you get the opposition from? - Do you practice?
Audience and customers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Who are your customers? - Who is your audience? - Could you observe any changes in the audience in the last 10 years? - Do you see yourself of having an entertainment or education mission?
dissonance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How do Zulus feel about the war, the re-enactment? - Do they have fun when working for you? - Do you think you cause any friction in the attitude of participants? - Are you aware of any dissonance? - Who would you consider to be the main stakeholders of the battlefields? - Are you aware of any tension (contested heritage) between stakeholder groups? - Do you know of any hostility? - If so, of what kind of nature are the problems arising? - Do you think black surrounding communities (Zulu's) care about the battlefields as much as British representatives do - Do u think, it's a problem that Zulu heritage is not as well represented as British? - Are there any Zulu enterprises with regard to the battlefields? - Do you think the type of commemoration depends on the outcome of the battle (victory/defeat)?

APPENDIX D

Relationship Continuum by McKerchner and du Cross (2002:16)

Possible Relationships Between Tourism and Cultural Heritage Assets

Cooperation/partnership ←————→ Conflict						
Full Cooperation	Working Relationships	Peaceful Co-existence	Parallel Existence/Blissful Ignorance	Mild Annoyance	Nascent Conflict	Full Conflict
True partnership for the mutual benefit of both sectors	Realization of common needs and interests	Sharing of the same resource	Separate and independent	Goal interference attributable to one stakeholder	Problems defying easy solutions emerge	Open conflict between stakeholders
Likely imposed or heavily managed	Begin dialogue Work to ensure that both interests are satisfied	Derive mutual Benefits from its use, but still largely separate and independent. Some dialogue, but little cooperation or recognition of need to cooperate	Little or no contact Out of sight, out of mind	Lessened satisfaction One stakeholder exerts adverse effects, but little real conflict Lack of understanding between stakeholders	Changing power relationships with emergence of one dominant stakeholder whose needs are detrimental to the other established stakeholder	

APPENDIX E

Battlefield Routes in KZN (Battlefield Route Brochure, n.d)

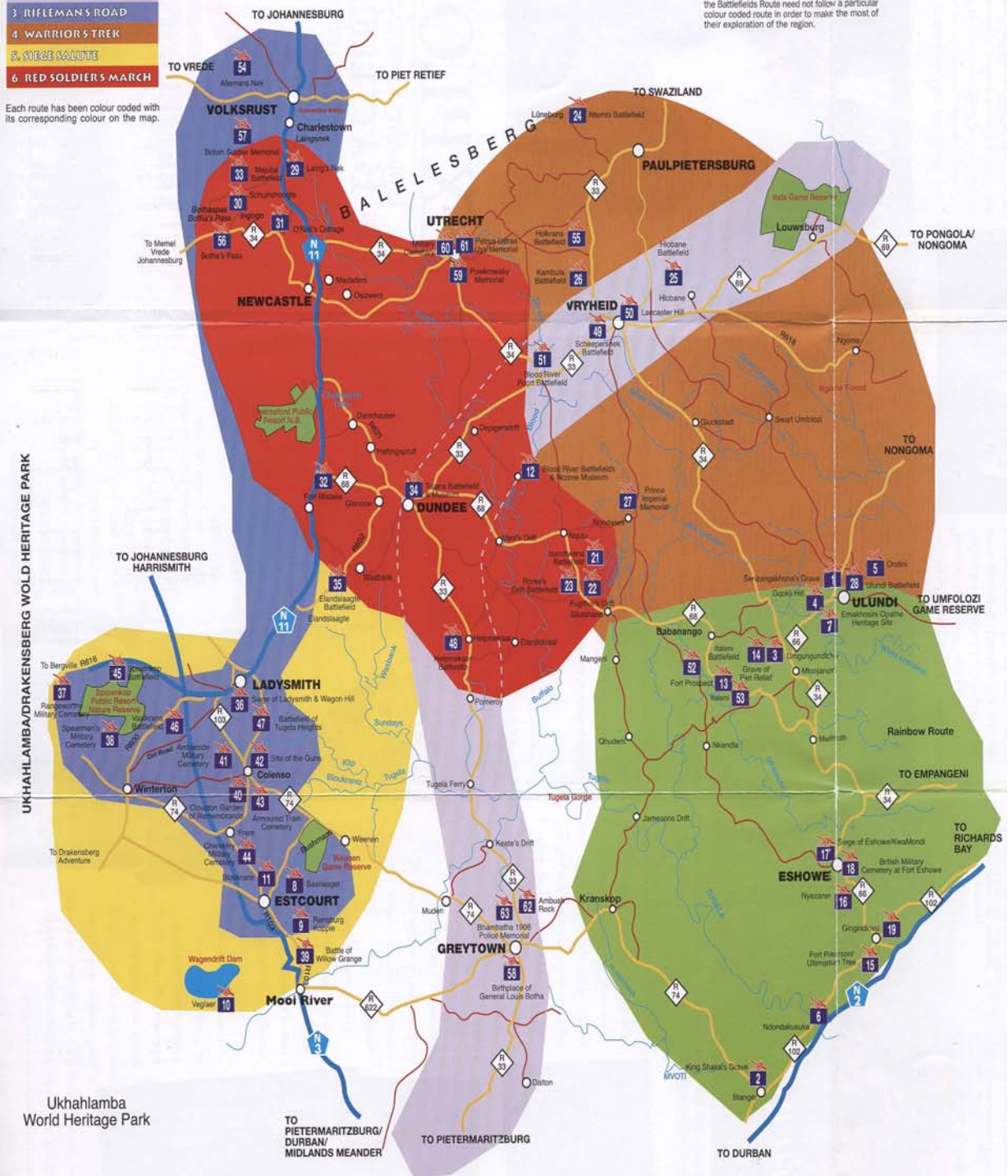


Battlefields & Places of Interest

- 1 KING SHAKA'S WAY
- 2 REMEMBRANCE ROUTE
- 3 RIFLEMAN'S ROAD
- 4 WARRIOR STREK
- 5 VEEGE SALUTE
- 6 RED SOLDIER'S MARCH

Each route has been colour coded with its corresponding colour on the map.

The region has been colour coded geographically to enable visitors to plan their trips. This colour coding is intended as a guide only. Visitors to the Battlefields Route need not follow a particular colour coded route in order to make the most of their exploration of the region.



This is not an accurate road map and is not to scale. Accurate road maps of the region are available from any of the tourism offices or museums on the route

EARLY AFRICAN BATTLES

1. **Senzangakhona's Grave*** - Ulundi Area Tel: 035 450 2254
Senzangakhona, father of Kings Shaka, Dingane and Mpande. Buried at eSiklebheni, near uMgungundlovu. Arrange visit with manager of uMgungundlovu.
2. **King Shaka's Grave** - KwaDukuza Tel: 032 552 7210
1828. Buried here after assassination.
3. **uMgungundlovu** - Ulundi Area Tel: 035 450 2254
Open-air museum at site of King Dingane's Royal Residence (1829-1838). Interpretation centre. Museum shop. Open daily except Good Friday & Christmas. 9:00 to 16:00. Refreshments, toilets. Also see under Voortrekker-Zulu Wars
4. **Gqokli Hill*** - Ulundi Area Tel: 035 870 2051
About 10km south of Ulundi, site of epic battle, 1818, between forces of King Shaka and Ndwandwe people. Viewpoint on road to Ulundi.
5. **Ondini** - Ulundi Area Tel: 035 870 2050
King Cetshwayo's Royal residence (reconstructed). Burned down after Battle of Ulundi, July 1879. Open-air museum & KwaZulu Cultural Museum, 9km outside Ulundi towards uMfolozi/Hluhluwe Game Reserve. Toilets, Museum shop, refreshments. Open daily except Good Friday & Christmas 9:00 to 16:00
6. **Ndondakusuka*** - Stanger
Near John Ross Road, bridge over Tugela River on R102, site of battle between Prince Cetshwayo and his brother Mbuyazi, which established Cetshwayo as King Mpande's heir.
7. **Emakhosini Ophathe Heritage Park*** - Ulundi Area Tel: 035 870 2051
Burial place of early Zulu Kings & Ophathe Game Reserve. Mgungundlovu Royal Residence. Entrance fee. Open daily

VOORTREKKER – ZULU WARS

8. **Saailaager*** - Estcourt Area Tel: 036 352 6253
12 February 1838. Zulu attack on Voortrekkers after execution of Piet Retief. Zulus repelled. Restored Voortrekker house on site. Follow Alfred Street in Estcourt, past quarry, cross stream. Memorial at fork in dirt road. Open daily.
9. **Rensburg Koppe*** - Estcourt Area Tel: 036 352 3000
17 February 1838. Young Martinus Oosthuysen courageously saved 3 Voortrekker families from Zulus. On private farm between Estcourt and Mooi River. Arrange visit at Fort Durnford
10. **Veglaer*** - Estcourt Area Tel: 036 352 6253
Site of 3-day Zulu attack (13-15 February 1838) on Voortrekker laager. Actual site beneath Wagendrift Dam. Diorama explains battle, shows Voortrekker's battle tactics. From Estcourt follow signs to Wagendrift Dam.
11. **Bloukrans*** - Estcourt Area Tel: 036 352 6253
Many Voortrekker families annihilated during Zulu attack, 16 to 17 February 1838. Memorial on site. Off R103. Open daily.
12. **Blood River Battlefield & Ncome Museum*** - Dundee Area Tel: 034 632 1695
16 December 1838. Voortrekkers defeated Zulu army. Replica bronze wagons set in laager on site. Off R33 between Dundee and Vryheid. Entrance fee payable. Interpretation Centre. Tearoom. Toilets. Open daily 08:00 to 17:00.
13. **Italeni Battlefield*** - Babanango Area
April 1838. Piet and Dirkie Uys killed. Rest of kommando managed to escape ambush, were given name "Vlugkommando".
14. **Grave of Piet Retief** - Ulundi Area Tel: 035 450 2254
6 February 1838. Piet Retief and his party executed on orders from King Dingane. Memorial near Royal Kraal, uMgungundlovu. Off R34 near Ulundi. Open daily 9:00 to 16:00.

ANGLO ZULU WAR 1879

15. **Fort Pearson/Ultimatum Tree*** - North Coast Tel: 035 474 1141
11 December 1878. British Government presents ultimatum to King Cetshwayo's Indunas, was unacceptable to Zulu people. War broke out month later. From Fort Pearson British crossed uThukela to attack Zululand.
16. **Nyezane*** - Eshowe Area Tel: 035 474 1141
22 January 1879. British coastal column moving up north coast towards Eshowe attacked by about 5000 Zulus as they crossed Nyezane river. Graves situated about 500m from memorial. On the R68.
17. **Siege of Eshowe*** - Eshowe Area Tel: 035 474 1141
22 January to 3 April 1879. Zulu forces under Prince Dabulamanzi besieged part of Col. Pearson's column. They entrenched themselves around abandoned Norwegian Lutheran Mission known as KwaMondi and built earth fortification - Fort Eshowe. Site museum. Enquiries and directions from ZHM Fort Nongqayi. Open daily.
18. **British Military Cemetery at Fort Eshowe** - Eshowe Area Tel: 035 474 1141
Situated on southwest-facing slope about 500m beyond Fort Eshowe. Enquiries ZHM Fort Nongqayi.
19. **Gingindlovu*** - Eshowe Area Tel: 035 474 1141
2 April 1879. Zulu attack on Chelmsford's relief column on its way to relieve Eshowe. They were repulsed and Eshowe was relieved following day.
20. **Isandlwana Battlefield*** - Nqutu Area Tel: 034 271 0634
22 January 1879. British defeated by 25 000 Zulus. Cairns mark places where British soldiers fell and were later buried. Off R68 between Nqutu and Babanango. Entrance fee payable at Interpretation Centre for access to battlefield. Open daily except Good Friday and Christmas 9:00 to 16:00. Toilets.
21. **Fugitives' Drift*** - Dundee Area Tel: 034 271 8165
22 January 1879. Fugitives' Trail - route taken by survivors of Isandlwana. Crossed Buffalo River at Fugitives' Drift. Lt. Coghill and Melvill buried at drift. They attempted to save the Queen's Colours. From Rorke's Drift, follow signs. Open daily. On private property.
22. **Rorke's Drift Battlefield*** - Dundee Area Tel: 034-642 1687
22-23 January 1879. 100 British soldiers fought for 12 hours to repel 4 000 Zulus, earning 11 Victoria Crosses. Museum/Interpretation Centre. Toilets. Open daily, except Good Friday and Christmas 9:00 to 16:00. ELC Craft Centre open 9:00 to 16:00. Sat. 10:00 to 15:00. Off R68 from Dundee to Nqutu. Tel: 034 642 1627
23. **Ntombi Battlefield*** - Paulpietersburg Area Tel: 034 982 2133 ext 2271
12 March 1879. At Ntombi Drift, 70 km from Lüneburg, Capt Moriarty and his men defended themselves against superior Zulu force. Open daily.
24. **Hlobane Battlefield*** - Vryheid Area Tel: 034 982 2133 ext 2271
28 March 1879. On Hlobane Mountain, British forces defeated. 20 km from Vryheid on Hlobane Road. Open daily.
25. **Kambula Battlefield*** - Vryheid Area Tel: 034 982 2133 ext 2271
29 March 1879. Some 25 000 Zulu warriors attacked fortified British position, battle started at 13:30, ended 17:30 when Zulu's were driven off and pursued by horsemen until dark. 10km from Vryheid on Paulpietersburg Road. Open daily.
26. **Prince Imperial Memorial*** - Vryheid Tel: 034 212 2121 ext 2262
1 June 1879. Last hope of Napoleonic dynasty died when Louis Napoleon was killed. Open Daily.
27. **Ulundi Battlefield** - Ulundi Tel: 035 870 2050
4 July 1879. On banks of uMfolozi River, final battle of Zulu War. On the road (P700) to the uMfolozi/Hluhluwe game reserve just outside Ulundi. Open daily

FIRST ANGLO BOER WAR 1880 – 1881

29. **Lang's Nek*** - Volksrust/Newcastle Tel: 034 315 3318
28 January 1881. Unsuccessful attempt by British to break through to Transvaal. On N11 between Volksrust & Newcastle (pass). Diorama at viewpoint.
30. **Schuinshoogte*** - Volksrust/Newcastle Tel: 034 315 3318
8 February 1881. British forces under General Colley were surrounded by Boers on top of Schuinshoogte. Open daily.
31. **O'Neil's Cottage** - Volksrust/Newcastle Area Tel: 034 212 2121 ext 2262
Original home of Eugene O'Neil, makeshift hospital for British soldiers during Battle of Majuba. Graves on site. The peace treaty ending war was negotiated here. On N11 between Newcastle & Volksrust in Lang's Nek Pass. Open daily.
32. **Fort Mistake** - Glencoe Area Tel: 034 315 3318

Signaling post built during war. Between Ladysmith and Newcastle on
33. Majuba Battlefield - Volksrust/Newcastle Tel: 034 315 3318
 27 February 1881. Boer victory, major deciding battle of war. On N11 be Volksrust & Newcastle. Entrance fee. Picnic facilities, toilets. Open

SECOND ANGLO BOER WAR 1899 – 1902

34. **Talana Battlefield & Museum** - Dundee Tel: 034 212 2654
20 October 1899. First battle between British and Boers. British wore khaki for first time in South Africa. Dundee defended mainly because coal-mine & pressurised Natal government. Self-guided trail. Outside Dundee on road to V Sigmposted. Toilets, Curio shop, Restaurant/tea garden. Entrance fee. Open we 08:00 to 16:30. Sat./Sun & Public Holidays 10:00 to 16:30.
35. **Elandslaagte Battlefield*** - Glencoe/Ladysmith Tel: 034 212 2654
21 October 1899. Tiny village and railway station, abandoned by British force they battled to re-open railway line for forces retreating from Dundee to Lad on R602 between Glencoe and Ladysmith. Follow signs to battlefield. Open
36. **Siege of Ladysmith* & Wagon Hill Battlesite** Tel: 036 637 2992
2 November 1899 to 28 February 1900 (118 days). One of worst sieges in of British army. Numerous sites in and around town. Historical walkabout av from Siege Museum. Excellent bookshop in Siege Museum.
- 6 January 1900 – Wagon Hill - Claim to fame of Devonshire Regiment for b charge. Burgher Monument, Caesars' Camp & Military Cemetery on site. Er fee.
37. **Rangeworthy Military Cemetery** - Ladysmith Tel: 036 637 2992
On site of British field hospital. Require farmer's permission to enter.
38. **Spearmen's Military Cemetery** - On R600/Ladysmith Tel: 036 637 299
On site of British field hospital. Private property, obtain permission to visit sit
39. **Battle of Willow Grange*** - Estcourt Area Tel: 036 352 3000
23 November 1899. Most southern point reached by Boer forces. Stone wa by Boers and British during battle. South of Estcourt. Arrange visit at Fort D Museum.
40. **Clouston Garden of Remembrance** - Colenso Tel: 036 637 2992
15 December 1899. Buller's first attempt to cross Tugela River and relieve Lac met with disaster at Battle of Colenso. Memorials and graves moved to this si Gen. Buller's headquarters during battle of Colenso. Several brigade hospita during battle. Probable spot where first moving pictures of a battle were tak R103 outside Colenso. Toilets. Open daily.
41. **Ambleside Military Cemetery** - Colenso Tel: 036 637 2992
Many of those who died in Battle of Colenso, particularly Irish, buried her Weenen/Colenso road from R103 (approaching from Estcourt) and turn Winterton. Follow signs. Open daily.
42. **Site of the Guns** - Colenso Tel: 036 637 2992
Ten of twelve British guns used during Battle of Colenso lost to Boers under lea of Gen. Louis Botha. Freddy, son of Lord Roberts, mortally wounded here. A indicates where he fell.
43. **Armoured Train Cemetery*** - Colenso Area Tel: 036 352 6253
Winston Churchill captured by Boer forces near site after armoured observati was derailed by Boers. Plaque next to road, cemetery across railway line. On between Estcourt and Colenso.
44. **Chieveley Military Cemetery** - Colenso Area Tel: 036 637 2992
Burial place of Lord Robert's son, Freddy. Follow dirt road past railway static cemetery. On R103 between Estcourt and Colenso. Open daily.
45. **Spoienkop Battlefield*** - Ladysmith/Winterton Tel: 036 637 2992
23/24 January 1900. Most futile & bloodiest of four battles in effort to Ladysmith. Self-guided trail with brochure available at entrance. Gandhi's st bearers did excellent work during battle. On R616 between Ladysmith and Bt Entrance fee payable. Open daily.
46. **Valkrans Battlefield*** - Ladysmith/Winterton Tel: 036 637 2992
5 February 1900. Third unsuccessful attempt by Gen. Buller to relieve Lad Arrange visit through the Siege Museum in Ladysmith.
47. **Battle of Tugela Heights*** - Colenso Area Tel: 036 637 2992
21-26 February 1900. General Buller led his troops through numerous battles of Hlangwane, Monte Christo, Cingolo, Pieters, Kitchener's, Wynne's and Inn before relieving Ladysmith. Turn off on road between Colenso/Ladysmith t Ezenil/Newcastle. Graves and memorials next to road.
48. **Helmpakaar Battlesite*** - Helmpakaar Tel: 034 212 2654
13 May 1900. British forces broke through Boer line in Biggarsberg. Led to recapturing Dundee. Remains of Boer fort on top of hill and British military ce behind police station. Open daily.
49. **Scheepersnek Battlefield*** - Vryheid Area Tel: 034 982 2133 ext 2271
20 May 1900. Commando of 75 Swaziland police and a few Vryheid burghers st here. During church service a company of Bethune's Mounted Infantry unexpectedly. After short fight British were forced to withdraw. 10km outside on R33. Private farm.
50. **Lancaster Hill*** - Vryheid Tel: 034 982 2133 ext 2271
11-12 December 1900. Fortifications, gun emplacements and monument t Gawne. Self-guided trail with brochure. Part of Vryheid Nature Reserve. Entra payable. Open daily 7:00 - 18:00.
51. **Blood River Poort Battlefield*** - Vryheid Area Tel: 034 982 2133 ext 22
17 September 1901. Battle fought to prevent Louis Botha's second effort t Natal. British lost 16 officers, 273 men and 3 guns in 10 minutes. On Sigmposted, after 8km, turn towards farm, "Goedgelooft". Walk to graves, 1k road on right side, cross over fence.
52. **Fort Prospect*** - Babanango Area Tel: 035 870 0552
24 September 1900. Outpost manned by 80 British soldiers, attacked by 40C Boers eventually forced to withdraw.
53. **Italeni*** - Babanango Area Tel: 035 870 0552
Most southern point reached by Louis Botha during second Boer invasion o
54. **Alleman's Nek*** - Volksrust Area Tel: 017 734 6100
British forces broke through into Transvaal.
55. **Holkran's Battlefield*** - Vryheid Area Tel: 034 982 2133 ext 2271
6 May 1902. 56 Burghers killed in surprise attack by Zulu Impis on Zuinguin m Between Vryheid and Paulpietersburg.
56. **Botha's Pass*** - Newcastle Area Tel: 034 315 3318
Pass captured by General Buller on 8 June 1900. Opened route for British i into Orange Free State. Remains of trenches dug by Boers.
57. **British Soldiers Memorial** - Volksrust Tel: 017 734 6100
Cross shaped memorial in honour of British soldiers who died during battles Volksrust. On Northern side of Volksrust.
58. **Birthplace of General Louis Botha** - Greytown Tel: 034 331 3613
1862. Eighth of 13 children. Commandant-General of the Transvaal forc distinguishing himself at Ladysmith, Colenso and Spoienkop. Became fir member of Union of South Africa in 1910.
59. **Pokrowski Memorial** - Utrecht Tel: 034 331 3613
25 December 1900. Memorial to Polish officer in Russian army, fighting fo killed in skirmish.
60. **Military Cemetery** - Utrecht Tel: 034 331 3613
61. **Petrus Lafras Uys Memorial** - Utrecht Tel: 034 331 3613
Killed at Battle of Hlobane, fighting for British.

BHAMBATHA REBELLION 1906

62. **Ambush Rock*** - Greytown Tel: 033 413 1171
Police Column sent to collect 2 women and a child from Marshall Hotel & storel wife from Keate's Drift. Ambushed on their way back. Four policemen killex information in Greytown Museum.
63. **Bhambatha 1906 Police Memorial*** - Greytown Tel: 033 413 1171
4 April 1906. Memorial to four policemen, Trooper Aston and his dog, which w at his side, at Ambush Rock.

* Use of guide recommended to enhance experience of site.