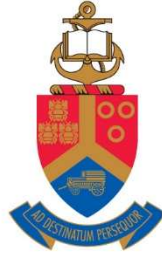

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'Stakeholder Warfare': A critical analysis of the impact of tourism on indigenous communities in South Africa and Sweden

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Abstract

Concerns over the negative impact of large-scale developments are becoming more prominent in an ever-evolving world. Linked to these concerns are the indigenous communities who continue to interact with their heritage present in the surrounding landscape, an interest that should be protected through the implementation of legislation that is truly representative of a country's population. The comparative study presented in this dissertation was conducted at two locations; Dumezulu in South Africa and Jokkmokk in Sweden. I interviewed the relevant stakeholders in order to understand the impact each group had on the heritage resources present in the respective study areas. In South Africa, I assessed the relationship of key stakeholders (community members, Traditional Council, and the Ray Nkonyeni Municipality) involved in the construction and future management of the tourism centre. It became evident that there were a number of misunderstandings between these stakeholders. The Municipality, as a government structure, seemed to have an upper hand in terms of power. While the tourism development was the initiative of the Dumezulu community, the Municipality has the final say in decision-making because it raised and allocated part of the funding. Furthermore, South African heritage legislation does not seem to favour communities, giving more power to the state through its ownership of heritage resources. In Sweden, I interviewed and spoke to relevant authorities on Sami heritage issues. These were people who had worked closely with the Sami population. The heritage issues present in the South African case study did not differ drastically to the issues present in the Swedish case study. Inequality is not limited to South Africa, but Sweden too, where the Sami population does not command power over decisions linked to their cultural heritage resources. While the Sami have attracted interest for tourism purposes, a large number of these visitors are still mainly driven by stereotypes. As in the case of South Africa, the Swedish heritage legislation does not make special allowances for the Sami to manage their heritage resources in ways they consider appropriate for them. What I conclude is that there is the need for increased appreciation of Traditional Management Systems.

Keywords: cultural heritage, indigenous, tourism, heritage legislation, heritage management, traditional management systems.

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List of acronyms

AHD: Authorised Heritage Discourse

ICH: Intangible Cultural Heritage

ICOMOS: International Council On Monuments and Sites

ILO: International Labour Organisation

LED : Local Economic Development

MM: Municipal Manager

TMS: Traditional Management Systems

UN: United Nations

UNESCO: The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

WHC: World Heritage Convention

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The heritage industry has grappled with two main issues since its inception. At first, conservation professionals were tasked with preserving, conserving, and protecting valuable monuments and artefacts which was often referred to as historic preservation (Page & Mason 2004). The lawful act of safeguarding heritage resources was and still is guided by international legislation. The first legislative document to guide the international safeguarding of cultural heritage resources was The Venice Charter introduced by ICOMOS (The International Council on Monuments and Sites) in 1964. Since then, international bodies such as UNESCO (The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) have adopted legislation which followed the blueprint of the Venice Charter to further safeguard cultural heritage resources (Ahmad 2006).

The second issue was the concept and integration of intangible cultural heritage (ICH) resources and the communities which claim cultural ownership of them. When academics began to define heritage, they encountered issues because they realised that there were essentially two categories of cultural heritage resources, tangible and intangible (Ahmad 2006). The category of tangible cultural heritage resources would include artefacts, buildings, monuments, historic sites, etc whilst ICH was seen as cultural heritage resources which had no tangible characteristics such as rituals, folk tales, music, hunting practices, etc (Vecco 2010).

In 1972, UNESCO introduced pivotal heritage legislation under the World Heritage Convention (WHC). The countries which ratified this Convention had to abide by the conservation practices outlined in the legislative document (Meskell 2013). What was perhaps the most important indicator that ICH was being recognised globally is that it was mentioned in the WHC. UNESCO further stated in the WHC that it planned to introduce ICH legislation (Kurin 2004). Tangible cultural heritage resources and ICH resources often belong to indigenous or minority populations who claim cultural ownership over them. Intangible characteristics are often associated with a tangible object such as a religious statue or idol, or a large body of water, for example. Academics, during the inception of the WHC, recognised that these indigenous and minority communities and populations had to be included in the conversation regarding how their ICH resources were to be conserved (Smith & Akagawa

2008). This process allowed academics to identify the issues which these communities had to face with regards to the safeguarding of their tangible and intangible cultural heritage resources (Smith & Akagawa 2008).

The conservation of ICH resources has become of utmost importance to the academics who operate within heritage related fields of study (Kurin 2004; Smith & Akagawa 2008; Vecco 2010). The indigenous and minority communities to which these ICH resources belong often face challenges from their governments or developers who want to implement projects which have economic potential for the nation state. These development projects are often industrial related and economically driven such as mining, hydro-electric power generation, and tourism (Smith 2006). One of the biggest heritage issues which archaeologists have needed to navigate is that of stakeholder relations concerning industrial developments (Aas *et al.* 2005). A stakeholder, in the context of heritage management or conservation, is essentially a group or organisation who have an interest in or claim to the cultural heritage resources in question (Aas *et al.* 2005).

My dissertation presents the results of a cumulative comparative study of the the indigenous South African Bantu-speaking population and indigenous Swedish Sami population. The study was largely based on the tourism industry and heritage management authorities, assessing their impact on the lives of indigenous people especially when it concerns their cultural heritage. I chose two study areas: Dumezulu in South Africa and Jokkmokk in Sweden. Directly comparing a developed and developing country provided insight into how national heritage legislation is implemented to safeguard indigenous cultural heritage. Perhaps the most significant similarity present in the heritage legislation of these two countries is the fact that South African and Swedish heritage management does not take into account indigenous voices. Furthermore, directly comparing the indigenous populations of South Africa and Sweden allows for western and Africanist viewpoints concerning cultural heritage management. Comparing a Bantu-speaking group to the Swedish Sami further allowed for an analysis of what issues each community faces when conserving their cultural heritage resources. Focusing on two countries of differing international status allowed me to further illustrate how issues of indigeneity can have a direct impact on how cultural heritage is managed and on how national heritage legislation is constructed. There is also a strong tourism presence in both communities which could have a direct impact upon their cultural heritage.

The tourism industry is one of the fastest growing globally, and many tourists seek cultural experiences. The issue with this is that indigenous or minority populations may oftentimes feel like their culture is being exploited or that they are being ridiculed for the pleasure of tourists (Cohen 1984). The communities are forced to play the role of a host community when tourists seek these experiences because there is often a monetary aspect involved (Cohen 1984). They may be compensated for any rituals they perform or souvenirs they sell, however, they might not do so willingly (Cohen 1979). The tourists' expectations of their destination can oftentimes have a negative impact on the cultural heritage of their host nation (Cohen 1979). Tourists will have preconceived notions of the area or community which they are visiting and sometimes these notions can contain negative stereotypes (Cohen 1979). Tourists are bound to ask questions about these notions such as, "I heard that the Sami herd reindeer. Where are yours?". These questions can often be offensive to host communities who will thus develop a negative perception of tourists.

Besides the tourism industry, the heritage management authorities also have their own impacts on the indigenous communities and their cultural heritage. One could argue that heritage management systems do not necessarily favour indigenous communities (see Pwiti & Mvenge 1996). Oftentimes indigenous communities have little to no say in how their cultural heritage is managed and safeguarded. Most often, the approach used to manage cultural heritage is a material-based approach (see Ndlovu 2009; Smith 2006). This approach stems from a western ideology in which cultural heritage is safeguarded in a manner which aims to keep the object as pristine as possible (Smith 2006). Traditional Management Systems (TMS) is the opposite approach to a material-based one. It gives the community which owns the cultural heritage the right to manage their heritage in a manner which they see fit (Jopela & Frederiksen 2015). A TMS approach places the indigenous community in a position of power by making them the dominant stakeholder group (Jopela 2016). By implementing this approach, indigenous and minority communities can also benefit directly from the economy created through the use of their tangible cultural heritage becoming World Heritage Sites or attracting a large number of tourists (Shackleton *et al.* 2006).

The definition of the term indigenous has been subject to much scrutiny (see Corntassel 2003). The most widely regarded definition of indigenous originates from the International Labour Organization (ILO). The ILO defines indigenous groups as those "whose ancestors have lived in the area before the settlement or the formation of the modern state borders" (Sarivaara *et al.* 2013: 370). The South African Bantu-speaking population consider themselves to be the

indigenous peoples of South Africa although it is widely known that the San peoples were the first to occupy the region (Ndlovu 2005). The Bantu-speaking population were settlers who farmed the land unlike the San who were a nomadic hunter-gatherer group (Huffman 1980). Since Bantu-speaking people settled within the interior regions and were not nomadic like the San were, they consider themselves to be the original settlers within the region and thus indigenous (Ndlovu 2005). The Sami population of Sweden are indigenous by the above definition of the term. They have occupied the northern regions of Sweden since time immemorial (see Lehtola 2004; Green 2009; Kraft 2010). Additionally, the Sami have been recognised by the Swedish state as the official indigenous population of Sweden (Lehtola 2004). The Sami as a population group are considered the largest indigenous group within Europe, occupying the northern regions of Norway, Sweden, Finland and a small portion of Russia (Green 2009).

The Swedish Sami hold their origins in the north of Sweden (Green 2009) whilst the Bantu-speaking population migrated into southern Africa 1200-2000 years ago (Huffman 1980). The Sami are officially recognised as the indigenous population of Sweden but the Bantu-speaking people are not recognised as such. It is just an assumption made that Bantu-speaking people are indigenous compared to other settlers who arrived much later than them in South Africa (Ndlovu 2016). The Bantu-speaking population also see themselves as being indigenous (Ndlovu 2016). The San population are widely recognised as the first inhabitants of the southern African region. In order to understand the history and origins of each group, as well as the marginalisation which they face today, I will provide provide a brief history of these groups.

The Dumezulu Community

There exists an indigenous population within southern Africa called the San, who were were the first peoples with a distinct culture to inhabit the region 100 000 years ago. They diverged from other populations around 200 000 years ago to occupy southern Africa (Thompson 2001). The San led a nomadic hunter-gatherer lifestyle and lived in an egalitarian society. They had a distinct culture which included practicing rituals, rock painting, and hunting (Lewis-Williams 1992). The San were the only population group living within South Africa until a pastoral herder group migrated south to the region 2000 years ago from northern Botswana. This group are called the Khoi or KhoiKhoi (Thompson 2001). The Khoi settled in the western region of

the country and had a high level of interaction with the San. Intermarriage between the two groups was very likely (see Schapera 1926).

A community of Bantu-speaking farmers, of which the Dumezulu are descendants, moved into South Africa from the Congo basin around 1200-2000 years ago (Huffman 1980). The much larger Bantu-speaking community who moved into the western region displaced the smaller group of Khoi herders, forcing them north into more arid areas of southern Africa (Hammond-Tooke 1980). Multiple Bantu-speaking communities dispersed themselves within the interior of the region, with most settling in the regions of Limpopo, Gauteng, Free State, Mpumalanga, and KwaZulu-Natal (Huffman 1970).

There are two main Bantu language groups: Nguni and Sotho-Tswana (Irvine *et al* 2009). From these language groups there exist ethnic groups with their own ethnicity, identity, and cultural traditions. The Dumezulu are part of the amaZulu group which belongs to the Nguni language group (Irvine *et al* 2009). The amaZulu group settled within KwaZulu-Natal which is where the Dumezulu community currently reside. The Nguni language group additionally comprises of the amaXhosa, amaSwati, and amaNdebele groups (Irvine *et al.* 2009). The Sotho-Tswana language group comprises of BaTswana, BaPedi, and BaSotho. Each of these groups identify as a people according to their language (Irvine *et al* 2009). For example, amaZulu speak isiZulu, the amaXhosa speak isiXhosa, etc. The Venda, Lemba, and Tsonga peoples do not make up a language group, however, they are still part of the Bantu language group (Irvine *et al.* 2009). Additionally, these groups became known as tribes in the western sense, with most controlling their own kingdoms which reigned over certain regions in South Africa (Huffman 1970).

The Bantu-speaking peoples and Khoisan did interact and possibly intermarried at an earlier time of settlement as there is linguistic and DNA evidence which link the groups to each other (Denbow 1990). In addition, this interaction would have induced an amalgamation of cultures, which is evident in the material culture present in these regions. Ceramics excavated from regions where Bantu-speaking communities settled often contain surface patterns, or motifs, and materials which were specific to a language group (Huffman 1980). Ceramics which have a mixture of patterns have been uncovered indicating interaction between the various Bantu-speaking groups (Huffman 1989).

The main forms of discrimination against the Bantu-speaking population originated from the Afrikaner and British groups within South Africa (Comaroff 2013). The Afrikaner group, who

still exist within South Africa today, originated from mainly Dutch, German, and French settlers (Marks 1970). The Dutch and British were originally at conflict with one another in forming and controlling new colonies. From the mid-1600s onwards, a group of Dutch soldiers merged with German and French groups to form a unified Afrikaner group, after which the Afrikaners were at conflict with the British (Marks 1970). The two groups fought for control over the interior of the country for large periods of time which the Bantu became embroiled in because they did not want to surrender their land (Marks 1970; Thompson 2001).

After fighting against the occupation of their land, the Bantu-speaking peoples faced a horrific regime. The apartheid regime officially began in 1948 and ended in 1994 (Comaroff 2013; Thompson 2001). During this regime, the non-white populations of South Africa faced gross human rights injustices, but none more so than the Bantu-speaking population. The system of segregation forced the Bantu-speaking population off their land and placed them in overcrowded areas on the outskirts of towns and cities (Comaroff 2013). The unspeakable violence which the Bantu-speaking population were faced with amongst other social injustices led to mass protests with an eventual resolution in the late 1980s (Comaroff 2013). The country's first democratic national elections were held in 1994 with Nelson Mandela elected as president (Comaroff 2013).

South Africa may be a democratic country but the scars of apartheid are still apparent. As a result of apartheid, the Bantu-speaking population have had to face social and economic inequality and continuous racial discrimination (Durrheim *et al.* 2011). They are also currently in the process of fighting for land redistribution in an effort to gain back what was lost during the years of colonial occupation and apartheid (Ntsebeza & Hall 2007). The Bantu-speaking population of South Africa have a right to reclaim their culture and identity which was frowned upon during colonialism and apartheid (Durrheim *et al.* 2011). The strong ties which the Bantu-speaking population have to their identity, under a regime which tried to make them feel ashamed for that identity, has only grown stronger (Ntsebeza & Hall 2007). The management of cultural heritage in South Africa where it concerns the Bantu-speaking population is relevant in assessing whether there is scope for a TMS approach towards conservation to be implemented.

Swedish Sami History

The Sami peoples are recognised as the indigenous population group of Sweden although they were not regarded as such in the past. Sami origins and identity have been part of an ongoing debate about who the Sami are (Lantto 2010). The Swedish Sami are part of a larger conglomerate Sami population in an area known as Sapmi or by its derogatory name, Lappland (Green 2009). Sapmi is located in the northern regions of Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia (Green 2009). The estimated Sami populations of these regions are as follows: 50 000-65 000 in Norway, 20 000-40 000 in Sweden, 8000 in Finland, and 2000 in Russia (Ojala 2009). It is important to understand Swedish Sami history before delving into current Sami issues. In reviewing Swedish Sami history, matters of displacement and colonisation by the Swedish state are brought to light. I discuss these below.

The borders which separated Sweden from Norway and Russia were drawn in the 14th century. Before this, the northern regions of Norway, Sweden and Russia were a unified land mass. The Sami population had settled in the northern Sapmi area of the aforementioned countries (Lantto 2010). The subsequent borders resulted from the Noteborg Peace Treaty and the Telge Agreement. The Noteborg Peace Treaty was signed in 1323, and so the border between Sweden and The Republic of Novgorod (modern day Russia) was formed (Lantto 2010). The Telge Agreement was signed in 1328 to strengthen Sweden's northern border which was the Ume River. The River acted as a natural northern border, separating the northern Swedish Sami occupied land from the rest of Sweden. Migration across the northern border was forbidden to protect the Sami's rights against colonisation and merchants' rights (Lehtola 2004).

Merchants during the Middle Ages (5th-15th century), known as *birkarlar,* traded with, and collected taxes from, the Sapmi region (Lehtola 2004)). The *birkarlar* called the Sapmi region they collected taxes from *Lappmarker* or 'Lapp-Lands'. The borders between Sweden, Norway, and Novgorod were still ill-defined which lead to much confusion concerning taxes and the Sami often found themselves paying taxes to all three states instead of only one, a burdensome result of merchants and kingdoms exploiting Sami populations (Green 2009; Ojala 2009).

The Swedish Kingdom's interest in its northern-most regions was palpable in the 16th century. The interest in Sami population areas was partly because the *birkarlar* kept a large amount of the taxes they collected for themselves and gave the Swedish state a small portion (Lantto 2010). King Gustav Vasa declared that taxes would be doubled and that the Sami would pay

their taxes directly to the State. The King established *lappfogdar* (officers) to act as enforcers and informants (Lantto 2010). They would be responsible for not only collecting taxes, but also frequently reporting on Sami activity to the Swedish state. All communication between the Sami and the state was conducted by the *lappfogdar* (Lantto 2010).

In 1542, the Swedish King decreed that anyone who wished to settle in the northern parts of the country and build homesteads would be allowed to do so. All areas that were left unoccupied would consequently belong to the state (see Ruong 1982; Green 2009). Incentives such as freedom from military service and taxation were offered to those who agreed to migrate north (Green 2009). The purpose of this act was to protect state interests and oversee the development of both settlers and Sami reindeer herders. The Swedish state, however, was found in constant violation of the terms of the Telge Agreement which was made to protect the Sami from the things which the Swedish state was now enforcing (Ruong 1982; Green 2009). This caused unrest and wars soon broke out. Peace was later ensured through the treaties in Knäred (1613) and Stolbova (1617) (Lehtola 2004).

In the early 17th century, Swedish missionaries began the systematic Christianisation of the Sami (Rydving 1993). King Charles IX ordered churches to be built and markets to be established in Sami occupied regions in Sweden such as Umea, Jokkmokk, and Kiruna. The primary reason for this was to strengthen the Swedish State in North Calotte (the northern areas of Sweden, Norway, and Finland) (Rydving 1993). Sami religious views were considered to be primitive by Swedish society and so, Christianity was used as a means of integrating the Sami into modern-day society (Rydving 1993). The Sami shaman, or *noaidi*, were portrayed as evil beings who possessed demonic spirits. Witchcraft trials were undertaken in the 17th and 18th centuries by the Swedish state (Rydving 1993), which could have also been used as an intimidation tactic (Green 2009). The Sami would gather at the churches to discuss state issues such as taxation, trade, legal issues, and religious matters (Minde 1998). The Christianisation of the Sami had mixed results. Some fully embraced Christianity, whilst others chose to resist it or partially incorporate it into their lifestyle (Minde 1998).

Sami relocation was a recurring theme during the 18th and 19th centuries. The Stromstad Treaty, signed in 1751, defined the border between Norway and Sweden (Lantto 2010). An annex to this treaty, called the Lapp Codicil, regulated the Sami's rights concerning their traditional land and water. In addition, the Sami who herded reindeer were allowed to cross the borders in North Calotte (Lehtola 2004). Russia first attempted to close the Norwegian-Finnish

border for Sami reindeer herders in 1852 but it proved unsuccessful. In 1889, Russia’s second attempt proved to be successful and the border closed, thus preventing freedom of movement for reindeer herders (Lehtola 2004). The closure of the border resulted in the loss of grazing lands and increased reindeer herds in the northernmost parts of Norbotten (Fig.1) in Sweden (Green 2009). The Swedish authorities decided to relocate the reindeer herding families to areas where there were more grazing lands. The families had resisted at first, but some agreed to move to the more southern areas of Norbotten as the temperatures were unstable and portions of their herds were dying (Green 2009).

The late 19th and early 20th century is reflective of increased power and control over the Sami by the Swedish State. The Swedish-Norwegian Reindeer Grazing Convention, signed in 1919, stated that a limited amount of reindeer from Swedish Sami herders would be allowed on Norwegian land (Lehtola 2004)). The Swedish State attempted to relocate some Sami herders into the northern-most part of Norbotten County, but the majority of the land was already occupied. This led to the state relocating herders to Västerbotten County located just below Norbotten and even Jämtland County further south (Lehtola 2004). There were protests about the relocation from the Sami but in the end, they were forced to move to the more southern areas.

Fig. 1: Map showing counties in Sweden. Norbotten is shown in light pink, Västerbotten in light purple and Jämtland in green (sourced from: Lantto: 2010).

During this time period, two attitudes emerged towards the Sami in Sweden. These actions toward the Sami were a continuation of the colonisation that they were subjected to under the Swedish State. The first attitude was that of *lapp-skall-vara-lapp*, 'Lapp shall be Lapp' or 'Lapp must remain Lapp' (Green 2009; Ojala 2009). The reindeer herding Sami were the subject of this particular attitude. They were encouraged to continue being nomads and could not settle in any particular area (Ojala 2009). Additionally, a special school system was exclusively established for the reindeer herders' children so that they could learn about reindeer herding (Green 2009). The schools were ill-constructed Sami huts and children were often crammed into confined spaces. Many children died from tuberculosis as a result of the poor infrastructure (Green 2009). The learning material which Sami education derived from which was prescribed by the Swedish state would work to accelerate the supposed decline of Sami culture (Green 2009).

The second attitude was directed towards the non-reindeer herding Sami, who were considered inauthentic Sami and were subjected to a policy of assimilation (Olofsson 2004, Green 2009; Ojala 2009). The non-reindeer herding Sami were encouraged to move further south by the Swedish state so that they could be assimilated into Swedish society. The separated Sami would earn their income by obtaining regular jobs (Olofsson 2004). Their children would be sent to Swedish schools where they would learn about Swedish society (Green 2009). Whilst attending Swedish schools, Sami children would be required to speak in Swedish, as speaking their language was forbidden and so was any display of Sami cultural objects (Green 2009). The divide between the reindeer herding Sami and the non-reindeer herding Sami became stronger as a result of the aforementioned attitudes implemented by the state (Olofsson 2004).

The discrimination which the Sami faced as a result of the Swedish state and the systemic colonisation which they were subjected to means that they are still marginalised in Swedish society in the present day (see Omma *et al.* 2011). The Sami continue to occupy the northern regions of the country where they can embrace their lifestyle without being discriminated against. The Sami are embracing their cultural heritage more by donning their traditional clothing and showing that they are proud to be Sami, however, some feel that Swedish society has a colonial mindset towards them (Omma *et al.* 2011). Sami cultural heritage is an important aspect in Sami society, thus the management of their heritage is an important issue.

The histories of the Sami and Bantu-speaking population of South Africa is important in understanding how these two groups are directly comparable. By analysing how both of these

groups have been negatively impacted by their nation states and how important their cultural heritage has been in retaining their identity, the significance of this study is understood. Heritage management systems which are not inclusive of indigenous or minority groups which claim ownership over their cultural heritage resources should therefore be re-evaluated

Study areas

As indicated earlier, I chose two study areas for this research project. These two locations, in vastly different geographic and cultural locations, were Dumezulu in South Africa and Jokkmokk in Sweden. The Dumezulu community is geographically located approximately 190 kilometres away from my home city of Pietermaritzburg (Fig. 2). As a result, it was easily accessible to me. More helpful was the fact that I am familiar with the Port Shepstone area as it is a popular tourist destination. I chose the study area of Dumezulu because the Ray Nkonyeni Municipality is developing a tourism centre in the area which involves the promotion of San rock art. It is unusual to find San rock art situated in coastal regions and so, I was immediately intrigued.

I was previously unaware that the study area was in fact named Dumezulu, as the official name of the tourism project is the KwaXolo Caves Project. I will, however, be referring to the tourism development as the tourism centre in this dissertation because the community informed me that they would like to be referred to as the Dumezulu community and not the KwaXolo community. I will thus refrain from using the name KwaXolo in reference to the tourism centre and the community. The Dumezulu community, situated approximately 30 kilometres from the main road, is essentially a rural community where people are considered to be economically disadvantaged. This means that it is not as easily accessible as it might be considering the implementation of the tourism centre in the area.

The tourism development is marketed as a tourism centre which will provide guided tours for people to see the San rock art situated within the community. The centre is not yet operational but I was informed by the Ray Nkonyeni Municipality that it will become operational by the end of 2019. The tourism development is seen as an opportunity to generate additional income within the community as that is how it was marketed to them. The community do not have any particular religious or spiritual affiliations to the rock art present, and so the benefit of this tourism centre is purely economical for them. The question of whether or not the Dumezulu can claim ownership over the rock art is raised because they are not a San community and I will discuss this further in the following chapters.

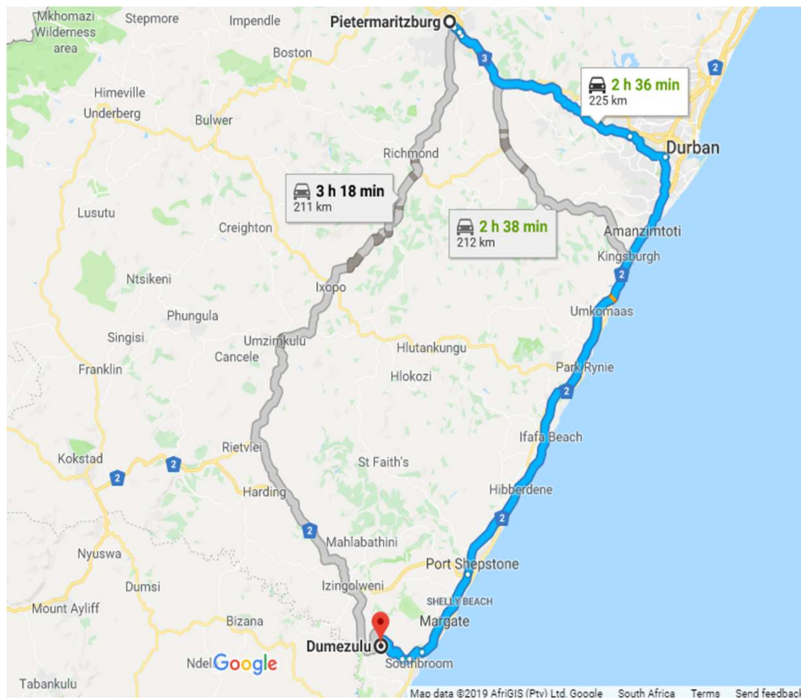

Fig.2: Map showing car route from Pietermaritzburg to the Dumezulu community (sourced from Google Maps).

The community will gain an additional income from the tourism centre when it becomes operational by selling handmade crafts such as beadwork and woodwork which will directly relate to their amaZulu heritage. Other members in the community will become tour guides and show tourists the rock art on display. They will also explain the details shown in the rock art and what the images depict. The community hopes that the tourism centre will be a sufficient source of economic stability and possibly lead to additional infrastructure being implemented if the centre becomes self-sustaining.

My research project initially only focused on South Africa with a few ties to other indigenous groups, such as the Australian Aboriginals and Native Americans, until I was presented with the opportunity to visit Sweden as part of an exchange programme between the University of Pretoria and Uppsala University. I decided that I would conduct an in-depth study concerning the Swedish Sami and the issues they currently face in accessing and safeguarding their cultural heritage. This allowed me the opportunity to focus on one indigenous group from another country and provide depth to my research instead of discussing multiple indigenous communities in passing. Once I made this decision, I initially wanted my Swedish study to include Laponia World Heritage Site where I would conduct research.

Due to ongoing instability as a result of disagreements amongst members of the Laponia management board, however, I was advised against going to Laponia by an academic who had conducted research in the area. I had to alter my research plans and instead of going to Laponia, it became more ideal for me to visit the Sami region of Jokkmokk (Fig. 3). Although I could not conduct research in Laponia, I included it as a case study in Chapter 2 due to its relevance concerning stakeholder relations and the challenges which the Sami currently face concerning the safeguarding of their cultural heritage. The north of Sweden has lower temperatures than the south of Sweden so by the time I visited Jokkmokk, the snow and ice had melted.

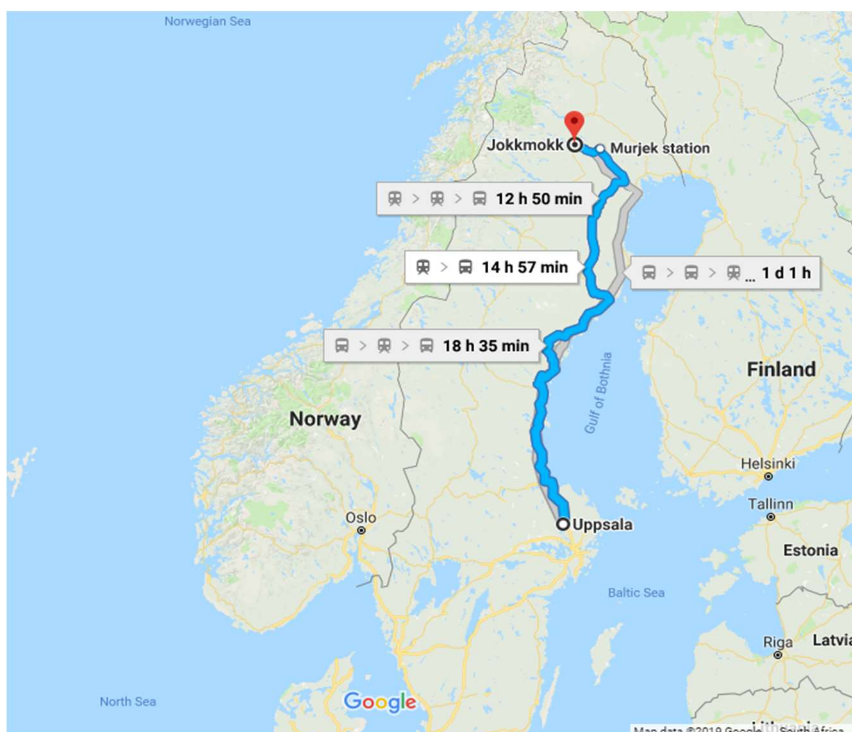

Fig. 3: Map showing my journey by train from Uppsala where I was based to Jokkmokk in the north (sourced from: Google Maps).

Besides weather patterns, Jokkmokk became the most ideal study area because it is part of the Laponia area. The concerns which the Sami had for their cultural heritage when Laponia became a World Heritage Site would thus also reflect the concerns of the Sami population residing within Jokkmokk. Additionally, Jokkmokk is home to the biggest Sami museum, the Ajtte Museum (Silven 2012), and the town is small enough to get around by foot without the use of additional transport. Ajtte Museum prides itself on being a Sami museum strongly focused on showcasing the Sami culture. Due to employees being largely away during the

spring season, an ideal period for them to go on vacation following a cold winter season, I only had the opportunity to interview the Director of the Ajtte Museum. Although I could only interview one employee, the Director's knowledge about Sami heritage management was a sufficient sourcel of information. The Director comes from a Sami background and was able to provide insight into Sami cultural heritage and life in Jokkmokk. Interviewing someone of the Director's position, who was vastly knowledgeable about most aspects linked to my research, meant that it was not exceedingly problematic that I could not interview other employees. The Director herself informed me that she was not sure I would get different answers or perspectives from other employees at the museum if I asked them the same questions I had asked her as there were many new employees who were still settling in.

Having provided the academic and geographic context of this dissertation, I now wish to address the research questions and aims that formed the basis through which I conducted the study.

Research questions

There were two research questions that were critical in the study I conducted in South Africa and Sweden. I present these two research questions below:

i) Can tourism be considered a threat to the spiritual and cultural values attached to heritage sites in both South Africa and Sweden? and,

ii) Does heritage legislation in South Africa and Sweden allow for a Traditional Management System in managing sites identified for tourism development?

In order to answer these questions, there are several aspects which needed to be taken into consideration, including the political nuances towards indigenous heritage management in what is considered to be a developed country and developing country.

Aims

i) To understand the spiritual and cultural values associated with the cultural heritage resources in each study area,

ii) To ascertain whether tourism in these study areas is a threat towards the conservation of the cultural heritage resources, and

iii) To analyse the heritage legislation of South Africa and Sweden in order to understand if it allows for a Traditional Management System to be effective.

Outline of the dissertation

The dissertation contains 6 chapters in total, including the introduction and conclusion chapters. The first chapter was aimed at providing the academic and geographic context that defined the study, as well as the research questions and aims through which I conducted the research project. The second chapter is composed of an analysis of the literature relating to the topics of tourism, heritage legislation and heritage management, with specific reference to the two study groups. In particular, this literature review chapter also presents analyses of international and national heritage legislations of South Africa and Sweden. Chapter three lays the foundation from which the study was built by establishing the methods that I used in gathering research data. As a foundation, this chapter allows the reader to have an informed insight into how the other chapters within this dissertation were compiled and what they are concerned with. The theoretical framework of this study, also presented in chapter three, was based on two theories (conservation theory and stakeholder collaboration theory) from which the data gathered was analysed and discussed. The fourth chapter presents the data I gathered in South Africa and Sweden, informed by research questions, applied methods and theory. This data is mainly informed by the interviews I undertook with various participants in both these countries. The data presented in chapter four is critically analysed in chapter five, examining the extent to which the two research questions were responded to. The conclusion, chapter six, is a reflection on the dissertation as the whole.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

The Dumezulu and Sami and communities, whilst belonging to two different continents, share similarities in terms of their history which makes them comparable. The Dumezulu, which is comprised of mainly Bantu-speaking peoples, have been discriminated against and marginalised by colonial entities and an apartheid government (Comaroff 2013). The cultural heritage of the Bantu-speaking peoples was often ridiculed and scoffed at due to its association (Comaroff 2013). Similarly, the Sami were discriminated against by the Swedish state and still feel that they are discriminated against in the present day which has impacted upon the manner in which their cultural heritage is viewed and safeguarded (Lehtola 2004; Silven 2012). Similarly, the Bantu-speaking and Sami peoples have thus placed immense value in their cultural heritage which aids in building strong individual cultural identities.

Three important topics are addressed in this chapter. The first point directly relates to the extent to which tourism, on one hand, could be considered as a threat to the cultural and spiritual values held by the South African Dumezulu and the Swedish Sami communities while also seen as economically significant in creating employment opportunities. Nation states benefit economically and tourists benefit from the experience of visiting a destination which is different to their everyday surroundings (Cohen 1984). The tourism centre in Dumezulu, it is hoped, will attract tourists from within South Africa and beyond. The area identified for this development is characterised by a waterfall and a cave which contains San rock art. This is a unique occurrence as San rock art is often not discovered along coastal regions but in more inland and mountainous regions (Chippendale & Tacon 1998). For the development to be successful, it would be ideal to include the Dumezulu community in all decision making, particularly because of the significance they attach to the development which will ultimately become part of their traditional land once operational. Compared to the South African case study, tourism amongst the Swedish Sami is a small but thriving industry which gives the Sami an opportunity to present tourists with facts about their own cultural heritage (Olsen 2016). In Sweden, the Sami entrepreneurs incorporate cultural heritage aspects to lure tourists to the Sami regions in the north for economic benefits (Pettersson 2002). I did not focus on any specific tourism development in the Sami region but more on the overall indigenous Sami tourism industry.

The second topic relates to the exploration of whether heritage legislation in both these countries adequately protects sites of cultural, spiritual, or economic significance to these two communities who have claimed ownership over cultural heritage resources. It is also important to recognise how international heritage legislation influenced the construction of heritage legislative frameworks in South Africa and Sweden. Additionally, it is imperative, to develop an understanding of whether these communities are able to access sites for religious, spiritual or other purposes that have been deemed ideal for tourism activities. Evaluating the role of heritage legislation will lend insight into the legal processes that are in place to safeguard heritage resources in both South Africa and Sweden.

The third and last topic concerns cultural heritage management and the presence, or lack thereof, of Heritage Impact Assessments in South Africa and Sweden. Analysing whether there is a structure in place to safeguard cultural heritage is an important factor in this dissertation. If South Africa and Sweden have adopted heritage legislation, then it is their duty to ensure that the cultural heritage resources present within their countries are adequately safeguarded. An important point to consider with regards to this topic is whether the cultural heritage of the Bantu-speaking peoples and the Sami community are given the same consideration as other nationally significant cultural heritage resources and what methods are used to safeguard their indigenous cultural heritage.

Tourism

The concept of tourism in relation to archaeology has been met with much debate. Since tourism and archaeology have become inextricably linked through tangible cultural heritage resources, archaeologists have debated the positive and negative impacts of tourism (Rowan & Baram 2004). I present three concerns from archaeologists regarding the development of sites for tourism purposes.

The first concern is that the use of archaeological sites by the tourism industry whether for educational purposes, promoting national identity, or profit making, is doing more harm than good (Walker & Carr 2013). This concern is informed by the potential damage that tourists or the tourism industry could inflict upon the surrounding community and their cultural heritage. Archaeologists have two main criticisms relating to this concern. The first criticism is that the archaeological artefacts which are in the vicinity could be spiritually or culturally important to

the local community (Pacifico & Vogel 2012). Second, while there could be positive spinoffs from tourism (i.e. encouraging socio-economic development within the community), tourism development could lead to tension between stakeholders (see Cohen 1979, 1984; Sharpley 2000). Archaeologists take issue with these aspects of tourism development because they not only affect a place of archaeological significance, but also the people to which this heritage belongs (Walker & Carr 2013).

A second concern linked to the development of archaeological sites for tourism is their exposure to potential vandalism (Shetaway & El Khateeb 2009). Allowing access to sites of importance to members of the public can do more harm than good, especially if a site is fragile in terms of its conservation status. Due to people climbing over monuments, touching displays, polluting the surrounding area, and having no regard for archaeological artefacts, the vandalism of important sites could be a huge factor in a given locality (Shetawy & El Khateeb 2009).

Third, amongst other provisions given to tourists, are cafes and souvenir stores. This, some may argue, takes away the overall atmosphere and historical importance of the site (Walker & Carr 2013). These types of stores are also viewed as another money-making scheme in addition to the already applied entrance fee (Gazin-Schwartz 2004). Some archaeologists criticise the tourism industry for promoting profits at the expense of sustainability. Tourism is a largely consumer-based industry which means that it has to sell ideas and products to the public (Walker & Carr 2013; Gao 2016). The capitalistic manner in which tourism operates is not going to change, and the demand for historical and authentic spaces by the public means that tourism has to oblige.

Whilst archaeologists have been critical of the tourism industry, however, they can be an integral part of the discourse about conservation, heritage management, and sustainability. The ever-growing global market for tourism requires archaeology and tourism to work in tandem, particularly considering the interest to use archaeological sites for those seeking to experience the authenticity of the past (Walker & Carr 2013). Archaeologists can contribute to tourism and help to solve the negative aspects that they cite. They can and should become more involved in tourism centres and exhibitions to ensure that the public are receiving accurate information. One example of this is the Origins Centre Museum in the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa. The archaeology department is located in the vicinity of the museum itself and the current director of the museum is an archaeology professor. Archaeologists can also become an 'educational tool' by means of educating the public about

the destruction of important archaeological property (Hoffman *et al.* 2002). Getting involved with the public only creates more awareness for archaeology as a discipline and what it aims to achieve.

Additionally, archaeologists can become involved in negotiations when tourism developments are implemented in a place that is archaeologically important and holds significance for the local community (Díaz-Andreu 2013). They can get involved with a government or independent organisation that seeks to inform local communities about their rights during negotiations. Local communities often do not know what they can or cannot demand from stakeholders who are implementing the development (Pacifico & Vogel 2012). Archaeologists could take responsibility in informing them about their access to and ownership of the cultural heritage space. Archaeologists should be neutral spectators in negotiations and discussions about the usage of sites, but they should also inform the local communities of their rights (Pacifico & Vogel 2012). The manner in which the archaeologist views tourism or developers should not affect their decision making which could lead to unintended consequences for the local community.

Despite the issues that archaeologists have with tourism, they also realise the opportunities that tourism brings (Walker & Carr 2013) I discuss two of such opportunities. First, additional funding can be secured as a result of tourism developments. Financial support from national governments is ever-decreasing and funding for new research is not always readily available (Castañeda 2012). The high demand from the public to see more important historical spaces leads to an increase in these spaces becoming commercialised for tourism purposes (Castañeda 2012). Entrance fees and income from the sale of souvenirs contributes funding towards the protection of the site and further research (Holtorf 2006).

Second, tourism brings exposure to archaeology. Tourism does a good job of relaying information to the public, something that archaeologists have grappled with in the past (Little 2002). The exposure that tourism generates for archaeology as a discipline is immense considering that the main sources of archaeological information which the public receives is from movies such as Indiana Jones and Tomb Raider. The public needs to be aware that archaeology constitutes more than just excavating and discovering artefacts, and that there is a contemporary side to archaeology too.

KwaZulu-Natal Tourism

As a resident of the KwaZulu-Natal province, I can attest to its tourism potential. The area in which Dumezulu is located, Port Shepstone, is ideal for tourism. The coastal areas of the province, of which Dumezulu is one such locality, attracts tourists at all times of the year from within South Africa and overseas (Rogerson 2017). Tourism is a booming industry within South Africa due to its plethora of natural features and tourism activities (Rogerson & Visser 2006; Cornelissen 2017; Rogerson 2017). The KwaZulu-Natal coast comprises of the Hibiscus coast, the Durban metro, the Zululand coast, and the Maputaland coastal regions (Vetrimurugan *et al.* 2019). These regions are further divided into five district municipalities namely uMkhanyakude, King Cetshwayo, iLembe, eThekwini, and Ugu (Fig. 4). These district municipalities are then further divided into 11 local municipalities (Willemse & Goble 2018).

The location of the tourism centre is in the Ugu District Municipality and the Ray Nkonyeni Local Municipality in the Hibiscus coast region. The region is well known for its pristine beaches, fishing areas, and overall recreational activities (Willemse & Goble 2018). The tourism centre is located off road within the rural area of Dumezulu, however, the Municipality plans to resolve this issue by improving signage along main roads thereby increasing the visibility of the tourism centre. There are issues of infrastructure which need to be addressed within the community, however, the marketability of the site in an area which is rich in tourism potential is high.

The South African government has prioritised local economic development since the early 2000s in order to strengthen the socio-economic development of rural areas (Binns & Nel 2002). The rural areas in South Africa comprise of Bantu-speaking people who are economically disadvantaged and have to contend with a lack of education and literacy skills (Nzama 2010), a direct consequence of apartheid. Tourism was seen as an ideal manner in which economic upliftment could be achieved as these rural areas already had the natural resources to become successful tourism areas (Nzama 2010). By implementing tourism in rural areas, however, the government and local municipalities had to take many factors into consideration namely: lack of infrastructure, high illiteracy rates, unemployment, poverty, and the community's lack of understanding of tourism development (Nzama 2010).

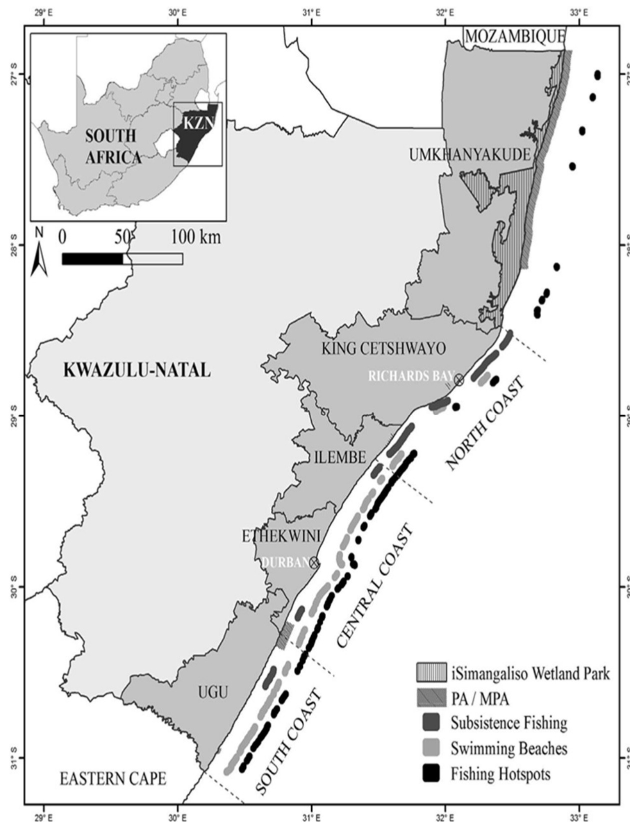

Fig. 4: Map showing KwaZulu Natal district municipalities. Dumezulu is located in the Ugu district municipality (sourced from Willemse & Goble 2018).

The aim of the tourism centre was to enable economic growth within the Dumezulu community. There was potential for local economic development in the area due to the historic and natural features such as the San rock art and a waterfall located nearby. The Dumezulu community want the tourism centre to succeed because it would provide additional income for them. With the implementation of the tourism centre, the community plan to make and sell handmade crafts which include beaded bracelets, necklaces, and woodwork which directly relate to their amaZulu heritage. The lack of infrastructure and the influx of tourists is an issue because the community want a good road and bridge that leads tourists to the centre, however, they are not used to outsiders being within their traditional land.

The main issue that stakeholders have with the implementation of the tourism centre is managing expectations. The initial budget of the tourism centre was quite large but has since been cut down to a small amount. The Municipality drafted an operational plan for the site (Appendix A) in which it mapped out all the infrastructure it would build with the initial budget (Appendix B) in 2013. Since then, however, it seems that the only additional infrastructure which will be provided in order to make the tourism centre operational is a suspended bridge

which connects the tourism centre to the rock art and a tarred road which leads into the community. The community were initially excited about the tourism centre and everything that would be built with it, however, they have since become disillusioned with the development because of the budget cut and the Municipality's failure to make the centre operational. The Municipality also have to contend with the fact that the tourism centre might not become successful and self-sustaining once it is implemented.

Sami tourism in Sweden

The Sami people were once well-known for their supposed lifestyle of being "in nature" and therefore somewhat exotic, and to some extent they are still seen in this light. Tourists who visit Sweden's Sapmi regions expect to see Sami who continue to live as they did a century ago (Olsen 2016). They want the authentic experience of seeing the Sami dressed in traditional clothing, living in traditional Sami tents. and standing by their reindeer (Muller & Pettersson 2001). The Sami people who currently live in Sapmi are regular people who cannot provide tourists with the authentic experience which they expect (Olsen 2016). Sami reindeer herders use cellphones and machinery in their daily lives and are no longer reliant on the old methods of reindeer herding (Petterson 2002). There are a few Sami who wear traditional clothing (*kofte*), but the majority wear modern clothing and have regular jobs (Olsen 2016; Pettersson 2002).

The Sami have been critical of past tourism practices because they felt like their culture was being exploited (Silven 2012). Additionally, the disturbance of reindeer herding by tourists caused unrest amongst the reindeer herding Sami because it is their main source of income (Muller & Pettersson 2001; Olsen 2016). Reindeer herding started to become less profitable when the north of Sweden began to develop and people had access to other types of meat (Muller & Pettersson 2001). This economical dilemma meant that reindeer herders had to abandon their heritage and become involved in other business ventures. One such venture is that of tourism. The involvement of Sami people in the tourism industry meant that they could shape the perception of tourists (Olsen 2016; Pettersson 2002). Sami tourism ventures could create awareness of what being a Sami means, what their way of life was like in the past, and how they live today (Olsen 2016).

Tourists can also experience authentic Sami cultural heritage in Sweden in the form of winter markets and the well-known Sami museum Ajtte in Jokkmokk (Fig. 5). The winter markets provide a platform for Sami handicrafts to be displayed and sold. The biggest winter market is

held in Jokkmokk annually. The market attracts a lot of visitors, approximately 1000 per annum, and creates exposure for Jokkmokk (Viken & Muller 2006). The Sami museum, Ajtte, has numerous Sami exhibits with interesting Sami material culture such as the Sami drums and the famous *sieidi* on display (Viken & Muller 2006). Nature is a central theme in their exhibitions with an exhibition dedicated to Laponia being a fixed feature.

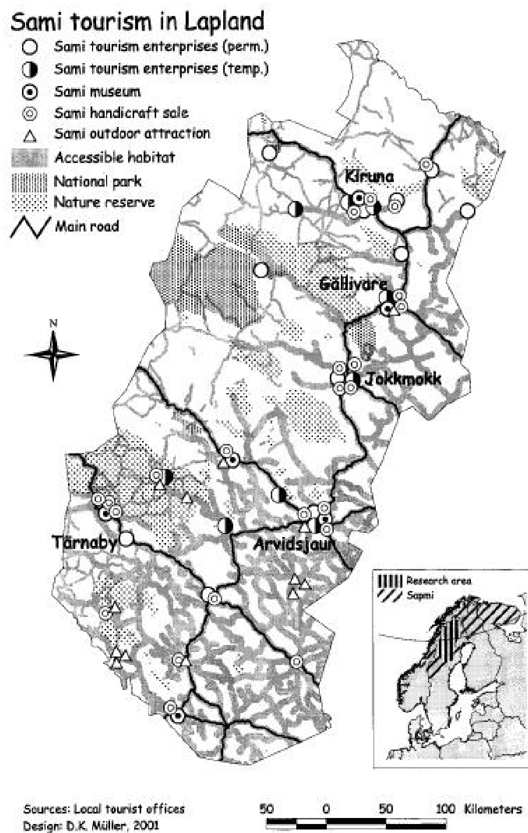

Fig. 5: Map showing Sami regions in Sweden and tourism attractions (sourced from Muller & Pettersson 2001).

Sami handicrafts are made from a variety of materials which can either decompose or be recycled. The most valuable of these handicrafts are knives and scabbards. The blades are made from silver spoons, a symbol of wealth in the Sami community, and the handles from reindeer antlers (Viken & Muller 2006). The knives are marketed to high end tourists because they are steeply priced. The most common of handicrafts include bracelets, brooches, and bags made from leather and tin, and plastic Sami dolls and hats (Viken & Muller 2006). Clothing such as T-shirts are wildly popular with tourists and more affordable. A special seal was introduced for Sami artists who sell their handicrafts to distinguish their goods from cheap imitations (Muller & Pettersson 2001; Viken & Muller 2006). Most Sami handicrafts are available from museums,

tourist information offices, and independent Sami entrepreneurs (Muller & Pettersson 2001). Sami handicrafts offer a unique souvenir and a piece of Sami heritage for tourists to connect with.

One of the biggest tourist attractions in Sweden is Laponia World Heritage Site. Tourists flock to the idyllic site to experience one of Europe's most beautiful landmarks (Muller & Pettersson 2001). There are various activities for tourists to experience in both the summer and winter seasons such as camping, sledding, bird watching, and the opportunity to view the northern lights (Muller & Pettersson 2001). Although Laponia is a popular tourist destination, it is also part of Sami cultural heritage due to its abundance of lakes and fields for fishing and reindeer herding practices (Green 2009).

Laponia World Heritage Site: A case study

Laponia was declared a World Heritage Site in 1996 (Green 2009; Reimerson 2016). The site is geographically situated in three Sami regions namely, Gallivare, Jokkmokk, and Arjeplog (Fig. 6). When Laponia gained the status of a World Heritage Site, the cultural heritage of the Sami and natural resources contained within Laponia needed to be safeguarded in a way which would appease all stakeholders (Reimerson 2016). No one resides within Laponia, however, as the area is important during the summer for reindeer grazing (Green 2009). Laponia was relevant to my South African case study because of the relations between stakeholder groups and the respective government authorities.

The interaction between the Swedish state and the Sami has proved to be problematic throughout history (Lantto 2010). The Sami still believe that state officials have a colonial mindset when having to deal with Sami issues and state officials believe that this mindset does not exist in the present Swedish society (Green 2009; Sundin 2005). Issues of past and present discrimination culminated when Laponia gained World Heritage status. Members of the Sami communities (*samebys*), the County Administration, and the municipalities were forced to work together in deciding how Laponia was to be managed (Nilsson-Dahlström 2008). Negotiations lasted for several years with an outcome finally being announced in 2005.

The Sami representatives wanted the board of Laponia's management team to be majority Sami while the Swedish state (County Administration Board and municipalities) wanted the opposite (Nilsson-Dahlström 2008; Green 2009). A suggestion of equal representation was put forth but

had been rejected by the Sami on the basis that having equal representation would be beneficial to the Swedish state (Reimerson 2016). Another issue of contention was the intentions for Laponia by the three stakeholder groups. The *samebys* (reindeer herders) wanted reindeer herding practices to be prioritised and Sami culture to be strongly emphasised in relation to reindeer herding (Nilsson-Dahlström 2008). The County Administration Board and municipalities had issues with this intention and with the idea of a majority Sami board because the framework of the legislation would not allow for it (Green 2009). The reasoning given by the Swedish state was a feeble explanation for why a majority Sami board was not possible.

Fig.6: Map of Laponia showing its location and the total area which it covers (sourced from Green 2009).

Beneath the surface there were other issues which stemmed from the history of Sami interaction with the Swedish state (Green 2009). The County Administration Board is responsible for the controversial Reindeer Herding Act and predator policy (Sundin 2005). The relationship between the Administration Board and the reindeer herding Sami was often fraught with difficulties (Nilsson-Dahlström 2008). In addition, the reasoning that the Sami had for the state not accepting their terms was that of discrimination and a colonial mindset (Reimerson 2016). The Sami still feel as if they are the exotic “Other” and are not treated with the same dignity as their neighbouring Swedes in the south of Sweden (Green 2009). Change eventually came

when the Swedish state wanted the Laponia issue to be resolved and were willing to negotiate with the Sami on issues which were important to them (Reimerson 2016).

A new governor had been appointed in 2003 and immediately tackled the issue of Laponia's management board (Green 2009). He called a meeting in 2005 and urged *sameby* members to attend. The *sameby* members had agreed to the meeting with one condition, the discussion of a majority Sami board needed to be prioritized on the agenda (Green 2009). The state agreed with the condition that the *sameby* representatives would be open to discussing a *naturum* (visitor's centre). The concept of the *naturum* had been a contentious issue between the *sameby* representatives and the County Administration (Green 2009). The two groups could never agree upon where the *naturum* should be located and what information it should contain. The *sameby* members agreed to this request, however, and a meeting between all three stakeholder groups took place (Green 2009). The government decided that it was time to put the idea of local management into practice with a Sami majority board (Green 2009). In the past, the government believed that the issue had to be resolved locally and put local government in charge of negotiating.

There are two possible reasons for the change in attitude regarding Laponia's board by the Swedish state. The first is that the government were becoming increasingly embarrassed with the Laponia situation (Nilsson-Dahlström 2008). Since Laponia's inception into World Heritage status fame, there had not been a fixed board in place to deal with the issues that resulted from the transition (Nilsson-Dahlström 2008). The Swedish state could have also been facing external pressure from the international community to meet the demands put forth by their indigenous people. Action had to be taken and the conflict had stretched over 10 years without a resolution in sight (Nilsson-Dahlström 2008).

The second reason could be that the change in power on a government level allowed for more open negotiations (Green 2009). The new people in power were determined to come to a resolution and brought with them a rejuvenated energy. Another important factor in the negotiation process is that all Sami groups presented a relatively unified front when it came to the management of Laponia (Green 2009). The individual groups still had different intentions for Laponia, especially the reindeer herding Sami, but they presented a unified front during negotiations which was pivotal in coming to a resolution (Green 2008).

Having a viable agreement on how a site of heritage significance would be managed for the benefit of all stakeholders involved is one thing, however, ensuring that such an agreement is

successfully implemented is another (Reimerson 2016). The stakeholders involved in the management negotiation process of Laponia did well to collaborate and find a solution to management issues. Whether this management plan will become stable in the near future, however, is yet to be seen.

I was informed by an academic who has internal knowledge of the management structure of Laponia that the Board were trying to come to a solution over who the chairperson of the new board should be. The Sami feel that the chairperson should be a Sami representative whilst the government organisations feel differently. The academic advised me to travel to Jokkmokk instead of the management centre in Laponia as tensions were rising and would not be conducive for conducting research.

Sami tourism has had its issues with exploitation in the past but if the Sami people can control their own industry, it would work to benefit them. The Sami gaining complete control over the information tourists are given and tourist experiences will ultimately form a TMS approach towards heritage conservation. Tourists who expect to encounter natural features and some form of Sami culture when they visit the north of Sweden will not be disappointed. The summer months are the most popular time period for tourists visiting Swedish Sapmi, however, an argument could be made for winter activities. The economic viability of tourism presents an opportunity for the Sami to become more involved in how their culture is perceived. Access to the north of Sweden is aided by excellent infrastructure. The history, habitat, heritage, and handicrafts which encompass Sami tourism will ensure that Sami tourism is an integral part of northern Sweden tourism for many years to come.

The purpose of analysing the tourism structures in South Africa and Sweden relates back to the first research question of this dissertation: Can tourism be considered a threat to the spiritual and cultural values attached to heritage sites in South Africa and Sweden? My research aims to understand how South African rural tourism compares to that of the Sami who are a first world indigenous population and how this impacts the cultural heritage of these groups. A study such as this one has not occurred before to my knowledge and the impact of tourism on these communities cannot be ignored.

Heritage Legislation

The western ideas that much of heritage is associated with began with international heritage legislation (Smith 2006). Sweden was the first European country to officially establish a decree for the protection of national antiquities in the 17th century. It was only until the late 1800s, however, that western countries followed suite (Ahmad 2006; Smith 2006). Archaeologists and architects in England and the United States of America (USA) propagated the protection of national monuments. The reasoning for this plea was that these monuments were historically important and had aesthetic beauty (Smith 2006). Additionally, the protection of national monuments ensured access to them for future generations. This thinking soon infiltrated other western countries, with national and international legislation being established to ensure the protection of monuments and buildings (Smith 2006).

The legislation which was drafted to protect monuments and other tangible heritage of value, which most of the western world followed, was ultimately applied when studying non-western cultures (Ahmad 2006). Material culture was highly coveted and researched. If an archaeologist excavated a ceremonial pot, for example, more attention was paid to the object itself than the cultural, religious, or spiritual value it held. Artefacts were aesthetically pleasing and therefore needed to be stored in secure facilities and museums where they would be protected for future research and generations (Ahmad 2006).

At an international level, there are institutions such as UNESCO and ICOMOS which drive the protection and conservation of heritage (Blake 2000; Pocock 1997). These institutions have principles which should be followed by all countries that have ratified the respective principles. Amongst some of these principles are the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites adopted in 1965, the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage adopted in 1972, and the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage adopted in 2003.

The first charter, commonly known as the Venice Charter, was adopted by ICOMOS in 1965 for the conservation and restoration of monuments and buildings (Magness-Gardiner 2004; Smith 2006). ICOMOS were the first international body to draft major international legislation relating to tangible cultural heritage in the form of buildings and monuments (Ahmad 2006) The second convention, commonly known as the World Heritage Convention (WHC), was adopted by UNESCO in 1972 following the inadequacy of the Venice Charter to protect

monuments and buildings which have historical significance (Blake 2000). The Convention, solely concerned with the protection of natural and cultural heritage, was formulated because of the shifting social and economic conditions which would ultimately threaten sites which contained buildings or monuments which hold cultural value to the world (Smith 2006). For example, if Egypt wished to build a dam on the Nile River close to a cluster of pyramids, the construction could cause damage to the pyramids and the development could have unintended negative impacts on the site in the future.

On the 17th of October 2003, UNESCO adopted the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (Ahmad 2006; Kurin 2004). The adoption of this Convention was due to the fact that the WHC did not include principles for the safeguarding of ICH (Ahmad 2006; Blake 2000; Smith 2006). There was also increasing pressure from indigenous groups to adopt legislation which would create awareness for and protect their ICH (Vecco 2010). The Convention outlines why ICH is important and why it needs to be safeguarded. To date, 175 countries have ratified this Convention and more information about which countries have ratified the Convention is available on the UNESCO website.

The purposes of the Convention are straightforward in what it aims to achieve (see UNESCO 2003). Promoting ICH and creating awareness for a sector of heritage which has been largely ignored in the international arena could make a significant difference for indigenous and minority communities. The definition of intangible cultural heritage provided encompasses the key elements of ICH and its usage.

Critical analysis on heritage legislation

The 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage has many similarities with the 1972 World Heritage Convention. This is problematic for a number of reasons. I discuss three such reasons which are: (i), the creation of an intangible cultural heritage list (ii), the power that the Convention gives nation states, and (iii), the value which indigenous and minority communities ascribe to tangible cultural heritage.

First, creating lists much like those proposed in the WHC is unrealistic and follows a trend of westernisation (see Bwasiri 2011; Mumma 2003; Ndoro & Kuriama 2008). Value should not be placed on intangible heritage in the materialistic sense because it is not tangible and it creates much of the same problems which plagues the World Heritage List (see Smith 2006). The materialistic value which is ascribed to tangible cultural heritage is steeped in the westernised material-based approach towards conservation which will be discussed in the

following chapter. The conservation of ICH should derive from a TMS approach in which indigenous or minority populations have direct and complete control over the conservation and management of heritage resources which they claim ownership of (Jopela 2011).

Second, whilst the Convention recognises the important link between ICH and tangible cultural heritage, it still gives the most power to the nation state and not the indigenous or minority population (Ahmad 2006; Meskell 2013; Vecco 2010). The Convention implies that the nation state owns these cultural heritage resources thereby taking power away from indigenous and minority populations (Ahmad 2006). This power imbalance creates an uneven playing field when conservation approaches are implemented to conserve these heritage resources (Jopela & Frederiksen 2015). Tensions could rise if indigenous or minority communities are unhappy about conservation practices or if they are not granted access to their cultural heritage (Bwasiri 2011; Labadi 2013).

Third, indigenous or minority communities who often interact with both types of heritage consider the materiality of their tangible heritage to be less important than their intangible heritage (Bwasiri 2011; Mumma 2003, Poulios 2010). If UNESCO aims to protect or conserve a heritage site which a community still interacts with by performing rituals there, then this could be problematic (Kurin 2003). The community could feel that the site does not hold materialistic value and therefore does not need to be conserved in the same manner which could be preferred by conservators or scientists (Jopela 2011; Labadi 2013; Vecco 2010). In most countries, ownership of sites is given to the State through formal heritage legislation. As a result, the voice of the indigenous communities could be muted, in preference of scientific ideas as promoted by archaeologists (Ndlovu 2011). Does the community then have a meaningful say in how the site should be conserved? These are questions which heritage studies are currently plagued with (Bwasiri 2011; Jopela & Fredriksen 2015). In reference to the two Conventions of 1972 and 2003, it is a general view that indigenous communities are not afforded the same voice of dominancy given to the people who are in charge of conserving their cultural heritage.

Having looked at the international landscape to broadly understand the general approach to the management of heritage in the world, I now wish to particularly focus on the national borders of the two countries relevant for this study, South Africa and Sweden. I analysed each country’s heritage legislation in order to understand how the legislative frameworks were constructed and how the legislation was influenced by the international legislation discussed above. In

some instances, various members of the United Nations (UN) model their national heritage legislation on the basis of these international legal principles. South Africa and Sweden are official member states of the UN and have adopted legislation aimed at protecting environmental and cultural heritage resources. The main purpose of this section is to analyse and compare the South African and Swedish heritage legislation. Guiding this analysis and comparison is the question of whether heritage legislation in these two countries is adequate in conserving heritage resources whilst allowing indigenous citizens who claim ownership over these resources to be included in the safeguarding and management of them. Another question which is raised, therefore, is whether these communities are granted access through legislation to culturally or spiritually interact with their cultural heritage resources as they see fit.

South African heritage legislation

South Africa is a country with a vast history encompassing different cultural groups that have settled within the national boundaries which they call their home. These groups have heritage that has come to define South Africa as one of the countries with a rich cultural history (Comaroff 2013). That noted, the country has also been defined by a racialised past which contains one of the worst regimes in history, apartheid (see Maylam 2017; Ross 2008; Worden 1996). In terms of cultural heritage, post-apartheid South Africa has led the promotion of heritage belonging to certain groups which were discriminated against.

The first heritage legislation promulgated in the country in 1911 was focused on the management of Bushmen heritage (Scheermeyer 2005; Ndlovu 2011). Subsequent legislation, however, has failed to promote and cater for the widely varied heritage of the country which belongs to the different cultural groups living within South African borders (Ndlovu 2011). One could argue, therefore, that colonialism allowed for the disregard of certain cultural activities by Bantu-speaking peoples, the largest group of South Africans (Magubane 2004). For example, their ritual activities were considered widely uncivilised by colonisers. Apartheid brought with it further discrimination against these groups and ultimately they could not freely make use of their intangible cultural heritage (Bakker & Muller 2010). More importantly, the intangible cultural heritage of indigenous groups has not adequately been conserved because laws protecting heritage in South Africa are not African orientated (Ndlovu 2009, 2011). Heritage is an important component of South African society because it is often seen as the one aspect which is able to connect South Africans and not encourage the divide between racial groups that has defined the country's historical past (Meskell & Scheermeyer 2008).

The current heritage legislation applied in South Africa is the National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA) which was promulgated on the 29th of April 1999. Its implementation officially led to the repeal of the National Monuments Act of 1969 (Ndlovu 2011). After rejoining the 'world' following political isolation due to apartheid, South Africa ratified the World Heritage Convention on the 10th of July 1997. Since this important step, South Africa has committed to adhere to the principles outlined in the Convention. I now wish to analyse this legislation to explore its effectiveness in the present day.

The inadequacy of the definitions introduced in the beginning of the NHRA is a key issue. Most definitions are completely simplified which takes away the complexities of key terms. The definition of conservation within the NHRA also raises further issues. For instance, conservation of heritage resources supposedly includes protection, maintenance, preservation and sustainable use of places or objects so as to safeguard their cultural significance (NHRA 1999). This definition is reflective of the dominant ideology that would have informed the writing of the legislation at the time. In particular, this definition is physically orientated, placing no emphasis on the issues of spirituality in managing and safeguarding heritage resources.

What is evident, therefore, is that most of the definitions used in the NHRA are outdated, not appreciating that some of the terms defined have evolved over time. One of the debates within heritage studies is the inadequate definitions which continue to exist within academic literature that do not adequately define key terms (Smith 2006). In order to move past previous definitions which have been heavily influenced by what the western world perceives heritage to be, legislation has to evolve with the practices which are implemented to safeguard heritage.

It is alarming that the NHRA does not specifically define ICH. This lack of definition means that even though ICH is listed as a 'heritage resource', its significance is not well amplified. I must note that the legislation does make mention of the term 'living heritage' which others may consider to be the same as ICH. Whether ICH and living heritage is defined as being the same or not within the South African context is a discussion beyond the scope of this dissertation. What must be further highlighted is the consideration that this legislation was promulgated in 1999, four years before UNESCO's 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. As a result, it might be considered that 1999 was a period before ICH became a central aspect for consideration when managing cultural heritage. It must be noted, however, that while having a heritage legislation that has begun to address issues of

living heritage (or ICH), in a very limited extent, South Africa is yet to be a signatory to the 2003 Convention.

Besides issues of definition, there are concerns with the structure that manages heritage in South Africa. The country has implemented national, provincial, and local organisations to adequately safeguard cultural heritage. At a national level, tasked with among other responsibilities, managing Grade I National Heritage Sites is the responsibility of the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA). The Act further stipulates that besides the national structure, every province has to establish a heritage authority which will be responsible for the heritage resources present (Grade II) in that province. Grade III heritage resources are the responsibility of the local municipalities. A significant concern is that SAHRA is not a strong entity because of various reasons that have hampered its operation (see Ndlovu 2011). It does not help SAHRA that the provincial heritage authorities that were to be established by 2002 are either not fully operational or very weak and thus cannot deliver on their mandate, thus requiring SAHRA to be stretched even thinner (Ndlovu 2011). For the purpose of my research, I shall focus on the one province of KwaZulu-Natal.

KwaZulu-Natal, the province where my South African research group is located, is the only province with its own provincial legislation. KwaZulu-Natal Amafa and Research Institute Act, previously called Amafa aKwaZulu-Natali, is an institution whose formation is approved by the provincial legislation to identify, conserve, protect, and administer the physical or intangible heritage resources of the province (Amafa and Research Institute Act 2018). Amafa means heritage in isiZulu. It is important to note that its enforcement is only within the borders of the province and its existence does not repeal the national legislation. The first KwaZulu-Natal act was promulgated in 1997 and amended in 2008. The current provincial heritage legislation (Amafa and Research Institute Act 2018) not only changed the name of the provincial heritage entity, but also expanded the scope of the new heritage institution. Comparatively, the contents of the 2008 KwaZulu-Natal heritage legislation and the current legislation do not differ much from the NHRA. As a result, there are no fundamental ideological differences in terms of how heritage is managed at the national level and the province of KwaZulu-Natal.

What can be discerned from South African cultural heritage legislation is the fact that the ideology informing the contents of the legal framework is western orientated. As a result, there is less emphasis on ICH. This is not to argue, however, that the term 'living heritage' referred

to in both the NHRA and the Amafa and Research Institute Act 2018 may not be considered within the framework of ICH. Even if that were to be the case, one could argue that the heritage legislation in the country favours a physical approach to heritage management, which does not necessarily allow for a spiritual approach to be applied. Religious or spiritual activities by indigenous or minority community members who have an interest in the spiritual significance of a given heritage site may be construed as 'damaging' heritage resources (Ndlovu 2011). It could be argued, therefore, that heritage legislation in South Africa is contradictory and fails dismally in its attempt to be representative. This is not surprising though as it is historically known that the voice of indigenous communities has not featured in the formulation of heritage legislation in the country (Ndoro & Pwiti 2001). South Africa needs to address these contradictions which are present by analysing and then redrafting the NHRA in order to be more inclusive of living heritage policies.

Swedish heritage legislation

Sweden was the first country to adopt a legal decree for the protection of national antiquities in the 17th century (Smith 2006). The country therefore has a long history of employing protective measures to safeguard their national heritage, an act which was an integral part of their identity formation as a nation (Green 2009). The current Swedish heritage legislation, the Heritage Conservation Act, was adopted in 1988. The Act is largely focused on tangible cultural heritage namely: ancient monuments, remains, and finds. Ancient monuments and remains, according to the legislation, is anything ranging from graveyards and related religious places such as churches, monasteries, and crosses, to ruins of fortresses, castles, and historic buildings. The Act states that in order for the above-mentioned heritage resources to be considered ancient, they must be dated to a hundred years or older. It would seem that the Venice Charter and the WHC had a strong influence in the drafting of this current Swedish heritage legislation. This view is informed by the finding that the legislation addresses much of the same issues and measures for safeguarding monuments as the Venice Charter and WHC do.

The 1980s saw an increase in countries' introducing heritage legislation as a result of the WHC (Mitchell *et al.* 2009). The legislative frameworks introduced were modelled on what the WHC required countries to address concerning cultural heritage conservation (Mitchell *et al.* 2009). Sweden introduced its Act during this period and was focused on creating legislation which would protect and conserve its tangible cultural heritage in accordance with the Convention.

Most importantly, the Act provided for legal stipulations to be followed in cases where necessary approvals from the relevant authorities must be given for activities that might be potentially harmful for the continued existence of a historical site. For example, if construction was to occur on or near a site of historical importance, permission would first need to be granted by Sweden's National Heritage Board or the County Administrative Board which are both responsible for the management of heritage resources. If any persons or entities are found to be in violation of the Act and its protective measures, they will be prosecuted according to the terms included in the Act.

The Act addresses the ownership of ancient finds by stating that the finds accrue to the State if found by a non-State associated organisation or body (Chapter 2, Section 4). Ancient finds which are discovered close to ancient monuments or remains accrue to the State. If ancient finds are discovered close to neither of the above it accrues to the finder. If the object is partly or wholly composed of gold, silver, copper, bronze, or if it is found with another object, however, the finder is obligated to offer the State an opportunity to acquire the find in exchange for payment. Finds must be reported to the National Heritage Board, County Administrative Board, or a police authority (Chapter 2, Section 4).

Having lived and conducted fieldwork in Sweden for a semester, the pride in which Sweden takes in its tangible cultural heritage resources is evident. Due to existing limitations, the current heritage legislation does need to be amended. In particular, the legislation excludes the voice and concerns of the indigenous Sami population. If Sweden aims to move away from its colonial past in which it viewed the Sami in a negative light, the Heritage Conservation Act needs to be revisited and redrafted. The 'us' vs. 'them' mentality (Green 2009, Lantto 2010) which plagues Swedish history will only be eradicated if the Sami become a part of Swedish culture, heritage, and society. The existing divide was also confirmed in the 2018 ICH report by Sweden to UNESCO, which is required by UNESCO to provide feedback on Sweden's progress in addressing the conservation of intangible cultural heritage resources.

The Sami being included in an important piece of legislation regarding their own heritage would only help to aid the divide between the Sami and Swedish citizens which still exists. The Swedish cultural legislation was drafted in a time where the Sami may have still been discriminated against by the Swedish state (Lantto 2010). The Sami are Swedish by nationality, however, they also recognise that they are the indigenous people of Sweden. The cultural heritage of the Sami should be included in national heritage legislation because of the historical

and cultural importance it holds in Swedish history (Lehtola 2004). The Sami would like discriminatory views concerning their cultural heritage to be changed (Green 2009). Becoming an autonomous indigenous group is a long-term goal for the Sami and they can only achieve this if the Swedish government is willing to collaborate with them (see Ivan 2015) Including Sami heritage in the national Swedish heritage legislation would go a long way towards bridging the divide which currently exists.

Having noted the concerns of the Sami regarding the management of their heritage, it is important to highlight that Sweden ratified UNESCO's Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2011. As a result, Sweden now has to provide UNESCO with reports on the progress made in implementing the Convention. This ratification was followed by the introduction of measures to safeguard and promote ICH. The measures which have been taken to safeguard ICH have included the Sami ICH, however, it could be included to a greater extent. The only Sami organisation involved in safeguarding ICH on a national level in Sweden is the Sami Duodji. These safeguarding measures have, in 2017, led to the promulgation of a Bill to address tangible and intangible cultural heritage. I could not adequately analyse the Bill due to it being available only in Swedish. The discussion which follows will address the ICH report which Sweden submitted to UNESCO in 2018.

One aspect I noted in this report is the issue of language. For instance, the report makes reference to four nodes which are important to oversee the ICH within Sweden. Of these four nodes, I want to specifically focus on the one named nature and intangible cultural heritage (the others are named as: oral traditions, handicraft, and music). It is not clearly evident why nature and intangible cultural heritage are grouped together as one node. What becomes evident, therefore, is that the report needs improvement to deal with the continued existence of negative perceptions. The Sami are perceived in Sweden as a people who live 'within nature' which reinforces negative stereotypes (Ojala 2009) Rather than naming it 'nature and intangible cultural heritage', the wording for that node could be 'landscape and intangible cultural heritage'. Such a change of wording could go some way in dealing with the challenges of language and terminology that is demeaning to the Sami.

Besides language, the other concern about the incorporation of intangible cultural heritage in Sweden is the role of the Sami Parliament or *Samitinget*. The Sami Duodji are part of the *Samitinget* and are involved in the steering group composed of experts who oversee the implementation of the Convention in Sweden and provide advice. This level of involvement

for the Sami is not sufficient in creating awareness for Sami ICH. As a result, the Sami have often criticised their Swedish countrymen for not understanding or attempting to understand what Sami ICH comprises of (Pinto-Guillaume 2017). Noting this discrepancy in representation, I am of the view that the Sami should have a higher position of power in this nodular system or steering group because they are Sweden's indigenous people and have the ability to change how their fellow countrymen and foreign tourists view Sami ICH.

By giving the Sami a bigger role within the ICH discussion, Sweden can show that indigenous communities can provide immense input and value to an existing system. As a developed country and one of Europe's most recognisable countries, Sweden can aid in adequately addressing the concerns of indigenous groups. Sweden has taken steps to safeguard their ICH and most of the practices put into use are commendable. No system or programme will be perfect once implemented but they can be improved upon.

What is a common theme between the South African and Swedish case studies is the fact that the voices of the indigenous communities are not well considered in decisions that are held within the framework of heritage legislation. This exclusion means that the management of tangible and intangible cultural heritage, from the perspective of the indigenous populations, is compromised in both these countries. The question could be, however, if we are all South African and Swedish, why should there be specific reference to indigenous communities? I would argue that the reason for the inclusion of indigenous communities is that the dominant voice has always been that which has a different perception of cultural heritage compared to how indigenous groups relate to their cultural heritage resources. Therefore, the historically dominant voices have not been truly Swedish or South African in their background. Such noted differences should further be considered within the political context, in which indigenous communities have been historically discriminated against. These experiences form part of who indigenous groups really are. Going forward, how do we engage in a meaningful discussion to address the concerns of indigenous communities around the world? I would argue that, to begin with, we need to understand the politics of indigeneity.

There are many definitions that have been applied by various international bodies and academics to define who indigenous populations are (see ILO 1989; Ananya 1996; Corntassel 2003; UNDRIP 2007). This presents part of the problem with identifying who exactly is indigenous. The definitions given over the years largely confine indigeneity within the context of land ownership, ancestry, and power dynamics within a government structure (Ananya

1996). As a result, definitions of who is indigenous are generally very broad, which further complicates the status of certain minority groups around the world who claim to be indigenous (Corntassel 2003).

As mentioned earlier, the Bantu-speaking peoples of South Africa are not the officially recognised indigenous population, however, they consider themselves to be such (Ndlovu 2011). This should not mean that their heritage is not safeguarded in the same manner as the indigenous San population's would be and they should ultimately be granted access to their heritage and be allowed to perform rituals and ceremonies as they see fit. The current South African heritage legislation does not account for the religious or spiritual interaction between the Bantu-speaking peoples and cultural heritage which may be historically significant. The interaction is considered to be harmful towards the materiality of the cultural heritage, whilst not accounting for the spiritual or religious ties that the cultural heritage may hold (Ndlovu 2009). The heritage legislation of South Africa needs to be redrafted in order to be more inclusive of the spiritual and religious beliefs of the Bantu-speaking peoples. On the other hand, Swedish Sami are the officially recognised indigenous population of Sweden by the Swedish state (Green 2009; Lehtola 2004), yet their cultural heritage is afforded little to no conservation in national heritage legislature. This is one of the reasons as to why the Swedish heritage legislation needs to be redrafted to include the Sami culture. Becoming a part of Swedish culture and society would further aid the division which continues to exist in the country between the north and south regions.

Heritage Management and Heritage Impact Assessments

Heritage management and heritage studies are gaining traction as an important field within archaeology. Archaeologists are increasingly aware of the threats to heritage and how the loss of material artefacts, or access to them, affects a community's religious or spiritual practices (Diaz Andreu 2013). With the use of TMS approaches towards conservation, archaeology can contribute to the manner in which sites and artefacts are conserved (Jopela 2011; see also Mataga 2003, 2009; Katsamudanga 2003; Mataga & Chabata 2008; Makuvaza 2014). When implementing a TMS approach, the community to which the artefact belongs dictate how it should be conserved and they are involved in every decision-making process (Ndoro & Kiriama 2008). Archaeologists are often asked to conduct a Heritage Impact Assessments

(HIAs) when there is an industrial development being implemented in an area which is archaeologically significant or has cultural importance to the surrounding community (Diaz Andreu 2013). Conducting HIAs has helped archaeologists to be more aware of the tangible and/or intangible values which communities place on their cultural heritage and how the community has thus far conserved their cultural heritage (Diaz Andreu 2013).

The practice of conducting HIAs has been present for the past 20 years (Pereira-Roders & Van Oers 2012). Before then, conducting an impact analysis was not unheard of as experts endeavoured to analyse the manner in which an artefact has changed due to natural causes or ageing (Pereira-Roders & Van Oers 2012). This process helped to safeguard monuments and artefacts per the restoration section of the Venice Charter and subsequent articles in UNESCO's WHC (Smith 2006). The need for HIAs has become more important over the years because whilst Environmental Impact Assessments (EIAs) accounted for how industrial developments could affect the surrounding environment, HIAs focus specifically on how developments could affect cultural heritage or historical sites (Pereira-Roders & Van Oers 2012).

South African HIA practices

The practice of conducting HIAs within South Africa has been important in preventing important artefacts and historical materials from being destroyed. The cultural landscape of South Africa is rich in archaeological materials and artefacts. As a result, a system that adequately preserves heritage against potential destruction is critical (Arazi 2011). Mining is an important aspect of South Africa's economy (see Stilwell *et al.* 2000), and EIAs and HIAs are often conducted to investigate potential mining sites for environmental purposes and the presence of cultural heritage (Esterhuysen 2009). The implementation and process of conducting HIAs in South Africa and the various issues which heritage authorities have to contend with will be discussed further in this section.

The organisation within South Africa which is tasked with safeguarding cultural heritage and informing the public about heritage matters is SAHRA (Ndlovu 2011). The establishment of SAHRA meant that South Africa would have a structure in place by which no decision regarding the management of cultural heritage would be made without the approval of SAHRA (Meskell 2011). Idealistically, African heritage authorities such as SAHRA should be thriving as people of different cultural backgrounds embrace their heritage and identities after an event such as apartheid (Chirikure 2013). There should be minimal issues regarding the conservation

of heritage and how HIAs are conducted (Meskell 2011). Realistically, however, SAHRA has not been able to achieve these standards because of underfunding and limited resources (Chirikure 2013; Ndlovu 2011).

The presence of SAHRA within South Africa cannot be understated. Many African countries do not have strong heritage authorities in a time where extractive industries such as mining are becoming the forefront of economic growth (Chirikure 2013). The provision of funds for SAHRA, however, is lacking. Most of the expenditure in South Africa, according to the recent budget review, gets allocated towards learning and culture, social development, health, and community development (Kavase & Phiri 2018). The financial provisions for SAHRA are therefore fairly low on the list of prioritised expenditure. The lack of funding inherently means that SAHRA cannot continuously deliver on the safeguarding of cultural heritage resources and it cannot hire the necessary experts needed to undertake important heritage tasks such as HIAs which leads to further issues (Chirikure 2013; Ndlovu 2011).

Before an HIA is conducted, the professional who is conducting the assessment needs the permission of all stakeholders involved in the development (Arazi 2011). Additionally, there are strict procedures which need to be followed whilst conducting an HIA by which the professional needs to be as thorough as possible (Arazi 2011; Ndlovu 2014a). The quality control measures and procedures for HIAs are to ensure that there is no fabrication of information or subpar analysis. The role of SAHRA during this HIA process is to ensure that procedures were followed correctly and an accurate HIA report was produced at the end of the assessment in order to approve the site for development (Ndlovu 2011). However, SAHRA is often understaffed which means that they are sometimes unable to adequately evaluate each report or site for approval (Chirikure 2013). This often leads to sub-standard work for which there are no consequences because of the lack of legal standing (Chirikure 2013; Ndlovu 2011). SAHRA has attempted to counteract this by being stricter with sub-standard reports and by introducing SAHRIS (South African Heritage Resources Information System).

The introduction of a heritage database in South Africa was long overdue considering the archaeological and historical significance much of the landscape holds. SAHRIS was introduced in 2012, a full 13 years after the NHRA within which a database such as this was required (Wiltshire 2013). The function of SAHRIS was to be a, "digital heritage management system which integrates the process of recording moveable (objects) and immoveable (sites) heritage resources with the management thereof" (Wiltshire 2013: 326). SAHRIS was

introduced with three core functions in mind: an online application system for developments, a national sites archive detailing cultural heritage resources, and a collections management system (Wiltshire 2013).

SAHRIS has made it easier for archaeologists and heritage professionals to track artefacts and sites, and to compile reports (Myers *et al.* 2016). The integration of GIS (Geographic Information Systems) means that the location of sites which are mapped would not change over time because of the geographic positioning (Wiltshire 2013). SAHRA simplifies the use of SAHRIS by providing detailed instructions and helpful hints on their website (Myers *et al.* 2016). The intergration of SAHRIS has proved somewhat successful, however, this does not detract from the fact that SAHRA is underfunded and still has to contend with issues relating to heritage conservation.

The Ray Nkonyeni Municipality did confirm that several HIAs were conducted for the tourism centre in Dumezulu. The bulk of the HIAs were conducted to assess the condition of the San rock art and in order for approval from Amafa aKwaZulu-Natali (hereafter Amafa) the provincial heritage authority, for the development to proceed. I managed to obtain an HIA report done for the tourism centre which was compiled by an archaeologist, Frans Prins, in 2013. The purpose of the HIA was to assess the condition of the rock art in the caves (Figs. 7, 8 & 9) and if there were any other significant archaeological artefacts in the area. Additionally, the HIA aimed to determine the cultural or spiritual significance of the site to the surrounding communities (Prins 2013).

Fig. 7: Depiction of an eland painted in monochrome paint present in one of the caves. Paint appears to be slightly faded on the right and more pronounced on the left side of the animal (sourced from: Prins 2013).

The report stated that the waterfall was of significance to a certain community, although the community was not named. There were also a few graves which had to be secured before the implementation of the tourism centre (Prins 2013). The area was significant to a particular community, however, the report was passed onto the Municipality since it was not the job of the archaeologist, who was hired as a consultant, to impact the negotiation process in any manner. The archaeologist did make recommendations in the report concerning the rock art, the waterfall, and the graves but he was not an active stakeholder.

Fig. 8: Panel of rock art in one of the caves displaying what appears to be a placement of fingerprints in monochrome paint (sourced from: Prins 2013).

Fig. 9: Rock art panel depicting antelope in monochrome paint which appears to be fading (sourced from: Prins 2013).

The San rock art was reported to be fading (Figs. 8 & 9) and needs to be conserved in a manner which prolongs its lifespan and thus the tourism centre. The paintings which were of eland and antelope were painted in monochrome colours (Prins 2013). Additionally, there is a panel of art which appears to have fingerprints placed above the art. The art does indeed appear to be fading and the Municipality will need to find a way in which to conserve it (Prins 2013). The art in the caves has not been dated. According to the HIA report, however, the art could be older than the San rock art present in the uKhahlamba Drakensberg region (Prins 2013).

Considering the HIA conducted by Frans Prins, and others which Amafa would have overseen, the Municipality should have a plan of action in place to overcome any future challenges concerning the fading rock art. Additionally, the Municipality should also take into consideration the community which is cited as having a spiritual connection to the waterfall. The tourism development is important to the Dumezulu community in the economic sense, however, if the rock art continues to degrade and is not safeguarded in the appropriate manner, there will be no further economic income for the community.

The main purpose of assessing the HIA and EIA process in South African and Sweden was to ascertain whether any considerations had been made for a TMS approach towards conserving important cultural heritage. The HIA process in South Africa was important in understanding how SAHRA operates within heritage management systems. It is evident that SAHRA needs additional funding in order to effectively safeguard heritage although the implementation of SAHRIS has been a useful tool (Ndlovu 2011; Wiltshire 2013). The HIA conducted for the tourism centre in Dumezulu stated that the waterfall is culturally and spiritually significant and the relevant community should be consulted. In Sweden, the Sami areas in the north are known for their iron ore mining and hydroelectrical power potential (Pinto-Guillaume 2017). These industrial activities, however, interrupt reindeer herding patterns and hydroelectric power generation takes away the right of the Sami to fish in the waters they have used since time immemorial (Koivurova *et al.* 2015).

There is scope for communities to be more involved in the HIA process (Chirikure 2013) and both South Africa and Sweden should consider this in order to avoid further conflict and implement a management structure which benefits all stakeholders. A TMS approach towards conducting HIAs would be beneficial to nation states who want to implement developments to improve their economies and for communities which could benefit economically from these developments.

Swedish HIA practices

In the present day, when EIAs are conducted in the Sami regions, the main consideration is that of the surrounding environmental resources. Sami cultural heritage is not well understood by the Swedish state and developers which is the reason why HIAs are not often conducted in the northern regions (Pinto-Guillaume 2017). The two main forms of industrial developments implemented in the north is mining and hydroelectric power generation (Pinto-Guillame 2017). These developments cause issues which the majority of Sweden's population do not have to contend with because they live in the south. For the Sami population, however, the developments pose a risk to their cultural heritage (Lantto & Mörkenstam 2008).

Iron ore mining and hydro-electric power generation is a big component of Sweden's economy. Both of these industrial developments are implemented in areas where the Sami still interact with their cultural heritage (Hanna *et al.* 2014). The *Samitinget* have raised two main issues over Sami land use in the north and the Swedish state are aware of these issues. The first issue they cite the fact that they herd reindeer in these areas and also raise issues of water ownership (Lantto & Mörkenstam 2008). The Sami have been fishing in Sweden's northern lakes since time immemorial and now these lakes are being developed for hydroelectric power restricting the Sami's access to them (Lantto & Mörkenstam 2008). A few Sami groups have claimed ownership over the lakes, however, this does not get the necessary media exposure in Sweden. This means that the people who live in the south of Sweden are unaware of the issues which the Sami currently face when it concerns their cultural heritage (Lantto & Mörkenstam 2008).

The second issue which the Sami raise, that of reindeer herding, has been an factor since mining was introduced in the region (Lawrence & Larsen 2017). Reindeer migration patterns can be disturbed by iron ore mining, especially if they are particularly noisy (Koivurova *et al.* 2015; Lawrence & Larsen 2017; Pinto-Guillaume 2017). The reindeer remain on lower ground during winter and later migrate into the mountains during summer to give birth to their calves (Pinto Guillaume 2017). The Sami would like for Sami ICH and traditional knowledge to be taken into consideration whilst conducting EIAs but this has seldom been taken into consideration (Lantto & Mörkenstam 2008). Arguments have been made for all components of ICH to be included in EIAs because these elements are integral in the Sami cultural worldview but whether this will change in the near future is yet to be seen (Pinto-Guillaume 2017).

The practice of HIAs are only implemented in the south of Sweden because the state considers heritage to be tangible (Pinto-Guillaume 2017). The heritage legislation of Sweden clearly

states that permission has to be granted by an official authority before any construction can take place near or in a historical space. Swedish heritage legislation only allows for the management of tangible cultural heritage and not ICH. Sami cultural heritage encompasses both tangible and intangible aspects and should thus be considered for HIAs.

If EIAs are conducted by including an HIA aspect and if all characteristics of Sami heritage are considered, issues of Sami land use will be better understood by the Swedish state and developers (Lantto & Mörkenstam 2008; Pinto-Guillaume 2017). Solutions to these issues can be achieved if all stakeholder groups are clear on how natural resources will be used and what impact this will have for the Sami community and overall environment in the future (Hanna *et al.* 2014; Pinto-Guillaume 2017). Collaboration between stakeholder groups is vital in ensuring that the Sami heritage is conserved in a manner that benefits all involved.

Conclusion

The three topics which have been discussed in this chapter, tourism, heritage legislation, and heritage management, have been integral in understanding the complexities which exist in South Africa and Sweden. In order for these countries to be directly comparable, the manner in which the tourism industry, heritage legislation, and heritage management impact the two indigenous groups needed to be understood.

In South Africa, much of the tourism opportunities which Bantu-speaking communities can benefit from economically are implemented by the national and provincial government as well as local municipalities (Binns & Nel 2002). The majority of these tourism projects are implemented in impoverished areas in order to provide the surrounding communities with economic opportunities (Nzama 2010). The tourism centre which was implemented in the Dumezulu community is only one such project. The Sami tourism industry in Sweden is small but thriving, and the indigenous population of Sweden seem to have direct control over their industry which enables them to control the information which tourists receive about Sami cultural heritage and practices (Pettersson 2002). Sami cultural heritage has been associated with negative connotations such as witchcraft in the past so it is important for the Sami that their heritage is portrayed in the correct manner (Silven 2012). The Sami tourism industry seems to be inherently steeped in a TMS approach whereby the Sami have complete control over what information gets disseminated to tourists.

The analysis of heritage legislation in South Africa and Sweden was necessary in order to ascertain whether a TMS approach towards conservation can be achieved. The heritage legislation of Sweden was based on the Venice Charter and WHC and so the preservation of tangible cultural heritage was seen as the ideal heritage management strategy. The NHRA of South Africa is westernised in that its legal principles derive from those in the WHC. Heritage resources are graded according to how significant they are on a national scale and are conserved by SAHRA and provincial heritage resource authorities. Both of the legal frameworks do not account for intangible cultural heritage and they do not allow indigenous populations to access and interact with heritage resources which they claim ownership over.

Heritage conservation was analysed with specific focus on the practice of conducting HIAs. The northern Sami regions of Sweden are used for industrial activities such as mining and hydroelectric power generation (Pinto-Guillaume 2017). This restricts the Sami from practicing reindeer herding and fishing in lakes they have used since time immemorial. EIAs are conducted in these regions but not HIAs because Swedish legislation only accounts for the tangibility of cultural heritage. In South Africa, the practice of conducting HIAs are overseen by professionals who compile reports and submit them to SAHRA for approval (Ndlovu 2011). SAHRA are often understaffed which leads to issues in approving HIA reports. Several HIAs were conducted before the tourism centre in Dumezulu was implemented according to the Municipality. One such report indicated that the San rock art has to be conserved in order to prolong its lifespan and that there is a community which interacts with the waterfall in a spiritual manner (Prins 2013).

The three topics (tourism, heritage legislation, and heritage management) mentioned in the introductory parts of this chapter have provided a clear indication of how the tourism industry in South Africa and Sweden impacts on indigenous populations. Heritage legislation and general management of heritage resources can restrict access to important cultural heritage. The chapter which follows will shed more light on the methods and theoretical formations used in this study.

Chapter 3: Research methodology and theory

Introduction

The methodology and theory applied in this research study are presented in this chapter. The methodological aspects considered explored the methods used in obtaining data, focusing particularly on the manner in which data was collected and subsequently analysed. Theory is a critical component of any study in that it provides the theoretical framework applied in the analyses of data from the research conducted. My study is no different. The theoretical framework applied allowed for a solid foundation and structure to the research conducted. The two main theories discussed in this chapter is conservation theory and stakeholder collaboration theory. These theories are integral in understanding (i) which conservation approaches are used for the management of cultural heritage in South Africa and Sweden and (ii) if there is scope for a management plan which is driven by TMS.

In providing in-depth insights into the formulation of my research project, I begin by presenting three factors I considered at the early stages of my Master's studies. These are: (i) establishing a keen interest in the topic I choose for my research project, (ii) dealing with the question logistics in gathering research data (i.e. the issue of language spoken by informants and considering accessibility of the study area from my home in KwaZulu-Natal), and (iii) ensuring that ethical considerations are undertaken to prevent unintended harm as a result of my research study.

First, I wanted to ensure that I establish a great interest in whichever topic I chose to focus on. This was critical in the sense that having an interest assists in ensuring that the project was less cumbersome, and that I would be able to deliver a dissertation within the specified time because of the inspiration I get from the study. The topic at hand was interesting to me because I had studied very little about the challenges involved in heritage resource management during my undergraduate studies. In particular, my interest was to focus on the impact, positive and negative, that tourism might have on communities which they are meant to benefit and the management of cultural heritage resources. Sites of historical importance have attracted a growing number of tourists since the turn of the century. Some of these sites, however, could still be used for spiritual or religious reasons by the indigenous or minority communities who hold historical ownership over it.

Second, the research area where the project was undertaken is located within my home province of KwaZulu-Natal. The research area of Dumezulu is approximately a two-hour drive from the city of Pietermaritzburg within which I reside. The drivable distance meant that it was conveniently accessible from a transport point of view. I allocated a period of one month to collect research data through conducting interviews with both the community and the municipal employees in charge of overseeing the development. Besides the accessibility of the study area, I further noted that the dominantly spoken language in the area is isiZulu. As I do not have a command of this language, I had to make use of an interpreter to assist me in gathering data.

Appreciating the significance of being ethical in my conduct as researcher, the third factor was the consideration of my approach in conducting interviews. There was always a possibility of interviews touching on sensitive aspects with regards to the tourism centre and the community. I thus grappled with this issue in my mind as I drafted questions for the interviews. I needed to ensure that I bring a balance between the potential negativity of my research and the need to have depth behind the study. Furthermore, it was important for me to be aware of potential restrictions, if at all, that could be applicable in my study area, considering my gender, age, and so on. As a young female researcher, I needed to be aware of any cultural customs which needed to be followed when I interacted with the Dumezulu community. Showing respect to elders in the community by dressing appropriately and conducting myself in a respectful manner were aspects which I needed to be mindful of. This is an important factor to consider, especially because the Dumezulu area exists within a rural setting under the leadership of a local traditional leader.

Having considered the above three factors in the early stages of my studies, I was subsequently chosen as a candidate to attend Uppsala University for a semester as part of an exchange programme between the Swedish academic institution and the University of Pretoria. This opportunity allowed me to expand the scope of my research to include the Sami and challenges they face in connecting with their identity and cultural heritage which was not possible in the past.

Ethical considerations

Researchers who conduct studies that involve human participants have to be mindful of ethical considerations. Being ethically considerate does not mean containing or constricting research methods to a point where the researcher will get nowhere (Bernard 2017). What it does mean, however, is that researchers need to be more mindful of any requirements they need to meet from obtaining research grants. The requirements could cause researchers to submit biased reports (Bernard 2017). In addition, being ethically sound requires researchers to accommodate their participants. The informants who partake in research studies have the right to know what the study is about, how it will be used, and who the information they provide will be available to (Bernard 2017).

I received funding from the University of Pretoria for the second year of my Masters studies. This funding covered my tuition fees for the academic year of 2018. I additionally received funding from Uppsala University to conduct research in the region of Jokkmokk. The potential for bias in conducting this research was very low because the funding I received from both universities did not have additional requirements attached to it that altered the results of my research in any way. I was able to conduct research with the freedom of knowing that my results did not need to meet particular funding requirements.

As a responsible researcher, I first and foremost requested ethical clearance from the University of Pretoria. This was necessary because my study involved human participants. The Ethics Committee in the Faculty of Humanities required information about who I planned to interview and if the participants had granted me permission to interview them. The submission of interview schedules was necessary in order for the University to be fully aware of what the interviews would entail. All the participants in this study, including the translator I used, remained anonymous.

Once ethical clearance was approved, I requested permission from the Ray Nkonyeni Municipality in Port Shepstone, South Africa, to conduct research in the Dumezulu area. I contacted the Municipality in order to gain permission to interview all relevant stakeholders involved in the implementation of the tourism centre. The Municipality is the governance structure in charge of implementing the tourism centre and so, permission would need to be granted by them. Every municipality in South Africa has a Municipal Manager (MM) who is in charge of overseeing affairs such as this. I made contact with the MM through his personal assistant to be provided with such permission. I then got referred to another staff member

within the Municipality in charge of granting permissions for interviews. It was this employee who eventually granted me permission with a signed letter, after a prolonged period of communication. Following the necessary approvals, I was then able to interview the MM and the manager of Local Economic Development (LED) who were tasked with overseeing the implementation of the tourism centre. These are the two people who would have first-hand knowledge about the planning that went into developing the tourism centre and the long-term plans that the Municipality had for it.

Establishing contact with community members was initially a big challenge. This was because a large number of contact details my supervisor had secured were no longer operational. I finally gained contact with an elder in the community whose cellphone number was fortunately still working. My supervisor and I then arranged a meeting with the community through this elder in the community. The community member was helpful in suggesting a meeting place within the community and providing additional information that was relevant in making my research project a reality.

Prior to the formal meeting, I presented all the participants interviewed with a letter of consent (Appendix C). This letter contained a number of critical components. First, it outlined the research project, the manner in which I intended to use the information which they provide during this contact, and who this information will be made available to. Second, the letter contained clauses which guarantees the participant's anonymity. That noted, the participants were still provided with an opportunity of choosing whether they wanted to remain anonymous or have their identity revealed at the beginning of each interview. Third, participants were offered the right to withdraw at any given time during the interview in the event that they become uncomfortable. A clause contained in the letter states that all information they would have provided up until that point will be destroyed.

As a researcher, I further committed myself against the act of plagiarism. I thus had to ensure that all arguments that were not mine were appropriately referenced. This commitment was also made because the University of Pretoria upholds a strict plagiarism policy which may not be violated. I thus fully understood and committed myself to the terms of the plagiarism policy.

Methodological Approaches

There were two study areas for my research project. The first area the tourism centre in the Dumezulu region, located along the south coast of KwaZulu-Natal province. the second area was the town of Jokkmokk, located in a Sami region in the north of Sweden. I decided to use a qualitative approach for conducting research in these two sites. The research conducted in Dumezulu and Jokkmokk was thus largely informed by two methodological components: interviews and desktop studies. These two components formed a foundation for gathering and analysing data. My intention for the interviews and the desktop studies will be outlined and explained further in this chapter.

Whilst conducting interviews, there were two stakeholder groups which I interacted with for my research in South Africa. These were the Ray Nkonyeni Municipality who were in charge of implementing the tourism centre and the Dumezulu community. Besides noting who were the key stakeholders in the conduct of my research study, I was also interested in assessing communication between the two groups to establish any issues which might be in existence.

For my research in Sweden, I conducted: (i) a desktop study, (ii) undertook informal conversations with local business people, and (iii) interviewed the Director of the Sami museum, Ajtte. The purpose of the conversations and interview was to supplement my desktop study with additional knowledge about Sami cultural heritage, tourists' expectations of a Sami region, and the experience that I had in the north of Sweden in general.

Qualitative methodology

This form of analysis in qualitative research can be understood as data collection which involves non-numerical information (Spivak & Harasym 2014). Methods, such as interviews and desktop studies form part of data collection strategies broadly defined as qualitative methods of analysis (Bernard 2017). Researchers who use qualitative approach do so through conducting fieldwork which involves human participants. Through interaction with human participants, it is generally hoped that deeper analysis and observation of participants will provide an informant knowledge of the subject in question (Bernard 2017).

Desktop Studies

The research findings presented here were initially informed by desktop analysis conducted prior to fieldwork. The review of published and unpublished literature provided a broad overview of the history of each study area and relevant information on local heritage. I further

gained an understanding of how the politics of the past influenced heritage legislation enforced in both countries.

Interviews

The interviews I conducted in South Africa and Sweden provided substantial information in addition to the desktop analysis undertaken. In Sweden, my fieldwork focused on traveling further north into the Swedish Sami region, to a small town called Jokkmokk. During this period, I conversed with local businessmen and businesswomen as well as employees of the Sami museum Ajtte. In South Africa, I interviewed municipal employees and community members. The staff of the Department of Archaeology at Uppsala University in Sweden were very supportive and made funding available for me to conduct fieldwork in the country.

For students lacking experience, conducting interviews can be intimidating. Reading about methods and techniques will give a researcher an idea of what to expect whilst conducting interviews and how they can proceed if they encounter an obstacle (Bernard 2017; King *et al.* 2018). Whilst reading can offer much needed assistance, it is only through experience and the actual conduct of interviews that confidence can be gained over time (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009). The ideal scenario for any first-time interviewer is to have willing participants (King *et al.* 2018).

To compensate for my inexperience as an interviewer, I built my approach to conducting interviews on the foundation of making my interviewees feel very comfortable during the interview process. I achieved this by making small talk before the interview and being hospitable towards them. I further ensured that my behaviour was always professional. I did expect that there might be periods during which, due to my inexperience, I may feel intimidated. However, I stayed composed at all times to cover up for such instances. What encouraged me was the idea that all interviewees are, after all, regular people within a given society. Thus, while some of them might have positions of seniority either within the Ajtte museum, local government, or the community, they still possessed the same humanistic qualities that everyone else does. As a result, I could use humanistic qualities to invite cooperation from them towards a young student.

There are many methods of conducting an interview and much of the methods used depend on research design, the setting, and the participant. Included in those methods are other factors that need to be considered during an interview (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009). Factors such as body language and addressing communication barriers are pivotal to successful interviews. For

the purpose of my research, I decided to make use of a semi-structured approach to conducting interviews (King *et al.* 2018).

The semi-structured interview technique is fairly straightforward and is used if the interviewer feels that one interview is enough to collect the bulk of the data they need (Bernard 2017). The term ‘semi-structured’ implies a less rigid method of conducting interviews. In other words, the semi-structured method ensures that the researcher is prepared and competent but that they do not want to enforce excessive control over the interview (Spivak & Harasym 2014). According to Bernard (2017), semi-structured interviews are ideal for interviewing high-level bureaucrats or leaders of a community. The setting of the interviews is dependent on the participant to ensure that they are comfortable (Spivak & Harasym 2014). Whether the participant wished to be interviewed in their office or over a cup of coffee at a café made no difference as the questions remained the same.

Interview guides are most commonly used in conjunction with the semi-structured technique (Bernard 2017; Kvale & Brinkmann 2009). However, I decided to use interview schedules. In this way, there was more structure to my interviews in terms of the questions that I asked, enabling me to undertake a comparison analysis of the data gathered. In addition, this decision to use interview schedules was informed by my interest to ensure that interviews became conversations rather than a rigid discussion that left no space for informal communication (see Spivak & Harasym 2014). I therefore experienced more freedom with the use of an interview schedule than I could have managed with the use of an interview guide.

In order to achieve the desirable effect of a semi-structured interview, I made use of both open-ended and close-ended questions. The latter can be answered with a simple ‘yes’ or ‘no’ (Schuman & Presser 1979). If the participant is asked, for example, “Did you go to the supermarket yesterday?” it would prompt a yes or no answer. Open-ended questions, in contrast, are aimed at gathering more information by enticing the correspondents to give more in-depth answers (Schuman & Presser 1979). If the follow up question to the one above is, “How did you get to the supermarket and back?”, it would prompt a more in-depth answer. The participant might answer the question by saying that they walked to the supermarket and took the bus back home.

There are a lot of factors to consider whilst conducting interviews. Amongst these are the language used, body language, whether or not to use a probe technique when given a certain answer, etc. In order for interviewees to feel comfortable and to avoid awkward dialogue,

interviewers should simply be themselves (Bernard 2017; Kvale & Brinkmann 2009). I often find that my friendly personality allows people to feel at ease around me. For example, during my stay in Sweden, I lived corridor with 12 other people, with the kitchen being the shared space. The kitchen was the optimal setting to communicate with everyone. I found that more often than not, people would simply tell me about themselves without me having to delve further by asking specific questions. Being a good listener helped people to connect to me. Possessing all of these characteristics, however, did not mean that I could never come across unwilling participants who give me curt answers. I could naturally be myself during interviews but that does not mean that people who are inherently skeptical about my intentions will ever trust me. Conducting interviews is, therefore, an art that I will continue to improve upon.

I used a bottom-top approach to my South African research due to challenges in setting up interviews with the Ray Nkonyeni municipal employees who are in charge of overseeing and implementing the tourism centre. The process of trying to set dates with the municipal employees was a lengthy one and I decided it would be best to interview the community members first. Additionally, I needed to understand the community's concerns with the tourism centre before I interviewed those in power in the Municipality.

My knowledge of the South African case study was initially informed by an HIA conducted by Prins (2013) before the tourism centre was implemented. I had read this HIA report and had the opportunity to meet the person who compiled it informally while still formulating the scope of the research project. The meeting happened prior to me going to the field in order to gain better insight of my study area. While I was better enriched by knowledge gained from this report, it soon became clear that language would be a challenge for me. This became evident during one of the telephonic conversations I attempted to have with an informant. He preferred to speak with me in isiZulu. I am unfortunately linguistically challenged in that I cannot converse in isiZulu as well as I would like to. My supervisor, Dr Ndlovu, came to my rescue and offered to speak to informants on my behalf to establish contact because he can converse in isiZulu. Through this one informant, we were able to arrange an interview with the other community members.

Not having a command of isiZulu was frustrating to me even when I was in the field. As a result, I had to rely on the translator being the one setting the pace of the interview. My translator asked questions to the community members who then spoke in isiZulu when responding. I had to wait until these answers were translated to English for my consumption.

Noting the difficulties, it helped a lot that the translator I used is a former lecturer and family friend and she helped me to navigate aspects of the interview process. She also cracked jokes amongst the participants and made everyone present feel more welcome.

Besides linguistic challenges, my experience with the Dumezulu community brought me to unfamiliar grounds because of the cultural etiquette guidelines that I needed to appreciate when interacting with African elders. One of these guidelines required that I wear a dress instead of my normal day-to-day jeans and a t-shirt. I had decided that conducting a group interview would be best considering that there were over 20 participants present. Conducting a group interview also meant that discussions were held within an informal setting. This type of setting also meant that there was no pressure on community members to answer questions that they did not want to or had no opinion about. The interview was held in the community hall which is the general meeting place to discuss matters of importance. Although the cultural etiquette requirements might have felt formal, the setting was relaxed and community members could enter and leave the hall as they wished.

Due to the difficulty of setting up interviews with the municipal employees, I opted to conduct these interviews telephonically. This was mainly because it would be more convenient for them and to ensure that there were no scheduling conflicts, as they might have had to attend impromptu meetings. I found this method of conducting interviews to be rather impersonal. I could not see who I was interviewing therefore I was unable to view their body language or facial expressions. Not meeting face to face or making small talk before the actual interview began was not ideal either. Although I introduced myself at the beginning of each interview and stated my intent and what kinds of questions I would be asking, it still did not feel as natural as interviewing someone face to face. Conducting telephonic interviews was an entirely new experience for me and one that I will improve upon.

During my time in Jokkmokk, I had the opportunity to have informal conversations with a few business people and an older lady whom I met at the bus stop. I gained a general understanding of what life in Jokkmokk was like, which was important as it would give me a better understanding of the Sami regions in the north. The people who I spoke to were helpful in informing me about what tourists expect when they come to Jokkmokk and the type of community which exists there. Everyone was friendly and helpful and provided me with more information than I had expected. I did not have much trouble getting around Jokkmokk by foot because of its small size, and that helped in understanding that it is a tourism focused town. I

was impressed with the Ajtte Museum and interviewing the Director provided me with valuable information which I could supplement my research with. Ajtte Musuem is considered to be the largest Sami museum in the north of Sweden and one with the most resources (Silven 2012) My overall experience in Jokkmokk was a pleasant one, and I grew as a researcher because of it.

I made use of my Apple iPhone 6 as a digital recording device during interviews. The phone has a functional microphone and a built-in voice recorder application. The letter of consent informs participants that they will be recorded and provides them with an opportunity to refuse this request. When I conducted my research in South Africa and Sweden, I had no objections to this method. Once the interviews were completed, I immediately uploaded the recordings through the Google Drive application installed on the phone to prevent loss of data. For transcription purposes, I attempted to use transcription software without much success.

I eventually decided to transcribe the interviews myself using the denaturalised transcription method (see Oliver *et al.* 2005). I used this method because I wanted the transcriptions to be easier to read and understand, and also because every 'umm' or 'err' did not have to be transcribed. I wanted a cleaner transcription which would be easy to read. The transcription process was long and a little frustrating because I sometimes had to rewind and replay sentences that I did not hear clearly enough. The transcription process took me 3-4 hours to complete for an hour's worth of audio. The process was not futile, however, as I learned a lot about myself and how I can improve as an interviewer.

Limitations

There were three limitations to this study. First, humans by their nature are not always easily trusting of outsiders. It takes time to build a good relationship with informants, and that may not have been possible in this study, considering the amount of time I had with my interviewees. I was an outsider in both the South African and Swedish contexts. I was also not able to converse in the isiZulu language spoken by my South African informants. Similarly so, I was not able to speak the Swedish language. For the Swedish part of my study, I had to rely on my participants being able to speak English fluently. The inability to speak the informants' language meant that I was not able to establish an immediate connection with the participants. This meant that the participants could ultimately choose to be distrustful of me and not be willing to answer any questions which I asked.

Second, there were also cultural nuances such as me being a female researcher. My gender could have impacted the manner in which I was received and how older generations might have engaged with me. For instance, I needed to dress in the appropriate manner to show respect towards the elders in the South African community. I had to be aware of these cultural norms in order for me to successfully conduct my research. I was not aware of any cultural norms I needed to be sensitive about in advance of my interview in Sweden. However, I still needed to be sensitive, especially considering the topics my interview with the Director included. The main concern I had was being able to ask questions without being insensitive towards the material culture of the Sami or having preconceived notions of what their culture constitutes. I had read extensive material published by academics who have conducted research concerning the Sami and their cultural heritage. It was my hope, therefore, that I had learned enough to avoid any potential misunderstandings.

Third, I could not initiate contact with the community who used the waterfall located near the tourism centre for spiritual purposes because no one within the Dumezulu community knew who they were and I did not receive additional information from the Municipality about them. Fourth, I only interviewed one employee of the Ajtte Museum, and this was the Director of the institution. This impacted negatively on the amount of information I would be able to obtain. The Director comes from a Sami background, and while she may have been biased, I still considered the information she provided as vitally important. It provided important insight into the challenges which the Sami currently face and the management of Sami cultural heritage resources in Sweden.

Theoretical Framework

There are two theories which formed the cornerstone of my research project: (i) conservation theory and (ii) stakeholder collaboration theory. Conservation theory =explores the ways in which heritage is understood and therefore conserved. There are classical conservation approaches and contemporary conservation approaches which will be discussed further in this section. The manner in which conservation approaches are used to safeguard cultural heritage in South Africa and Sweden is important to understand the challenges which the two study groups face in relation to accessing their cultural heritage. Stakeholder collaboration theory provides a platform through which successful negotiations regarding important issues can be achieved.

Conservation Theory

Classical conservation theory was developed with the material value of ancient objects in mind. The material value of monuments, statues, and ancient artefacts was considered the most important characteristic and had to be safeguarded in order to preserve the original state in which it was built or discovered (Smith 2006). Classical conservation theory was reinforced through international heritage legislation which required that nation states safeguard all tangible cultural heritage of national importance (Mumma 2003). The methods used to safeguard cultural heritage are discussed below including why the criticism of these methods led to more contemporary methods of heritage conservation. There are three tenets of classical conservation theory, namely, reversibility, universality, and objectivity. Reversibility was primarily concerned with reversing the process of restoration i.e. turning back time and restoring objects to the state in which they were found (Child 1994; Munoz-Vinas 2012). The method is a scientific one, with restorers using scientific methods to undo the process they had executed (Child 1994). This approach is problematic because it assumes that a treatment which has already been applied to an object can be undone (Munoz-Vinas 2012).

Universality assumes that global heritage is significant to all of mankind (Cleere 2003). According to this approach, monuments such as the Sistine Chapel ceiling, Taj Mahal, and Eiffel Tower are universal property i.e. they belong to all of humanity (Cleere 2003)). The sole responsibility of preserving them thus belongs to the country they are located in (see Blake 2000; Byrne 1991; Smith 2004). Resources are expected to be allocated to protect these monuments since they belong to the entire human population (Smith 2004). The main criticism of this approach is that it is western in its thinking, a 'cultural globalisation' (Munoz-Vinas 2012). These monuments have been marked as universally important by western and bourgeois scholars. They assumed that every culture or society, especially non-western ones, want to preserve monuments that are significant to their heritage (Byrne 1991; Smith 2006). Some non-western cultures or societies may call for destruction rather than preservation of culturally significant objects (Bwasiri 2011; Smith 2006). They might also place more value in intangible cultural heritage rather than tangible cultural heritage (Smith 2006).

Objectivity deals with the importance that is ascribed to cultural objects (Reynolds 1996). The nature of an object was a key factor in deciding whether it was worth conserving and not only worthy of repair, cleaning, restoration, etc. (Reynolds 1996). Conservation objects followed a timeline of artworks, antiquities, and archaeological goods. When conservators became aware

of culturally and spiritually significant objects, they had to shift their mindset (Munoz-Vinas 2012).

Deciding what is a culturally important object and to whom it is important has been a problematic process. Hodder (1994) defines objects in three ways. The first is utilitarian i.e. functionality. The second is objects that are integral in the way a culture or society functions, i.e. symbolic meaning. The third is objects which have associations with the past, i.e. historical meaning (Hodder 1994). However, the degree of significance of cultural objects varies. There are scientific values, social values, and personal values of a cultural object to consider (Munoz-Vinas 2012). Scientific values are ascribed to an object by archaeologists, anthropologists, historians, etc. Social values represent identity and are shared by individuals within a group e.g. statues, monuments, historical buildings, etc. Personal values are individualistic or shared by a family e.g. a photo album, heirlooms, recipes, etc. (Munoz-Vinas 2012).

According to Vinas (2012), all stakeholders involved in decision making must come to a mutual understanding of what is to be done to, or about, the object in question. In this way, all concerns and all interests are disclosed and accounted for. He states that the process would by no means always be easy or uncomplicated. It is the best way, however, for conservation and any other discipline which is associated with conservation, to move forward (Munoz-Vinas 2012).

The shortcomings of classical conservation theory, and the emergence of the concept of intangible cultural heritage, allowed for more inclusive heritage conservation theories to emerge (Mumma 2003; Ndoro & Kiriama 2008). These contemporary theories are used in the present day to manage environmental and cultural heritage globally. Whereas classical approaches towards heritage conservation only considered the views of conservation professionals and academics, contemporary approaches aim to account for all stakeholders involved in the conservation of the cultural heritage (Smith 2006).

Contemporary approaches to heritage conservation include material-based, values-based, and intangible cultural heritage approaches such as TMS. The first two approaches developed out of the above-mentioned tenets of classical conservation theory (Poulios 2010). The last approach, and the one which is most significant to this dissertation, developed out of the inadequacies of the values-based approach (Jopela 2011). Whilst the material-based approach is still present, the values-based and intangible cultural heritage approaches are currently the most popular conservation approaches towards cultural heritage (Poulios 2014).

A material-based approach is characteristic of classical conservation theory. The main concern of this approach is to preserve the material (Poulios 2014). The material-based approach was mainly used during the 19th and early 20th century. Conservators had an important role in the restoration and preservation of historical and archaeological material during this time period due to the armed conflicts and unstable political situations (Lowenthal 1998). This approach was western in its thinking and could be considered colonialist as it was imposed unto non-western countries and cultures (Smith 2004). The thinking of western countries was that 'exotic' societies and cultures needed to be westernised in their thinking and physical appearance (Ashcroft *et al.* 1998; Bwasiri 2011; Chirikure *et al.* 2010). The westernisation led to essentially what was a removal of heritage and an imposition of a 'civilised' culture (Poulios 2014; Munoz-Vinas 2012). The material-based approach was prevalent after the second world war with regard to historical and cultural material. It was an approach that was conducted by political officials and conservation experts (Smith 2006). There is minimal regard for heritage with this approach, with the physical material of the object being more significant because it was seen as a non-renewable resource (Poulios 2014).

A values-based approach was developed in the 1980s, within the developments of post-processual archaeology, to address the weaknesses of the material-based approach (Poulios 2010). The foundation for this approach was laid in accordance with the Burra Charter (ICOMOS Australia: 1999). A key concept of the values-based approach is that of stakeholders. Stakeholder groups are groups of people who have an interest in the material object, be it figures of authority i.e. politicians, or members of a community (see Jopela 2011; Poulios 2010). Each stakeholder group ascribes value to the material object and therefore has an inherent interest in it (Smith 2006). The values-based approach aims to not only protect the material object, but also the values that have been assigned to it. The responsibility for the overall conservation of the material object is that of the managerial heads or persons in charge of implementing this conservation strategy (Taruvinga 2007).

Authorised Heritage Discourse

Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) was developed by Laurajane Smith, a trained archaeologist, in an effort to reconceptualise what heritage should be defined as. Smith (2006) developed the concept of AHD to create awareness about what western academics and the general public believe the construction of heritage to be. The concept of AHD theorises that the understanding of heritage has its roots in western ideology. Smith (2006) challenges the

idea of what western culture perceives cultural heritage to be by exploring an alternative approach to studying material culture which is not of western origin. By recognising that an AHD construct exists, Smith (2006) aims to naturalise the assumptions that western scholars have developed about material culture and therefore heritage. It should be noted that the AHD construct was born out of the material-based approach towards conservation.

AHD pays particular attention to the material value of objects and not necessarily what lies beyond the face value of objects:

> The Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) focuses attention on aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites, places and/or landscapes that current generations 'must' care for, protect and revere. This is so that they may be passed to nebulous future generations for their 'education', and to forge a sense of common identity based on the past (Smith 2006: 29).

Heritage is ultimately a western construct and the way in which academics and the general public internalise heritage is because of AHD (Mitchell *et al.* 2009; Smith 2006). In the western culture, heritage became associated with aesthetically pleasing material culture which needed to be protected for future generations (Jopela 2011; Mantjoro 1996; Ndoro & Kiriama 2008). By creating the AHD construct, one of the main ideologies which Smith (2006) aimed to change was the approach by academics to studying material culture, especially if those academics had been moulded in the western way of thinking (see Carman 2003; Deacon 1997; Lane 1996). The concept of AHD is strongly linked to identity. When one thinks of national heritage sites or monuments, there are surely a few places which come to mind that directly relate to your country. Nation states perpetuated the concept of nationalism by establishing legislature protecting heritage that is important to the identity of their nation (Smith 2006). National monuments abruptly became ingrained into society as material objects which belonged to citizens, thus creating a national identity (Smith 2006).

The main obstacle for academics who are involved in heritage research is moving past the AHD construct. Whilst Smith (2006) is not the first archaeologist to realise that this imbalance exists (see Bhabha 1994; Carman 2003; Mumma 2003), she has brought additional awareness to the issue within the field of archaeology. There are academics in archaeology, anthropology, and heritage studies, to name a few, who are actively trying to move past the ideals created by AHD and provide new perspectives regarding tangible and intangible cultural heritage (see Ndlovu 2009; Ndlovu 2009; Shackleton *et al.* 2002). Indigenous communities still hold certain values

which pertain to their heritage. Understanding these values in a non-AHD manner is critical to understanding what influences that community's culture and identity (Smith 2006). In order to move past an AHD construct, the voices of indigenous community members should not be placed in a westernised context. By moving past the need to relate heritage to western ideals, heritage can then be understood in a non-material context (Chirikure *et al.* 2010; Deacon 1997; Giblin *et al.* 2014).

The main criticism of the values-based approach is that it does not embrace indigenous communities and cultures although that is what it primarily aims to achieve (Smith 2006, Jopela 2011). Communities often have minimal say in the manner in which the object is conserved. If members of the community wanted to perform rituals that involved the material object, for example, they can be denied access by heritage authorities or the government (Mumma 2003; Ndlovu 2009; Rudmin & Berry 1987; Poulios 2010). Communities are not in charge of conserving the material object, and so they cannot utilise it or gain access to it when it suits them. The managerial head who would be responsible for the conservation would deny their requests on the basis that the object would be damaged in some way (Ndlovu 2009; Poulios 2010). Hence, the community has no influence over the function of the material object or the purpose it serves.

Intangible cultural heritage approaches such as TMS intends to solve the problem of access to heritage sites and material objects, and the role that the community has in conserving them. One such example of an intangible cultural heritage approach being implemented successfully is that of The Temple of the Tooth Relic. In 2000, The Temple of the Tooth Relic in Kandy, Sri Lanka was the first World Heritage Site (WHS) to implement a living heritage approach (Poulios 2010, 2014). The key concept of this approach is that of functional continuity i.e. the spiritual function of the site continues to exist after its historical value is recognised. The community's religious and spiritual needs are prioritised over any economic gain that might result from the site. The site and the community are therefore a 'package deal', as the community has maintained its association with the site over a period of time (Poulios 2010).

Traditional Management Systems

The objective of TMS is to safeguard and promote the sustainable usage of heritage resources (Mumma 2003). The systems of TMS may be defined as "cumulative bodies of knowledge, practice, and belief about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another, and with their environment, and which are generated, preserved, and transmitted in a traditional and intergenerational context." (Jopela 2011: 107; see also Taylor & Kaplan 2005). A distinguishable characteristic of TMS is perhaps the concept of traditional custodianship (Jopela 2011). Traditional custodians are chosen by the chief or ruler of a clan who use the heritage resources for rituals (Bwasiri 2011). The custodians govern over natural and cultural heritage resources and enforce customary rules or laws pertaining to access and usage of these resources. It is ultimately the responsibility of the traditional custodian within the system of TMS to safeguard and monitor the usage of heritage resources (Berkes *et al.* 2000; Mantjoro 1996).

Traditional custodianship has existed in Africa from before colonialism, never remaining static or completely disappearing (Jopela 2006; Shackleton *et al.* 2002). Western, or formal, heritage management systems were introduced during colonial periods in Africa. These formal systems were largely based upon the material-based approach. The traditional custodianship systems, however, shifted and adapted to accommodate the new formal systems thus remaining relevant (Jopela 2006). One of the repercussions of colonisation was that African heritage was deemed not important and often associated with barbarism or witchcraft (Bwasiri 2011). The post-colonial heritage legislation of African countries is still entrenched in colonialism mainly due to how heritage is perceived in western countries (Mumma 2003; Ndoro & Kiriama 2008; Bwasiri 2011). Heritage is ultimately associated with tangible materialism in the west whilst in non-western countries, heritage is largely associated with intangibility (see Smith 2006).

The ownership of natural and cultural heritage resources is an issue which TMS and traditional custodianship aim to resolve (Jopela 2011). With the introduction of international heritage legislation, beginning with the Venice Charter in 1964, nation states were given ownership over tangible heritage resources (Ndoro & Kiriama 2008). Nation states could thus prevent local communities from accessing sites containing cultural heritage resources of spiritual importance (Mumma 2003; Smith 2006; Ndoro & Kiriama 2008). One of the ways in which to diffuse tensions between nation states and local communities when it concerns access to heritage resources is to implement a values-based approach (Smith 2006; Taruvinga 2007).

The values-based approach, as explained in the previous section, is a conservation approach whereby nation states work together with local communities to ensure that heritage resources are effectively safeguarded through traditional and formal conservation methods (Jopela 2011). The main issue with implementing a values-based approach is that often the local communities or traditional custodians are either not consulted at all or they are consulted but their suggestions are not accounted for (Smith 2006). This ultimately creates a power imbalance between stakeholders. The primary stakeholder, i.e. the stakeholder with the most authority, becomes the nation state instead of the local community retaining its primary stakeholder status as it should (Smith 2006).

The implementation of a TMS framework could become problematic because the meaning and interpretation of the term 'ownership' could differ according to the community in question (Rudmin & Berry 1987). Some communities could claim ownership over the intangible spiritual value of a heritage resource whilst disregarding the tangible value, and some could value both intangible and tangible values by which they claim full ownership of the resource (Bwasiri 2011; Jopela 2011). The 'living traditions' of a community, i.e. the manner in which they interact with the heritage resource, would therefore define the ownership they feel over that resource (Dutfield 2006). The community which claims ownership over the heritage resource could also view the intangible or tangible aspects of it non-transferrable (Dutfield 2006). The cultural heritage could essentially not belong to a community historically but could be placed within their traditional land which they claim ownership of (Ndoro & Kiriama 2008). This is the case for the Dumezulu community in which the San rock art does not historically belong to them, however, it is located within their traditional land. Whilst the heritage resource would belong to the state legally according to legislative frameworks, the community could refuse to renounce ownership over the resource which could lead to tension (Jopela & Fredriksen 2015).

Implementing a TMS framework within the parameters of heritage legislation is a difficult task to undertake. The problem with trying to introduce a system whereby communities have ownership and control over how their heritage resources are safeguarded is that international legislation has already given nation states ownership over their heritage resources (Mumma 2003; Ndoro & Pwiti 1999; Smith 2006). Many countries in Africa have constructed heritage legislation based upon western legislation and formal heritage management systems instead of accounting for TMS and traditional custodianship (Bwasiri 2011). This is problematic because in many African cultures, the spirit world is interacted with and consulted with on a regular

basis (Jopela 2011). The interaction with the spirit world and ancestors could occur through natural heritage resources such as waterfalls and forests or through cultural heritage resources such as rock art and stone enclosures (Macamo 2006; Pwiti & Mvenge 1996; Sheridan & Nyamweru 2008). Introducing traditional custodianship might occur at local government or provincial level, however, the practices implemented by the local government could be informed by the same western legislation that national legislation is informed by (Jopela & Fredriksen 2015).

A suggestion put forth by Appiah (2006) is that TMS should ultimately move past a values-based approach and instead integrate a cosmopolitanism type of philosophy when implementing a TMS framework. This approach would ensure that both the formal and traditional custodianship heritage systems are acknowledged, but also the differences between these systems (Appiah 2006; Jopela 2011). The recognition of such differences would allow for heritage organisations and practitioners to understand the values, interests, and concerns of all stakeholders thus allowing every stakeholder to assume important roles and responsibilities in heritage management (Jopela & Fredriksen 2015). By implementing a more cosmopolitan framework, the boundary between formal heritage management systems and traditional custodianship may be erased over time (Jopela 2011). Using this framework would additionally require archaeologists to recognise that local communities might not view heritage in the same manner as they do (Ndoro 2006). The important heritage characteristics which archaeologists would need to recognise are the intangible aspects which may or may not relate to tangible or material heritage (Jopela 2011; Smith 2006). Archaeologists would also need to realise that there might already be an effective TMS strategy in place which the community use to conserve and safeguard heritage (Jopela 2011). The aspirations of the community also have to be recognised in order to ensure effective and successful management strategies (Jopela 2011). The stakeholders present need to understand that the socio-economic environment within the community is not static and so, managing heritage would entail managing change (Mitchell *et al.* 2009) Communication between all stakeholders needs to be visible and transparent in order for the cosmopolitanism approach to work.

The practical implementation of a cosmopolitanism approach can be successfully implemented but there is still the issue of heritage legislation. Reforming heritage legislation within countries would be a notable achievement, however, the attitude towards the values which indigenous and local communities place on their heritage needs to be recognised and more importantly, understood (Bwasiri 2011; Jopela 2011). Formal heritage organisations have to move beyond

management systems which are still westernised in its construction to a more integrated approach (Jopela & Fredriksen 2015). This approach would need to be recognised by nation states in their formal legislative frameworks and indigenous communities need to be consulted and included in the construction of this legislation (Jopela 2011; Jopela & Fredriksen 2015).

The usage of TMS, particularly traditional custodianship, has been present in the African continent for a significant time period (Jopela 2011). Idealistically, the integration of TMS into heritage management strategies should not be difficult considering that it recognises the aspirations of all stakeholders involved in order to be sustainable (Jopela 2011). Realistically, however, the environment in which the heritage is operating is a factor which could affect the sustainability of an integrated heritage conservation approach (Jopela 2011). A TMS approach would be easier to implement in a small community where the heritage is considered important if there are no economic variables attached (Jopela & Frederiksen 2015). If a TMS approach was introduced in a larger community regarding heritage which might even be internationally important i.e. a World Heritage Site, the process could become marred by internal conflict and the economic variables present such as tourism (Jopela & Frederiksen 2015). In a period where decoloniality is gaining momentum, an integrated heritage management approach is paramount in redefining what heritage is to indigenous and non-western communities (Bwasiri 2011; Ndlovu 2011).

I used the concept of TMS in my research to demonstrate how conservation strategies have or have not developed in line with the definition of intangible heritage in South Africa and Sweden. The focus on tangible heritage and a values-based approach is still apparent in most conservation strategies and legislative frameworks in the two countries. My research aimed to initiate awareness for a a TMS, whereby traditional custodianship is initiated, to be applied to heritage conservation strategies of the Sami and the indigenous communities of South Africa. There exists a need for conservation strategies to develop in line with the ever-broadening definition of cultural heritage. In some cases, although rare (see Bwasiri 2011; Chirikure *et al.* 2015; Poulios 2010; Jopela 2016), the conservation strategy for tangible heritage lies outside of a values-based approach which is proof that these strategies can work.

Stakeholder Collaboration Theory

Stakeholder interaction can be volatile when discussing the management of sites which hold significant cultural heritage value (Aas *et al.* 2005). Collaboration theory aims to lend structure to negotiations in which exists a power imbalance. During most negotiations, there will be a dominant or primary stakeholder group/s which assumes power because they feel, or they are, the most authoritative (Aas *et al.* 2005; Byrd 2007; Ladkin & Bertramini 2002). The primary stakeholders are usually government organisations or industrial developers who look to gain significant economic gains from the cultural heritage in question (Jamal & Getz 1994). The secondary stakeholder group/s, which are usually the local or indigenous groups who claim ownership over the heritage, could be out manoeuvred if they are not adequately represented or do not present a unified force during negotiations (Jamal & Getz 1994). Additionally, negotiations could stagnate if terms are not recognised and stakeholder groups are not willing to compromise on these terms (Aas *et al.* 2005). Collaboration is a complex process but the benefits of the negotiations oftentimes outweigh the need for unnecessary conflict (Jamal & Getz 1994).

The formation of a collaboration theory was dependent upon whether the terms 'cooperation' and 'collaboration' could be distinguished. Both of these terms were used in tandem in tourism planning literature (Jamal & Getz 1994). Cooperation can essentially be defined as working together to achieve a certain goal (Gray 1989). The definition of cooperation did not have the necessary depth to explain the intricate planning or negotiation processes of tourism planning (Jamal & Getz 1994). The definition of collaboration put forth by Gray (1989), however, can fulfil the necessary requirements of explaining the intricacies of tourism planning. Gray (1989: 227) states that collaboration is "a process of joint decision making among key stakeholders of a problem domain about the future of that domain". He believed that collaboration theory could be successfully applied during negotiations to resolve conflict and further the development of projects (Gray 1989). Additionally, Gray (1989) believed that stakeholder groups will benefit from collaboration because it is essentially an advantageous concept.

According to Gray (1989), there are five key characteristics of collaboration theory that are necessary in order for the theory to function. The first is that stakeholders need to be independent. This requires all stakeholder groups to understand and deal with the negotiation process without additional assistance from another body who is not part of the process. The second requires a solution to emerge from conflict situations during negotiations. The joint-

ownership of any decisions made is the third characteristic. Collaboration theory aims to ensure that all stakeholder groups are satisfied with decision making and the outcomes of the negotiation (Aas *et al.* 2005; Arnaboldi & Spiller 2011; Waterton & Watson 2013). The fourth requires stakeholders to assume equal responsibility for the direction of negotiations. The final characteristic states that stakeholders need to effectively collaborate before, during, and after negotiations in order to cope with growing complexities of the planning process.

Gray (1989) developed a model based on ideas from McCann (1983), in order to showcase how collaboration can be a progressive solution during negotiations (Fig. 10). The model has three stages: problem setting, direction setting, and implementation. Problem setting involves identifying key stakeholders and issues so that an accurate understanding of the domain can be achieved (Gray 1989). Direction setting identifies the mutual interests of stakeholder groups and ensures that stakeholder groups have a common purpose (Gray 1989). Implementation aims to establish shared meanings as negotiations develop (Gray 1989). The third stage might not be necessary depending on the nature of the negotiations.

Collaboration theory contains the idea of inter-organisational relationships, or relationships between stakeholders (Waterton & Watson 2013). There are three types of relationships between stakeholders: the exchange perspective (Levine & White 1961), the resource dependency approach (Pfeffer & Salancik 1978), and an amalgamation of the two (Schmidt & Kochan 1977). The exchange perspective describes members from two or more stakeholder groups who are able to identify mutual benefits from interacting or negotiating (Levin & White 1961). The resource dependency approach describes stakeholder groups interacting mainly to gain or improve control over scarce resources (Pfeffer & Salancik 1978). A mixture of the two relationships allows for an approach that is not strictly symmetrical or power-dependent (Schmidt & Kochan 1977).

There are also factors other than market or competitive forces which alter negotiations. Legal action and social norms are two factors by which organisations adapt in order to gain legitimacy from institutional actors (Jamal & Getz 1994). Legitimacy and power are two issues which factor into the selection of stakeholder groups for interorganisational collaboration (Jamal & Getz 1994). If, for example, a stakeholder group is seeking control or power, it could alter every stage of the collaboration process. The issue of legitimacy is critical in tourism planning as it could complicate the collaboration process because of strong differing viewpoints or resolute vested interests (Jamal & Getz 1994; Landorf 2009).

Stages and Propositions	Facilitating Conditions	Actions/Steps
Stage I. **Problem-Setting** *Propositions applicable*: P1, P2, P3, P4, P5	➢ Recognition of interdependence ➢ identification of a required number of stakeholders ➢ perceptions of legitimacy among stakeholders ➢ legitimate/skilled convener ➢ positive beliefs about outcomes ➢ shared access power ➢ mandate (external or internal) ➢ adequate resources to convene and enable collaboration process.	➢ Define purpose and domain ➢ identify convener ➢ convene stakeholders ➢ define problems/issues to resolve ➢ identify and legitimize stakeholders ➢ build commitment to collaborate by raising awareness of interdependence ➢ balancing power differences ➢ addressing stakeholder concerns ➢ ensuring adequate resources available to allow collaboration to proceed with key stakeholders present.
Stage II: **Direction-Setting** *Propositions applicable*: P1, P2, P3, P6	➢ Coincidence of values ➢ dispersion of power among stakeholders.	➢ Collect and share information ➢ appreciate shared values, enhance perceived interdependence ➢ ensure power distributed among several stakeholders ➢ establish rules and agenda for direction setting ➢ organize subgroups if required ➢ list alternatives ➢ discuss various options ➢ select appropriate solutions ➢ arrive at shared vision or plan/strategy through consensus.
Stage III: **Implementation** *Propositions applicable*: P1, P2, P6	➢ High degree of ongoing interdependence ➢ external mandates ➢ redistribution of power ➢ influencing the contextual environment.	➢ Discuss means of implementing and monitoring solutions, shared vision, plan or strategy ➢ select suitable structure for institutionalizing process ➢ assign goals and tasks ➢ monitor ongoing progress and ensure compliance to collaboration decisions.

Fig. 10: Model showcasing the collaboration process for community-based tourism planning as illustrated by Jamal & Getz (1995) based on Gray (1985, 1989).

There are three types of situations which could hamper employing a collaborative approach (Jamal & Getz 1994). The first would involve a stakeholder group wanting complete control over the development and the surrounding landscape. The second would be if the stakeholder groups are willing to negotiate but not compromise on important factors. Stakeholder groups might know that the negotiations will not prove fruitful because of one group, or all groups, being unwilling to compromise on key issues. The third situation describes a power imbalance (Jamal & Getz 1994). Power grabs often occur if one stakeholder group assumes that they have more influence and control over the other stakeholder groups (Aas *et al.* 2005, Arniboldi & Spiller 2011). If the development includes natural resources of any form, for example, there

will be a certain level of authority that the dominant stakeholder group will enforce i.e. the stakeholder with the most power and resources.

The challenge for the seemingly less powerful stakeholder groups is to ensure that negotiations are fruitful (Aas *et al.* 2005). Negotiations can become increasingly difficult, however, if the dominant stakeholder places exorbitant economic value in the development (Jamal & Getz 1994). The heritage legislation of a nation could protect the tangible heritage of the community from being harmed, but not necessarily the intangible heritage (Ndoro & Kiriama 2008). This situation could be problematic for indigenous or minority groups who feel that their access to their heritage will be hampered by the new developments. The most ideal solution for groups who do not have adequate legal representation or who feel like they cannot represent themselves would be to involve independent heritage organisations (Smith 2004).

The importance of collaboration theory in my research is showcased through the negotiation process that each of the study groups have participated in. The first study group is the Swedish Sami and how they negotiated with government stakeholder groups for the management of Laponia World Heritage Site. The second study group is a local South African community, known as the Dumezulu community who have interacted with municipal members because of the implementation of a tourism centre within their community. Both study groups are comparable in that they have interacted with government stakeholder groups and that they are both subjected to state legislation which does not grant them ownership over or access to their cultural heritage. The collaboration between stakeholder groups is pivotal in understanding the outcome of the negotiations or discussions that took place. The outcomes have allowed me to assess whether collaboration has been successful in developing a stable management plan for the future. Collaboration encourages stakeholders to work together in every stage of the implementation of the development and then further in the future to ensure the stability and success of the development.

I have used collaboration theory to showcase that stakeholder groups can work together despite the dynamics and power relations of each group. I analysed the case of Laponia using collaboration theory and showed that the Sami community and the two other dominant stakeholder groups, the municipality and the government, were able to work together as a result of the willingness of the dominant stakeholders. In this case, the dominant stakeholders wanted Laponia to become a success and were willing to compromise with the Sami on certain demands that were made.

I further used collaboration theory in analysing how the Dumezulu community worked with the Municipality in order to implement the tourism centre. With the use of this theory, I identified key problems which may hinder the success of the tourism centre once it becomes operational. There are three stakeholder groups present regarding this development: the community, the traditional council within the community, and the Municipality. There remain some problems regarding ownership and control over the development. However, it seems that most of these issues will be resolved soon according to the manager of Local Economic Development within the Municipality.

Implementing a stable management plan that ensures local minorities and indigenous people have access to their heritage is of the utmost importance. A management plan which includes aspects of a TMS approach with the dominant stakeholder being the community who claim ownership over cultural heritage resources would be ideal. The communities' first and foremost need to have adequate representation, a body of core leaders who they feel can hold their own during negotiations. Second, the community leaders need to be aware of the international and national legislation which protect their heritage. Lastly, the community needs to present a united front over what they would like to achieve during negotiations. Government or development stakeholder groups should, in turn, be open to the aspirations of the community during negotiations. Collaboration is a two-way road through which success cannot be achieved without compromises from all groups.

Conclusion

The usage of methodology and theory in this research project was well recognised. Both of the sections, methods and theory, provided in-depth analysis and allowed for various perspectives to be considered. The methodology section contains various methods which were used to conduct research and explores how these methods contributed to the overall analysis of the research. The theoretical framework explores two main theoriess which were applied during the research process. The theories provided a foundation from which data could be analysed.

The methodology that I used for my research in South Africa and Sweden provided a coherent analysis of the data collected. I approached a broad variety of people as my intention was to gain information from the overall community instead of the community leaders being my sole source of information. The data, which substantiated my desktop study, reflects different attitudes towards Sami cultural heritage and the challenges which they face in how their heritage is perceived. In the Dumezulu study, the data reflected the attitudes which t the

community hold towards the proposed tourism centre. . I always ensured that my approach at every level was responsible and that participants were always well informed of the intentions behind the study. Participants were also informed by myself before interviews started and through the letters of consent about how the information which they provide will be used. The theoretical framework enabled me to ask the necessary questions related to conservation and tourism in both countries. It provided a basis from which I could analyse data gathered from the methodological approach in order to understand if the heritage discussed was adequately safeguarded, what constitutes these communities' heritages, and if there is scope for a TMS approach towards heritage conservation in the two case studies.

Chapter 4: The Sami and the Bantu - Ties over continents

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present the data I gathered during my fieldwork in South Africa and Sweden. The fieldwork conducted was informed by my two research questions, namely, (i) Can tourism be considered a threat to the spiritual and cultural values attached to tangible and intangible cultural heritage in both South Africa and Sweden? and (ii) Does South Africa and Sweden allow for Traditional Management Systems in managing sites identified for tourism development? I mainly applied a qualitative methodology approach in gathering the necessary data. This involved drafting an interview schedule to use during interviews with the relevant stakeholders and constructing case studies. Prior to conducting the interviews, I had read extensively to create a context within which the data collected during fieldwork could be reviewed. The information obtained from the review of published and unpublished literature and fieldwork data was crucial in helping me undertake a comparative analysis of heritage issues in both South Africa and Sweden.

South Africa

Upon my return from Sweden, I was eager to get started with my South African fieldwork. I could not easily locate readings on my study area because these were largely unpublished reports. Similar to Swedish requirements and as per the university requirements, I had secured permission from the relevant authorities in order to conduct the necessary study. I began my fieldwork in South Africa by interviewing members of the Dumezulu community. I wanted to ascertain during these interviews how beneficial their interaction with the Ray Nkonyeni Municipality had been and if there were any issues when the tourism centre was being implemented. After interviewing the community, I interviewed the Ray Nkonyeni Municipal Manager and the manager of Local Economic Development for more in depth information as to the decision-making regarding the tourism centre.

Dumezulu Community

Out of all the interviews I had planned for my South African research, the community interviews were the ones which I had been the most concerned about. I did not know how the community would receive me or if they would be willing to answer any of my questions because they would perhaps see me as an outsider and would not trust me enough to divulge important information. Additionally, I had never conducted a focus group interview before and

I did not know how many participants would be present. I had asked a family friend, who was a former lecturer at the University of Zululand and is fluent in isiZulu, to assist me with translation. The presence of someone I already knew aided in calming my nerves slightly.

There were certain cultural protocols which I was unaware of. The night before the interviews, our family friend informed me that I would need to wear a dress because it would be seen as a sign of respect amongst the elders in the community. It was cold the next day but she suggested that I could wear leggings for warmth. I felt slightly intimidated because I did not know what to expect but there was also a feeling of excitement. We also thought it was ideal to bring some sweets or fruits with us to show good faith as first-time visitors in the community and it was also culturally appropriate to do so.

My research site is located within driving distance and having been to Port Shepstone many times in the past meant that I was familiar with the area. The car journey was a reasonably long one but it gave me time to prepare myself more and think about how to conduct myself. The Dumezulu community are essentially a rural community where people are considered to be economically disadvantaged. It is situated approximately 30 kilometres from the main road, however, the lack of signage to guide us to the locality of our interview meant that we had gotten lost a few times. We had to rely on landmarks and directions from pedestrians on the road. Everyone who we spoke to along the way, in order to seek directions to the community hall, were very friendly and assisted us as best they could. We got the feeling that this was a close-knit community, willing to offer assistance to strangers with a bright smile.

Whilst the interview was scheduled for 11:00, we were an hour late due to getting lost a number of times. On arrival, we saw a few people standing outside the hall. This made us think that these were the only people who had arrived for our interview. We soon learned, through our contact person within the community, that there were more people seated inside the community hall waiting for the interview to begin. Altogether, there were approximately 20 people present for the interview with the community. While I did not ask participants to reveal their age, most of those in attendance would have been between the ages of 20-25, with the remainder of the group considered to be elders. The community hall was sparsely furnished with a solitary wooden table in the middle of the hall and black plastic chairs for everyone to sit on. There were two doors on opposite sides for people to enter and exit and there were numerous windows to provide adequate natural light. My translator and I got ourselves quickly organised before proceedings could begin.

I began by introducing myself as an archaeology student enrolled in the University of Pretoria, and told the participants about the reason I was there. I spoke in English and my translator assisted with expressing the information I had given in isiZulu. Following the introductions, one of the community members expressed concern. According to him, we had not followed the correct local protocol of approaching the iziNduna and the Chief. We addressed this concern by explaining that we had attempted, without much success, to locate traditional authority in the area. Some of the traditional leadership, iziNduna, were present at the meeting together with the ward councillor. It later transpired, as the interview went on, that the community member who had expressed concern with how we planned for the meeting, was a local councillor. I offered an apology to the concerned member, who accepted my offering and advised us to be more sensitive to such issues in the future.

The confrontation early on in the proceedings was a little unnerving for me because I felt that the community members would be less receptive of me and might not cooperate accordingly. I also felt that some of the elders in the hall might have felt disrespected because of what, according to them, would have been an oversight even though it was not because of the lack of trying on my part.

The hall was set up in a formal way with me and the translator standing behind the wooden table in the middle of the room. The community members sat in rows in front of the table facing me and the translator. Due to the large number of participants present, I suggested that everyone make a circle so that the setting felt less intimidating and formal, and became more relaxed and informal. This meant that the interview with the community members became a group interview. Instead of personal one-on-one interviews, the participants who were present were not pressured to answer any questions they did not want to and answered questions on a purely voluntary basis When we were all ready and seated, the interview began. I started by explaining that there would be three sections to the interview and explained what each of the sections would contain. These sections were: (i) general information about the community, (ii) the tourism centre, and (iii) community interaction with the Municipality. Since the interview had become a focus group interview instead of a one-on-one interview, I had to adapt my questions slightly.

I began by asking questions related to the history of the study area, to gain a better insight as to who had lived in the Dumezulu region over the years. It transpired that many of my informants were born in the area and had been living in Dumezulu for most of their lives. There

was only one exception, a community member who moved into Dumezulu from Johannesburg. The informant had been attracted by the landscape which allowed him to practice agriculture. Having lived in the area for a long time, the majority of informants mentioned that they enjoy living in their surroundings. However, one of the participants gave a different viewpoint:

> "There have been conflict incidents but from my perception and experience we meet like this [in the community hall] and discuss issues that we agree on and there are promises made. My perception is that there is corruption and I feel that whoever comes in they just test the water by seeing if there are problems and if we say yes, they will say okay and allocate some money and agree on something that needs to be done but they end up not saying anything. Although this doesn't mean that it causes conflict among us."

I chose not to ask a follow up question to this comment to keep the mood positive. I wanted to address municipal concerns later in the interview. I asked if the community had a specific name because the name of the development is the KwaXolo Caves Project and they replied by saying that the community's name is Dumezulu. I was also informed after the interview that they would like to be known specifically as the Dumezulu community and not the KwaXolo community. This is because the area in which they live is called Dumezulu and not KwaXolo (see fig.2). This was important in establishing exactly which community would be affected by the tourism centre once it becomes operational.

Having gained insight into the general aspects regarding the study area, I then moved onto the next section of the interview, which addressed questions linked to the tourism centre (highlighted in light pink on the Site Plan, Appendix A). I wanted to know more about the site where the tourism centre is built and how often the community interacts with this site either spiritually or culturally. In attempting to establish the relationship of the community to the tourism centre, I learned that in general, community members do not access the area where the centre is located. This is even though one of the participants lives nearby the site and sees the waterfall from a close range. One of the participants who had recently been to the centre added that for some, visiting the site was not a choice. Instead, it was part of the tour guide training introduced by the Municipality for the site once it becomes operational. Various reasons were offered for not necessarily accessing the site such as the area having become scary over time because of large rocks, snakes, and soul erosion that has become a major issue. With the Municipality promising to construct suspended bridges (highlighted in dark pink on the Site

Plan, Appendix A), which link the tourism centre to the rock art caves, some participants hoped this will increase visitation to the site by the locals.

The tourism centre is located approximately five kilometres from the community hall. Construction activities for the tourism centre began in 2012. Tourists who are aware of the rock art access the area where the site is located by gaining permission from the traditional council after which they are given directions to the site. This is a problem for some community members who state that the traditional council is there strictly for communal matters. The tourism centre is not yet operational, therefore it was not possible to explore the functioning of the centre nor to assess how those who were to be employed were reaping the benefits. The failure of the project to be operational thus far also meant that other infrastructural developments linked to the project have not been implemented. For instance, the road leading to the centre was supposed to be improved and tarred (Fig. 11). This has not been the case, even though material to improve the road infrastructure had been delivered before it disappeared according to some community members.

Fig. 11: The untarred road leading into the community and to the tourism centre.

Upon first glance of the centre, when we had the opportunity to view it with the aid of three community members after the interview, I was not overly impressed by the tourism centre because of two reasons: (i) it being a standalone building and (ii) the long grass surrounding the centre which had clearly not been trimmed for a while. My initial impression of the building soon changed as we got closer to the structure when suddenly the centre looked quite

impressive (Fig. 12). The building is aesthetically pleasing with a thatch roof and large glass doors in the back of the centre (Fig. 13). However, upon closer inspection, it became clear that there were a number of defects, i.e. cracked walls and gutters, ageing thatch roof, cracked doors (probably from a large stone or rock being thrown against it), and a car park that has been covered in weeds over time.

Fig. 12: A front view of the tourism centre from the car park area. The maintenance issues which the community have are visible with the long grass and weeds coming out of the paved walkway.

Fig. 13: The large glass doors in the back of the tourism centre. Some panels have been damaged by what looks like a large stone or brick thrown against it.

Due to the building being initially fenced and locked, we could not be granted access. We thus walked around the structure to get a good impression of it and to also see the waterfall, the fenced graves, and the painted cave. The path is not long enough and from where it ends, it is not very safe because of slippery grasses and loose boulders (Fig. 15). There was a strong wind blowing on the day which could make anyone feel uncomfortable, yet we were lower down the slope. While we did not venture very far beyond the end of the path, the landscape views were spectacular (Fig. 14). I could hear the waterfall but I could not see it. The site where the centre is constructed is surrounded by lush greenery and a valley at the very bottom of the slope. What I also learned when we visited the centre was that a supermarket had been earmarked for an area nearby the site. However, nothing has come out of that promise, with no explanation given for the delay of the proposed plan.

Fig. 14: The view from the slope which shows lush greenery and mountains surrounding the tourism centre.

Fig. 15: The large boulders in place which made walking down the slope any further hazardous.

We were fortunate that one of the community members present during the walkabout was able to secure keys for the building. The key was kept by a security guard who has been employed by the Municipality to safeguard the building. Overall, the building seemed large enough to be used for the tourism centre. There is a general area which will be used for displays and pictures of the San rock art and a well-positioned reception area (Figs 16 & 17). My view was that it is a building that can serve its purpose well.

Fig. 16: The reception area inside the entrance of the tourism centre. There is a large wooden desk space big enough for two people to sit behind.

Fig. 17: A large open area inside the tourism centre which will probably be used to showcase images of the rock art and provide tourists with more information about the surrounding area.

Going forward, I wanted to establish if there were any religious or spiritual values attached to the site. More specifically, to find out if there were any rituals which are performed there. What transpired from one of the elders is that the site does not carry high spiritual value. He did add, however, that the site might be spiritually important to another group:

> "To my knowledge, there are people who go to the waterfall for different practices. I will see them sing and pray and I think what some of those practices are is some cleansing of some sort, when someone is dipped into the water. I don't know at this stage if those people will be offended should they be stopped to continue using that place for those practices."

I moved on to the next section of the interview which contained questions focusing on the community's interaction with the Municipality. I wanted to get a better understanding of how this tourism development was implemented and if there were any issues or ill-feeling which the community had with the existing structure which will serve as the tourism centre. I had noted early on in the interview that there might be some issues with service delivery by the Municipality and so, I wanted to delve further into those issues. I revisited the comment made earlier by a community member in which they expressed dissatisfaction with the Municipality. I wanted to understand what exactly the community were unhappy about and what solutions could be proposed in order to solve some of these issues as far as they relate to my research project.

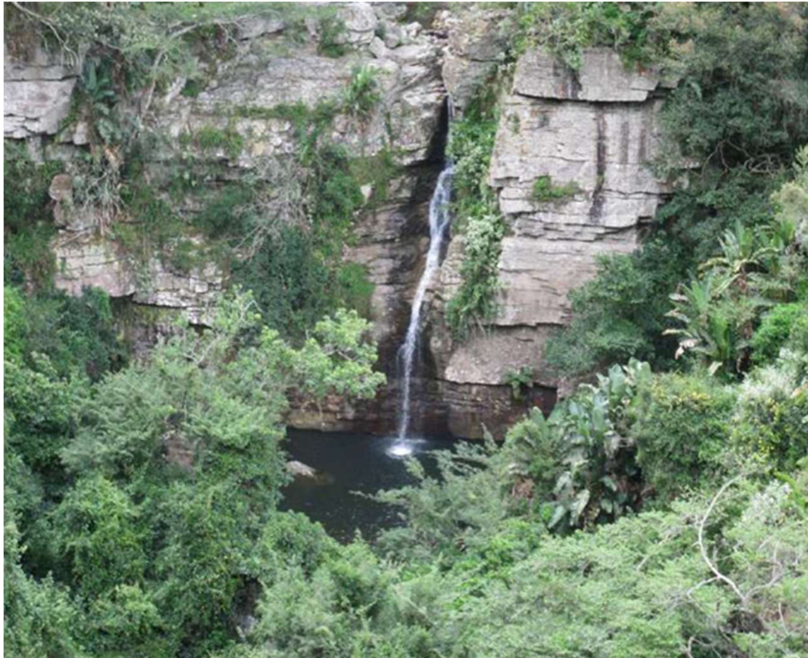

Fig. 18: Image of the waterfall which is surrounded by large plants and smaller trees (sourced from: Prins 2013).

I began by reflecting back to earlier engagements during the interview that mentioned the Municipality. One community member noted the community's dissatisfaction with the Municipality:

> "Generally, we are a peaceful community. We are soft because we have learnt to live with the dissatisfaction. There's a lot that gets promised but it doesn't get delivered. There are monies that get allocated to projects identified by the community but they never see the light of day, for example, money allocated to the caves that you're talking about."

When I asked follow-up questions about the municipal budget meant for the tourism centre, several community members said that approximately R25 million had been located. This budget, the community members were later informed, was actually supposed to be R5 million I further learned that promises had been made, with little service delivery leading to the general dissatisfaction by community members. For instance, there were additional buildings promised near the tourism centre but they are still not there. The tourism centre that was constructed is in a poor state, with a thatch roof that is ageing due to little or no maintenance. Job creation was also highlighted as one of the important promises made yet the community members have not seen delivery on that promise. Community members were encouraged to learn craftwork through courses that the Municipality offered (i.e. making beaded crafts such as bracelets and

necklaces, wood carvings, etc.), so that they could sell such items in the tourism centre. One community member stated:

> "The bitterness also comes from when we saw the opportunities we were also motivated and we started doing craftwork. I started making *knobkerries* (a wooden staff with a large rounded top) to be sold there but there is nothing happening. The place is secure because there are security guards there but we do not know what it is that is being protected. Our perception now as the community is that maybe this was just a way of mismanaging money and stealing public money through the Municipality. Maybe someone from inside the Municipality is colluding with the security firm so that they can mismanage or engage in corrupt dealings."

Whilst employment opportunities have not been realised, the Municipality did offer training opportunities to local community members. For example, some community members were trained as tour guides around 2011, before the centre was even constructed. The high promise they had from the project soon dissipated. As recently as May 2018, they were offered the same training which they received in 2011, but this alone did not offer much confidence that things are changing for the better.

The non-delivery of promises led one community member to then argue that the land which the tourism centre was built upon could have served the community better by being agricultural land. The tourism centre is secure because there are security guards who are there but they do not know what is being protected. Due to all the failures which have prevented the centre from becoming operational, the community now views the tourism centre to have been a project aimed at intentionally mismanaging funds for the benefit of those in charge.

Listening to the extent to which people are disillusioned with political inefficiency was highly distressing and humbling for me. This interview session highlighted just how privileged I am being from a middle-class family. Listening to people who live not too far away from me talk about how excited they were about changing their fortunes only to be left disappointed made me feel dispirited about a country which I love.

Realising the disparity between what was promised and what got delivered led to me wanting to find out the extent to which community members were consulted prior to the implementation of the tourism centre development. One community informed me that there was no consultation process:

> "We want to clarify that if we say we are told, there is no consultation. We are told after the fact because the tender process they are advertising and all of that. A decision has been taken. It's just to notify us. We are going because we have no option to say, "Ok yes, I hear you", this is what we're saying. There is a distinction between consultation and as you are thinking of something and telling after they have thought about it and all of that. There is no consultation. We were keeping quiet when you asked what benefits our study will have to the community, because we do not know. If we were given a chance to consult, we would have identified other things [projects] that we feel are priority."

Taking what had been said into consideration, I had realised that the community had not had a chance to object to this development, but rather it had been forced upon them as an opportunity for economic income. Another community member brought my attention to the issue of graves located near the tourism centre. The community could not make recommendations over what happens to the graves within the then proposed project area:

> "There was no communication. The owners of the land did not know. There are important parts of the land where there are graves so those graves were then quickly fenced by those people, as they were hearing that something was going to be constructed. People [Municipality] just went to the traditional leader, got the land, and they did what they wanted to do so they were not ethical."

The discussion of the development which ventured into more light hearted conversation brought an end to the one-and-a-half-hour group interview. On ending the interview, I apologised for how proceedings had begun, when the local councillor expressed concern that protocols had not been followed. I re-explained that this had not been for my lack of trying and I did not mean any disrespect. Besides the tense atmosphere at the beginning, my overall impression is that the interview was a positive experience for me and my audience. My view is that the group interview setting made people feel more at ease with the questions I asked as they did not feel pressurised to answer any specific question. The participants (Fig. 19) were also more open to answering my questions because I told them that I had already scheduled a time in which to interview the MM. While I had been nervous at the beginning because of my lack of experience with managing interviews and the dissatisfaction expressed on our arrival

at the hall, I settled into the interview within minutes and felt completely comfortable talking to everyone. It helped that the participants were responsive and helpful in the sincere manner in which they answered questions.

Fig. 19: Some of the Dumezulu community members who were present for the interview.

Overall, the experience in Dumezulu was a good one. It is a beautiful place and people were friendly. There are young people in the community who want to improve themselves and their lives but it would seem that they are not being given the necessary opportunities. There are also older people who want to learn new skills and earn an additional income. The Dumezulu community might be economically disadvantaged, but its people are willing to put in the necessary effort to see that their lives improve for the better. The overall feeling within the community might be one of disillusionment, however, with the right opportunities the community will be able to flourish.

Ray Nkonyeni Municipality

I conducted two interviews with employees from the Municipality. I interviewed the Municipal Manager and the manager of the Local Economic Development department based on their level of responsibility and the roles they had with regards to the implementation of the tourism centre. Due to the difficulty in confirming a specific date and time in advance for the interview with the Municipal Manager and LED manager, I was advised that it is best to have a telephonic interview instead. From the information I had gotten whilst interviewing the Municipal

Manager, I had originally thought that the most important person to interview would have been the Manager for the Department of Planning Services. However, when I approached the incumbent, I was advised to rather speak to the manager of LED.

Interview with the Municipal Manager

The interview with the Municipal Manager was the most difficult to organise out of all the interviews I had conducted for this dissertation. It took more than three months to finally have the meeting take place. I had to work around the schedule of the Municipal Manager because his availability is very limited. The biggest difficulty was that sometimes the manager would be called into impromptu meetings to discuss municipal issues.

When the interview with the Municipal Manager finally took place, I began by first introducing myself to the Municipal Manager, and explained the nature of questions I would be asking. It helped that the manager had been briefed of me and the interest I had within the area he was managing. There was not a lot of 'small talk' before the interview could begin which is one of the disadvantages of telephonic interviews. Through this process, I realised that conducting an interview over the phone was a lot more formal, impersonal, and more to the point than conducting interviews face to face. The Municipal Manager specifically mentioned that he had no problem with being referred to by his position or surname in the dissertation. This is also reflected in the letter of consent he signed prior to the interview. Judging by his long answers, I had the confidence that the manager did not simply suggest the telephonic meeting to quickly get rid of me. He came across as someone who genuinely wanted to assist in the process, which is something I appreciated. While there could be a positive attribute from having long answers, it was difficult for me to focus on what he was actually saying over the phone because the important points of his answers would be lost in the subsequent information he gave. This once again emphasises the significance of having a face to face interview.

Mr Maxwell Mbili has been working for the Ray Nkonyeni Municipality since 2012. Before assuming his current position, he was the Head of Department of Community Services. He took over the municipal reigns in 2013. Mr Mbili began by defining his role as the Municipal Manager, during which he said: "I define my role as a head of department and accounting officer. When you say head of administration, I'm a head of administration. Everything which pertains to administration are co-ordinated and monitored through my office, or in my office. Secondly, I will have to account on everything that takes place within my Municipality." I

followed his answer up by asking how he coordinates community developments such as the tourism centre. Mr Mbili, in his own words, replied as follows:

> "In terms of the coordination of development in the Municipality, I have seven departments in the Municipality so I have seven heads of department who are reporting to me. What we do then, we prepare a budget and each department is given a responsibility to prepare its own budget. Then I call everyone in one room where all the heads of department will present their draft budget and there will be programmes that will direct and then we can develop something that is called the SDBIP, it is called the Service Delivery and Budget Implementation Plan, SDBIP. What we do then, on a monthly basis, heads of department are expected to report to me on how far they have gone with the implementation of the Service Delivery and Budget Implementation Plan. So when I speak about the SDBIP, I'm talking about the development of the Municipality. When they report to me on a monthly basis, they will have to tell me where they need my intervention. Where there are challenges they will definitely need my intervention. What we do then, we take their reports and submit it to different portfolio committees. Portfolio committees are chaired by councillors who are appointed as chairpersons of portfolio committees. We do this on a monthly basis and from there we go to counselling. So what my responsibility then is, is to ensure that heads of departments including their managers, they implement their service delivery plan in line with the plan that was approved by counselling. When necessary, I intervene in terms of support, in terms of guidance, to ensure that we achieve what needs to be achieved. I can certainly say to you, without fail, on an annual basis we achieve more than 90% of our targets, on an annual basis. Now, tourism therefore, will be part of those targets in terms of what the Department of Development Planning seeks to achieve. Tourism is under them and it will be part of their targets. I will monitor and make sure that they implement according to the plan."

The Municipal Manager's answer was informative because it gave me insight into how the Municipality is structured and what departments are within the Municipality. It also gave me an idea of who was responsible for what early on in the interview so that I had a sense of which department was responsible for implementing the tourism centre project. With specific

reference to various municipal projects, Mr Mbili mentioned that there are specific teams tasked with implementation:

> "Yes, what we do, each department would have their managers under head of department. Those managers will be responsible for a specific target. For example in your case, tourism, we have a section called Local Economic Development. We have a manager in Local Economic Development and under that manager we have someone who is responsible for marketing and tourism, so all targets that are related to tourism, that person is responsible in terms of implementation."

Considering the structure of the Municipality, there are two officials working below the Municipal Manager who are directly responsible for the implementation of tourism related projects, the centre being one of them. These are the Head of Local Economic Development and Planning Services and the manager for Local Economic Development. The latter is directly responsible for tourism while the former also has other portfolios such as town planning, building control, environment, and signage.

While the Municipal Manager enjoyed doing his job, he did allude to the existence of challenges. For instance, the task of balancing service delivery to urban and rural areas was a significant factor in the Ray Nkonyeni Municipality. Imbalances between the urban and rural areas is a factor of South Africa's political past which led to racially-defined service delivery. Those living in urban areas expect that the Municipality will largely maintain the existing infrastructure while the rural people want to be provided with services they have not been exposed to previously. Failure to address their needs is construed as giving service delivery to those who do not need it immediately, maintaining the status quo. According to Mr Mbili, while they have a task of resolving the imbalance in service delivery, they cannot overlook maintenance of existing infrastructure. It all comes down to budgets municipalities are given, which are never adequate considering the mandate they have.

Striking the balance in service delivery, according to Mr Mbili, comes with a level of persuasion and communication. This can only be achieved through transparency in terms of the funds available and the priority projects that can be delivered upon. Priority projects are decided upon in consultation with the community. Without being realistic and transparent, community expectations are not appropriately managed.

Demands do not just come from the community members who expect service delivery. Employees also make their own demands, which often include improved benefits, stretching the budget even further. Mr Mbili further mentioned that not all these employees actively engage themselves in their responsibility for the benefit of the communities which the Municipality serves.

There was a lot to unpack from this insight from the Municipal Manager. What is evident though is that the manager is caught between a rock and a hard place in terms of the allocated budget. In this instance, I can see how difficult it must be for one Municipal Manager to keep track of what is happening in all of his 36 wards.

When I specifically asked Mr Mbili how they address challenges which arise when the Municipality fail to meet the expectations of the community, he alluded to the significance of consultation. This is undertaken through gathering all relevant stakeholders around the table for discussions. Through these engagements, challenges are identified and solutions are found. This response was in direct contradiction of what the community had told me when I interviewed them. The community members had expressed concern with the lack of consultation that Mr Mbili was talking about. To further highlight the evident poor communication between municipal leaders and community members, I was provided with an explanation with regards to why the tourism centre was not operational. Mr Mbili responded by informing me that this is all due to budget constraints.

> "This project was funded by COGTA, provincial COGTA, we sought funding from provincial COGTA. What was given to us was not adequate to implement or make it operational. However, what we have done now, both the Municipality and the tourism department from our coffers, we have made money available to make it operational."

Community members do not seem to have an up to date explanation for why there are these delays over many years. Besides the evident budget constraints, the Municipal Manager was extremely confident that with all the needed infrastructure put in place, there is no way the tourism centre development can fail. He was confident that the project will become self-sustaining and thus would not be a burden on the limited municipal budget.

Probing further, I asked how often has he visited the area where the tourism centre is built. According to Mr Mbili's response, he has people who are in charge of projects. Thus, it is these individuals who are supposed to visit various locations on a more regular basis. It is only when

it is extremely necessary that he makes such visits, and the last time he had been to the tourism centre was more than eight months ago. Mr Mbili mentioned that the tourism project had been identified and recommended to them by the community's Traditional Council which was a critical point for my research. Considering that it was the community stakeholders who presented the tourism centre project to the Municipality, the Municipality did not expect any dissatisfaction with the project. I was surprised by this response from Mr Mbili because the community had said nothing about the development being a community initiative. This significantly challenges their notion that they would have preferred anything but the tourism centre development.

There seemed to be a lack of communication between all stakeholders involved in the implementation of the tourism centre. It did not occur to me that the community have the knowledge of the tourism centre being a community initiative rather than a municipal one. I then made the Municipal Manager aware that due to the lack of communication between the Municipality and the community, there are issues he needs to be made aware of. I told him that the community was initially very excited to be part of this development project but are now disheartened because everything has stalled. The Municipal Manager responded by saying that there should be regular contact with the community members. During these gatherings, the municipal officials can explain progress to data regarding the tourism centre linked to the caves.

Noting that the tourism centre is not yet operational because of outstanding infrastructural developments that must still be finalised, the Municipal Manager acknowledged that they need to invest more on educating the local community members about the tourism industry in general and how they could benefit from the sector. I found it thoughtful that the Municipal Manager had thought about potential initial disruptions of local surroundings with the presence of tourists. Ideally, community members needed to be made aware of such practical realities of having tourists constantly moving in and around the living areas of various community members, especially those who live close to the tourism centre.

When alerting the Municipal Manager that another community use the waterfall for spiritual and religious purposes, Mr Mbili argued that if the community do not want people to access the waterfall area, the process of problem-solving skills must be implemented. This process involved getting everyone involved around the table to discuss the issues present and find a solution. It was good attitude that the manager of the Municipality wants dialogue to find

solutions. That noted, it might be more challenging to achieve this in practical terms because of the difficulty of dealing with unhappy communities.

As our telephonic interview progressed, I began making the Municipal Manager aware of my visit to the tourism centre. Specifically, I raised two concerns. First, the rock art in the cave is fading and needs to be conserved in a manner which prolongs its existence in order for tourists to enjoy their visit. Second, I highlighted the challenge with physically accessing the cave and the waterfall. In response, Mr Mbili indicated that the Municipality had developed a business plan (Appendices A & B) which amongst other factors, addresses the concerns I raised with him. Furthermore, Mr Mbili indicated that having secured the services of the company to build bridges, he was confident that the centre will become operation by August 2019. Besides the bridges, the Municipal Manager highlighted the need to offer more signage to ensure that access to the site was not only focused on the physical attributes of the landscape but ease of finding the tourism centre too. Having not seen one sign to indicate where the Dumezulu community is located during my visit, this would be a welcomed development.

The marketing of the tourism centre must be improved with Mr Mbili indicating that social media and other platforms will be used to increase the visibility of the tourism centre. He also said that there will be pamphlets with information about the caves and rock art present in all tourism destinations within the Municipality and there will be shuttles from the main city centre to the tourism centre. This response indicated that the Municipality had considered various marketing plans to promote the tourism centre. Once the construction activities are finished and the tourism centre is ready to become operational, Mr Mbili said the Municipality is planning to host an official event to open the tourism destination within their boundaries. If the timeline presented by the Municipal Manager can be met, this event is not too far from taking place. While it would seem that there is a clear plan in place for the necessary construction to be completed, only time will tell whether that plan will be followed through to completion.

When ending the interview, I thanked the Municipal Manager for having afforded me an opportunity to conduct the telephonic conversation with him. I indicated the significance such a discussion will have in the final analysis of my research data and the subsequent writing of my dissertation. I further indicated to him my desire of having the dissertation being the source of potential solutions for the improved management of heritage resources within the Ray Nkonyeni Municipality and South Africa in general.

It was at this point of the interview that I also wanted to afford him with an opportunity to say anything which might not have been covered by my research questions. Having no questions per se, the Municipal Manager wished me well in my studies and then wrapped up the interview session. The telephonic interview with the Municipal Manager was the first interview I had conducted telephonically. I would have preferred a face to face interview but I do understand that someone in his position is very busy and thus has limited time in their daily schedules. It was rather ideal to have a telephonic meeting than to travel all the way to Port Shepstone only for an impromptu meeting to cut short our plans for a face to face interview. As indicated earlier, the telephonic interview felt impersonal, worsened by the fact that I had not met Mr Mbili before. In my own judgement, I am of the view that I could have been better prepared with follow up questions but I found it difficult to focus because of his long answers. Besides the challenges which were present, conducting my first telephonic interview was a beneficial learning experience.

Interview with the manager of Local Economic Development

Once I made contact with the manager of LED, I was able to appropriately conduct a telephonic interview with him. This was the most feasible method due to the limited time which people of his seniority seem to have in local government. Additionally, the interview took place after office hours which indicates that Mr Khambule was courteous in allowing me to interview him during his own personal time Before the interview could begin, as with others, I asked Mr Khambule if he had signed the clause which grants me permission to use his name in the writing and publication of this thesis. He confirmed his approval for the use of his identity in the dissertation. He was driving for much of the interview so the audio was not very clear at times. This made the interview process a little more difficult than with previous interviews I had conducted in the study. The answers he provided me with, however, were still substantial and revealed information which was not previously known.

In a similar fashion as the interview I conducted with Mr Mbili, the Municipal Manager, I began by asking Mr Khambule more about himself and his role within the Municipality to which he gave lengthy but informative answers. I discovered that Mr Khambule began working for the Ray Nkonyeni Municipality in 2007. Prior to his appointment, he had worked for uMngeni Municipality, in the same capacity as his current role. He defines his role within the Municipality as being that of a facilitator in charge of economic development activities. Amongst these are the growth of big and small businesses to foster greater employment

opportunities in the area. The main issues he faces in his current job is motivating people to own small and big businesses across the Municipality. Financial support, however, is a big stumbling block in attaining this and other goals. This situation is laid bare when one considers the inequality which already exists and expectations of people. Allocated funding is thus seen as a drop in the ocean and there is only so much that can be achieved from such limited funding.

Upon asking Mr Khambule about his department's role in implementing community developments, he responded as follows:

> "I think that should be the identification of a project or an initiative because our belief, what we've been saying all along, is that we cannot impose projects on communities. We cannot impose initiatives on communities. It has to be a community that identifies a particular initiative or a particular project and then come to us as a Municipality, or to other government agencies, and say as a community, we have identified this initiative and we feel that if we can get this particular assistance, we will then be able to take this initiative forward."

As per the assertion by the Municipal Manager, Mr Khambule also confirmed that this tourism project came from the community. As a Municipality, they were asked to provide the needed support, first to verify the authenticity of rock art found in the area. The authenticity was confirmed by Amafa aKwaZulu-Natali, a provincial authority tasked with the management of heritage resources. Upon the verification of authenticity, the project was planned accordingly:

> "Obviously, we have these caves and paintings, but over and above that, you can't just not ask people to come and view them and then they go. That's where the content of developing this project came from, the caves and the rock art. We then agreed with the community, that was the project that they wanted to pursue. However, there was no funding. The Municipality did not have the funding, the community did not have the funding. Together with them, we then approached the department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA). They had one of their programmes, wherein they assist municipalities in particular with an idea properly packaged in a plan. We then made a submission to them, it went through, and finally the

> funding was made available. We then started with the content of the project, leading up to the physical construction of the project."

It became clear from the very beginning that community members had no funding to realise the success of the then proposed project. The Municipality was in the same predicament. They then consulted the Department of Cooperate Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA), through which they learned of potential funding assistance given to municipalities who have appropriately packaged developmental projects within their jurisdiction. This led to them to then come up with a site plan and a proposed budget for submission to COGTA (see Appendix A and B).

According to the LED manager, the initial budget plan for the development was R23 million. However, COGTA could only provide R5 million. The Ray Nkonyeni Municipality only allocated R600 000 towards the tourism centre. As a result of COGTA only being able to provide funds of R5 million, the community had to prioritise the aspects of the plan which would enable the tourism centre to become functional instead of having to wait many more years for additional funding to become available. The Municipality thus had to advise the community on which aspects of the plan needed to be prioritised. As confirmed by Mr Khambule, there was hope that the centre will generate enough income to fund additional infrastructure as per the original site plan. As I shall indicate in the next discussion chapter, it can be deduced from three rock art centres in Kimberly and the uKhahlamba Drakensberg Park that the long-term sustainability of such tourism centres is not achievable without funding from elsewhere.

With the available funding, limited as it was, the implementation of the project went ahead. The LED manager informed me that at the inception of the project, a Project Steering Committee was established. It comprised of members from the Municipality, the traditional council, community representatives, and the ward councillor. The fact that the community has the necessary structures in place such as ward committees and the traditional council meant that the implementation of the project was easier. The necessary consultation with the traditional council had to take place before the conceptualisation of the project in order to ensure that the Municipality gained access to the community in the right manner. Access to the community by consultants working on the development and the construction team needed to

be discussed before-hand with the traditional council. The Project Steering Committee held monthly meetings during the construction phase.

Having set up a sound consultation strategy through the establishment of a Project Steering Committee, the implementation of the project encountered two serious problems. These related to the presence of graves located fairly close to where the tourism centre was to be being built and the ownership of the tourism centre after its construction:

> "In our culture in particular, when you are going to remove graves, it is a very sensitive matter, so we needed to get around that because they were there right in the middle of the project meaning that the affected families, even though there were no more people staying there, but they had to be found. And also ensure that we cornered them off properly so that even at a latter stage whenever they want to come and consult, traditionally they would not necessarily have the project preventing them from doing that. I think those were the issues initially that were there."

Due to the sensitivity of this issue, it had to be handled with care. The immediate challenge was that these graves belonged to a family which no longer lived in the area. According to the manager of LED, the Municipality tried to make contact with the family which the graves belonged to. The graves, on advice from Amafa aKwaZulu-Natali, were cornered off to ensure that they were not disturbed by the development, should the family contact the Municipality in the future to consult about the graves.

On the disgruntlement with the ownership of the tourism centre, there were essentially three stakeholder groups during the implementation of this development: the general community members, the traditional council, and the Municipality. The Municipality is currently working on a lease agreement with a development agency who will own and manage the centre once it becomes operational:

> "We should be soon concluding a lease agreement that will basically say the development agency is responsible for the asset and they must also now contribute in terms of rental fees to the Municipality. I think the project itself will be self-sustainable because I don't see the development agent pumping money into it as well."

According to this information provided by the LED manager, it would seem, that the tourism centre will still essentially be owned by the Municipality, who will act as landlords who collect rent from the development agency once the tourism centre is operational. The community also have ownership over the development, however, there is a disagreement between the general community members group which was part of the implementation of the project and the traditional council over who should have communal ownership. Mr Khambule informed me that there has not been a resolution concerning community ownership to this date. Upon reviewing the challenges linked to the ownership of the centre, Mr Khambule summed it up well when he said: “Tension will forever be there, especially when it comes to community-based projects because there are a lot of expectations and in most cases those expectations are not met with the available resources.”

Having adequately addressed the historical factors linked to the early establishment of the tourism centre, I thus shifted the focus of our interview to (i) the development of skills necessary for the effective management of the centre, (ii) the additional infrastructure which was meant to be included with the original plan of the tourism centre, and (iii) the sustainability of the tourism centre. It would seem that there were discussions held regarding community benefits accruing as a result of the tourism centre. As a significant setback, however, the attainment of skills was not budgeted for adequately. It does seem that even though up-skilling community members was discussed, the Municipality was more focused on settling the issue of ownership of the tourism centre. With such an ‘unstable foundation’ defining the early days of the tourism centre, there is a significant threat that additional infrastructure included in the original site plan and the long-term existence of the tourism centre will never be realised. This is not helped by the significant limitation of funding available to the Project Steering Committee.

I then brought it to the attention of Mr Khambule that according to the Municipal Manager, the development will become operational before the end of this year. Mr Khambule concurred with his boss, commenting that he does not see a reason why it should not become operational before the end of the year. His confidence is informed by the view that not much of the remaining budget is required to make the centre operational. Mr Khambule also highlighted that there were discussions between the Municipality and the development agency who are trying to find a technical partner to ensure the development becomes operational. One of the mandates of the

development agency states that the tourism centre must become operational before the end of the year.

My view is that the long-term sustainability of the tourism centre, however, is not given the necessary attention, with Mr Khambule simply saying that this issue will be addressed in the lease agreement. According to that agreement, the Municipality will expect the development agency to have a contingency plan in place. He does not foresee the need for such a contingency plan, however, because of the investment partner that the development agency will be bringing in. While noting plans to ensure that failure does not occur, Mr Khambule acknowledged that if the tourism centre were to become unsustainable, the Municipality would not be able to provide further funds towards its operational costs.

Comparing the two interviews I had with the Municipal representatives in the study, I gained more insight into the development of this project from Mr Khambule than his senior. There are two main points to reflect upon from this interview: i) the consultation process and communal ownership of the tourism centre, and ii) the Municipality handing the project over thereby not being held responsible for anything which goes wrong.

First, when I interviewed the community, they said that the Municipality suggested this project and were in charge of implementing it. Furthermore, one of the participants who was present, who is a leader in the community, said that there had been no consultation process and that the community were not given an opportunity to choose which project they would have wanted to be implemented. This goes against what Mr Mbili and Mr Khambule have said. They were both adamant that correct consultative procedures were followed when implementing this project. This is further highlighted by the constitution of the Project Steering Committee. Whether this misunderstanding is down to the lack of communication between the Municipality and the community, or because it has been so long since the tourism centre building was completed that the consultation process was forgotten, I am not sure.

Mr Khambule made it clear that the development forms part of the Municipality's economic improvement of the area. There seems to be a feeling from community members, however, that the development is not owned by them even though it is located on their traditional, and will not be owned by them in the future. While there is contestation over the ownership of the

tourism centre, this could not be one of the reasons as to why it has taken this long to become fully operational.

Second, the impression I got from interviewing Mr Khambule is that the Municipality have absolved themselves of any responsibility by handing the lease for the tourism centre over to a development agency. The Municipal Manager stated that the Municipality would assist the tourism centre financially for the first few years until it becomes self-sufficient. The manager of LED, however, has stated the opposite by saying that the lease will be handed over to a development agency and the Municipality would not be funding the development further. The Municipality bringing in another stakeholder could further complicate the functioning of the tourism centre because the development agency was not involved in the implementation of the development from the beginning. The community could feel that this 'outsider' group does not care for their development or what becomes of it, whereas the community care deeply. The development agency will further bring in another stakeholder, an investment partner, who will possibly provide funds for the tourism centre in the case it does not become self-sustaining.

The Municipality's official role once the lease agreement is signed will be that of a landlord who will capitalise on its investment. If the tourism fails to become successful and the Dumezulu community do not earn an additional income from the handmade crafts which they will sell, the Municipality will be able to point to the development agency and say that they are the ones in charge, not us. The relations between stakeholders in this scenario could become increasingly hostile with a community who is promised that the tourism centre will be able to sustain itself, a development agency who might have little or no interest in the success of the tourism centre other than meeting the rent demands, and a Municipality who is unlikely to be held responsible for any misfortune which the tourism centre encounters.

Sweden

At the end of 2017, I had been chosen as a candidate to attend Uppsala University in Sweden as part of a student exchange programme between the institution and the University of Pretoria. I arrived in Sweden on the 21st of February 2018 in time for their spring semester. Being chosen for the Linnaeus-Palme student exchange programme, along with one other student, provided me with the opportunity to expand my research. Rather than limiting my study to a South African case study, I expanded the focus to include Sweden. As a result, my research became

more about undertaking comparative analyses on the management of heritage resources considered important by indigenous communities in the two countries.

In order to gain different perspectives about Sweden's recognised indigenous population, the Swedish Sami, I endeavoured to talk to as many people as I could and read different studies which were focused on the Sami and their cultural heritage. Living and studying in Sweden for only a semester, however, meant that I had a very limited timeframe in which to research the Swedish Sami. I originally intended to attend courses on Swedish archaeology, however, I was hindered from doing so by linguistical challenges as these courses were delivered in Swedish. Instead, I was advised that I would be attending specific courses that were aimed at improving my then South African focused research project. To enhance my Masters project, I requested assistance from an experienced academic with expertise on Sami heritage. I thus began working with Dr Carl-Gosta Ojala at Uppsala University.

I had previously been aware that the Sami population mainly occupied the northern regions of Sweden. My location at Uppsala, in the south of Sweden, thus provided geographical limitations. Whilst Sweden might not be a geographically vast country, it has an elongated shape. This means that the distance between the north and south of Sweden is extensive.

Out of interest, I began by wanting to establish the level of knowledge and attitudes about the Sami amongst the young Swedes and other international students. These were people who I had lived with along the same corridor of my residence. The general consensus from the various discussions we held was that they knew very little about the Sami people. Only those who were studying archaeology and anthropology seemed to have better knowledge of the Sami, as they had learned about the Sami as part of their coursework.

Beyond these discussions, I began to extensively read on the Sami in general. I thus came across the case of Laponia in the north of Sweden () which I mentioned earlier in this dissertation. I had been advised by an academic who has done extensive research on Laponia that it would not have been an ideal time to conduct research in the area. The academic further informed me that going to Jokkmokk might suit my needs because while the town is part of Laponia, it houses the biggest Sami museum in the north where much Sami cultural heritage is showcased.

Jokkmokk became the ideal town for me to conduct research as it was part of Laponia and so the cultural heritage concerns of the Sami would still be understood in the context of my research. Jokkmokk also housed the Ajtte Museum and the town was small so it could be easily

explored by foot. Ajtte Museum prides itself on being a Sami museum strongly focused on showcasing the Sami culture. I was excited by this prospect because I had only seen pictures of Sami cultural heritage in my reading material. I wanted to understand more about cultural heritage and interacting with people in Jokkmokk would afford me that opportunity

Engaging with employees of the Ajtte Museum during spring season proved very difficult. I could unfortunately only conduct research during this period as I was waiting for funding to be approved and I was leaving Sweden the following week. Most people were away during the period I wanted to visit (4th to 8th of June 2018), because this was an ideal period for them to go on vacation following a cold winter season and because of the public holiday on the 6th of June. During the field trip funded by the Department of Archeology at Uppsala University, I was able to arrange a meeting with the Director of the Ajtte Museum. My view was that interviewing someone of their position, vastly knowledgeable about most aspects linked to my research, meant that it was not exceedingly problematic that I could not interview other employees.

Jokkmokk

Planning a research trip to Jokkmokk was a daunting task for me because I had never travelled alone before or conducted research by myself. That noted, I had received extensive advice from the staff in the archaeology department and the people I lived with, enabling me to travel to Jokkmokk without much hassle. Efficient transport services within Sweden made accessing Jokkmokk fairly easy.

Traveling to Jokkmokk proved to be a long journey by train, lasting almost 12 hours. The route of the train travelled along the eastern coastline which meant that the cities where the train stopped in the south would have been popular during the spring season. I found the landscape of Sweden to be similar to that of South Africa because of the many open green spaces and trees. This is especially true the further north you travel as the south of Sweden is more developed than the north. The north of Sweden, however, is far more picturesque.

Considering that not a lot of people apparently travel to Jokkmokk by train, I was informed on arrival at Murjek station (Fig. 20) that on many occasions, it proved difficult to get a bus from the train station. As a result of lack of demand, one could wait for hours. On the day of my trip, however, I was lucky in the sense that the bus had arrived on time and I thus began my one-hour long bus trip to Jokkmokk. Upon arrival in Jokkmokk, I was introduced to a shop owner, whose business is based on sourcing souvenirs from the Sami people who live within the

surrounding areas. The business owner told me that it was ideal for tourists who could purchase locally-made products to take back home for their family and friends. Jokkmokk is fairly small so there is not a lot to see, but exploring a new place was exciting nonetheless.

Fig. 20: Murjek train station located 79km away from Jokkmokk.

On the first full day of conducting my fieldwork, I was able to easily locate Ajtte museum (Fig. 21) which was up the road from my accommodation. Being a public holiday in Sweden, the museum was not open for business, highlighting the ideal time for a vacation for employees who were spending time away. From the outside, the museum looked quite big.

Fig. 21: Front facing view of Ajtte Musuem with a large banner outside indicating the various activities available inside the museum.

While I could not go inside the museum, I made use of an opportunity to explore the outdoor exhibition located in front of the museum. This exhibition showcased some objects relating to the Sami cultural heritage. There was one peat *goahti* (tent) and two wooden cabin-like ones (Figs. 22 & 23) which were on display. An exhibition panel stated that before there were *goahtis,* people lived in movable tents called *lavvu.*

Fig. 22: Image of a peat *goahti*. This *goahti* is interesting because of how different it is to the wooden ones. The *goahti* is encased in peat with windows and a doorway. This *goahti* was not interactive, however, you could peek through the windows to get a better view of the inside.

The *goahtis* were interesting to me because I had read about them and seen pictures, but I had not seen one up close before. One of the wooden *goahtis* was interactive (Figs 23 & 24). I opened the door and stepped inside, where I could see how the living space was divided. There was also a typical Sami fireplace area on display that had steel or iron reindeer around it and a see-saw which children could play on.

To gain more insights into the way of life in Jokkmokk, I had the opportunity to speak to the owner of the hostel where I was staying during my fieldwork. This allowed me to gain insight into how the Sami were perceived in Jokkmokk. Jokkmokk being a small town meant that the community was a close knit one. As a result, there would always be many people willing to offer assistance when someone was in need. The Sami were seen as being no different to an ordinary Swedish citizen living within Jokkmokk. This extended to immigrants who would be brought to the north by the government to integrate into a Swedish way of life. From what I could gather, Jokkmokk had a fairly large Sami population. Considering that the number of

inhabitants within Jokkmokk was approximately 5500 (Green 2009), this meant that Jokkmokk had a strong Sami presence.

Fig. 23: The above image shows an interactive log *goahti.* The *goahti* has a rectangular base which connects to a tent like shape made out of logs. Steps on the outside and inside aid in accessing the *goahti*.

Fig. 24: Inside interactive log *goahti* shown in Fig. 13. The space includes a stone firepit with a small wooden bench placed behind it. The setting of the *goahti* is assumedly to show how the space is divided within a log *goahti.*

I spent the rest of the day finalising my preparations for my interview with the Director of Ajtte Museum which would take place the following day. My questions were centred around Sami cultural heritage and how the museum showcases that heritage in an accurate manner. Ajtte is located in the north which means that it can showcase Sami culture and has the necessary knowledge and means to do so (Silven 2012).

I met the Director at the requested time the next afternoon and was eager to learn more about the museum and Sami heritage. My first impression of the Director was that she was friendly, but our initial conversation was still slightly awkward as it would be for two strangers who have just met. We began the interview by exploring the background of the Director, how long she had been at the institution, and her role at the museum.

It transpired that the Director was born in Jokkmokk. She relocated after her marriage, moving with her family to Umea in the north of Sweden. Her return to her town of birth was based on her having secured a job at a local school, which is located opposite the Atjje Museum. When she got employed at the museum, the Director was initially responsible for heading the economical department until her promotion to the directorship position. Altogether, the Director has been employed at the museum for about 12 years.

Discussing the various roles the Director has in her position, she specifically highlighted three key areas of her job. First, the Director is always actively involved in the construction of exhibitions, particularly focusing on the writing of synopses which provide more explanation about the given exhibition. Second, the museum employees had to always ensure that the stories told through the exhibitions have relevance. Third, there is a large number of employees who are approaching retirement age. However, the challenge is finding potential replacements for their positions.

I then moved on to asking more questions directly related to the museum. It became evident that the museum first opened its doors in 1989, meaning that it has been operating for almost three decades. Before it was renamed to Ajtte, it was a smaller museum. The roots of the museum can be found in a water company which was owned by the government. The company had aimed to offer local people access to a waterfall near Jokkmokk. The implementation of such a project became too costly, however, so the company decided to offer the allocated budget to the community in Jokkmokk for the construction of a local museum to provide tourists with information on the surrounding mountains.

Considering this communally-orientated history of the museum, it was interesting to learn from the Director that local people do not generally visit the museum. The answer took me by surprise because I expected that being one of the landmarks within such a small town, there would be more locals visiting and supporting it. There are also few recreational activities within Jokkmokk. There is a church located just across the street from the museum, there is a large lake which has a playground and a pier for fishing, there are hiking trails, and then there is the museum with a nice café/restaurant and souvenir shop inside of it. In the winter there are other activities such as sledding and viewing the *Aurora Borealis*. Considering the few recreational activities present, I could not really understand how most of the Jokkmokk community had not viewed the museum exhibits.

It was not easily evident to the Director why locals were not visiting in numbers even when they do invite schools in the area for tours and provide free entrance for the community of Jokkmokk. I asked the Director if this was a problem for the museum economically wise and she responded by saying:

> In the wintertime it's very quiet. We have the summer and the spring, and a little bit in the autumn we have many people every day, we are open more often. In the wintertime it's more, tourists is not coming so much here and the community is not so much here at the museum. That's a problem. But the community come to the shop to do some shopping for Christmas and birthdays. In the wintertime we have this market, very famous market, and we have a lot of programs and many many people here in the museum.

Commenting on the potential development and growth of the museum, the Director argued that Jokkmokk needed more exposure as a whole, not only the museum. There are other towns in the north of Sweden, such as Kiruna, which attract more tourists. This is mainly because of infrastructure. Kiruna has its own airport and more tourist attractions in general, such as the ice hotel. Thus, while the winter market is a reasonably good attraction for Jokkmokk, accessing the town could be a hassle because of poor infrastructure. The journey by train is very long, with the high possibility that the bus from Murjek train station to Jokkmokk can sometimes be delayed. This could explain why most of the people who do come to Jokkmokk either come by car or caravan. Not having many people can have positive spinoffs, however, as the town remains relatively small with a sense of calmness.

Our discussions then moved onto the topic of how the museum portrays the cultural heritage of the Sami. It became evident in our discussions that staff members do sometimes have disagreements about what is put on display. When such instances arise, they are continuously discussed during meetings to find an amicable solution. When responding to the question of how the museum displays Sami cultural heritage, the Director stated the following "The museum is sometimes too diplomatic in displaying some things. There are currently issues concerning Sami reindeer herding that we could maybe talk about there in the museum but we choose not to."

As a result, the museum is not forthright on some issues relating to Sami cultural heritage and the displays do not delve deeper into Sami issues. While museum professionals are well educated and have read extensively, they consult with the local population of Jokkmokk regarding displays under construction. I wondered to what extent such a consultation might lead to the diplomacy being referred to by the Director. Amongst the key stakeholders of the museum present, the museum professionals must consult the *Sametinget*, or the Sami Parliament. Beyond the scope of the museum, the *Sametinget* is also involved in the repatriation of Sami artefacts which were removed from Sweden, ending up in various museums across Europe.

There are many stereotypes concerning Sami artefacts. When the Sami were discriminated against in the past, certain Sami artefacts were believed to be associated with witchcraft because of how the Sami people dressed and performed rituals. I was interested in finding out whether these stereotypes still existed and more particularly, how the museum is addressing them. The Director acknowledged that stereotypes still do exist especially in the south where the Sami are still portrayed in certain ways, i.e. how they lived in the past and how they live now or what they look like in the present. When I asked the Director how the Museum addresses the stereotypes concerning the Sami and their heritage she said:

> "There is nothing [stereotypes] in our museum. I think in the other places [museums in the south of Sweden] they tell people that the Sami are like this and look like this. I think it's that, the issue with displaying artefacts in the same way. In our Museum we want to show that the Sami also are very similar to other people, we are not looking different than others. I know you can see some similar artefacts here in this museum in the south of Sweden,

> but you can still feel that the museums in the south are telling an older history about the Sami people."

Acknowledging the existence of such stereotypes, the Director and employees of the Atjje Museum seemed more sensitive in ensuring that they do not also fall into the same trap of portraying the Sami in the same light. Having the Director confirm the general existence of stereotypes on the Sami population made me appreciate what I had read about the relationship between the indigenous Sami and other Swedish citizens. It is based on these continuous portraying of stereotypes that Sami population still feel marginalised within Sweden (Silven 2012).

Another contentious area regarding the presentation of the Sami culture was the loan system. As part of this loan system, museums in the south acquire artefacts from their counterparts in the north for a period of approximately 10 years (Silven 2012). When I asked the Director what they thought about this loan system and what it means for museums in the north of Sweden, she responded by saying:

> "I feel that it is good if they [museums in the south] can show them and tell the right story, but we also want to show things in our museum. If something happens, like a fire or maybe a flood, I think sometimes it's good there can be another place [for storage]. We have also some things coming back to this museum from the south and we have displayed a stone *siedi* that arrived a few years ago and the whole story that it was stolen up in the mountains. I would like for Sami artefacts to be stored here but of course we do not have space for everything."

I was interested in finding out if the Sami people in Sweden did make rock art like their counterparts in Norway whose rock art is largely known. It had been difficult to establish this from the published sources, as many rock art publications linked to the Sami focused solely on the Norwegian rock art. The Director did allude to the presence of rock art just outside Jokkmokk further to the north. It transpired that while there is an employee at the Atjje Museum interested in studying this Sami rock art in Sweden, the museum is more interested in exhibitions that portrays the cultural heritage of Jokkmokk because the rock art is located much further to the north.

We moved onto discussing the tourists' perceptions of the Sami and their artefacts. I wanted to establish three aspects. First, to know whether Sami people from different regions interacted

with their heritage in similar ways. Second, to find out the role of the Sami language in differentiating between people belonging to this indigenous group. Third, I wanted to know more about tourism within Sami regions and more specifically Jokkmokk. There was not an abundance of literature I could find specifically addressing these issues focusing on Jokkmokk in particular, which is why I pinned my hopes on the Director giving me informed insight. The Director did allude to the Sami people being largely the same across the country, with only few differences amongst them. She further indicated that people in Sweden and tourists in general do not always know much about the Sami:

> "Many many people ask where can we see them, where can we see the Sami people? They want to see them in dresses and want to see them with the reindeer or in their wooden houses. They are maybe not that well informed because not all Sami people still live this way. There is a Sami population in Jokkmokk but it is very small."

It was interesting to learn from the Director that the most common question people asked about the Sami or their artefacts were whether they could see these indigenous people in their traditional setting. Judging by how the Sami have been portrayed in Sweden throughout time, this view was not surprising to me. In responding to such requests, museum officials normally advise tourists to visit the northern mountains occupied by the Sami in the summertime. While the museum does not keep records on the tourists who come to the institution, officials are aware that they largely come from Germany and England.

The Director further informed me that learning about the Sami was previously not part of the school syllabus in Sweden. However, this is slowly changing. Such a change will increase general knowledge of the Sami within the country. Knowledge of Sami amongst tourists is generally informed by stereotypes and not actual Sami culture.

Whilst reading through various published literature, I had noticed that Sami heritage and Swedish heritage are considered to be two separate entities, with no sense of unity between them. This separation is further confirmed by the Swedish heritage legislation. I asked the Director about what she thought of a unified Swedish heritage, one where Sami heritage is considered to be part of Swedish heritage. Her response was: "I think in a way that has to happen, in order for people to learn more about the Sami, but I think that is far away from happening". She added that there was a time, in the 1950s and 1960s, when being Sami made people feel ashamed. They had to change their names to hide their Sami identity.

The interview ended after an hour and I thanked the Director for allowing me the time to interview her considering that she is a very busy person. She offered me the opportunity to contact her if I had any more questions or if I wanted her to elaborate on any of the answers she had given which I was thankful for. Although I was only able to interview one employee from the Museum, the interview was a success considering the Director's Sami background and her knowledge of current issues which face Sami heritage conservation. On my second day of visit to the museum, I realised that the institution is divided into five chambers, with each dedicated to a particular theme. The exhibitions were well put together with a key focus on the natural features of Laponia and Sami cultural heritage.

The first chamber is dedicated to the exploration of Laponia. There is a large open space which has flora and fauna on one wall and a simulation machine on the opposite side (Fig.25). The simulation machine, which runs for about 10 to 15 minutes, contains three large screen panels and is connected to Google Maps. The museum visitor steps onto a vibrating platform that can accommodate two people to watch the screen panels. A bird flies overhead to key landmarks within Laponia, providing the viewer with information about each. While this technology can still be improved by making the simulation journey quicker and avoiding the long pauses, it was pleasing to find that the museum has integrated a visual experience and is invested in state-of-the-art technology to use in their exhibitions.

Fig. 25: Three screen panels of the visual exhibition showcasing the Sami landscape over northern Sweden.

The second chamber is mainly focused on activities aimed at children. The one part of the chamber has a games room where children can play games related to Laponia (Fig. 26). The variety of games surprised me because I did not expect to find child friendly spaces within a

museum which focuses on Sami cultural heritage. The other part of the chamber contained a playroom with a variety of stalls and activities which were Sami themed (Fig. 27). The aim here is to educate the younger tourists about Sami children and their way of life. Having an entire chamber dedicated to child friendly activities shows that the museum has considered it important for children to be educated about cultures they may not be familiar with.

Fig. 26: One of the interactive educational games which children can play. The design is that of a game show.

Fig. 27: An interactive Sami *lavvu* located next to the children's game room. This specific chamber is designed for younger tourists to experience the life of a Sami child.

The third chamber addresses the Sami traditional clothing and artefacts. The clothing on display by use of mannequins illustrated gender-based differences in the clothing. There were also mannequins with children's clothing (Fig. 28). What I could tell from the displays was that the clothing is bright, with a lot of red and blue colours incorporated into the fabric design. Amongst the artefacts on display were objects such as belts with bells attached, silver chalices and bowls, drums, the *siedis*, and silver embellishments which could be attached to clothing.

Fig. 28: Exhibition displaying traditional Sami clothing which belongs to the region of Jokkmokk.

I further observed that the Sami material used for clothing is generally devoid of patterning or other decorative additions, highlighting the potential significance of the silver embellishments in decorating the clothing items (Fig. 29). In addition to these, there were also hunting flasks which were round in shape and looked like they were made out of wood and bound with animal skin (Fig. 30). It became apparent to me that the artefacts on display were largely not known

by people, as they were not commonly shown in various media platforms or publications. I certainly had not expected to see artefacts made of silver.

Fig. 29: A Sami article of clothing with silver embellishments of various styles attached to the collar.

Fig. 30: Sami hunting flasks rounded in shape which are made out of wood and bound with animal skin.

The Sami themed space leads into the fourth chamber containing the famous *siedi* (a stone or piece of wood which is either naturally shaped by weathering or carved by hand to ensure that its features become more prominent) and the well-known exhibition of the museum, Drum

Time (Figs 31 & 32). According to Sami religious practices, the *sieidis* were worshipped with offerings of reindeer antlers, meat, and fat. The *sieidis* were often found by tourists and scholars who visited the mountains and removed the objects with or without the aid of the Sami (Silven 2012). Prior to visiting the museum, I had not appreciated how big the *siedi* was because images I had seen in literature beforehand had provided an impression that these were small artefacts. Upon closer inspection, I could see why this *siedi* in particular would be of interest to tourists. The stone is shaped much like a bird and is quite large for an ordinary stone. I am not sure whether it was carved to look that way or whether its shape was formed due to weathering, but it is quite unique nevertheless. The story of the *siedi* which is displayed is well documented and a summarised version is provided with the display.

Fig. 31: The most famous *siedi* displayed behind a glass case with a book documenting its discovery placed besides it.

Fig. 32: One of the drums from the Drum Time exhibit which has the most pronounced markings with the drumstick still attached.

The Drum Time exhibit was quite interesting, especially because I could see the drums up close, appreciating the detail that is etched into them. Sami ceremonial drums were used by Sami *noaidi* (shaman) during rituals. The drums allowed the *noaidi* to communicate with the gods (Silven 2012). However, they were not used strictly for ritual purposes. Sami who were not *noaidi* also used the drums to make important decisions and predict the future (Silven 2012). The 17th and 18th centuries in Sami history were defined by the Swedish State separating the Swedish nation from the Sami people (Lehtola 2004). Extreme stereotypes concerning the Sami existed during this time, including that of witchcraft, and the drums were seen as characteristic of such practices (Lehtola 2004). There were more drums to view than I expected and some of these had their drumsticks attached to them. I found the etching on the drums to be quite interesting because a lot of the symbols and figures are stylistically similar to that of Sami rock art (see Helskog 1987; Fig. 33).

Fig. 33: Rock art image from Alta, Norway. The art is comparable stylistically to the images on the drum (sourced from Tansem & Johansen 2008).

The last chamber contained information on Sami hunting practices. There were artefacts such as bows and arrows displayed, and arrowheads too. The arrowheads looked like they were made out of stone. I knew from reading about Sami culture that hunting was a large part of their day to day life, however, it was never discussed in detail. The hunting exhibition included different types of animals that the Sami were likely to hunt and the clothing a Sami hunter would wear on their expeditions. After going through this chamber, tourists are taken back to the entrance of the museum. At the end there is a large Sami *lavvu* with similar objects as those found in the *goahtis* outside (Fig. 34).

Fig. 34: Interactive Sami *lavvu* which was similar to the interactive log *goahti* in the outdoor exhibition.

The museum was larger than I expected it to be and exploring all of the chambers took approximately two and a half hours. The chambers were well designed with each having a strong theme attached to them. I felt that most of the exhibitions were interesting and I learned more about Sami cultural heritage than I thought I would from a museum located in a small town. Language was a challenge, however. The information provided alongside displays is only in Swedish, which could be problematic for tourists especially if they are self-guided. I would have found it more beneficial to read English wording to gain more insight.

My overall experience in Jokkmokk was beneficial for me because I learned a lot. Reading about a particular place, and experiencing being there in real life is not the same. People in Jokkmokk were also very welcoming to the point where I felt like I had been there in the past. I got a sense that people in this small town were not discriminatory, making the locality a place where all who lived within it co-existed in harmony. It could also be that people in the north of a non-Sami background have become accustomed to Sami cultural heritage which is more prevalent in regions such as Jokkmokk. The experience of conducting research in a region which is welcoming of everyone is one which I will not be in a hurry to forget.

Application of theoretical framework

The two theories presented in Chapter 3, conservation theory and stakeholder collaboration theory, helped in undertaking a much deeper analysis into the data collected during the fieldwork. The case of Laponia and the Dumezulu tourism centre each had their issues when deciding the who should manage the respective sites. In using the theories, the issues of management were addressed.

The approaches towards heritage conservation essentially helped me to understand the approaches used in each case study. In the case of the Swedish case study, I was provided with ample information regarding Sami cultural heritage when I visited Jokkmokk. I had met many interesting people who had provided me with information about the lifestyle within Jokkmokk and how Sami cultural heritage is engrained in the town. The Director of the Ajtte Musuem was helpful in providing context to how the Sami view their heritage and what challenges they currently face in protecting their heritage, some of which directly relate to the case of Laponia World Heritage Site. During the negotiation process for the management of Laponia the Sami wanted greater protection for their tangible and intangible cultural heritage, especially concerning the practice of reindeer herding which is a subsistence practice for many Sami (Reimerson 2016). They were thus reluctant to give power to the dominant stakeholders

(County Administration Board and municipalities) because they wanted their heritage practices to be managed in a non-disruptive manner. A process of negotiation and stakeholder collaboration thus occurred over a number of years until a resolution was finally realised (Green 2009).

During the process of collaboration the main issues occurred during stage 1 (problem setting) and stage 2 (direction setting). The balancing of power was the main challenge which the Sami faced and they managed to do so by not compromising on their demands. This led to power being distributed in a situation where the dominant stakeholders wanted a resolution so that Laponia could fulfil its potential as a World Heritage Site (Nilsson-Dahlström 2008). The impasse meant that the dominant stakeholders could not move forward with their plans for Laponia. The catalyst in the collaboration process occurred when there was a change in the power structure of the dominant stakeholder groups which then led to a shared vision amongst all stakeholders (Green 2009). The final stage of the process, implementation of a management strategy, led to all stakeholders agreeing that a values-based approach would be best. I would say that the management board are still grappling with the implementation process, however, there is potential for a values-based approach to be successful.

The Dumezulu community do not interact with the rock art or the waterfall in a spiritual or religious manner, however, they claim cultural ownership over the rock art which is located on their traditional land. Although the Dumezulu community do not interact culturally with the rock art or waterfall, there is another community who perform cleansing rituals using the waterfall. If the community is denied access to the usage of the waterfall once the tourism centre becomes operational, the integrity of the tourism centre could be jeopardised. The communal ownership of the tourism centre has come into question between the community members who were part of implementing the development and the traditional council. The stakeholder collaboration process is still at stage 2 concerning these two stakeholder groups, with no resolution regarding ownership being decided upon. The Municipality has stated that the tourism centre will become functional by the end of this year so a resolution is in the best interests of both stakeholder groups especially considering that the lease of the tourism centre will be handed over to a development agency.

The implementation of a TMS approach has not been achieved in both cases. The closest that the Sami have come to realising such a system is a values-based approach towards to management of Laponia World Heritage Site. In the case of the Dumezulu tourism centre, there

will be three main stakeholder groups once the tourism centre becomes operational. The dominant stakeholder groups will be the development agency and the investment partner which they bring in, and the other stakeholder group will be the ownership group within the community. The most likely scenario, if the tourism centre becomes self-sufficient, is a values-based approach and joint management. The Sami initially wanted full control over the management of Laponia, however, they managed to come to an understanding with the Swedish government and municipality thus entering into joint-management (Green 2009). There have been issues of power since, such as the position of who should be chairperson of the management board with no resolution forthcoming.

The fieldwork conducted was integral in answering the research questions because some information concerning both study groups could not be discerned from the literature alone. The participants provided new information which gave me a better understanding of how tourism has or can impact the Dumezulu and Sami communities. There are no TMS approaches in place for these communities, however, both are moving towards fighting for the right to own their cultural heritage. The overall experience of conducting fieldwork in both countries was a positive one with few obstacles and many willing participants.

Conclusion

The research conducted in order to answer the research questions of this dissertation proved to be successful in some aspects. In order to answer the two research questions: i) Can tourism be considered a threat to the spiritual and cultural values attached to heritage sites in both South Africa and Sweden? and ii) Does heritage legislation in South Africa and Sweden allow for a Traditional Management System in managing sites identified for tourism development?, I had to gather data from desktop studies and conduct fieldwork in the two study areas in order to gain more insight.

With regards to the first question, tourism is most certainly a threat to the spiritual and cultural values attached to heritage sites in South Africa and Sweden. The Dumezulu community do not have spiritual ties to the caves or waterfall, however, they do have cultural ownership over the site because it is within their traditional land. A large influx of tourists could disrupt their day to day life and community members could grow increasingly frustrated if tourists are not considerate. Another issue to contend with is that if the rock art is damaged or vandalised in any way, the tourism centre will inherently fail. Although the Dumezulu community do not have spiritual ties to the site, there is another community who interact with the waterfall by

performing cleansing rituals. If this community do not want tourists to visit the waterfall but their pleas fall on deaf ears, they could react in a manner which jeopardises the integrity of the tourism centre. The Sami have to almost pander to the needs of tourists in order to satisfy them, thus becoming the exotic 'Other'. Tourists who venture into the north of Sweden want to see the Sami in their 'natural' setting dressed in their traditional clothing and herding reindeer.

The fieldwork conducted was integral in answering the research questions which will be discussed in the following chapter. There was little to no published information regarding the Dumezulu community and the tourism development and some of the information concerning Sami cultural heritage could not be discerned from the literature alone. The participants provided new information which gave me a better understanding of how tourism has or can impact the Dumezulu and Sami communities There are no TMS systems in place for these communities, however, both are moving towards fighting for the right to own and manage their cultural heritage as they see fit. The overall experience of conducting fieldwork in both countries was a positive one with few obstacles and many willing participants.

Chapter 5: Cultural heritage and Traditional Management Systems (TMS) - Where do we go from here?

Having presented the research data gathered during fieldwork in South Africa and Sweden, I now wish to critically consider the research questions that provided the foundation to the project I undertook. I have confidence that I gathered enough data to critically engage on the two research questions for the research project presented in this dissertation. The two research questions were: (i) Can tourism be considered a threat to the spiritual and cultural values attached to heritage sites in both South Africa and Sweden? and (ii) Does heritage legislation in South Africa and Sweden allow for a Traditional Management System in managing sites identified for tourism development? As indicated in the methodology chapter, the research questions significantly informed the methodological approach used in the study presented in this dissertation. The methodology had to be useful in gathering the research data relevant in providing insights into the two research questions that were central in this study.

As part of the methodological approach in gathering research data, I interviewed relevant stakeholders in South Africa and Sweden. This chapter is structured as follows: (i) I begin this critical review by offering a personal reflection on the nature of work undertaken by myself during the data gathering stage, (ii) provide a critical reflection on the major findings from the fieldwork, (iii) evaluate what this means about my research questions, and (iv) provide concluding remarks.

Self-reflection

Being reflexive is an important aspect of any research project. This is because we cannot completely disassociate ourselves as researchers from the work we are undertaking. Our cultural, religious, political, and financial backgrounds, amongst others, do not take a 'backseat' while we are involved in such research projects. Instead, we are shaped by all our experiences as researchers and we bring these to the projects we are involved in. The same applied to me. I had to read widely to familiarise myself with the research contexts of the two case studies in South Africa and Sweden. As a South African, I am much more familiar with the history of the country and thus felt more knowledgeable than I was for the Swedish case study. I have lived in South Africa my entire life and so, I could relate more with what I was reading for the South African case study. For instance, I am generally well aware of the socio-economic circumstances, administration of local governments, and political climate within

South Africa. I was also aware of what I could expect before interviewing the the Dumezulu community. Such experiences proved vital because I was able to understand the nuances of my research from the beginning and laid a foundation from which I could build my project upon.

It is also important to mention that I had two potential research projects to consider at the beginning of my studies. I chose the Dumezulu case study because of the link between tourism and heritage resources which the study encompassed. The initial stages of my research were heavily influenced by the HIA report I had read and the meeting I subsequently had with the academic who compiled the report. My supervisor set up a meeting for me with the academic whom he knew and who had potential projects for me considering my interest in San rock art. The academic informed me of two projects and I chose the Dumezulu tourism centre.

Having provided critical self-reflection that puts me as a central figure in the research project I undertook, it is not evident that my role could not be defined as neutral. I now wish to reflect on the two research questions which informed the core of the study presented in this dissertation.

Research question 1: Can tourism be considered a threat to the spiritual and cultural values attached to heritage sites in both South Africa and Sweden?

While tourism could potentially have a negative impact on the spiritual power of a given location, it does not seem to be a factor in the South African case study. The only inconvenience that is likely to be felt by the local community members if the tourism centre becomes a success, would be the unfamiliar experience of having a number of tourists moving in and out of their traditional land. For most tourists, the Dumezulu community would be an ideal rarity to add on their travel itinerary because of the beautiful landscapes and sites of historical significance in the area.

Noting the spiritual significance of the San rock art in general and some specific locations within KwaZulu-Natal (i.e. Game Pass Shelter at Kamberg, (see Francis 2009; Ndlovu 2009; Prins 2009), I was of the view that the paintings found in the Dumezulu caves could carry the same significance for the Dumezulu community. However, this proved not to be the case. What I discovered instead was that the Dumezulu community do not interact with the rock art site in a spiritual manner. There is no one person or group of people within the community who use the rock art for spiritual purposes. I was informed by one of the Dumezulu community members, however, that there is another community who use the waterfall located nearby the rock art for spiritual reasons. If the community who interact with the waterfall spiritually

become unhappy with the tourists being near the waterfall and do not come to an understanding with the Municipality, it could jeopardise the integrity of the development once it becomes operational.

San rock art has a potential to play a significant role in the success of tourism projects and the tourism centre is not an exception. However, there is a threat that while the rock art is the selling point of the tourism centre, the potential vandalism that could happen to the art could render the centre unsustainable due to low visitor numbers.

The Sami tourism industry in Sweden is currently grappling with the stereotypes which outsiders have concerning their cultural heritage. Tourists who visit the Sami regions in the north of Sweden have the perception that they will see Sami people in their traditional clothing and herding reindeer. This negative stereotype is what the Sami are trying to move away from as they aim to become more integrated into Swedish society.

Managing tourists' expectations without feeling like they have to hide their culture is a problem which the Sami are currently faced with. In the past, the Sami felt that their culture was being exploited to fulfil the needs of the tourists (Pettersson 2002). In the present day, however, the Sami are presented with a unique opportunity. The market for reindeer meat is not as strong as it used to be, thus the Sami have had to venture into other entrepreneurial opportunities (Viken & Muller 2006). One such opportunity is that of tourism. Tourism provides the Sami with a chance to rectify the wrongs of the past and educate tourists about Sami culture (Muller & Pettersson 2001). The Sami can write their own narrative about what it means to be Sami, what their way of like was in the past, and how they live in the present day. In this way, the Sami can safeguard their cultural heritage because they are the ones managing it.

Institutions such as museums can often provide misinformation about Sami culture. The museums in the south of Sweden, since they are not located in a Sami region and thus do not have the expertise of the Sami readily available, have a higher chance of spreading misinformation. The museums in the north of Sweden, however, are able to educate visitors about Sami culture since their exhibitions mainly comprise of Sami artefacts (Silven 2012). These museums not only safeguard Sami cultural heritage, but have the opportunity to eradicate some of the negative stereotypes associated with the Sami people.

Research question 2: Does heritage legislation in South Africa and Sweden allow for a Traditional Management System in managing sites identified for tourism development?

South Africa and Sweden have various approaches to defining indigeneity. In the case of South Africa, the Bantu-speaking population of South Africa, who are the majority population, consider themselves to be the indigenous population. Academically, the definition of indigeneity refers to the San people who are the officially recognised indigenous group (see Ndlovu 2005, 2009, 2016). The San have largely been discriminated against through various means such as access to land and so forth. What this discrepancy over who is indigenous highlights is the fact that those who are academically defined as indigenous have no political power in the country, and by extension, the African continent.

Furthermore, South African heritage legislation makes reference to the national estate. San heritage is part of such an estate which is collectively owned by South Africans. This communal ownership is further illustrated by the extent to which their heritage recourses are ingrained into South African heritage landscape. Heritage elements linked to San are used in our school curriculum, currency, the coat of arms, etc (Ndlovu 2016). Because the San cultural heritage is 'owned' by all South Africans as per the heritage legislation, it is thus not protected according to principles they would deem appropriate.

As Ndlovu (2016) has argued, the understanding of indigeneity has significant bearing on the management of heritage resources in the country. In contrast to the South African situation where the definition of who is indigenous is contested, the same is not applicable in Sweden where the Sami are recognised as the indigenous population of the country without dispute. Heritage management is largely about power, because those with power are able to set the agenda over how heritage resources are to be managed (see Ndlovu 2016).

From the analyses of heritage legislation in South Africa and Sweden that I undertook, I discovered that these legal principles do not allow for a TMS approach in managing heritage sites. A TMS approach is a system whereby the community who claim ownership over the cultural heritage resources are the primary stakeholders (Jopela 2011; see also Mataga 2003, 2009; Katsamudanga 2003; Mataga & Chabata 2008; Makuvaza 2014). The community have custodianship over their heritage thus deciding how it should be used (Jopela 2016). The heritage sites identified for tourism purposes are no exceptions.

The issue of ownership with regards to both the legislative frameworks and the implementation of TMS approaches cannot be ignored. The Sami want to own their cultural heritage in Sweden

and want information disseminated to the public to be free from prejudice and judgement regarding their cultural heritage. The Dumezulu community, however, do not have any spiritual or religious ties to the San rock art but they still feel that they own the cultural heritage because it is present within their traditional land. Furthermore, there is an unfortunate absence of San descendants within the province in general and so, by claiming ownership over the land, the Dumezulu claim ownership over the resources contained within their traditional land.

Beyond strategies applied to manage heritage resource, another area of concern I identified from the research project is the inability by stakeholders to have proper means of communication. The continued disagreements over the management of Laponia are a classical example of this failure to communicate appropriately and effectively. Because of struggles for power control, with the Sami and the government demanding full control, the compromise led to an agreement that a joint management system, composed of all stakeholders, was more appropriate under the circumstances. As explained in chapter two, tensions are still evident in the management of Laponia with the dispute over the appointment of the Board Chairperson. This points to poor communication between the relevant stakeholders, leading to their failure to reach agreement on critical aspects which are central to the success of various projects.

What I have discovered from the two case studies presented in this dissertation is that there is often poor or no consultation between relevant stakeholder groups. If there is some form of engagement which takes place, it is often defined by power struggles, with those having the legal power gaining dominancy.

Unfulfilled promises

According to the Municipality, the origins of the rock art tourism centre are within the Dumezulu community. It was their traditional authority, through consulting the local community, that brought the tourism centre proposal to the Municipality. As the local government, it seems that the officials accepted the project and had high hopes for its success. After a number of years, this has not proved to be the case mainly because of budgetary limitations. This has brought significant dissatisfaction from the community members who have received many promises over the years with little to no delivery which is their normal experience when dealing with the Municipality. Some members of the community were given basic training in tour guiding and craft work, yet these skills have not provided them with means of improving their livelihoods. Using Didima San Rock Art Interpretive Centre as an example, craftwork can provide the communities with significant economic benefit. At this

tourism centre in the uKhahlamba Drakensberg Park, local women and few men make various craftwork which is sold to visiting tourists. Tourists enjoy seeing these local communities seated by the tourism centre making their crafts, some even wanting to participate in the act of making a craft which they subsequently purchase (see Ndlovu 2016).

It is also important to note that since the Dumezulu community view this project as a purely economic initiative, the importance of the San rock art is equally as important to them. A community member during the group interview I conducted mentioned the possibility of vandalism to the rock art (see Chapter 4 for direct quote) and stated that if rock art is harmed in any way it could render the entire tourism initiative obsolete. The conservation of the rock art is important to the community because it would ensure that the tourism aspect of the development would continue to grow and possibly become self-sufficient. The question then is whether the Municipality have a Cultural Management Plan (CMP) in place to ensure the continued conservation of the rock art. From my conversations with the MM and LED manager, the Municipality does not have this valuable conservation tool for the sites in question. The issue that has to be raised, therefore, is whether this tourism development was a worthy investment to make within the Dumezulu community instead of alternative infrastructure the community might make more use of.

Considering the socio-economics of the Dumezulu area, a successful tourism development could only lead to significant benefits for the local population. Indications are that the Municipality still wants to see the project to completion, with August 2019 having been set as a finish date by the Municipal Manager. The date has passed without the project being finished as per the project intentions. Even if this were to be achieved, would the tourism centre be able to sustain itself without needing regular ‘cash injection’ from a financially-stricken local government or the development agency who are set to take over? I present three examples of rock art tourism centres which had much promise when they were first implemented but have ultimately failed in being profitable.

The first of these developments is the Wildebeest Kuil Rock Art Centre. The centre is located in Kimberley, a region famous for its historic diamond mining activities. Funding for the implementation of the centre was sourced from the Poverty Relief Fund which belonged to the national Department of Environment Affairs and Tourism, and the Rock Art Research Institute situated within the University of the Witwatersrand (Morris 2003, 2014; see also Smith 2006;

Morris *et al.* 2009; Barnabas 2016). The tourism centre opened in December 2001, however, it has since been plagued with three major issues which I discuss below.

First, the inability of the centre to attract the required number of tourists on a monthly basis was a major issue (Morris 2014). The number of visitors which the centre attracted monthly was less than a hundred, much lower than its budgeted for visitation which was 1000 people monthly. The main problem was that the tourism centre was placed in an area whereby cultural activities, such as viewing rock art, is a secondary tourist activity compared to that of seeing The Big Hole in Kimberley, for example (Morris 2014).

Second, the operational costs of the centre outweighed its profits. This was linked to its low visitation numbers as the centre was not generating the needed profits to keep it operational. The McGregor Museum in Kimberley offered financial and staff support (Morris 2014). Although the Museum had provided funds, operational costs soon became too expensive for it to be funded by the institution alone.

Third, the tourism centre did not meet the community's expectations. The tourism centre not generating a profitable income meant that the surrounding community did not gain economically from the tourism centre (Morris 2014). The community thus became interested in other projects, such as a solar energy plant, that would benefit the community.

The other two unsuccessful rock art centres are located at the uKhahlamba Drakensberg Park. The Didima San Rock Art Interpretive Centre and the Kamberg Rock Art Centre are situated in a geographical location that attracts over 200 000 visitors a year, yet only 10% of those tourists visit rock art sites (Storey 2006; Mazel 2008; Ndlovu 2014b; see also Duval & Smith 2013). The reason for this is because only 21 out of the 600 sites are supposedly open to the public for viewing. Most of the rock art sites which are open do not contain the spectacular rock art which visitors want to see, but rather rock art which is more insignificant and which appears to be fading (Ndlovu 2014b). The tourists feel that, for the money they pay to enter the park, the rock art experience is not worthwhile. These fees paid by the visitors make a significant contribution in providing infrastructure to communities neighbouring nature reserves, thus making a difference in the socio-economic landscape of the beneficiaries (Ndlovu 2014b).

Kamberg Rock Art Centre was officially opened in June 2002 as a way of increasing visibility for rock art. The centre, since its inception, has been faced with four major issues (Laue *et al.* 2001; Mazel 2008; Ndlovu 2014b). First, the nature reserve where it is based was a fishing hotspot in the past. The dwindling number of fishermen which visit the reserve every year has affected the total number of visitors which the reserve welcomes. The highest number of visitors which have visited the reserve has been 400 per annum (Ndlovu 2014b). Second, the last 9km leading into the reserve is untarred, thus preventing tourists from entering the reserve when it rains. I must note that there are plans to tar this road, 17 years after the construction of the centre. Third, there are no tourism hotspots or facilities within a 30km radius of the nature reserve which is not an ideal placement for tourism centre (Ndlovu 2014b). Fourth, there were 20 community guides who received training and were presented with the opportunity to work in the centre. The dwindling number of tourists, however, prompted low morale amongst the guides and led to instability amongst staff members.

Didima Gorge is one of the most famous locations with a large amount of rock art within it. Tourists and scholars alike know this area because of the literature associated with its rock art (see Pager 1971). Although Didima Gorge contains some of the most well-known rock art paintings, tourists are not allowed to access any of the sites located in this area in order to protect and conserve the art (Ndlovu 2014b). The Didima San Rock Art Interpretive Centre was opened in September 2003 as a way of educating the public about the rock art within Didima Gorge without granting tourists access to physically see it. However, tourists still visit the centre and ask if they can view the rock art which indicates that better management principles concerning the conservation of rock art need to be employed in this area (Mazel 2008; Ndlovu 2014b) The hesitance of opening the caves for public viewing has seen the Didima Centre receive dwindling visitors annually. The main source of visitation which the Didima Centre gets is from guests at the Didima Camp and nearby tourism destinations, academics, and photographers who are permitted to view the rock art paintings (Ndlovu 2014b).

The continued failure to make the tourism centre functional and the reality that even if it were to be finished, it may not be immediately successful, could potentially lead to unrest within the Dumezulu community. Such an unrest could pit the various community structures against each other, these being the community members, traditional leadership, and the Municipality. Instability in the area would not be ideal for the long-term existence of the tourism centre. As

with the other three tourism rock art centres discussed above, the development of the tourism centre and caves project could eventually fade with tourism numbers decreasing each year.

Based on initial development plans, a budget of R23 million was needed to build related infrastructure to make the tourism centre sustainable. However, the likelihood of that plan being realised is very difficult due to budgetary limitations. The development agency who the Municipality are handing the lease to will first and foremost be concerned with meeting rent demands, not building additional infrastructure. Even if additional infrastructure were to be built in the vicinity of the tourism centre, that alone is still not a guarantee that the centre will attract more tourists.

The additional threat to the tourism centre is that the rock art in the caves is fading and does not have that ‘wow’ factor that tourists look for when they view rock art. As a result of such limitations, tourists are thus left with limited options when visiting the area. These limited options would include viewing the fading rock art, visiting the waterfall, or going for a walk in the area.

The implementation of a TMS approach towards cultural heritage management has not been achieved in both South Africa and Sweden regarding the management of heritage resources which the state has an interest in. The indigenous communities in the two case studies have fought for ownership over their heritage and economic resources, however, the ideal solution for all stakeholders involved was a values-based approach or joint management. This approach towards management is oftentimes not ideal because there remains a dominant stakeholder which has more legal power over the indigenous communities, however, it is an approach which satisfies all stakeholders.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The research project I presented in this dissertation was aimed at undertaking a comparative analysis of tourism and heritage management in South Africa (Dumezulu) and Sweden (Jokkmokk). The study areas were chosen because of their links between cultural heritage of indigenous people and the tourism industry. South Africa is a developing country whereas Sweden is a developed country. Both countries have indigenous people who face similar issues concerning their cultural heritage and both are discriminated against by government structures. The Dumezulu community from South Africa has a hope that the tourism centre will in the future bring with it opportunities for the locals to make an income from the project. The Sami people in Sweden use tourism as a means of additional income and as a way of educating tourists about Sami culture. The museums in the north of Sweden, such as Ajtte Museum which formed part of the study, contribute towards breaking the negative stereotypes which tourists might have about Sami people and their culture.

By undertaking a comparative analysis, I wanted to explore how the tourism industry impacts negatively and positively on heritage sites that may be deemed important for communities that live within my two study areas. I also intended to discover the extent to which international and national heritage legislation are applied and the impact this has on cultural heritage directly linked to the communities studied. Having identified the existing gaps in our understanding when it comes to the impacts of tourism and heritage management practices in the two study areas, I then undertook a detailed literature review to provide context within which data gathered from my research should be understood. This review was informed by the two research questions that formed the cornerstone of my project. These questions were: (i) Can tourism be considered a threat to the spiritual and cultural values attached to heritage sites in both South Africa and Sweden? and (ii) Does heritage legislation in South Africa and Sweden allow for a Traditional Management System in managing sites identified for tourism development?

The literature review I conducted, informed by the two research questions, enabled to undertake the study as per the project intentions. Through such a review of literature, I explored issues around tourism, heritage legislation and heritage management. The review of tourism literature was aimed at investigating the extent to which tourism impacts the cultural heritage of communities discussed in the study. On the issue if heritage legislation, I specifically reviewed international and national legislation to understand how these management tools have

an impact on the conservation of cultural heritage within the study areas. I discovered that the cultural heritage legislation of both South Africa and Sweden was generally informed by UNESCO's World Heritage Convention. This international management tool emphasises the AHD construct and places the heritage resources of all countries which ratified the Convention under state ownership. Noting this government ownership of heritage resources, I decided to focus on indigeneity to understand how debates over who is indigenous could have a bearing on the management of heritage. In Sweden, Sami are recognised as the indigenous population while the Bantu-speaking people of South Africa are politically defined as indigenous. This view is challenged, not vociferously though, by the academics whose stance is that San are the first to arrive in Southern Africa (see Ndlovu 2016). By reviewing heritage management directly related to the practice of HIAs, I was able to ascertain how South Africa and Sweden safeguard their cultural heritage resources. HIAs are rarely conducted in the north of Sweden even though mining practices and hydroelectric power developments directly affect Sami reindeer herding and fishing practices. In South Africa, HIAs are prevalent and are conducted regularly in all regions, however, SAHRA is often understaffed and underfunded which leads to irregularities within HIA practices.

In order for me to undertake the comparative study that formed the basis of this research project, I needed to decide on methodology and theoretical framework that would guide data gathering and analysis. Methodologically, I conducted interviews with participants from both South Africa and Sweden. The theories which I applied in the study are conservation theory and stakeholder collaboration theory. Analysing conservation theory aided in understanding the management approaches which were employed in the South African and Swedish case studies. The stakeholder collaboration theory was useful in analysing negotiations between stakeholder groups in the implementation of the tourism centre in Dumezulu and Laponia World Heritage Site. The tourism centre was a little more difficult to navigate as there was no previous literature written about this specific development or community. The only literature I could refer to was an HIA report compiled in 2013 (see Prins 2013). The Laponia case study was a unique one in that the indigenous Sami population refused to let the Swedish state have full control over Laponia and how it is managed since the Sami still occupy that area. The agreed resolution was a values-based approach in managing Laponia with both the Sami and the Swedish state having joint management.

There are differences and similarities between the Dumezelu community and the Sami regarding the values which they attach to the cultural heritage in the respective study areas.

The Sami are the officially recognised indigenous community of Sweden whilst the Dumezulu, being primarily Bantu-speaking peoples, consider themselves indigenous but are not officially recognised as such. As a result of this, the Sami have stronger values attached to their heritage whilst the Dumezulu would not have strong ties to the San rock art. However, the Dumezulu community still feel that they have cultural ownership over these heritage resources because it is situated within their traditional land. Both the Dumezulu and Sami communities welcome tourism as long as it is implemented in a sustainable manner. The Sami want their cultural heritage to be portrayed in an accurate manner and the information which tourists are given regarding Sami cultural heritage needs to be as accurate as possible. The Dumezulu want the tourism centre to become functional and sustainable so that it can provide additional income and the conservation of the rock art can enable the tourism centre to become sustainable in the long term.

Research findings

The results of the fieldwork which was conducted aided me in understanding the manner in which indigenous cultural heritage in South Africa and Sweden is managed. The participants interviewed were open in answering the questions posed to them and gave elaborate answers which oftentimes allowed me to ask follow up questions. The data gathered from the fieldwork addressed negative stereotypes, the management of indigenous cultural heritage, and tourist expectations.

The Dumezulu community are generally in support of the tourism centre being built within their area. They have a hope that such a tourism centre can play a positive role in uplifting their lives. Rural areas within South Africa are associated with negative stereotypes such as extreme poverty, however, with this comes the exoticism factor. The tourists who could potentially come to visit this area, especially those from overseas, will likely have certain stereotypes in mind. The community will need to deal with these stereotypes in an effective manner whilst playing the role of a host. I also discovered that the Dumezulu community do not attach any spiritual significance to rock art being identified as the main attraction for the tourism centre under construction. While this is noted, it must also be acknowledged that there is another community who do use the waterfall located nearby the painted shelter for spiritual purposes. This waterfall is also an attraction for the tourists visiting the tourism centre. If this community were to be officially granted access to still use the waterfall, its members might not take kindly to outsiders watching a ceremony they consider to be sacred. This dissatisfaction will also

apply to an instance where this community could be denied access to the waterfall because of its significance for tourism. In both cases, the discontent will cause tensions amongst all the stakeholders with an interest in the heritage resources found in the area.

The management of the tourism centre has seemingly been decided upon between all stakeholder groups involved, with a values-based approach and joint-management being the best possible option. The most important thing for the Dumezulu community is to manage their expectations regarding the tourism centre. The Municipality is convinced that the tourism centre will become self-sustaining, however, this does not necessarily mean that it will become profitable. The community want to make an additional income from handmade crafts which they sell to tourists, however, if tourist numbers decline the community might lose interest in the tourism centre.

The Sami's cultural heritage has been associated with negative stereotypes and exoticism throughout history. Colonialism has a lot to do with that ongoing perception of the Sami. As a result, tourists who visit the Sami regions in Sweden expect to see Sami people dressed in traditional clothing herding reindeer. These tourists do not know the depth of Sami cultural heritage which is why museums such as Ajtte are important. The Ajtte Musuem in Jokkmokk aims to educate tourists about Sami cultural heritage and show them that there is more to the Sami people than what they wear or their reindeer herding practices. Additionally, individual Sami entrepreneurs have taken an interest in the tourism industry to earn an additional income. In this way, the Sami people can manage their heritage whilst directly benefitting economically from it. By undertaking a business venture in the tourism industry, the Sami also have an opportunity to educate tourists about Sami history, cultural heritage, and the issues which the modern-day Sami population face.

Going forward

The two main points which can be taken away from this dissertation are that: (i) that there needs to be greater awareness of the negative impact which tourism can have on cultural heritage, and (ii) implementation of the Traditional Management Systems (TMS) should be encouraged where applicable. Indigenous tourism brings with it tourists from developed countries who want their destination to have a sense exoticism attached to it (Cohen 1984). The tourists who visit areas where there are indigenous populations have preconceived stereotypes of their culture and way of life. Tourists also want souvenirs from their destination which directly relate to the indigenous culture (Cohen 1984). Breaking preconceived notions of

exoticism can only occur when the host has control over what tourists are exposed to and the information which they are provided with. These communities can educate tourists by telling them more about their history, their experiences with discrimination, the negative stereotypes which their cultural heritage is associated with, and their current way of life and the issues which they currently face. Educating tourists will work towards creating awareness for these communities which are often marginalised.

The indigenous host having control over the tourist experience, however, can only be achieved if there is a TMS in place. The TMS approach gives power to the group which the cultural heritage belongs to by making them the primary and dominant stakeholder group. Implementing a TMS approach is difficult for countries who employ a material-based approach in managing cultural heritage. This approach has its roots in western ideology which values the safeguarding or conservation of material objects more than the intangibility of that object. Implementing TMS only becomes possible once the nation state relinquishes its power where it concerns indigenous heritage and gives that power to the indigenous host thereby encouraging traditional methods of safeguarding cultural heritage. How do indigenous groups in western countries achieve this? The most viable outcome when a nation state and an indigenous population want control over a cultural heritage resource is a values-based approach. This approach is not without its problems, but for indigenous communities who have little power when negotiating for their cultural heritage, it is the best possible outcome where matters of economic sustainability are concerned.

Future research

There is more research that needs to be conducted in order to find a way in which to give indigenous communities all over the world more power in the form of TMS. There are several successful cases of TMS but most are in non-western countries which understand that such a system is the best possible method for safeguarding heritage which ultimately does not belong to the state (see Mapesa 2016; Jopela 2016; Poulios 2014).

Academics in the fields of archaeology, heritage studies, and tourism need to focus on viable solutions to a values-based approach which directly benefit the group which own the cultural heritage. These groups are often marginalised and earn low incomes and their respective nation states directly capitalise on their cultural heritage when that income could belong solely to them. It is my recommendation that the manner in which international and national heritage legislation gives direct ownership to nation states whilst not taking indigenous populations into

consideration needs to be addressed. Much of heritage legislation, starting with UNESCO's WHC, needs to be redrafted as the understanding of heritage and the ownership of heritage has evolved since 1972, some 47 years ago. In this way, academics operating within the field of heritage management can present viable solutions in which both nation states and communities which claim ownership over their resources can be satisfied. Implementing a TMS approach will only be effective if the cultural ownership and rights of indigenous and minority communities over are recognised. In some instances, TMS approaches towards cultural heritage conservation are successful, however, management structures past the negotiation process are oftentimes fragile and fraught with tension. This will only change once laws pertaining to the ownership of cultural heritage recognises the role of indigenous and minority communities. There remains much research to be done and gaps in knowledge to fill concerning traditional management systems and ownership of heritage resources, and how this system can benefit communities far into the future. Academics whose research interests lie in heritage management have a responsibility to fill these gaps in knowledge and provide solutions for indigenous populations who feel disempowered.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Tourism Centre Site Plan

Appendix B: Initial budget for the tourism centre

KwaXolo Caves Project

Master Plan: Preliminary Cost Estimate

No.	Item	Unit	Qty	Cost/ unit	Amount	Proposed Phase 1 2013/14 Amount	Proposed Phase 2 2014/15 Amount
1	Preliminary and General	Sum			R 850 000.00	R 300 000.00	R 550 000.00
2	Site Clearing and Earth Works	m²	4000	R 80.00	R 320 000.00	R 320 000.00	R -
3	External Access Road - Gravel	m	100	R 1 000.00	R 100 000.00	R 100 000.00	R -
4	Parking Area, Internal driveway, walkways	m²	2200	R 350.00	R 770 000.00	R 400 000.00	R 370 000.00
5	Accomodation- 8 Chalets + Caretaker	m²	500	R 6 000.00	R 3 000 000.00	R 674 100.00	R 2 325 900.00
6	Interpretive Centre - Libray, Mini-museum	m²	330	R 5 000.00	R 1 650 000.00	0	R 1 650 000.00
7	Administration Block	m²	190	R 4 500.00	R 855 000.00	0	R 855 000.00
8	Curio Shop and Resturant	m²	190	R 2 500.00	R 475 000.00	0	R 475 000.00
9	3 No. Vendor Stalls	m²	50	R 3 000.00	R 150 000.00	R 150 000.00	R -
10	Public Ablution Block and Sewerage	m²	60	R 8 000.00	R 480 000.00	R 480 000.00	R -
11	Timber Viewing decks and steps	m²	140	R 2 000.00	R 280 000.00	0	R 280 000.00
12	Outdoor play Area	m²	600	R 400.00	R 240 000.00	0	R 240 000.00
13	Grassed picnic Area	m²	600	R 125.00	R 75 000.00	0	R 75 000.00
14	Covered Public seating and tables, Picnic Furniture	Sum	1	R 120 000.00	R 120 000.00	0	R 120 000.00
15	Amphitheatre	m²	175	R 7 000.00	R 1 225 000.00	0	R 1 225 000.00
16	Borehole	No.	1	R 75 000.00	R 75 000.00	R 75 000.00	R -
17	Suspension Bridge	No.	1	R 2 500 000.00	R 2 500 000.00	0	R 2 500 000.00
18	Water storage/ Water Supply	No.	1	R 1 650 000.00	R 1 650 000.00	R 150 000.00	R 1 500 000.00
19	Stormwater Drainage	m²	16800	R 35.00	R 588 000.00	R 588 000.00	R -
20	Fence	m	530	R 350.00	R 185 500.00	R 185 500.00	R -
21	Guard House	m²	20	R 2 000.00	R 40 000.00	R 40 000.00	R -
22	Landscaping	m²	400	R 550.00	R 220 000.00	0	R 220 000.00
23	Electrical	Item	1	R 300 000.00	R 300 000.00	0	R 300 000.00
24	Zip Line	Item	1	R 2 100 000.00	R 2 100 000.00	0	R 2 100 000.00
	CONSTRUCTION COST				**R 18 248 500.00**	R 3 462 600.00	R 14 785 900.00
	PROFESSIONAL FEES	14%			R 2 554 790.00	R 484 764.00	R 2 070 026.00
	SUB-TOTAL				**R 20 803 290.00**	R 3 947 364.00	R 16 855 926.00
	VAT	14%			R 2 912 460.60	R 552 630.96	R 2 359 829.64
	TOTAL MASTER PLAN COST				**R 23 715 750.60**	R 4 499 994.96	R 19 215 755.64
						Available Budget	Phase 2

R 18 248 500.00

23 715 750.60

Master Plan Cost

Appendix C: Letter of consent

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
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YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Letter of Consent

'Stakeholder Warfare': A critical analysis of the impact of tourism on indigenous communities in South Africa and Sweden

Dear (insert name here)

Introduction and Purpose

My name is Chiara Singh [Student No. 11308363], I am a graduate student at the University of Pretoria, Tshwane, working under the supervision of Dr Ndukuyakhe Ndlovu in the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology. I would like to invite you to take part in my research study which concerns the proposed tourism centre at Kwa-Xolo, Port Shepstone. The site does not only have rock art - but is also imbued with natural features. My research focuses on three themes: (i) economic anthropology, (ii) tourism, and (iii) living heritage. Broadly speaking, there are two stakeholder groups that pertain to the proposed study: i) the core community (or the local community) and (ii) the local municipality. You have been chosen on the basis of belonging to one of these groups.

Procedures

If you agree to participate in my research, I will conduct an interview with you at a time and location of your choice to ensure that you are comfortable with the surroundings and time of the discussion. The interview, aimed to last about an hour to an hour and a half, will involve questions about the proposed tourism centre, involvement of local communities, and the government (municipality). With your permission, I may audiotape and take notes during the interview. The recording is to accurately record the information you provide and will be used

for transcription purposes only. If you choose not to be audiotaped, I will take notes instead. If you agree to being audiotaped but feel uncomfortable at any time during the interview, I can turn off the recorder at your request. Or if you do not wish to continue, you can stop the interview at any time.

Your name or any personal information about you will not be disclosed in the transcriptions of the interview. If the researcher wishes to include any personal information which you have disclosed, the researcher will first and foremost ask for your permission. If you deny the researcher's request, the researcher cannot use that information. By participating in this research, you will aid the researcher in analysing the data relevant for the research project.

I expect to conduct only one interview with each participant; however, follow-ups may be needed for added clarification. If so, I will contact you by email/phone to request this. Follow ups will be based on the conclusion of the initial interview. The interview guide will not deviate from the original. Follow up questions will take place within the same week of the initial interview to allow you to keep track of the previous discussion.

Benefits

Your participation in this interview is completely voluntary and the researcher does not offer any incentives. However, your contribution will be acknowledged in the study. If you do not feel comfortable answering any questions or wish to withdraw, your request will be granted. If you wish to withdraw, all information gathered from you shall not be used for the research study.

Risks/Discomforts

The interview guide does not include any questions deemed to be sensitive, but you as the interviewee might be made uncomfortable during the course of discussions. If that situation arises, you are free to decline to answer any questions you do not wish to, or to stop the interview at any time. Confidentiality shall not be compromised.

Confidentiality

Your study data will be handled with confidentially. If results of this study are published or presented, individual names and other personally identifiable information will not be used unless you give explicit permission for this below. To minimise the risks to confidentiality, the study material will be stored in a safe and lockable storage facility where access is highly

restricted. The storage facility will be located in the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology on the 8th floor of the Humanities Building in the University of Pretoria. All information stored will be destroyed in 15 years from the date of submission.

The results of this research study will be presented as a Master's dissertation in a printed and bound format. The researcher may be requested to submit an electronic copy for archive purposes in the form of a CD-ROM or USB drive. The resultant dissertation, or chapters from it, could be published in academic journals.

If you require further information about this research, or if you would like to contact the Supervisor, Dr Ndukuyakhe Ndlovu (012 420 4117), myself - Chiara Singh via telephone (072 327 9032) or email chiara.singh14@gmail.com.

Questions

If you have any questions about your rights or treatment as a research participant in this study, please contact the University of Pretoria Main Campus, Department of Anthropology and Archaeology.

Consent

You will be given a copy of this consent form to keep for your own records. If you wish to participate in this study, please provide your signature and date below.

____

Participant's Name

_______________________________ ________________

Participant's Signature Date

If you agree to allow your name or other identifying information to be included in all final reports, publications, and/or presentations resulting from this research, please sign and date below.

_______________________________ ________________

Participant's Signature Date

Appendix D: Interview schedule for the Dumezulu community

Opening

A. Hello, my name is Chiara Singh. I am a Master's student currently enrolled at the University of Pretoria. The focal point of my dissertation is conservation. My research area is KwaXolo, more specifically the area in which the tourism centre is to be built. KwaXolo is significant to the local community which you are an important member of and this is why I have selected you to be interviewed. You have signed a consent form before the commencement of this interview, but if you would like to stop at any time or do not want to answer any questions, I will comply with your request. I request that this interview will recorded, as stated in the consent form, for the purpose of transcription.

B. I would like to ask you some questions about: i) yourself, ii) your interaction with KwaXolo and its natural features (such as the cave and waterfall), and iii) your interaction with municipal employees.

C. The information I gather from interviewing you will contribute to my dissertation in its entirety. Firstly, the information gathered will help to understand the successes and failures of sustainable tourism in South Africa, and how those failures can be turned into successes. Secondly, the issue of access to heritage which belongs to communities is currently a very relevant subject of discussion and the information you provide me with will add to the growing discourse in South Africa and worldwide. Lastly, my research will hopefully foster discourse in the disciplines of tourism and archaeology with regards to how sustainable tourism can be achieved in developing countries that have a rich history.

D. The duration of this interview will be approximately an to an hour and a half. Will you be able to respond to my questions in this timeframe?

Let me begin by asking you a few questions about yourself.

1. May I refer to you as a member of the community in the transcription of this interview?

2. How long have you lived in the community for?
   a. Does your community have a specific name?
   b. Are you originally from KwaXolo?
   c. (if no): Why did you decide to move from where you were living to KwaXolo?

3. Do you enjoy living in this community and district?
   a. (if yes): Have you had any bad experiences with your fellow community members?
   b. (if no): Why have you continued to live here?

The questions that I have just asked you were for the purpose of establishing familiarity. It is necessary for me to know your history and your current living situation so that I can interpret information given by you from this point on more effectively. I am now going to ask you more about your role within your community.

Community involvement

1. How many leaders are there within the community?
   a. Do you feel like you work well together with your compatriots?
   b. (if sole leader): Do you feel that being solely responsible for the community in its entirety is too much work for one person?
   c. (if yes): How do you overcome this obstacle?

3. If an issue which affects the entire community divides opinion, how is that issue resolved?
    a. Are everyone's opinions taken into account?
    b. (if no): Who is excluded?

This information is most interesting. It will help me to understand the dynamics of your community better and determine the social structure when it comes to important decision making. Would you mind answering a few questions about the site where the tourism centre will be built? More specifically, questions about the natural features in the area and what they mean to the community?

Kwa-Xolo Site Value

1. How often do you visit the site where the tourism centre is to be built?
    a. (if often): What is the purpose of your visit?

2. Does the site have any significant spiritual or religious value?
    a. (if yes): Is this value significant to you individually or the community in its entirety?
    b. Are ritual/s performed at the site?
        i. (if yes) Does the ritual/s have a name?
        ii. Can you please provide a description of the ritual/s?

3. Does the rock art in the cave which is part of the tourism centre have any significant spiritual value?
    a. (if yes): What is the spiritual value of the rock art?
    b. Are there rituals which are performed in the cave with the rock art?

4. Do you think that your access to the site will be denied once the tourism centre is operational?
    a. (if yes): Why do you think so?

Thank you for this insight. I now see what the Kwa-Xolo site means to your community and I will be able to write knowledgeably about it. We can now move onto your interactions with the municipality. If you feel uncomfortable at any moment or if you do not wish to answer a question, do not hesitate to tell me.

Stakeholder Interaction

1. How would you describe your interaction with the municipality? Has it been tense or has it been more cooperative?
    a. (if tense) Did something happen during the discussions/negotiations to make it a tense situation?
    b. Do you feel like the community's relationship with the municipality is better or more fractured because of what happened during negotiations?
    c. (if cooperative) Were the representatives of the community given an opportunity to object to certain aspects of the planned development?
        i) (if yes): What did you object against?
        ii) (if yes): How did the municipality resolve your objections?
        iii) (if no): Were you afraid to object or did you just have no objections to the municipality's plans for the development?

2. Were there discussions about access to the site during negotiations?
    a. (if yes): What was decided?
    b. (if no): Why was access not discussed?

3. Did the municipality make any promises or incentives (e.g. employment) to the community during negotiations?
    a. (if yes): Do you think that the municipality will fulfil their promises?

4. Do you think that your negotiations with the municipality could have been better?
    a. (if yes): How so?
    b. (if no): Do you think that the manner in which the municipality negotiated with the community should be the template for future negotiations in South Africa?

Your insight into negotiations is most telling. Information gathered from what you and the other participants have told me will be used in my study to analyse power relations pertaining to heritage and development. Let us now talk about the tourism centre and how you see it affecting your community.

Tourism Centre Development and Opportunities

1. Are you happy about the development of the tourism centre?
    a. (if no): Why?

2. Do you think the tourism centre will attract many tourists?
    a. (if no): Why not?
    b. How do you feel about tourists occupying a space which you consider to be sacred?
    c. Are you concerned about the protection of the site?

3. Do you think that many people in your community will be interested in working at the tourism centre?

a. (if yes): Do you think that it will be better than the current employment they have?

b. Have the people in your community been approached about making souvenirs for the tourism centre?

The information you have just provided will be included in my overall analysis of long-term effects that the tourism centre will have. This brings an end to our interview. It has been a pleasure getting to know you. Let me quickly summarize the information you have told me.

Closing

A. (Summary): I will summarize the information given in each section to allow for the participant to retract any statements or add additional information.

B. I appreciate the time you took to participate in this interview. The information you have provided me with will help guide me in writing my dissertation. The end product of my dissertation will hopefully provide solutions for better heritage management in South Africa and other developing countries. Is there anything else you would like me to know about?

C. The information you have provided is thorough, however, if I do have any follow up questions after reviewing all the information gathered, may I contact you again? Thank you again for allowing me to interview you, it has been a pleasure.

Appendix E: Interview schedule for the Municipal Manager

Opening

A. Hello, my name is Chiara Singh. I am a Master's student currently enrolled at the University of Pretoria. The focal point of my dissertation is conservation. My research area is Kwa-Xolo, more specifically the area in which the tourism centre is to be built. Kwa-Xolo is significant to the local community and you have interacted with some of their members. You are also on the team of municipal employees who are in charge of developing the tourism centre. It is for these reasons that I have selected you to be interviewed. You have signed a consent form before the commencement of this interview, but if you would like to stop at any time or do not want to answer any questions, I will comply with your request. I request that the interview is recorded, as stated in the consent form, for the purpose of transcription.

B. I would like to ask you some questions about: i) yourself and your role within the municipality, ii) your interaction with community members, and iii) the overall development of the tourism centre as well as what it could mean for the future of the community.

C. The information I gather from interviewing you will contribute towards the writing of my dissertation in its entirety. The information gathered will help to understand the successes and failures of sustainable tourism in South Africa, and how those failures can be turned into successes. My research will hopefully foster discourse in the disciplines of tourism and archaeology with regards to how sustainable tourism can be achieved in developing countries that have a rich history.

D. The duration of this interview will be approximately an hour to an hour and a half. Is this okay with you?

Body

Let me begin by asking you a few questions about yourself.

1. I sent your PA a letter of consent for you to sign. On the last page there is a section in which you may choose to be anonymous or you may choose for me to explicitly state that you are the municipal manager. Would you like to remain anonymous, in which case I will refer to you as an employee of the municipality, or may I refer to you as the MM in my study?

2. How long have you worked in the municipality for?
   a. Is this your first government job?
   b. (if no): Where have you worked before?
   c. (if yes): What was your previous position?

3. Do you enjoy your role as Municipal Manageer?
   a. (if yes): Is it part of your job requirements to oversee projects such as this one?

Municipal team involvement

1. How would you define your role as municipal manager?
2. Your role as MM is one of power, what are some of the challenges which come with your job?
3. How do you co-ordinate community developments such as the tourism centre?
4. Who are the persons in charge of implementing and managing such projects and what positions do they hold within the municipality?
5. If there are issues with implementing such developments, how are these issues resolved?

This information is most interesting. It will help me to understand the dynamics of your team better. It has also provided insight into important decision-making in a governmental department. Would you mind answering a few questions about the site where the tourism centre is to be built.

Dumezulu Site Value

1. How often do you visit the community where the tourism centre is to be built?

    a. (if often): What is the purpose of your visit?

2. After speaking to members of the community, I was informed that they do not have any spiritual ties to the rock art or the waterfall in the area, however, there is another community who perform rituals at the waterfall. Have you discussed the spiritual importance of the site with that community?

    a. (if yes): Once the tourism centre is operational, will the community who interact with the site in a spiritual manner still be granted access to it?

    b. If the community do not want tourists to visit the waterfall, will that restriction be put in place?

    c. (if no): Will you discuss this matter with the community before the tourism centre becomes operational?

3. Is the rock art in the cave a selling point for the tourism centre?

    a. (if yes): Has there been an HIA (Heritage Impact Assessment) conducted for the site?

        i. (if yes): What was the outcome of the assessment?

        ii. According to this assessment, are there necessary measures that need to be implemented for the conservation of the rock art?

        iii. (if yes): What will these measures consist of?

    b. (if no): Why has there been no HIA conducted?

    c. I have visited the site and I must say that in order to access the cave where the

rock art is situated is not easy. The slopes are very steep and there are a lot of big rocks since the rock art is located in a valley. How will tourists gain access to the rock art?

d. Will there be a guide to show the rock art/explain it to tourists or will tourists access it by themselves?

Thank you for this insight. I now know more about the municipality's plans and I will be able to write knowledgeably about it. We can now move onto your interactions with members of the community. If you feel uncomfortable at any moment or if you do not wish to answer a question, do not hesitate to tell me.

Stakeholder Interaction

1. How would you describe your interaction with the community members? Has it been tense or has it been more cooperative?
    e. (if tense) Did something happen during the discussions/negotiations to make it a tense situation?
    f. Do you feel like the relationship between the municipality and the community is fractured because of what happened during negotiations?
    g. (if cooperative) Were the representatives of the community given an opportunity to object to certain aspects of the planned development?
        i) (if yes): How did the municipality resolve their objections?
        ii) (if no): Do you think they were too afraid to object or did they just have no objections to the municipality's plans for the development?

2 Were there discussions about skills development and how skills resources would be used once the tourism centre is operational?
    a. (if yes): What was decided?
    b. (if no): Why was access not discussed?

3 When I spoke to the community members, they told me that the tourism centre was

built and ready to be used by 2012 but it is still not operational. What is the reason for this?

i. Is there a plan of action if the tourism centre fails to become functional?

ii. Would the municipality consider converting the tourism centre into an additional resource within the community such as a library or school?

4 The community members would like more direct communication from the municipality regarding the tourism centre and what is happening with it. Do you have plans to visit the community soon?

5 Would the municipality be open to more direct involvement concerning decision-making from community members regarding the tourism centre?

a. (if yes): I know that there is a traditional power structure within the community and they have their representatives who communicate concerns and other issues with the municipality. I think that the community members would like more direct communication from the municipality instead of communicating through a middle-man in order to voice their concerns. How do you think that this can be achieved?

6 The community was initially very excited to be part of this tourism centre development because it offered them an opportunity to expand their skills and it brought with it an overall feel good factor. They are now disheartened and feel that the tourism centre is a lost cause. What solution would the municipality provide to the community in this case?

Thank you for your answers, we can now move onto the final section of the interview.

Tourism Centre Development and opportunities

1. I know from trying to access the community in order to conduct interviews with them that the area where the tourism centre is not accessible and it is easy to get lost while driving. I had a contact in the community which is how I managed to eventually find my way there. If the tourism centre does become operational, how does the municipality plan to make this area more accessible to tourists?

2. There are young people within the community who have matric certificates and who have been part of your skills development programmes regarding the tourism centre such as tour guides and crafts making. If the tourism centre fails, what other initiatives could the municipality provide in order to ensure that such skills do not go to waste?

3. Do you think that the tourism centre has a chance of becoming functional?

4. What activities would you offer tourists in order to make their experience enjoyable?

5. Does the municipality have a plan in place to advertise the tourism centre?

    a. (if yes): How will it be marketed? Through social media, newspapers, television adverts?

    b. Is there an event planned for the opening of the tourism centre?

The information you have just provided will be included in my overall analysis of long term effects that the tourism centre will have. This brings an end to our interview. It has been a pleasure getting to know you and your thoughts about the tourism centre. Let me quickly summarize the information you have told me.

Appendix F: Interview schedule for the manager of Local Economic Development

Opening

A. Hello, my name is Chiara Singh. I am a Master's student currently enrolled at the University of Pretoria. The focal point of my dissertation is conservation. My research area is Kwa-Xolo, more specifically the area in which the tourism centre is to be built. Kwa-Xolo is significant to the local community and you have interacted with some of their members. You are also on the team of municipal employees who are in charge of developing the tourism centre. It is for these reasons that I have selected you to be interviewed. You have signed a consent form before the commencement of this interview, but if you would like to stop at any time or do not want to answer any questions, I will comply with your request. I request that the interview is recorded, as stated in the consent form, for the purpose of transcription.

B. I would like to ask you some questions about: i) yourself and your role within the municipality, ii) your interaction with community members, and iii) the overall development of the tourism centre as well as what it could mean for the future of the community.

C. The information I gather from interviewing you will contribute towards the writing of my dissertation in its entirety. The information gathered will help to understand the successes and failures of sustainable tourism in South Africa, and how those failures can be turned into successes. My research will hopefully foster discourse in the disciplines of tourism and archaeology with regards to how sustainable tourism can be achieved in developing countries that have a rich history.

D. The duration of this interview will be approximately an hour to an hour and a half. Is that okay with you?

Body

Let me begin by asking you a few questions about yourself.

General employment information

1. I sent you a letter of consent to sign yesterday and you sent it back to me. You signed off on the clause which states that I can use your name in my research report, is this correct?
2. How long have you worked in the municipality?
    c. Is this your first government job?
    d. (if no): Where did you work before?
    e. (if yes): What was your previous position?

Municipal team involvement

1 How would you define your role as the head of Local Economic Development?

2 What are some of the challenges which come with your job?

3 How do you co-ordinate community developments such as the tourism centre?

4 If there are issues with implementing such developments, how are these issues resolved?

This information is most interesting. It will help me to understand the dynamics of your team better. It has also provided insight into important decision-making in a governmental department. Would you mind answering a few questions about the site where the tourism centre is to be built?

Dumezulu Site Value

1. How often do you visit the community where the tourism centre is to be built?
    a. (if often): What is the purpose of your visit?

2. Who initiated or proposed this tourism centre?
3. What was the proposed budget of the tourism centre?
4. Where will the money to make the tourism centre functional come from?
5. Was there any additional infrastructure which was to be built with the tourism centre?
6. The road leading into the community is a dirt road, are there any plans to pave this road?

Thank you for this insight. I now know more about the municipality's plans and I will be able to write knowledgeably about it. We can now move onto your interactions with members of the community. If you feel uncomfortable at any moment or if you do not wish to answer a question, do not hesitate to tell me.

Stakeholder Interaction

1 .How would you describe your interaction with the community members? Has it been tense or has it been more cooperative?

   a. (if tense) Did something happen during the discussions/negotiations to make it a tense situation?
   b. Do you feel like the relationship between the municipality and the community is fractured because of what happened during negotiations?
   c. (if cooperative) Were the representatives of the community given an opportunity to object to certain aspects of the planned development?

      i) (if yes): How did the municipality resolve their objections?

      ii) (if no): Do you think they were too afraid to object or did they just have no objections to the municipality's plans for the development?

2 .Were there discussions about skills development and how skills resources would be used once the tourism centre is operational?

a. (if yes): What was decided?

b. (if no): Why was access not discussed?

2. When I spoke to the community members, they said that they had received training for skills development such as beadwork, woodwork, and tour guide training. It has been a while since they had received that training so does the municipality plan to reintroduce those skills programmes?

   a. How do you see these skills programmes benefitting the community economically wise?

   b. Will the tourism centre become self-sustaining?

      a. How do you see this happening?

   c. When I spoke to the community members, they told me that the tourism centre was built and ready to be used by 2012 but it is still not operational. What is the reason for this?

      i. Is there a plan of action if the tourism centre fails to become functional?

      ii. Would the municipality consider converting the tourism centre into an additional resource within the community such as a library or school?

      iii. Do you have access to the operational plan? Could you send it to me?

3. The community members would like more direct communication from the municipality regarding the tourism centre and what is happening with it. Do you have plans to visit the community soon?

4. Would the municipality be open to more direct involvement concerning decision-making from community members regarding the tourism centre?

   a. (if yes): I know that there is a traditional power structure within the community and they have their representatives who communicate concerns and other issues with the municipality. I think that the community members would like more direct communication from the municipality instead of communicating through a middle-man in order to voice their concerns. How do you think that this can be achieved?

Thank you for your answers, we can now move onto the final section of the interview.

Tourism Centre Development and Opportunities

1. I know from trying to access the community in order to conduct interviews with them that the area where the tourism centre is not accessible and it is easy to get lost while trying to find it. I had a contact in the community which is how I managed to eventually find my way there. If the tourism centre does become operational, how does the municipality plan to make this area more accessible to tourists?
2. The MM has said that the tourism centre will become functional by the end of this year. Do you agree with that statement?
3. What other activities would you offer to tourists besides seeing the rock art and the waterfall?
4. Does the municipality have a marketing plan in place to advertise the tourism centre?
    a. (if yes): How will it be marketed? Through social media, newspapers, television adverts?

The information you have just provided will be included in my overall analysis of long term effects that the tourism centre will have. This brings an end to our interview. It has been a pleasure getting to know you and your thoughts about the tourism centre. Let me quickly summarise the information you have told me.

<u>Closing</u>

A. (Summary): I will summarise the information given in each section to allow for the participant to retract any statements or add additional information.

B. I appreciate the time you took to participate in this interview. The information you have provided me with will help guide me in writing my dissertation. The end product of my dissertation will hopefully provide solutions for better heritage management in South Africa and other developing countries. Is there anything else you would like me to know about?

C. The information you have provided is thorough, however, if I do have any follow up questions after reviewing all the information gathered, may I contact you again? Thank you again for allowing me to interview you, it has been a pleasure.

Appendix G: Interview schedule for the Director of Ajtte Museum

Opening

A. Hello, my name is Chiara Singh. I am a Master's student currently enrolled at the University of Pretoria. The focal point of my dissertation is heritage and conservation. My research here in Sweden is focused on the Sami and the issues which surround their heritage. There are interrelated themes within my Sami case study and one of them involves museums and the role they play in constructing and conserving Sami heritage which is why I am interviewing you today. You have signed a consent form before the commencement of this interview, but if you would like to stop at any time or do not want to answer any questions, I will comply with your request. I request that the interview is recorded, as stated in the consent form, for the purpose of transcription.

B. I would like to ask you some questions about: i) yourself, ii) your role within the museum, iii) the value of Sami heritage, iv) your interaction with tourists, and v) the overall development of the museum as well as what it could mean for the future of tourism in the area.

C. The information I gather from interviewing you will contribute towards the writing of my dissertation in its entirety. Firstly, I will use the information you provide me to substantiate my research. Secondly, the information gathered will help me to further understand the nuances that come with discussing cultural artefacts and heritage issues. Lastly, my research in Sweden will hopefully foster discourse in the disciplines of tourism and archaeology with regards as to how the evolution of sustainable conservation and tourism practices can be achieved.

D. And lastly, the duration of this interview will be approximately an hour.

Body

Let me begin by asking you a few questions about yourself.

General employment information

1 .Would you prefer to be anonymous or may I refer to you by your name?

2 How long have you worked in the museum for?

    a. Was this your first job?

    b. if no): Where were you employed before this and what did you do?

2. What made you want to work in the museum?

3. What is the most challenging part of your job?

4. What is the most fun part?

The questions that I have just asked you were for the purpose of establishing familiarity. It is necessary for me to know your work history and your current work status so that I can interpret information given by you from this point on more effectively. I am now going to ask you more about your role within the museum.

Role within the museum

1 How would you define your role at the museum?

2 How are you involved in the creation of Sami displays or exhibitions?

3 How do you resolve issues such as the public disagreeing with exhibitions or even museum employees voicing their concerns over displays?

4 If you could change anything about the museum, what would it be?

This information is most interesting. It has given me insight into what your role is and will help me better understand the dynamics of how a museum operates.

Sami Heritage Value

1. What is the museum's mission statement when it comes to displaying Sami artefacts?
2. How has the museum ensured that Sami artefacts are displayed in the correct manner?
3. There have been many stereotypes about Sami heritage in the past such as they were used in witchcraft and they were not normal objects. In your opinion, how has the debate around Sami heritage evolved or changed?
4. This might seem like an obvious question but I think it's a necessary one. I have noticed a lot of Sami cultural heritage being displayed all around Jokkmokk such as the Sami flag and I even have drawings of Sami people in my room at the hostel. This is a Sami museum so does this also mean that the museum sees it as important to employ people who come from a Sami background?
5. In all the literature I have read concerning Sami rock art, I have not come across any research that discusses Sami rock art/rock paintings. Why do you think that Sami rock art not part of a larger conversation concerning Sami heritage? Or is it a part of the conversation but it is simply being overlooked by researchers?
6. While I was reading up on Sami artefacts being stored in museums here in Sweden and all across Europe, I came across the long-term loan system debate. Some are critical of Sami artefacts being housed or stored in museums in the south of Sweden. What is your opinion about this?
7. Do you think that all Sami artefacts in Sweden should be permanently housed in mueums in the north of Sweden rather than the south with museums here then loaning Sami artefacts to the south? What would the benefits of this be?
8. There are of course I think four main Sami groups in Sweden. The north Sami, the Lule Sami who live around here in Jokkmokk, the south Sami, and the… I had forgotten the other group. In your opinion, do these groups interact differently with their heritage or do they each feel differently about their heritage?
9. Do you think that the general public in the south of Sweden will be interested in knowing more about the Sami?
10. have noticed during my research and my time here that Swedish heritage and Sami heritage are still separate entities. What is your opinion on a unified heritage, one where Sami heritage will become part of Swedish heritage?

11 To what degree do you think the local community here in Jokkmokk feel ownership of the museum?

Thank you for this insight. I now know more about your thoughts on Sami heritage and I will be able to write knowledgeably about it. We can now move onto your interactions with members of the community. If you feel uncomfortable at any moment or if you do not wish to answer a question, do not hesitate to tell me.

Tourist Interaction

1 Do visitors who come to the museum and look around identify themselves as Sami and ask more questions about the artefacts or tell you more about what they know?

2 What is the most common question that tourists ask about Sami artefacts and heritage?

3 Do more foreign tourists visit the museum or more Swedish ones?

4 Are many Swedish tourists surprised to learn about the Sami or do they already have information about them?

5 There were a lot of stereotypes about the Sami during the middle ages and leading up to the Swedish state's development. Do you think that stereotypes of Sami culture and religion still exist?

6 Do you think that tourists have a satisfying experience at the museum?

Thank you for providing me with this information. I now know more about the tourists who visit the museum.

Development of Museum

1 How has the museum developed since it opened?

2 Do you think that the museum needs more exposure to attract more tourists?

3 The winter market here is very popular, does the museum get busy during this time?

4 When is the busiest time of the year for the museum, summer or winter?

5 How do you see the museum developing in the next 5 years?

6 Do you think tourism in the north of Sweden is growing at a fast rate?

a. (if yes): Do you think that be better infrastructure, such as improved public transport, will develop because of its success?

7. Is it a concern that the boosted economy in Jokkmokk will see it evolve from a serene town into more of a busy tourist hub?

The information you have just provided will be included in my overall analysis of how tourists engage with the museum and how this affects its development. This brings an end to our interview. It has been a pleasure getting to know you and your thoughts about the tourism centre. Let me quickly summarise the information you have told me.

Closing

A. (Summary): I will summarise the information given in each section to allow for the participant to retract any statements or add additional information.

B. I appreciate the time you took to participate in this interview. The information you have provided me with will help guide me in writing my dissertation. The end product of my dissertation will hopefully provide solutions for better heritage management in South Africa and other developing countries. Is there anything else you would like me to know about?

C. The information you have provided is thorough, however, if I do have any follow up questions after reviewing all the information gathered, may I contact you again? Thank you again for allowing me to interview you, it has been a pleasure.