

**INCLUSIVE OR EXCLUSIVE:**

**HERITAGE AND CULTURAL TOURISM IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA**

BY

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## SUMMARY

Since South Africa's transition to democracy in 1994, the importance of the tourism industry for the country has grown tremendously. Tourism before 1994 was in essence simply seen as a leisure activity enjoyed by those in power namely the ruling white elite class. However, by 1994 this had all changed. With the end of apartheid and the advent of the new South Africa the tourism sector gained major recognition as a sector with the ability to boost South Africa's economy. At the same time, it also became a means for achieving the new government's goal of reconstruction and nation building in a country that was left divided by the apartheid system. Within the broader framework that is tourism it was heritage and cultural tourism that was seen to be a catalyst for social change and healing. To a certain extent the responsibility of reconstructing, repackaging, transmitting images and representations of the new nation and its past, came to rest on the shoulders of the heritage and cultural tourism industry. Through the therapeutic benefits of reconstructing and re-imaging the heritage and cultural sector, South Africa was given the opportunity to not only correct a sector that was once biased, unfair and unequal in its representation of its people and history but also at the same time it provided an opportunity for reconciliation. Since 1994, with the rise of democracy various attempts have been made to correct the inequalities of the past. Thus this study aims to investigate heritage and cultural tourism in post-apartheid South Africa through considering the historical developments and current situation within the country. The intention is to determine the challenges that still face heritage and cultural tourism in South Africa in terms of being reinterpreted and presented to be more inclusive and rectify the bias of heritage during the apartheid era.

## KEYWORDS

South African tourism, heritage, culture, museums, monuments, commemoration, identity, nation building, reconstruction, post-apartheid, apartheid.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

ANC: African National Congress

DAC: Department of Arts and Culture

DACST: Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology

DCI: Declared Cultural Institutions

DEAT: Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism

FEDHASA: Federated Hospitality Association of South Africa

FTTSA: Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa

GEAR: Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

HCT: Heritage and Cultural Tourism

ICOMOS: International Council on Monuments and Sites

IPAP: Industrial Policy Action Plan

NAC: National Arts Council

NDR: National Democratic Revolution

NDT: National Department of Tourism

NHC: National Heritage Council

NTSS: National Tourism Sector Strategy

RDP: Reconstruction and Development Programme

SAGNC: South African Geographical Names Council

SAHRA: South African Heritage Resource Agency

SAT: South African Tourism

STATSSA: Statistics South Africa

TSA: Tourism Satellite Account

TRC: Truth and Reconciliation Commission

UNESCO: United Nations Education, Scientific, Cultural Organization

UNWTO: United Nations World Tourism Organization

WTO: World Tourism Organization

## CHAPTER 1:

### INTRODUCTION

Since the transition to democracy in 1994, South Africans have become increasingly aware of the meaningful role tourism can play in contributing to the economic development of the country. Statistics have shown that since 1994 the tourism industry in South Africa has grown. The number of foreign visitor arrivals increased from 3 million in 1993 to over 9,9 million in 2009 of which, just over 7 million were tourists.<sup>1</sup> Foreign visitor arrivals for the period January to November 2010 alone was 10.3 million of which 7.3 million were tourists. According to Statistics South Africa (STATSSA) a total of 8 339 354 tourists came to South Africa in 2011, showing an increase of 3,3% from the 8 073 552 tourists recorded for the whole of 2010.<sup>2</sup>

Tourism is not only an industry with many facets that contribute to a variety of economic sectors, but also a labour-intensive industry with the capacity to create jobs.<sup>3</sup> The 2010 Tourism Satellite Account (TSA), which measures the tourism sector's direct contribution to the country's economy, estimates this contribution at about R67 billion, or 3% of South Africa's gross domestic product (GDP).<sup>4</sup> It further estimated that in 2008, a total of 599 412 people (or approximately 4,4% of total employment) were directly employed by the tourism industry, and that domestic tourism contributes 52% of total tourism consumption.<sup>5</sup>

As the Minister of Tourism, Mr. Marthinus van Schalkwyk stated in his foreword of the National Department of Tourism (NDT)'s Strategic and Annual Performance Plan 2012/2013 Review:

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<sup>1</sup> STATSSA, *Tourism Satellite Account (TSA) for South Africa*, final 2005 and provisional 2006 - 2008, November 2010.

<sup>2</sup> STATSSA, *Tourism 2011 Report, No. 03-51-02*, 2011, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> NDT, *National Tourism Sector Strategy*, 2011, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> STATSSA, South Africa, *Tourism Satellite Account (TSA) for South Africa*, final 2005 and provisional 2006 - 2008, November 2010.

<sup>5</sup> STATSSA, *Tourism Satellite Account (TSA) for South Africa*, final 2005 and provisional 2006 - 2008, November 2010.

In 2011, the tourism sector worldwide supported 258 million direct, indirect and induced employment opportunities, just under 9% of the global workforce. Of these, 100 million were direct jobs, which means that every single employment opportunity in the direct tourism economy supports another 1,6 indirect jobs.<sup>6</sup>

Looking at tourism's contribution to the GDP and the number of jobs created and potentially can create it is clear that tourism plays an increasingly important role in the development of the economy of South Africa. It is therefore not surprising that in 2010 government prioritized tourism as one of the five priority economic growth sectors in developing our economy.<sup>7</sup> In addition, tourism features in the plan Cabinet adopted in order to boost South Africa's growth plan. The plan identifies tourism as one of the six core pillars of growth for the country, with the other pillars being infrastructure development, the agricultural value chain, the mining value chain, the green economy, and manufacturing sectors in the Industrial Policy Action Plan (IPAP2).<sup>8</sup>

South Africa's unique selling points for tourism have traditionally been scenic beauty, wildlife and climate. Before the first democratic elections in 1994, it was estimated that 30% of visitors came to South Africa for its scenic beauty, while 26% were drawn by its wild-life.<sup>9</sup> However, with the demise of apartheid the situation has altered dramatically, as statistics show 27% of tourists come to see the new South Africa while 21% come to view our cultural attractions. It is therefore argued that 48% of tourists coming to South Africa in 2003 had a cultural motivation.<sup>10</sup> In a more recent survey in 2007 (South African Annual Tourism Survey), research shows that almost 38% of visitors come to view our cultural and historical heritage.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> NDT, *Strategic Plan and Annual Performance Plan, 2012/2013 Review*, March 2012.

<sup>7</sup> NDT, *National Tourism Sector Strategy*, 2011.

<sup>8</sup> DTI, *Industrial Policy Action Plan (IPAP2)*, February 2010.

<sup>9</sup> P. Ramchander, 'Township Tourism: Blessing or Blight?' in G. Richards (ed.), *Cultural Tourism, A Global and Local Perspective*, 2007, p. 40.

<sup>10</sup> Lubbe, 2003 as cited in P. Ramchander, 'Township Tourism: Blessing or Blight?' in G. Richards (ed.), *Cultural Tourism, A Global and Local Perspective*, 2007, p. 39.

<sup>11</sup> SAT, *South African Annual Tourism Report*, 2007, p. 61.

This leaves us to conclude that cultural and historical heritage is a vital leg on which the South African tourism industry stands. With the view to further develop and focus on this key sector, government developed the National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy which was launched in March 2012 at the historic Liliesleaf Farm in Rivonia in Johannesburg. Speaking at the launch the Minister of Tourism, Mr. Marthinus van Schalkwyk said: 'The strategy marks a significant milestone achieved in producing a guiding framework and the first blueprint for heritage and cultural tourism development in South Africa.'<sup>12</sup>

According to tourism specialist G. Wait, the demand for heritage-based tourism in particular has been argued to be generally attributed to eight factors.<sup>13</sup> These include an increasing awareness of heritage; an ability to express individuality through recognition of historical environment or staged history; greater affluence; increased leisure time; mobility; access to the arts; the need to transcend contemporary experiences to compensate for their deficiencies and demands; and/or to fill psychological needs for continuity through an appreciation of personal family history.<sup>14</sup>

The people of South Africa are made-up of a range of cultures, often referred to as the 'rainbow nation' reflecting on South Africa as a multi-cultural and diverse society. The multi-faceted heritage courtesy of this mixture of indigenous cultures is linked to the social and political history of the country.<sup>15</sup> In addition, South Africa also boasts diversity in its natural landscapes . both in terms of fauna and flora as well as terrain. It is these diverse resources . both culturally and naturally - that the tourism industry can capitalize on and one which is reflected in the Department of Tourism's catch phrase 'a world in one country.'<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> SAT, 'National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy Launched by Minister', <http://www.southafrica.net/sat/content/en/za/media-news-detail>, 16 March 2012, Access: 2012-07-12.

<sup>13</sup> G. Wait, Consuming Heritage: Perceived Historical Authenticity, *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 27(4), 2000, p. 838.

<sup>14</sup> G. Wait, Consuming Heritage: Perceived Historical Authenticity, *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 27(4), 2000, p. 838.

<sup>15</sup> Parker, 1997 as cited in P. Ramchander, 'Township Tourism: Blessing or Blight?' in G. Richards (ed.), *Cultural Tourism, A Global and Local Perspective*, 2007, p. 40.

<sup>16</sup> C. Rassool, The Rise of Heritage and the Reconstitution of History in South Africa, *Kronos*, Vol. 26, 2000, p. 1.

However, in terms of heritage having endured and survived the conflict and violence of apartheid and its racial systems, South Africa's diverse nation, has been placed on the path of achieving reconciliation as the basis for the new rainbow nation.<sup>17</sup> It is generally agreed that the miracle of the new South Africa and the demise of apartheid have been made possible by the wisdom of heroic leaders and especially by the special magic of former President, Mr. Nelson Mandela.<sup>18</sup> As C. Rassool further states, these discursive contours of a society of many cultures and a history of great lives of resistance and reconciliation have over the past two decades been emerging and taking shape in almost every aspect of heritage construction and public culture in South Africa. This includes television histories and cultural projects of newspapers and other media to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), museums and legacy projects to new monuments and cultural tourism.<sup>19</sup>

As a result, heritage and all that it entails has become a contested terrain in post-apartheid South Africa. The future of apartheid-era museums, monuments, place names, signs, public holidays and government buildings continue to be debated, if not contested, as the new government seeks to democratize heritage and offer fair representation to South Africa's diverse cultures. The tourist industry has been given the responsibility of constructing, packaging and transmitting images and representations of the new society and its past to a perceived growing audience of international visitors.<sup>20</sup> It is clear that heritage it is a topic of much debate and interest in South Africa. This is endorsed by D. Lowenthal who in 1998 wrote:

All at once heritage is everywhere; it's the chief focus of patriotism and the prime lure of tourism. We see comfort in past bequests partly to allay the grief in a world beset by poverty and hunger, enmity and strife. In recoiling from grievous loss or fending off a fearsome future, people the world over revert to ancestral legacies. As hope of progress fade, heritage consoles us with tradition.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> C. Rassool, The Rise of Heritage and the Reconstitution of History in South Africa, *Kronos*, Vol. 26, 2000, p. 1.

<sup>18</sup> C. Rassool, The Rise of Heritage and the Reconstitution of History in South Africa, *Kronos*, Vol. 26, 2000, p. 1.

<sup>19</sup> C. Rassool, The Rise of Heritage and the Reconstitution of History in South Africa, *Kronos*, Vol. 26, 2000, p. 1.

<sup>20</sup> C. Rassool, The Rise of Heritage and the Reconstitution of History in South Africa, *Kronos*, Vol. 26, 2000, p. 5.

<sup>21</sup> D. Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, 1998, p. xiii.

As noted earlier, the South African Government has defined tourism as a sector that will contribute to creating employment and reducing poverty. During the apartheid era, the majority of South Africans saw their own identity denied through lack of representation. Since 1994 with the rise of democracy attempts have been made to correct the inequalities of the past. Looking at the historical developments, there is a need to identify what challenges have and still face the development of heritage and cultural tourism in South Africa. To what extent has the new government managed to correct the unequal representation of cultures in historical heritage in the past? And, in what way has this impacted on the tourism industry and how South Africa is perceived as a tourism destination.

Thus this study aims to investigate heritage and cultural tourism in post-apartheid South Africa through considering the historical developments and current situation within the country. The intention is to determine the challenges that still face heritage and cultural tourism in South Africa in terms of being reinterpreted and presented to include and rectify the bias of heritage during the apartheid era. This study employs the work of various historians, social and political theorists and heritage specialists in analyzing the trends and debates on the role of heritage and culture in the South African tourism industry. Different theories of various South African academics will be analyzed in order to understand heritage and cultural tourism in both pre and post-apartheid South Africa.

This study includes a literature study, utilizing both national and international sources to benchmark the analysis in a broader context. Journals, articles, popular magazines and brochures as well as information on the internet were also integrated. Information from the internet focused on the websites of particular museums, monuments and tourist attractions supplementing information about these sites obtained from the sources. Governmental legislation was also examined to determine the extent to which national government's policies play a role in transforming heritage and cultural tourism.

The study consists of five chapters with the following headings: Chapter 1 %Introduction+; Chapter 2 %South African History and Heritage+; Chapter 3 %Heritage, Culture and Identity Shaping in South Africa+; Chapter 4 %Restructuring Heritage in Post-Apartheid South Africa+; Chapter 5 %Heritage and Cultural Tourism in South Africa+and finally, Chapter 6 %Conclusion+.

In this first chapter key definitions and relevant terminology are discussed in order to gain a better understanding of Heritage and Cultural Tourism (HCT). It is clear that in order to define HCT detailed definitions of ~~h~~eritage~~q~~ ~~c~~ulture~~q~~ and ~~t~~ourism~~q~~ are necessary. It was also deemed necessary to discuss related terms such as ~~h~~istory~~q~~ ~~h~~eritage tourism~~q~~ and ~~c~~ultural tourism~~q~~.

In the second chapter %South African History and Heritage+the concepts of ~~h~~istory~~q~~ and ~~h~~eritage~~q~~ are unpacked and compared. The ongoing debate around the question of whether heritage is history and to what extent these two disciplines are related is discussed, as well as history and heritage in a South African context.

In the third chapter %Heritage, Culture and Identity Shaping in South Africa+, the role heritage and culture has played in the shaping of the South African identity before 1994 and after the democratic elections will be compared and analyzed. The role of the state in the shaping of identity will also be touched on.

The extent to which South Africa has made attempts to restructure heritage in post-apartheid South Africa is focused on in the fourth chapter %Restructuring Heritage in Post-Apartheid South Africa+. This chapter mainly considers key examples of restructuring attempts after 1994, in an attempt to explain the question of ~~h~~ow~~q~~ and ~~t~~o what extent~~q~~this has been done.

The fifth and final chapter %Heritage and Cultural Tourism in South Africa+ is an analysis of the significant developments in the portrayal of heritage and cultural tourism in South Africa since 1994. The analysis makes use of several specific cases as examples to provide an overview on how the heritage and cultural tourism industry has transformed in its portrayal of South African heritage and culture.

The Conclusion gives a brief overview of key aspects that have been discussed throughout the study and ultimately answers the question of whether the current state of heritage and cultural tourism in post-apartheid South Africa is inclusive or exclusive.

Heritage and cultural tourism has received increased attention from scholars and with the growth and interest the industry has experienced world-wide since the latter part of the twentieth century. In line with world developments, heritage and cultural studies in South Africa have also received an increase in interest, particularly since the 1990s. These studies have been predictive, concentrating on the history of the country pertaining to apartheid and its systems, the political changes within the country that were taking place and the changes and dynamic impacts that this had on how heritage was being presented in South Africa. There are however fewer studies available on how heritage has been more recently reinterpreted and represented to rectify the bias of heritage during the apartheid era in an effort to include a wider spectrum of the societies which make up the multi-cultural nation.

Some key research includes studies primarily concerned with heritage and cultural tourism and the debate that exists between History and Heritage. In the early 1990s A. Hall and A. Lillie published an article outlining the history of the conservation of South Africa's national monuments before the new legislation was passed by Parliament (i.e., the 1999 National Heritage Resources Act). The research is significant in the fact that it describes how many so-called national monuments are not included in the Act at all, specifically sites of conflict and the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria.<sup>22</sup>

Some of the work written and edited by D.T. Herbert is centrally concerned with the development of heritage places as attractions and with the issues this raises.<sup>23</sup> He mainly focuses on heritage that is connected to people and events of the past. The relationship between attractions and the tourist is explored in-depth by different scholars who contribute towards one of his books.

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<sup>22</sup> A. Hall & A. Lillie, The National Monuments Council and a Policy for providing Protection for the Cultural and Environmental Heritage, *South African Historical Journal* , Vol. 29 , 1993, pp.105-117.

<sup>23</sup> D.T. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, 1995, pp. 1- 228.

For instance, F.F.J Schouten looks at heritage as historical Reality and argues that authenticity is problematic. He takes a liberal view claiming that heritage is not history, it is the past processed through mythology, ideology, nationalism, local pride, romantic ideas, or marketing into a commodity.<sup>24</sup> The contribution of P. Johnson and B. Thomas looks at the characteristics and determinants of the supply and demand for heritage and also addresses policy issues. They further argue the case and methods of and for government intervention.<sup>25</sup>

Historian C. Hamilton in her article 'The Future of the Past' points to the lessons historians can learn from the new scholarship on memory.<sup>26</sup> The new scholarship explores the various ways that the memory of a society is created, institutionalized, disseminated and understood. She claims that 'Whoever controls heritage, controls you!... two of the greatest [are] pressure on academic historians to rethink their largely, though not universally held, assumptions about the objectivity and superiority of the history produced and the power implications of their practices.'<sup>27</sup> In terms of this study, it is the latter which is of great significance.

In his work 'The Heritage Crusade and spoils of History', D. Lowenthal addresses the reasons for the growth of obsessions with the past and explores the tensions generated by patrimonial concerns. The uses and abuses of heritage and history are highlighted. One particularly crucial point in the study that stands out, is how the rise of this new obsession with tradition and inheritance has power for both good and evil.<sup>28</sup> Other work by Lowenthal that is relevant to this study include, his book 'The Past is a Foreign Country'<sup>29</sup> and his article 'Fabricating Heritage, History and Memory'.<sup>30</sup> Both address the question of heritage and its relation to the present.

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<sup>24</sup> F.F.J. Schouten, 'Heritage as Historical Reality' in D.T. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, 1995, pp. 21-31.

<sup>25</sup> P. Johnson & P. Thomas, 'Heritage as Business' in D.T. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, 1995, pp. 170-190.

<sup>26</sup> C. Hamilton, 'The Future of the Past: New Trajectories', *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 35, 1996, p. 148.

<sup>27</sup> C. Hamilton, 'The Future of the Past: New Trajectories', *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 35, 1996, p. 148.

<sup>28</sup> D. Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, 1998, pp. 1- 356.

<sup>29</sup> D. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, 1985, pp. 1-489.

<sup>30</sup> D. Lowenthal, 'Fabricating Heritage', *History and Memory*, Vol. 10 (1), 1998, pp. 31-39.

South African historian C. Rasool examines the cultural workings of heritage, public history and identity formation under conditions of political transition in South Africa.<sup>31</sup> He examines the ways in which South Africans are encouraged to consider, narrate and visualize their own identity within their society and its past. His study ultimately makes an interesting conclusion by linking heritage with the nation and citizenship. An issue that is pertinent to this study. He also co-authored an article with fellow historians Leslie Witz and Gary Minkley titled 'Repackaging the Past for South African Tourism'. The article focuses on three site examples and how attempts are made to promote South Africa as an African cultural destination.<sup>32</sup>

Sabine Marschall's work offers a significant contribution to the field of heritage and culture tourism. She has made various contributions to the research field through her work on art, memorialization, commemoration, cultural heritage and heritage tourism in South Africa. In her article titled 'Gestures of Compensation: post-Apartheid monuments and memorials', she looks at the 'Human Needs' theory, and how post-apartheid monuments and memorials fulfill the basic human emotional need. She then discusses monuments and heritage sites as gestures of compensation.<sup>33</sup> In another article entitled 'Transforming the Landscape of Memory: The South African Commemorative Effort in International Perspective', Marschall discusses key characteristics of post-apartheid commemorative monuments in South Africa. She focuses on how rather than what is commemorated.<sup>34</sup> In the article 'Commemorating 'Struggle Heroes': Constructing a Genealogy for the New South Africa', her focus is on new commemorative monuments, memorials and statues in the post-apartheid period. Marschall examines here how new monuments contribute to new identities in post-apartheid South Africa.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> C. Rasool, 'The Rise of Heritage and the Reconstitution of History in South Africa', *Kronos*, Vol. 26, 2000, pp. 1.

<sup>32</sup> L. Witz, C. Rasool, & G. Minkley, Repackaging the Past for South African Tourism, *Daedalus*, Vol. 130(1), Why South Africa Matters (Winter, 2001), p. 278.

<sup>33</sup> S. Marschall, Gestures of Compensation: post-apartheid monuments and memorials, *Transformation*, No. 55, 2004, pp. 78-95.

<sup>34</sup> S. Marschall, Transforming the Landscape of Memory: The South African Commemorative Effort in International Perspective, *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 55(1), 2006, pp. 165-185.

<sup>35</sup> S. Marschall, Commemorating 'Struggle Heroes': Constructing a Genealogy for the New South Africa, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 12(2), 2006, pp. 176-193.

The importance and relationship that exists between history and heritage is well addressed in a volume edited by H. E. Stolten. This deals amongst others with different patterns of use and abuse of history during the formation of the new South African group identity and national unity.<sup>36</sup> This work is an important contribution to both recent historiography and to the analysis of the post-apartheid era. It represents a collection of distinguished historians and other social scientists offering their views on the importance of history and heritage for the transformation of South Africa.

The first section consists of six chapters that focus on the role of history in the creation of a new South Africa. These include an account of the history of South Africa as a concept by S. DuBow<sup>37</sup>; an analysis of the concepts used in the description of the democratic transition by T. Reddy<sup>38</sup>; a discussion of how history is taught in the post-apartheid era by C. Bundy<sup>39</sup>; a critique of two prominent narratives of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission by E. Unterhalter<sup>40</sup>; and descriptions of the role of the researcher in land restitution cases by A. Bohlin.<sup>41</sup> It also reflects on practicing applied history in South Africa 1994-2002 by M. Legassick.<sup>42</sup> All of these make valuable comments on developments related to history in the past decade and a half.

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<sup>36</sup> H. E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, 2007, pp. 1-371.

<sup>37</sup> S. Dubow, 'Thoughts on South Africa: Some preliminary ideas' in H.E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, 2007, pp. 51-72.

<sup>38</sup> T. Reddy, S. Dubow, 'From apartheid to democracy in South Africa: A reading of dominant discourses of democratic transition' in H.E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, 2007, pp. 148-166.

<sup>39</sup> C. Bundy, 'New nation, new history? Constructing the past in post-apartheid South Africa' in H.E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, 2007, pp.73-98.

<sup>40</sup> E. Unterhalter, 'Truth rather than justice? Historical narratives, gender and public education in South Africa' in H.E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, 2007, pp. 98-113.

<sup>41</sup> A. Bohlin, 'Claiming land and making memory: Engaging with the past in land restitution' in H.E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, 2007, pp. 114-128.

<sup>42</sup> M. Legassick, 'Reflections on practicing applied history in South Africa, 1994-2002: From skeletons to schools' in H.E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, 2007, pp. 129-147.

In the second section, five chapters explore the theme of heritage and the popularizing of memory. These include G. Baines<sup>43</sup> and C. Saunders<sup>44</sup> who address public history and heritage in the post-apartheid era, while A. Grundlingh<sup>45</sup> focuses specifically on the centenary commemoration of the South African War. Other contributions include G. Verbeek<sup>46</sup> on the structure of memory and M. Murray who focuses on building the new South Africa through urban space architecture.<sup>47</sup>

The third section of the book deals with South African historiography and includes discussions by B.M. Magubane<sup>48</sup>, C. Saunders<sup>49</sup>, M. Lipton<sup>50</sup> and A. Drew<sup>51</sup> respectively. C. Burns<sup>52</sup> also offers a unique vision of the relevance of history for the South Africa of today.

In a more recent publication, S. Pitchford examines the processes of national identity construction. This study argues that identity tourism is a medium that can convey (tell) a national story to outsiders and can play a useful role in the construction of national identity.

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<sup>43</sup> G. Baines, 'The politics of public history in post-apartheid South Africa' in H. E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, 2007, pp. 167-182.

<sup>44</sup> C. Saunders, 'The transformation of heritage in the new South Africa' in H. E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, 2007, pp. 183-195.

<sup>45</sup> G. Grundlingh, 'Reframing remembrance: The politics of the centenary commemoration of the South African War of 1899–1902' in H. E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, 2007, pp. 196-216.

<sup>46</sup> G. Verbeek, 'Structure of memory: Apartheid in the museum' in H. E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, 2007, pp. 227-250.

<sup>47</sup> M. Murray, 'Building the "new South Africa": Urban space, architectural design, and the disruption of historical memory' in H. E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, 2007, pp. 227-250.

<sup>48</sup> B. M. Magubane, 'Whose memory – whose history? The illusion of liberal and radical historical debates' in H. E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, 2007, pp. 251-280.

<sup>49</sup> C. Saunders, 'The transformation of heritage in the new South Africa' in H. E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, 2007, pp. 183-195.

<sup>50</sup> M. Lipton, 'The role of business under apartheid: Revisiting the debate' in H. E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, 2007, pp. 292-305.

<sup>51</sup> A. Drew, "'1922 and all that': Facts and the writing of South African political history' in H. E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, 2007, pp. 334-350.

<sup>52</sup> C. Burns, 'A useable past: The search for "history in chords"' in H. E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, 2007, pp. 351-362.

Identity tourism, which incorporates both ethnic and heritage tourism, includes museums, heritage centres, performances, and other attractions in which collective identities are represented, interpreted and potentially constructed through the use of history and culture.<sup>53</sup> Pitchford examines these through observational and interview data primarily from Wales where nationalism, identity and tourism has, and still is, being contested.

## DEFINING THE FIELD

For the purposes of this study the following key concepts - ~~history~~ ~~heritage~~ ~~tourism~~ ~~cultural tourism~~ and ~~heritage tourism~~- will be briefly defined in order to gain a general understanding. They will be defined very basically in terms of this study and will also be unpacked and further discussed in context in the respective chapters.

The first concept to be defined is ~~history~~. The word ~~history~~ is from the Greek word *historia* or *histor* which means ~~to know~~ and it is said that knowledge and facts are what comprise the constantly changing historical discourse in any society.<sup>54</sup> History generally refers to the past and is regarded as reconstructions or accounts of that past. A very basic definition of history would be ~~that narrative representation intended to provide a coherent and ordered body of explanations and meanings about the past produced by the historian.~~<sup>55</sup>

A more complex definition found suitable for the purposes of this study is that of A. Marwick who summarizes that the word ~~history~~ as it is being used today can mean either one or all of the following:

- That which has actually happened in the past, the activity of enquiry into that past, based on the study of sources and striving continuously to challenge myth and legend.

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<sup>53</sup> S. Pitchford, *Identity Tourism Imaging and Imagining the Nation*, 2008, p. 174.

<sup>54</sup> J. Deacon, *Heritage and African History in S. Jeppie (ed.), Toward New Histories for South Africa*, 2004, p. 117.

<sup>55</sup> A. Munslow, *Narrative and History*, 2007, p. 136.

- The interpretation(s) produced by this activity.
- The accumulated body of knowledge about the past, being based on the interpretations of fallible human beings (historians) using often fragmentary and imperfect source materials, this knowledge may often be provisional in nature and sometimes even contradictory.
- Those aspects of the past, felt to be significant or interesting, which have been made accessible by historical enquiry and the accumulating body of historical knowledge, those parts of the past which have been known and documented.<sup>56</sup>

The next concept is *heritage*: The word *heritage* is derived from old French words *eritage* and *heriter* meaning to inherit and is defined as something that comes or belongs to one by or through birthright such as an inherited lot or portion.<sup>57</sup> Heritage is perhaps the most crucial concept of all for the purposes of this study and is also probably the most contentious and debated. As a concept heritage is problematic. It can include what is created in the present to remember the past by, for example, names given to places and monuments.<sup>58</sup> Heritage is often a recreation of the past, an act of remembrance, through the giving of a name, the erection of a monument or the way objects are displayed in a museum.<sup>59</sup>

Heritage defined at an international level, by International Council on Monuments and Sites (COMOS)(1999) is presented as follows:

Heritage is a broad concept that includes natural and cultural  
Heritage is a broad concept that includes natural and cultural  
environment. It includes landscapes, historic places, sites and  
built environments, as well as biodiversity, collections, past  
and continuing cultural practices, knowledge and living  
experiences. It records and expresses the long processes of

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<sup>56</sup> A. Marwick, *The Nature of History*, 1989, p. 6.

<sup>57</sup> Dictionary.com, <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/heritage>, s.a. Accessed: 2011-04-03.

<sup>58</sup> C. Saunders, 'The transformation of heritage in the new South Africa' in H. E. Stolten (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, 2007, p. 183.

<sup>59</sup> C. Saunders, 'The transformation of heritage in the new South Africa' in H. E. Stolten (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, 2007, p. 183.

historic development, forming the essence of diverse national, regional, indigenous and local identities and is an integral part of modern life. It is a dynamic reference point and positive instrument for growth and change. The particular heritage and collective memory of each locality or community is irreplaceable and an important foundation for development, both now and into the future.<sup>60</sup>

Looking at the definition of heritage as defined in the guide developed for African Local Governments by The Craterre-ENSAG / Convention France-UNESCO on the development of cultural heritage and local development in 2006, heritage can be divided into two main categories. The first category is a heritage that presents itself in a material, tangible form: archaeology, art, movable objects, architecture and landscape. The second category identified it as intangible Cultural heritage. This latter description was conceived so that certain realities, which remained unseen over a long period of time, and which did not fit in as part of any other established heritage category, could be recognized and taken into consideration.<sup>61</sup> Humankind's creativity extends further than the mere construction of prominent buildings or the manufacturing of precious objects; it also manifests itself through the ability to create original and unique cultural forms, which are not always necessarily material.<sup>62</sup> The South African legal national definition as per the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage of 1996, defines heritage as:

The sum total of wildlife and scenic parks, sites of scientific and historical importance, national monuments, historic buildings, works of art, literature and music, oral traditions and museum collections and their documentation which provides the basis for a shared culture and creativity in arts.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> ICOSMOS, *International Cultural Tourism Charter : Managing Tourism at Places of Heritage Significance*, 1999.

<sup>61</sup> Craterre-ENSAG / Convention France-UNESCO, *A Guide for African Local Governments: Cultural Heritage & Local Development*, 2006.

<sup>62</sup> Craterre-ENSAG / Convention France-UNESCO, *A Guide for African Local Governments: Cultural Heritage & Local Development*, 2006.

<sup>63</sup> DACST, *The White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage*, May 1996.

The third concept to be considered is that of 'Cultural Significance'. The word 'culture' apparently originates from the mid 19th century from the Latin word *cultura* 'illage' relating to the ideas, customs, and social behaviour of a society as well as to the arts and to intellectual achievements.<sup>64</sup> Culture is defined by UNESCO and the World Commission on Culture and Development as follows:

Culture is the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual, and emotional features that characterize a society or social group. It includes creative expression (e.g. oral history, language, literature, performing arts, fine arts and crafts), community practices (e.g. traditional healing methods, traditional natural resource management, celebrations, and patterns of social interaction that contribute to group and individual welfare and identity), and material or built forms such as sites, buildings, historic city centers, landscapes, art, and objects.<sup>65</sup>

At a local level the definition given in the National Heritage Resources Act, 25 of 1999 states that 'cultural significance' means aesthetic, architectural, historical, scientific, social, spiritual, linguistic or technological value or significance.<sup>66</sup> In addition, according to the White Paper of Arts and Culture (1996) 'culture' refers to:

The dynamic totality of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features which characterize a society or social group. It includes the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions, heritage and beliefs developed over time and subject to change.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Oxford Dictionary Online, <http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/cultural?q=cultural>, s.a. Access: 2012-02-15.

<sup>65</sup> UNESCO & World Commission on Culture and Development, *Our Creative Diversity Report 1995* in M. Ivanovic, *Cultural Tourism*, 2008, p. 26.

<sup>66</sup> Republic of South Africa, *The National Heritage Resources Act*, No. 25 of 1999.

<sup>67</sup> DACST, *The White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage*, 1996.

Tourism+ is the other equally important concept that needs clarification for the purposes of this study. In its very essence, the word tourismq is defined as the commercial organization and operation of holidays and visits to places of interest.<sup>68</sup>

The World Trade Organization (WTO) defines tourism as %activities of persons traveling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes.+ This definition was adopted at the 1991 WTO Ottawa Conference on Travel and Tourism Statistics.<sup>69</sup>

While the World Tourism Society's definition of tourism is: %Tourism is deemed to include any activity concerned with the temporary short-term movement of people to destinations outside places they normally live and work, and their activities during the stay at these destinations+.<sup>70</sup> From this definition J.A. Bennett states that it is clear that tourism involves the following four elements:

- Activities of daily life outside the normal routines of work and social commitments
- Travel and transportation to and from the destination
- Activities engaged in during the stay at the destination
- Facilities provided to cater for the needs of tourists

D.T. Herbert advises tourism is being focused on the idea of trips or excursions away from the normal place of residence, involving at least an overnight stay.<sup>71</sup> According to the National Tourism White Paper (1996) tourism is defined as %all travel for whatever purpose, that results in one or more nights being spent away from home.+<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Oxford Dictionary Online, <http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/tourism>, s.a. Access: 2011-04-02.

<sup>69</sup> WTO, *Collection of Tourism Expenditure Statistics*, Technical Manual No. 2, 1995.

<sup>70</sup> J. A. Bennett *et al.* (eds), *Managing Tourism Services: A South African Perspective*. 2005, pp. 1-476.

<sup>71</sup> D. T. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, 1995, p. 5.

<sup>72</sup> DEAT, *The White Paper on Tourism on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa*, May 1996.

In his definition of tourism, P. van Dyk differentiates between international and domestic tourists. International visitors are people who visit a country, other than their own, for no longer than one year, and whose main purpose is not to work, and domestic visitors or excursionists [who] travel in their own country of residence.<sup>73</sup> He also identifies three key components with which tourism has to do:

- Travel and transportation . to and from the destination.
- Activities engaged in, during the stay at the destination.
- Facilities provided to cater for the needs and enjoyment of tourists<sup>74</sup>

The concept Heritage Tourism has been defined as tourism centered on what we have inherited, which can mean anything from historic buildings, to art works, to beautiful scenery".<sup>75</sup> Another definition of heritage tourism includes museums, monuments, historical sites and places, structures such as mills, factories, and other visual remains of periods in the past. Heritage tourism is also defined as being based on reminiscence of the past and the desire to understand and experience diverse cultural landscapes and forms.<sup>76</sup>

A more simplistic definition is that of P. Sethi, who defines heritage tourism as tourism which is based on heritage where heritage is the core of the product that is offered and the main motivating factor for the consumer.<sup>77</sup>

While Y. Poria, R. Butler and D. Airey have a less ambiguous definition for heritage and historic tourism where they argue that subgroups should be defined by the tourists' motivation as well as their perceptions of a site rather than by site attributes alone. They suggest the following definition for heritage tourism:

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<sup>73</sup> P. van Dyk, *Introduction to Tourist Guiding*, 5th edition, Izimpilo C & S Publishers, Pretoria, 2010, pp. 16-17.

<sup>74</sup> P. van Dyk, *Introduction to Tourist Guiding*, 5th edition, Izimpilo C & S Publishers, Pretoria, 2010, p. 17.

<sup>75</sup> B. Garrod & A. Fyall, Managing Heritage Tourism, *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 27(3), 2000, p. 683.

<sup>76</sup> H. Keyser, *Tourism Development*, 2002.

<sup>77</sup> P. Sethi, *Heritage Tourism*, 2005, p. 1.

A subgroup of tourism, in which the main *motivation* for visiting a site is based on the place's heritage characteristics according to the tourists' perception of their own heritage. As such, *historic* tourism may be defined as a subgroup of tourism, in which the motivation for visiting a place is based on its historic attributes.<sup>78</sup>

The concept of Cultural Tourism is, on the other hand, a rather much broader concept. The United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) gives an inclusive definition of cultural tourism, that all tourism trips can be considered as cultural tourism, because they satisfy the human need for multiplicity, may raise the cultural level of an individual and lead to new knowledge, experience and encounters.<sup>79</sup> UNWTO developed two definitions of cultural tourism commonly known respectively as the *narrow* and *wide* definitions. The narrow definition defines it as:

The movement of persons for essentially cultural motivations such as study tours, performing arts and cultural tours, travel to festivals and other cultural events, visits to sites and monuments, travel to study nature, folklore or art, and pilgrimages.<sup>80</sup>

The wide definition on the other hand includes the following:

All movement of persons because they satisfy the human need for diversity, tending to raise the cultural level of the individual and giving rise to new knowledge, experience and encounters.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Y. Poria, R. Butler & D. Airey, Clarifying Heritage Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 28(4), 2001, pp. 1047–1049.

<sup>79</sup> G. Richards (ed.), *Cultural Tourism, A Global and Local Perspective*, 2007, pp. 1-341.

<sup>80</sup> WTO, *Collection of Tourism Expenditure Statistics*, Technical Manual No. 2, 1995.

<sup>81</sup> WTO, *Collection of Tourism Expenditure Statistics*, Technical Manual No. 2, 1995.

ICOMOS defines cultural tourism as:

That form of tourism whose object is, among other aims, the discovery of monuments and sites, it exerts on this last a very positive effect insofar as it contributes to satisfy its own ends to their maintenance and protection.<sup>82</sup>

While the South African Tourism White Paper of 1996 defines cultural tourism as:

Cultural aspects which are of interest to the visitor and can be marketed as such, including the customs and traditions of people, their heritage, history and way of life. A person who travels away from home, staying away for at least one night.

A tourist can be a domestic tourist (for example resident of Johannesburg staying one night in Durban), a regional tourist (a visitor from Zimbabwe spending one or more nights in the Free State) or an overseas tourist (a resident of Germany staying one or more nights in the North-West Province).

A tourist travels for different purposes including business, leisure, conference and incentive. Tourism is all travel for whatever purpose that results in one or more nights being spent away from home.<sup>83</sup>

All these concepts will be reflected or further develop in the chapters that follow.

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<sup>82</sup> M. Ivanovic, *Cultural Tourism*, 2008, p. 78.

<sup>83</sup> DEAT, *The White Paper on Tourism on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa*, May 1996.

## CHAPTER 2:

### SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY AND HERITAGE

In the previous chapter definitions of history and heritage were given to create a basic understanding of these two concepts. However as indicated, in this chapter ~~the~~ heritage and ~~the~~ history will be further considered in order to understand the debate arising between history and heritage to try and ascertain what role history and heritage play in South Africa.

For the general public, the word ~~the~~ heritage brings to mind strong feelings of patriotism, what has been left behind for generations to come from past ancestors. The word ~~the~~ history on the other hand does not bring to mind anything that can be conceived as remotely similar. For some, thinking of history brings to mind images of dusty text books with loads of facts, dates and timelines. Yet no one can deny that heritage and history are inextricably linked, the extent to which is, however, debatable. The heritage versus history debate is certainly not a new one and has been discussed at length by many in the past.

Lowenthal claims that history cannot recover the real past, but that it is simply an interpretation, a view of the past rather than a replica.<sup>84</sup> E.H. Carr states that history is a process of selection in terms of historical significance and it is a continuous process of interaction between a historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and past.<sup>85</sup> J. Tosh (1993) argues:

Historical knowledge has to be produced. The raw materials of which a historical consciousness can be fashioned are accordingly almost unlimited. Those elements which find a place in it represent a selection of truths which are deemed worthy of note. Who produces that knowledge, and who validates it for general consumption, are therefore important questions.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> D. Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, 1998, p. 112.

<sup>85</sup> E.H. Carr, *What is History*, 1990, pp. 30, 105.

<sup>86</sup> J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of History*, 1993, p. 2.

Allison Drew takes this issue further stating that the past is not history, even though the terms are often used interchangeably. Nor is history simply a narrative, even if it is frequently written in a narrative form, nor a story; nor can it be reduced to public memory, even if histories shape public memory. Rather, she argues that history is an interpretative or explanatory construction of the past that can be assessed through publicly available standards and criteria.<sup>87</sup>

Similarly to the view of Drew, G. J. Ashworth and P. J. Larkham argue that history is the remembered record of the past, whereas heritage is a contemporary commodity purposefully created to satisfy contemporary consumption and that the one becomes the other through a process of commodification.<sup>88</sup> They base their argument on a model where the heritage product is assembled from raw materials which are a combination of historical events, personalities, folk memories, mythologies, literary associations and physical relics, together with the places, whether sites or towns, with which they are symbolically associated. These resources are then converted into products through interpretation. The interpretation involves resource selection and packaging of the heritage product which is specifically designed for the requirements of specific consumer groups.<sup>89</sup>

Historian C. Rasool highlights two opposing views on heritage versus history in his article, *The Rise of Heritage and the Reconstitution of History in South Africa*.<sup>90</sup> The first is what he refers to as the rather pessimistic view of the historian. He refers to J. Carruthers who argues in a similar way to Lowenthal that heritage is distinct from the discipline of history, an exaggeration, myth making, omission and error where heritage is a type of genre of history produced by non-academics that is subordinate to academic history in a hierarchical schema.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> A. Drew, "1920 and all that': Facts and the writing of South African historiography' in H. E. Stolten (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, 2007, p. 348.

<sup>88</sup> G. J. Ashworth & P.J. Larkham, *Building a new heritage, Tourism, Culture and Identity in the New Europe*, 1994, p. 16.

<sup>89</sup> G. J. Ashworth & P.J. Larkham, *Building a new heritage, Tourism, Culture and Identity in the New Europe*, 1994, p. 16.

<sup>90</sup> C. Rasool, *The Rise of Heritage and the Reconstitution of History in South Africa*, *Kronos*, Vol. 26, 2000, p. 3.

<sup>91</sup> C. Rasool, *The Rise of Heritage and the Reconstitution of History in South Africa*, *Kronos*, Vol. 26, 2000, p. 3.

Carruthers had posted a briefing on the email subscription list, H-AFRICA in which she stated that 'Heritage is proving to be a lifeline for historians in South Africa'.<sup>92</sup> She argued that after 1994 many academics thought that history had been vindicated from the apartheid narrative and that finally history had the opportunity to tell what was previously omitted from South African history. Many practitioners were of the opinion that history after the end of apartheid was poised to rise to new heights, but instead the interest in history declined.<sup>93</sup> T. Nuttall and J. Wright also confirmed the confusion and uncertainty surrounding historians and the discipline when history saw a loss of influence and a sense of direction.<sup>94</sup> Carruthers stated that 'Just as all was looking totally bleak - almost as if history was redundant - 'Heritage' came to the rescue'. She added to that: 'Because if people don't want history, they certainly do want heritage'.<sup>95</sup> One may agree with Rasool's remark that he thought it was as if Carruthers made this statement rather sarcastically.<sup>96</sup> In her e-mail she recalls attending a Heritage Day symposium in celebration of heritage and one specific presentation that was given that she perceived from her perspective as a historian to be 'incorrect, incomplete, biased, in fact, totally ahistorical'.<sup>97</sup>

She continues: The gentleman gave an account of what he considered to be his heritage which necessarily did not mean the heritage of everyone else present. It is from this standpoint that she argues that heritage with its 'many heritages' can be problematic, posing distinct theoretical challenges to the discipline of history, and questioned 'whether they are all valid, or from the standpoint of an academic historian, should 'Heritage' be treated as primary sources or raw data and subjected to evidential scrutiny?'.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> J. Carruthers, 'Heritage and History', AFRICA FORUM #2, H-AFRICA, <http://h-net.msu.edu/>, 20 October 1998, Access: 2012-04-30.

<sup>93</sup> J. Carruthers, 'Heritage and History', AFRICA FORUM #2, H-AFRICA, <http://h-net.msu.edu/>, 20 October 1998, Access: 2012-04-30.

<sup>94</sup> T. Nuttall & J. Wright, Exploring beyond history with a capital 'H', *Current Writing: Text and Reception in Southern Africa*, Vol. 10(2), p. 38.

<sup>95</sup> J. Carruthers, 'Heritage and History', AFRICA FORUM #2, H-AFRICA, <http://h-net.msu.edu/>, 20 October 1998, Access: 2012-04-30.

<sup>96</sup> C. Rasool, The Rise of Heritage and the Reconstitution of History in South Africa, *Kronos*, Vol. 26, 2000, p. 3.

<sup>97</sup> J. Carruthers, 'Heritage and History', AFRICA FORUM #2, H-AFRICA, <http://h-net.msu.edu/>, 20 October 1998, Access: 2012-04-30.

<sup>98</sup> J. Carruthers, 'Heritage and History', AFRICA FORUM #2, H-AFRICA, <http://h-net.msu.edu/>, 20 October 1998, Access: 2012-04-30.

Carruthers seems to agree with Lowenthal's argument that history and heritage are not the same and should not be confused with each other.<sup>99</sup> This is in line with Lowenthal's claim in his article 'Fabricating Heritage':

Heritage should not be confused with history. History seeks to convince by truth and succumbs to falsehood. Heritage exaggerates and omits, candidly invents and frankly forgets, and thrives on ignorance and error.<sup>100</sup>

He then claims that heritage uses historical traces and tells historical tales that are stitched into fables closed to both critical scrutiny and criticism as it is not like history that has facts that can be checked.<sup>101</sup> Carruthers's concluding remark claims that heritage certainly has a purpose, but questions if it is indeed the domain of historians.<sup>102</sup> The second view that Rasool highlighted in contrast to that held by Carruthers, is that of the historians J. Wright and T. Nuttall.<sup>103</sup> They are of the view that there were new ways of thinking about the past and history emerging and that historical knowledge consisted of discourses about the past produced in particular times and places and that notions of fact, truth and reality were far from being absolutes but were social constructs relative also to particular times and places.<sup>104</sup> Building his own view further on this, Rasool states that it can be argued that, history is not simply superior by virtue of archive and peer review, as these conditions are no guarantee that academic history is good history. He continues to suggest that heritage in South Africa is not simply some lesser zone but rather an assemblage of areas and activities of history-making that is as disputatious as the claims made about the character of academic history.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>9999</sup> J. Carruthers, 'Heritage and History', AFRICA FORUM #2, H-AFRICA, <http://h-net.msu.edu/>, 20 October 1998, Access: 2012-04-30.

<sup>100</sup> D. Lowenthal, *Fabricating Heritage*, *History and Memory*, Vol. 10(1), 1998, p. 7.

<sup>101</sup> D. Lowenthal, *Fabricating Heritage*, *History and Memory*, Vol. 10(1), 1998, p. 7.

<sup>102102</sup> J. Carruthers, 'Heritage and History', AFRICA FORUM #2, H-AFRICA, <http://h-net.msu.edu/>, 20 October 1998, Access: 2012-04-30.

<sup>103</sup> T. Nuttall & J. Wright, Exploring beyond history with a capital 'H', *Current Writing: Text and Reception in Southern Africa*, Vol. 10(2), p. 38-61.

<sup>104</sup> C. Rasool, The Rise of Heritage and the Reconstitution of History in South Africa, *Kronos*, Vol. 26, 2000, p. 4.

<sup>105</sup> C. Rasool, The Rise of Heritage and the Reconstitution of History in South Africa, *Kronos*, Vol. 26, 2000, p. 4.

Historian C. Kros also initially sees ~~h~~History and ~~h~~Heritage as opposed to each other. Comparing the emotion of heritage with the lack thereof in history, she sees a ~~g~~ulf between history and heritage. She then admits that despite her initial first impressions, both history and heritage have everything to learn from one another.<sup>106</sup>

Heritage is what we construe as our own personal past and being such a diverse nation, what each one of us considers heritage in South Africa cannot possibly be seen as the exact same perception of a fellow South African. We come from different cultures and different backgrounds and this inevitably often leads to conflict. Heritage can therefore be seen as being extremely biased in comparison to history, where historians strive to be unbiased through checking accuracy and minimizing bias as inescapable but deplorable.<sup>107</sup> In the words of Kros, ~~h~~istory fancies itself as a serious discipline that shuns feelings that are too easily bought or exchanged.<sup>108</sup>

It is interesting to note that Lowenthal argues that heritage makes use of ~~h~~istorical traces and tells historical tales, but it is not ~~h~~erudition thus not checkable as fact when history is not exactly always ~~h~~erudition either. History is not always perfectly open, as sources get hoarded, archives get locked away, critics are denied access, misdeeds are erased and so on. However this being said, most historians condemn concealment whereas in contrast, heritage restricts messages to a select group whose private property it is.<sup>109</sup>

In contrast, history tells all who will listen what has happened and how things came to be as they are, while heritage passes on exclusive myths of origin and endurance, endowing the select few with prestige and purpose benefiting them by being withheld from others.<sup>110</sup> Lowenthal encapsulates this in the following quote:

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<sup>106</sup> C. Kros, Heritage Vs History: the end of a noble tradition?, *Historia*, Vol. 48(1), 2003, p. 335.

<sup>107</sup> D. Lowenthal, History and Memory, *The Public Historian*, Vol. 19(2), 1997, p. 32.

<sup>108</sup> C. Kros, Heritage Vs History: the end of a noble tradition?, *Historia*, Vol. 48(1), 2003, p. 327.

<sup>109</sup> D. Lowenthal, Fabricating Heritage, *History and Memory*, Vol. 10(1), 1998, pp. 7- 8.

<sup>110</sup> D. Lowenthal, Fabricating Heritage, *History and Memory*, Vol. 10(1), 1998, pp. 7- 8.

Heritage keeps outsiders at bay by baffling and offensive claims of superiority. Being clannish is essential to group survival and well-being. Bonding within and exclusion beyond the group stem from faith not reason: we exalt heritage not because it is true but because it ought to be. To exclude others, heritage cannot be universally true; to those beyond the pale its tenets must defy reason.<sup>111</sup>

Heritage involves preserving pieces, judged in terms of their ability to link past to present,<sup>112</sup> but heritage also implies a particular way of linking to the past.<sup>113</sup> D. Cosgrove summarises this as follows:

People do not write, read or relate heritage. Heritage is, rather, curated and conserved, possessed and performed. Heritage is artefactual more than textual; it is realized in material objects such as works of art or craft, tools and buildings, sites, special places and even whole landscapes, or else it is performed in speech or dress, in ritual, ceremony, dance or song.<sup>114</sup>

Furthermore, the question of whose version of history gets institutionalized and disseminated as public history is a political one. Public history embodies not only ideas about history, the relation of past, present and future, but also ideas about the public the relationship of diverse groups in a political society.<sup>115</sup> South Africa has gone through different phases since 1994, attempting to create a new historical dynamic driven by the target of equal rights and better living environment.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> D. Lowenthal, *Fabricating Heritage*, *History and Memory*, Vol. 10(1), 1998, p. 8

<sup>112</sup> P. Wright as cited in J. McGregor and L. Schumaker, *Heritage in Southern Africa: Imagining and Marketing Public Culture and History*, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 32(4), Dec 2006, p. 650.

<sup>113</sup> J. McGregor and L. Schumaker, *Heritage in Southern Africa: Imagining and Marketing Public Culture and History*, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 32(4), Dec 2006, p. 650.

<sup>114</sup> D. Cosgrove, 2003 as cited in J. McGregor and L. Schumaker, *Heritage in Southern Africa: Imagining and Marketing Public Culture and History*, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 32(4), Dec 2006, p. 650.

<sup>115</sup> D. Glassberg, *Public History and the Study of Memory*, *The Public Historian*, Vol 18 (2) 1996, p.11.

<sup>116</sup> E. Stolten (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, 2007, p. 5.

Histories, along with museums, monuments and preserved artifacts have always tended to record and portray the achievements and ideals of the dominant class.<sup>117</sup> In South Africa the situation was no different, in fact during segregation and apartheid, the recording of South African history was marked by the absence of black historians as was their history. Black South Africans were basically written out of history during the previous racial order, often appearing as passive players in a white dominated history narrative.<sup>118</sup>

Apartheid education discredited institutionalised history and many black South Africans came to perceive history as something with which they could not identify.<sup>119</sup> Since the transition to democracy, South Africa's past, both in terms of heritage and history, has been subjected to intense public scrutiny, and public intellectuals have contested competing versions of the South African past.<sup>120</sup> As a consequence, new history books have and are being written and studied, historical events are publicly reinterpreted, and school curricula are being changed as the actions of black South Africans play a more important if not dominant role in a new national narrative.<sup>121</sup> Under these circumstances, the neglected heritages are said to vie for a place in the new national heritage.<sup>122</sup> The recording and writing of the official national history of South Africa during apartheid was thus exceedingly biased and one-sided. H. E. Stolten explains this as follows:

With a political climate that did not exactly invite critical intellectual questioning and an official regime ideology based on a view of history, which saw the white man as destined to superiority, it is not surprising that the great majority of South Africans, already excluded from parliamentary political life, were also denied access to

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<sup>117</sup> R. Hewison, *Heritage An Interpretation*, in D. Uzzell (ed.), *Heritage Interpretation, Volume One*, p. 22.

<sup>118</sup> A. Drew, "1920 and all that": Facts and the writing of South African historiography in H. E. Stolten (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, 2007, p. 348.

<sup>119</sup> A. Drew, "1920 and all that": Facts and the writing of South African historiography in H.E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa* 2007, p. 334

<sup>120</sup> H.E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, 2007, p. 6-7.

<sup>121</sup> M. Vestergaard, Who's Got the Map? The Negotiation of Afrikaner Identities in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *Daedalus*, Vol. 130(1), 2001.

<sup>122</sup> S. Pitchford, *Identity Tourism Imaging and Imagining the Nation*, 2008, p. 82.

their own history. The whites had colonized history and their restricted education did not give black people any feeling of a past they could identify with.<sup>123</sup>

It was earlier mentioned that after 1994 South Africa saw a decline in the interest in history and the making and practice of history had been called sharply into question.<sup>124</sup> This was mainly due to political, economic and cultural shifts which had both national and international implications.<sup>125</sup> The 1990s saw history as a field of study decline, struggling to attract students, teachers or inter-institutional resources. It was not just that history was not useful nor that it failed to lead to obvious employment; it was also experienced by many students as a source of discomfort and embarrassment.<sup>126</sup>

At the same time, history as a subject in the school syllabus saw an interim history syllabus for schools which revealed no attempts at re-conceptualizing the past nor asking first principle questions followed by Curriculum 2005 (promulgated in 1996) which removed all reference to history from the curriculum,<sup>127</sup> merging it into a study of social science.

The Minister of Education (from June 1999 to April 2004), Mr. Kader Asmal who saw the relevance of the past necessary to create a more liberated present took steps to reverse the more egregious consequences of Curriculum 2005, and the outcome was the South African History Project.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> H.E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, p. 23.

<sup>124</sup> C. Bundy, 'New nation, new History? Constructing the past in post-apartheid South Africa', in H.E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa* 2007, p. 75.

<sup>125</sup> T. Nuttal & J. Wright, Probing the Predicaments of Academic History in Contemporary South Africa, *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 42(1), 2009, p. 27.

<sup>126</sup> C. Bundy, 'New nation, new History? Constructing the past in post-apartheid South Africa', in H.E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, 2007, p. 73.

<sup>127</sup> C. Kros as cited in C. Bundy, 'New nation, new History? Constructing the past in post-apartheid South Africa' in H.E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa* 2007, p. 76.

<sup>128</sup> C. Bundy, 'New nation, new History? Constructing the past in post-apartheid South Africa', in H.E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, 2007, pp. 76-77.

According to Wright and Nuttal, <sup>129</sup>At the societal level, professional history was affected by developments in the political/public realm in South Africa in a number of linked ways. South African historians who had been in various ways <sup>129</sup>caught up in the deep and narrow groove of *struggle history* now found themselves at a loss.<sup>129</sup> But not only did the political climate and changes play an integral role in history and for historians after 1994, but also before that. Wright and Nuttal claim that <sup>130</sup>from at least the early 1960s, and perhaps longer, the development, consolidation, and restructuring of the apartheid order increasingly influenced the ways in which history was produced in South Africa.<sup>130</sup>

During the 1970s South Africa saw a swift growth of robustly anti-apartheid Marxist influences in some South African universities, and the ensuing successful widening of the range of debates among academic historians.<sup>131</sup> But whatever standpoints they had, whether they saw themselves as Afrikaner Nationalists, Liberals, Marxists, Conservatives, Radicals, or Revisionists,<sup>132</sup> in one form or another, all historians of South Africa were required by the pressure of events to take a standpoint on the politics of the day.<sup>133</sup>

The extent to which academic historians of different opinions became involved in fighting political battles on the terrain of their discipline meant that when the political climate suddenly began to change, as happened from 1990, <sup>134</sup>many of them, on the right and on the left alike, were <sup>134</sup>left without clear academic agendas.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> T. Nuttal & J. Wright, Exploring beyond history with a capital 'H', *Current Writing: Text and Reception in Southern Africa*, Vol. 10(2), 1998, pp. 40-41.

<sup>130</sup> T. Nuttal & J. Wright, Exploring beyond history with a capital 'H', *Current Writing: Text and Reception in Southern Africa*, Vol. 10(2), 1998, pp. 40-41.

<sup>131</sup> T. Nuttall & J. Wright, Exploring beyond history with a capital 'H', *Current Writing: Text and Reception in Southern Africa*, Vol. 10(2), 1998, pp. 40-41.

<sup>132</sup> T. Nuttall & J. Wright, Exploring beyond history with a capital 'H', *Current Writing: Text and Reception in Southern Africa*, Vol. 10(2), 1998, pp. 40-41.

<sup>133</sup> A. Drew, '1992 and All That: Facts and the writing of South African political history', in H.E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa 2007*, p. 334.

<sup>134</sup> T. Nuttall & J. Wright, Exploring beyond history with a capital 'H', *Current Writing: Text and Reception in Southern Africa*, Vol. 10(2), 1998, pp. 40-41.

The new South African political nation has been born in the cold and harsh climate of economic globalisation. The new government's shift from its Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) to its Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy marks the extent to which it has responded to this climate. The past, especially one filled with so many conflicts, is something to be smoothed over if one is to attract foreign capital investment. A new nation needed to be forged.<sup>135</sup>

This is when the South African government switched its focus to social identity, ethnicity, race, citizenship, nationality and nationhood.<sup>136</sup> A. Cobley argues that it started seeing history as a tool for nation-building.<sup>137</sup> Less value was placed in the public sphere on history concerned with conflict and more value was placed on history as state-sponsored and commercial heritage and legacy projects.<sup>138</sup>

Heritage studies has been a major growth area in South African universities<sup>139</sup> and the heritage industry invokes a sentimentalised past which makes bearable a sordid and painful present.<sup>140</sup> In the light of these developments C. Bundy asserted that history, as interpreter of the past, cohabits uneasily with its common-law partners, heritage and commemoration.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> T. Nuttall & J. Wright, Exploring beyond history with a capital 'H', *Current Writing: Text and Reception in Southern Africa*, Vol. 10(2), 1998, p. 32.

<sup>136</sup> C. Bundy, 'New nation, new History? Constructing the past in post-apartheid South Africa', in H.E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa* 2007, p. 79.

<sup>137</sup> A. Cobley, Does Social History have a Future? The Ending of Apartheid and Recent Trends in South African Historiography, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 27(3), 2001, p. 264.

<sup>138</sup> T. Nuttall & S. Wright as cited in C. Bundy, 'New nation, new History? Constructing the past in post-apartheid South Africa', in H.E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, 2007, p. 79.

<sup>139</sup> A. Cobley, Does Social History have a Future? The Ending of Apartheid and Recent Trends in South African Historiography, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 27 (3), 2001, p. 624.

<sup>140</sup> J. Guy as cited in C. Bundy, 'New nation, new History? Constructing the past in post-apartheid South Africa', in H.E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, 2007, p. 79.

<sup>141</sup> C. Bundy, 'New nation, new History? Constructing the past in post-apartheid South Africa', in H.E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, 2007, p. 79.

In the face of the diminished value placed on conflict history, Carruthers makes an interesting point. The heritage sector is capable of providing an opportunity through which to promote a rational understanding of the past. % interpretations are left to politicians, it is possible to end up with yet another state-sponsored and politically coloured version of ~~what happened~~.<sup>142</sup> She further points out that new and fresh topics and alliances among scholars draw new audiences that may be attracted to historical studies.<sup>143</sup>

On the other hand, from a political point of view, the African Renaissance theme, spearheaded by former President Mbeki, looked at the % birth and renewal of our continent+, placing more emphasis on the role Africans have played in the history.<sup>144</sup> The % new African world+ which the African Renaissance seeks to build is one of % democracy, peace and stability, sustainable development and a better life for all people, non-racism and non-sexism, equality among nations, and a just and democratic system of intergovernmental governance+.<sup>145</sup> As South Africa works to recreate itself, restructuring and transforming, choices about whose heritage to showcase will undoubtedly continue to be debated with passion.<sup>146</sup>

It is evident that % while history as a critical discipline has had a rough ride in South Africa since 1994, the heritage industry+ has boomed as efforts have been made to correct the inherited legacies of the past+.<sup>147</sup> While there has been an increased interest in heritage in South Africa due to the restructuring process and political changes in the country, heritage world-wide in general has also seen an increased interest. There are two important sides to the role of heritage in the South African society.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> J. Carruthers, The Changing Shape and Scope of Southern African Historical Studies, *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 62(2), 2010, pp. 390 -391.

<sup>143</sup> J. Carruthers, The Changing Shape and Scope of Southern African Historical Studies, *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 62(2), 2010, pp. 390 -391.

<sup>144</sup> H. Soodyall, Genes, ancestry and history in S. Jeppie (ed.), *Toward New Histories for South Africa*, 2004, p. 37.

<sup>145</sup> H. Soodyall, Genes, ancestry and history in S. Jeppie (ed.), *Toward New Histories for South Africa*, 2004, p. 37.

<sup>146</sup> S. Pitchford, *Identity Tourism Imaging and Imagining the Nation*, 2008.

<sup>147</sup> H. E. Stolten (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, p. 183.

<sup>148</sup> DAC, *National Policy on South African Living Heritage*, March 2009.

The first is the protection of heritage as a valuable resource for future generations and the second is the achievement of social cohesion. The Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) explains it as follows:

Sustaining and promoting South African forms of living heritage can help promote a positive African identity within a globalizing world. It will also address tensions between tradition and modernity. Living heritage provides people with a sense of identity and continuity within communities. Understanding common features of cultural traditions across South Africa can also foster national unity and pride, while maintaining respect for human rights. Living heritage based on the African philosophy of ubuntu can promote a sense of common responsibility<sup>149</sup>

As N. Glover argues, the use of history and historians in nation-state matters such as the creation, expression, and representation is firmly established. He claims that the narrative of a common past is arguably the single most successful and palpable way to legitimate the shape of a common present and future.<sup>150</sup> C. Kros endorses this in her claim that %in South Africa, history has been strongly implicated in the making of a nationqby portraying the sufferings and wrongs of the past, but it always made a point of relying on an extensive archive and empirical procedures.+<sup>151</sup> Noted historian E. Hobsbawm interestingly makes a key link between the historian and the public domain of heritage by saying that %historians are to nationalism what poppy-growers in Pakistan are to heroin-addicts: we supply the essential raw material for the market.+<sup>152</sup> It is both in the context of this disjuncture, and one may argue cohesion, between history and heritage that this study addresses South African current portrayal of heritage and cultural tourism.

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<sup>149</sup> DAC, *National Policy on South African Living Heritage*, March, 2009.

<sup>150</sup> N. Glover, Co-produced Histories: Mapping the Uses and Narratives of History in the Tourist Age, *The Public Historian*, Vol. 30(1), Feb 2008, pp. 106-107.

<sup>151</sup> C. Kros, Heritage Vs History: the end of a noble tradition?, *Historia*, Vol. 48(1), 2003, p. 327.

<sup>152</sup> E. Hobsbawm as cited in N. Glover, Co-produced Histories: Mapping the Uses and Narratives of History in the Tourist Age, *The Public Historian*, Vol. 30(1), Feb 2008, p. 107.

## CHAPTER 3:

### HERITAGE, CULTURE AND IDENTITY SHAPING IN SOUTH AFRICA

Since 1994, following the country's first democratic election and the transition to democracy, South Africa has been faced with a difficult challenge of building a new South African identity after apartheid left a nation divided by racial discrimination and suffering from political, social and economic oppression.<sup>153</sup> The African National Congress (ANC), as the new South African government, set out to implement its strategic objective of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) which was to create a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society, in essence meaning the liberation of Africans in particular and black people in general from political and economic bondage, thus uplifting the quality of life of all South Africans, especially the poor.<sup>154</sup> Faced with the inequalities left by apartheid, the ANC-led government saw as a key objective the eradication of racism and discrimination and the healing of the deep racial and ethnic divisions fracturing the nation's soul.<sup>155</sup>

At the heart of this effort at national reconciliation is the government's project of nation building.<sup>156</sup> The much evolved nation building is understood as an approach by the state to promote national identity in order to promote unity and social cohesion within the state, which is usually done with the intent of enhancing the legitimacy, stability and capacity of state institutions.<sup>157</sup> More specifically, national identity can be seen as a very personal concept as each individual draw upon a range of different identities accessible to them in order to create their own sense of identity of who they are, where they come from and how they fit in.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> H. Pieterse, In Search of a Nation, *Safundi*, 2002, Vol. 3(1), pp. 1-18; S. Nanda, South African Museums and the Creation of a new National Identity, *American Anthropologist, New Series*, 106 (2), 2004, pp. 379-380; A.T. Stinson, *National Identity and Nation-Building in Post- Apartheid South Africa*, MA Thesis, Rhodes University, 2009, p. 5.

<sup>154</sup> ANC 1997, All Power to the People! Building on the Foundation for a Better Life, *Strategy and Tactics of the African National Congress*, 1 July, 1997.

<sup>155</sup> H. Pieterse, In Search of a Nation, *Safundi*, 2002, Vol. 3(1), p. 1.

<sup>156</sup> H. Pieterse, In Search of a Nation, *Safundi*, 2002, Vol. 3(1), pp. 1-18.

<sup>157</sup> A.T. Stinson, *National Identity and Nation-Building in Post- Apartheid South Africa*, MA Thesis, Rhodes University, 2009, p. 12.

<sup>158</sup> C. Palmer, Tourism and Symbols of Identity, *Tourism Management*, Vol. 20, 1999, p. 314.

Identity can be understood as:

A social construction through which people acquire meaning and a sense of belonging. Common platforms for identity are seen in gender, race, ethnicity, language, religion, history, class and geography. Identities may exist within personal, sub-national, national as well as supra-national spheres.<sup>159</sup>

An individual's personal identity is nothing short of complex and therefore he/she may have many shared interests with not only one group but with many, identifying with a variety of different groups through common interests. It is commonly agreed as A.T. Stinson argues that %with the many platforms and spheres of identity available, most people hold more than one identity at the same time.<sup>160</sup> It is also important to note that although shared interests, ideologies or traits may be an encouraging factor in the formation or acceptance of group identity, it does not necessarily mean that a sense of collective identity will be adopted based on these aspects.

Collective identity is said to refer to an individual's connection with a broader community, category, practice or institution.<sup>161</sup> It is therefore argued that an individual will foster a sense of identity when a sense of connection is felt to other people who share the same interests, ideologies or traits.<sup>162</sup> South African national identity during apartheid was defined to be conflict-ridden and divided due to the racial divisions that existed and groups of colour were not allowed and excluded from obtaining formal citizenship.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>159</sup> E. Bornman, 2003 as cited in A.T. Stinson, *National Identity and Nation-Building in Post- Apartheid South Africa*, MA Thesis, Rhodes University, 2009, p. 8.

<sup>160</sup> A.T. Stinson, *National Identity and Nation-Building in Post- Apartheid South Africa*, MA Thesis, Rhodes University, 2009, p. 8.

<sup>161</sup> F. Polletta & J. Jasper, 2001 as cited in A.T. Stinson, *National Identity and Nation-Building in Post- Apartheid South Africa*, MA Thesis, Rhodes University, 2009, p. 8.

<sup>162</sup> F. Polletta & J. Jasper, 2001 as cited in A.T. Stinson, *National Identity and Nation-Building in Post- Apartheid South Africa*, MA Thesis, Rhodes University, 2009, p. 8.

<sup>163</sup> L. Eaton, 2002 as cited in E. Bornman, *Emerging Patterns of Social Identification in Postapartheid South Africa*, *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 66(2), 2010, p. 239.

Two main classifications of nations existed during apartheid namely Black ethnic groups as separate nations apart from the White nation with other races not being accorded any specific national identity.<sup>164</sup>

Since national identity is argued to be defined in most cases by the dominant group, excluding others from the centre of power, the construction of a white South African identity was based on who controlled the state and who had privileged access to resources.<sup>165</sup> Furthermore, it is argued that countries require most of their citizens to adopt a common sense of nationhood as a requirement for the successful functioning of the state to ensure civil stability.<sup>166</sup> Thus following the end of apartheid and the establishment of a newly democratic state, the South African nation was in need of a new common national identity and nationhood. In order to overcome the division and injustices of apartheid it was necessary to foster a unified national identity.<sup>167</sup>

The need for new national and community narratives, especially after the change from an oppressive to a democratic regime is not unique to South Africa, the necessary process of remembering and interpreting periods of oppression and political violence is often encountered when societies undergo considerable change.<sup>168</sup>

Changes in identity structures often concur with changes in the social and political environment such as re-arrangements regarding the composition of groups, the social organization of groups in the context, a revision of ideologies, disturbances in the social environment that disrupt existing group relations,

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<sup>164</sup> L. Eaton, South African national identity: A research agenda for Social Psychologists, *South African Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 32(1), 2002.

<sup>165</sup> G. Baines, The Rainbow Nation? Identity and nation building in post-apartheid South Africa, *Mots Pluriels*, No. 7, 1998, <http://motspluriels.arts.uwa.edu.au/MP798gb.html>, s.a. Access: 2012-02-04.

<sup>166</sup> L. Eaton, South African national identity: A research agenda for Social Psychologists, *South African Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 32(1), 2002, p. 46.

<sup>167</sup> A.T. Stinson, *National Identity and Nation-Building in Post- Apartheid South Africa*, MA Thesis, Rhodes University, 2009, p. 5.

<sup>168</sup> J. O'Reilly, Memories in Transition: Memory and Museums in the "New" South Africa, *The Journal of Museum Education*, Vol. 29(2/3), Museums of Memory (Spring/Summer), 2004, p. 12.

and/or a re-evaluation of the characteristics that society associates with particular groups. Social and/or political change usually compels individuals to confront and re-evaluate their alliances with particular groups.<sup>169</sup>

An ideology of new nationalism and/or nation building was consequently perceived as the next rational step to breach the gap left by apartheid.<sup>170</sup> The South African government wanted to build a new national identity, acknowledging cultural difference and accommodate group identities through its nation-building project, in essence focusing on a dramatic socio-economic transformation.<sup>171</sup> It was political transformation that ultimately led to the creation of the fundamental concept of a new South Africa within the nation-building initiative.<sup>172</sup>

The ideal of unity among the diverse mixture of South African people is captured and embodied in new national symbols and the metaphor of the Rainbow Nation<sup>173</sup>. It was Archbishop Desmond Tutu at a celebration commemorating the new nation that introduced the rainbow nation concept in South Africa as a symbol of reconciliation and unity among all the diverse people in the nation.<sup>174</sup> Symbolizing the new South Africa, the rainbow's colours more specifically symbolize the diversity of South Africa's unspecified cultural/ethnic/racial groups.<sup>175</sup> The rainbow nation concept has become so well known that it is almost considered a symbol of pride competing with the flag as a national symbol.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> E. Bornman, 2006 as cited in E. Bornman, Emerging Patterns of Social Identification in Postapartheid South Africa, *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 66(2), 2010, p. 239.

<sup>170</sup> E. Bornman 2006 as cited in E. Bornman, Emerging Patterns of Social Identification in Postapartheid South Africa, *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 66, No. 2, 2010, p. 239.

<sup>171</sup> G. Baines, The Rainbow Nation? Identity and nation building in post-apartheid South Africa, *Mots Pluriels*, No. 7, 1998, <http://motspluriels.arts.uwa.edu.au/MP798gb.html>, s.a. Access: 2012-02-04.

<sup>172</sup> E. Bornman, Emerging Patterns of Social Identification in Postapartheid South Africa, *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 66(2), 2010, p. 239.

<sup>173</sup> E. Bornman, 2006 as cited in E. Bornman, Emerging Patterns of Social Identification in Postapartheid South Africa, *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 66(2), 2010, p. 239.

<sup>174</sup> V. Møller, H. Dickow, M. Harris, South Africa's "Rainbow People", National Pride and Happiness, *Social Indicators Research*, Vol. 47 (3), July 1999, pp. 245, 280.

<sup>175</sup> G. Baines, The Rainbow Nation? Identity and nation building in post-apartheid South Africa, *Mots Pluriels*, No. 7, 1998, <http://motspluriels.arts.uwa.edu.au/MP798gb.html>, s.a. Access: 2012-02-04.

<sup>176</sup> V. Møller, H. Dickow, & M. Harris, South Africa's "Rainbow People", National Pride and Happiness, *Social Indicators Research*, Vol. 47(3), (Jul., 1999), p. 246.

As has been pointed out by L. Eaton, "Until 1994 the South African national symbols of the flag and anthem represented only the White English and Afrikaans group identities and cultural heritage, to the total exclusion of all others."<sup>177</sup>

In order to build a new nation, South Africa had to confront the past and all the inequality and injustices that it entailed. The first step in addressing this was done through the process undertaken by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), set up by the government of National Unity to help heal what transpired under apartheid.<sup>178</sup> More specifically, the TRC was established to "provide an opportunity for South Africans to share the memories, guilt and sadness of their recent past, and to emerge united in their efforts to build a new nation."<sup>179</sup> The TRC proceedings were widely reported and became a significant part of the popular culture, collective memory and acts of remembering of post-apartheid South Africa.<sup>180</sup> This culture was further reinforced and institutionalized in a variety of forms such as art; memorial projects; and new local and national museums devoted to remembering the struggle and the people and events connected with it.<sup>181</sup>

Further attempts to build this new inclusive nation, government has amongst others created new national symbols such as the national flag in 1994, the national anthem in 1996 and developed a new national coat of arms.<sup>182</sup> Launching the new Coat of Arms in 2000 the national government aimed to give new meaning to the national discourse about culture, nation-building and social cohesion, representing a South African dialogue of heritage symbols of Africa, the West and humanity.<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> L. Eaton, South African national identity: A research agenda for Social Psychologists, *South African Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 32(1), 2002, p. 45.

<sup>178</sup> J. O'Reilly, Memories in Transition: Memory and Museums in the "New" South Africa, *The Journal of Museum Education*, Vol. 29(2/3), Museums of Memory (Spring/Summer), 2004, p. 12.

<sup>179</sup> A.T. Stinson, *National Identity and Nation-Building in Post- Apartheid South Africa*, MA Thesis, Rhodes University, 2009, p. 37.

<sup>180</sup> J. O'Reilly, Memories in Transition: Memory and Museums in the "New" South Africa, *The Journal of Museum Education*, Vol. 29(2/3), Museums of Memory (Spring/Summer), 2004, p. 12.

<sup>181</sup> J. O'Reilly, Memories in Transition: Memory and Museums in the "New" South Africa, *The Journal of Museum Education*, Vol. 29(2/3), Museums of Memory (Spring/Summer), 2004, p. 12.

<sup>182</sup> A.T. Stinson, *National Identity and Nation-Building in Post- Apartheid South Africa*, MA Thesis, Rhodes University, 2009, p. 39.

<sup>183</sup> H. C. Bredekamp, 'The Cultural Heritage of democratic South Africa: An Overview', Iziko Museums of Cape Town, 2007, DISSANET, <http://www.dissanet.com/ifla/pdf/LIASA%2001%20Bredekamp.pdf>, s.a. Access: 2012-05-18.

Furthermore, eleven official languages were legalized for the state and national celebrations such as Heritage Day were recreated.<sup>184</sup> Since 1996 Heritage Day is celebrated on September 24<sup>th</sup> to give recognition to the vastly diverse cultural heritage which contributes to South African society and has recently been informally re-branded as National Braai Day celebrating what is now seen as an expression of South African culture.<sup>185</sup> In the pre-1994 period, December 16<sup>th</sup> was celebrated as the Day of the Vow in remembrance of the 1838 victory by the Voortrekker forces over the Battle of Blood River during apartheid. However by 1994, this holiday was redefined as a Day of Reconciliation with the aim of promoting national unity rising above South Africa's violent and conflict-ridden past.<sup>186</sup>

The changing of place names has been another form of nation building, although it has been criticized as being more a form of banal nationalism.<sup>187</sup> However, place names are a political instrument used to link place and identity.<sup>188</sup> This form of dualism is reflected in the following quote:

Place is used as a noun to denote location with what is located there. Place names play a major role in the creation of a positive or negative sense of place. In a society characterized by a multiplicity of diverse political and cultural values, changes in place names can be a unifying or dividing catalyst. In this regard, place names may be used as symbols to mobilize and develop a political and historical consciousness of common identity.<sup>189</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> E. Bornman 2006 as cited in A.T. Stinson, *National Identity and Nation-Building in Post- Apartheid South Africa*, MA Thesis, Rhodes University, 2009, p. 37.

<sup>185</sup> A.T. Stinson, *National Identity and Nation-Building in Post- Apartheid South Africa*, MA Thesis, Rhodes University, 2009, p. 39.

<sup>186</sup> A.T. Stinson, *National Identity and Nation-Building in Post- Apartheid South Africa*, MA Thesis, Rhodes University, 2009, p. 39.

<sup>187</sup> A.T. Stinson, *National Identity and Nation-Building in Post- Apartheid South Africa*, MA Thesis, Rhodes University, 2009, p. 40.

<sup>188</sup> S. Guyot and C. Seethal, Identity of Place, Places of Identities: Change of Place Names in Post-Apartheid South Africa, *South African Geographical Journal* , Vol. 89(1), 2007, pp. 55- 63.

<sup>189</sup> S.Guyot and C. Seethal, Identity of Place, Places of Identities: Change of Place Names in Post-Apartheid South Africa, *South African Geographical Journal* , Vol. 89(1), 2007, p. 56.

When one looks at the overall name changes in South Africa they have been largely restricted to street naming, correction spelling errors of names, rectifying incorrect (or corrupted) transcriptions of indigenous names during colonialism, and the introduction of names seeking to legitimize the new political regime.<sup>190</sup> Since 1994 the names of provinces such as Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo, Mpumalanga and other geographical locations such as O.R. Tambo International Airport have been altered to be more representative of an African history or representation.<sup>191</sup> These changes and new creations of names of places and spaces take place at different levels such as suburb, village, town, city, municipality, district, province and country.<sup>192</sup> The changes in place names can be a unifying or a dividing catalyst, especially where multiple and diverse political and cultural values exist.<sup>193</sup>

A good example of how re-naming can be unifying or divide is evident in a newspaper article in the *Beeld*, where Dr. Gwen Ramokgopa, the then executive city councilor of Tshwane- metropolitan council was quoted as saying, 'Nobody is going to stop the ANC from changing the city to the city of freedom and unity.'<sup>194</sup> Dr. Ramokgopa emphasized that the council would change street names in Pretoria. Twenty-seven streets which give offence due to their colonial and apartheid connotations in Pretoria have been identified for name changes and this process has now been implemented.<sup>195</sup> In this regard, place names may be used as symbols to mobilize and develop a political and historical consciousness of common identity.<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> S.Guyot and C. Seethal, Identity of Place, Places of Identities: Change of Place Names in Post-Apartheid South Africa, *South African Geographical Journal*, Vol. 89(1), 2007, pp. 55- 63.

<sup>191</sup> A.T. Stinson, *National Identity and Nation-Building in Post- Apartheid South Africa*, MA Thesis, Rhodes University, 2009, p. 40.

<sup>192</sup> S.Guyot and C. Seethal, Identity of Place, Places of Identities: Change of Place Names in Post-Apartheid South Africa, *South African Geographical Journal*, Vol. 89(1), 2007, pp. 55- 63.

<sup>193</sup> S. Guyot & C. Seethal, Identity of Place, Places of Identities: Change of Place Names in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *South African Geographical Journal*, Vol. 89(1), 2007, p. 57.

<sup>194</sup> C. Claasens, 'ANC sal Pta stad van Vryheid en eenheid maak', *Die Beeld*, 2008-11-01, p. 6.

<sup>195</sup> C. Claasens, 'ANC sal Pta stad van Vryheid en eenheid maak', *Die Beeld*, 2008-11-01, p. 6.

<sup>196</sup> S. Guyot & C. Seethal, Identity of Place, Places of Identities: Change of Place Names in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *South African Geographical Journal*, Vol. 89(1), 2007, p. 57.

The controversies and questions that surround these old and new names reveal the contested and constructed nature of nation building in South Africa today.<sup>197</sup> Many South Africans feel that their heritage is being altered and removed through the changing of names, while other South Africans feel their heritage is finally being recognized.

It is also therefore not surprising that heritage forms an integral part in the government's nation-building initiatives towards the aim of building a new common national South African identity. As indicated earlier, heritage has since the late twentieth century gained new significance on an international scale becoming a vital element in the construction of personal and group identities as more people seek to locate themselves within specific historical trajectories and understandings of the past.<sup>198</sup> The term heritage in its most commonly understood sense: what which is inherited from one's ancestors, is typically also used on a national scale referring to how the national past is expressed and presented in the present.<sup>199</sup> It plays an important role in the formation of identity as people have always had the need to refer to their history in order to ensure the continuity of a common identity that evolves over time.<sup>200</sup> In the UNESCO guide for African local governments, the sentiment is spelled out as follows:

Heritage as a collective property conveys the history of a people, a city, or a territory, and is transmitted from one generation to the next making it possible for the present generations to understand their place in history and to better cope with the constant mutations in society, it is an element of stability in a rapidly changing world.<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> A. Crampton, The Voortrekker Monument, The birth of apartheid and beyond, *Political Geography*, Vol. 20, 2001, pp. 221-246.

J.D. Bohland & E. Hague, Heritage and Identity, *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, 2009, p. 109.

<sup>198</sup> J.D. Bohland & E. Hague, Heritage and Identity, *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, 2009, p. 109.

<sup>199</sup> J.D. Bohland & E. Hague, Heritage and Identity, *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, 2009, p. 109

<sup>200</sup> Craterre-ENSAG / Convention France – UNESCO, *Cultural Heritage & Local Development: A Guide for African Local Governments*, 2006, p. 26.

<sup>201</sup> Craterre-ENSAG / Convention France -UNESCO, *Cultural Heritage & Local Development: A Guide for African Local Governments*, 2006, p. 26.

Since the late twentieth century, heritage has increasingly become a focus for political organizations seeking to advance the fortunes of specific ethnic and cultural groups. This makes it an important aspect of individual and group identities, having definitional power and providing a political focus for garnering support.<sup>202</sup> J. Deacon argues that this point explains how South Africa's apartheid era's usage of heritage for colonial and white history to the disadvantage of the heritage of indigenous peoples was not something unique or new.<sup>203</sup>

Consequently a major challenge to all black South Africans in post-apartheid South Africa is to restore what is termed as African pride, culture and identity. It is argued that one way to accomplish this is to understand evolutionary history through genetic heritage.<sup>204</sup> Pride in African history and identity and the role of heritage in creating this pride and building a sense of identity, needs to be nurtured in South Africa so that all the diverse histories of our people can be celebrated.<sup>205</sup>

S. C. Johnson argues that the issue of the connection between heritage, history and memory is an important one that has been subject to much debate among geographers, historians and cultural critics. Conventionally a rigid line of separation ran between the past as written by professional historians versus the past as written by the heritage industry.<sup>206</sup> Heritage, as a concept, begins with the idiomatic idea of personal inheritance. Taken further than that, the heritage industry has more often than not been viewed as a means for re-inscribing nationalist narratives in the popular imagination.<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>202</sup> J.D. Bohland & E. Hague, Heritage and Identity, *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, 2009, p. 109.

<sup>203</sup> J. Deacon, 'Heritage and African History' in S. Jeppie (ed.), *Toward New Histories for South Africa*, 2004, p. 117.

<sup>204</sup> H. Soodyall, 'Genes, ancestry and history' in S. Jeppie (ed.), *Toward New Histories for South Africa*, 2004, p. 38.

<sup>205</sup> J. Deacon, 'Heritage and African History' in S. Jeppie (ed.), *Toward New Histories for South Africa*, 2004, p. 117.

<sup>206</sup> S. C. Johnson, Framing the past: time, space and the politics of heritage tourism in Ireland, *Political Geography*, Vol. 18, 1999, pp. 187-207.

<sup>207</sup> S. C. Johnson, Framing the past: time, space and the politics of heritage tourism in Ireland, *Political Geography*, Vol. 18, 1999, pp. 187-207.

D. Lowenthal argues that:

Heritage distills the past into icons of identity, bonding us with precursors and progenitors, with our own earlier selves, and with promised successors. As such, the historical narratives transmitted through heritage are seen to be selective, partial and distorting. They offer a ~~logus~~ history which ignores complex historical processes and relationships, and sanitizes the less savory dimensions of the past.<sup>208</sup>

He also claims that remembering the past is crucial to our identity, to know what we were, confirms what we are. Self-continuity depends wholly on memory, recalling past experiences links us with our earlier selves, however different we may since have become.<sup>209</sup> This idea is supported by A. Brink who stated that the individual identifies and invents her/ himself through constant editing and re-editing of memory; the convergence of innumerable records and recordings of memories determines the public identity, which debouches into history; facts remain forever inaccessible except through our version of them and these versions are dependent on memory.<sup>210</sup> In order to build a new common national identity in South Africa, the country turned to heritage and memory. This process has been detailed in an international context as follows:

Heritage and identity are closely connected to places, landscapes, and collective memories and these connections can occur at all scales, although they are most frequently seen at the national level. National heritage is often framed as a story of progress and struggle replete with patriotic heroes and epic battles fought for freedom and territorial sovereignty. Accounts of national heritage that can be used to press

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<sup>208</sup> S. C. Johnson, Framing the past: time, space and the politics of heritage tourism in Ireland. *Political Geography*, Vol. 18, 1999, pp. 187-207.

<sup>209</sup> D. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, 1985, p. 197.

<sup>210</sup> A. Brink, 'Truth Memory and Narrative' in S. Nuttall & C. Coetzee (eds.) *Negotiating the past: The making of memory in South Africa*, 1998, p. 31.

political claims to power and territory are crucial components in the development of nationalism.<sup>211</sup>

It is argued that when a new nation emerges from traumatic times and renews the process of evaluation of their culture and identity two ingredients are more and more recognized as key fundamentals for the future namely. These are firstly a sound economy and secondly the unique asset which heritage and culture represents.<sup>212</sup> When these two fundamentals are considered together, their respective benefits for cultural tourism becomes important at both political and cultural levels.<sup>213</sup> Tourism in South Africa is no different. Apart from being considered as one of the key drivers of economic development within South Africa through generating income, creating jobs and alleviating poverty, it is also about the packaging (and repackaging after apartheid) of what and who South Africans are, not only to the world, but also to South Africans.

S. Marschall states that, ~~in~~ any culture, it is a shared heritage (language, traditions, leaders and a mutual experience of the past) that imparts a sense of group identity and every new political order forms a group identity through a process of selective remembering and invention of usable pasts.<sup>214</sup> In South Africa, as S. Guyot and C. Seethal claim, identities are constructed and are recurrently changing due to the number of variables that shape them, such as race, ethnicity, history, culture, religion and language.<sup>215</sup> Given the diverse and multicultural make-up of South Africa and taking into consideration the turbulent years after the end of apartheid it is safe to say that finding that sense of shared heritage to impart a sense of group identity becomes problematic. It is this aspect that the following chapter will address.

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<sup>211</sup> J.D. Bohland & E. Hague, Heritage and Identity, *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, 2009, p. 111.

<sup>212</sup> S. Harrison, Culture, tourism and local community – the heritage identity of the Isle of Man, *Brand Management*, Vol. 9(4-5), 2002, p. 357.

<sup>213</sup> S. Harrison, Culture, tourism and local community – the heritage identity of the Isle of Man, *Brand Management*, Vol. 9(4-5), 2002, p. 357.

<sup>214</sup> S. Marchall, Forging National Identity: Institutionalizing Foundation Myths through Monuments, *SA Journal of Cultural History*, 19(1), pp. 19-20.

<sup>215</sup> S. Guyot & C. Seethal, Identity of Place, Places of Identities: Change of Place Names in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *South African Geographical Journal*, Vol. 89(1), p. 57.

In South Africa the issue became whose heritage is worthy of commemoration? This is further complicated by the fact that official recognition is commonly accompanied by financial and other resources which enable specific heritages and identities to be preserved and promoted. As a result, marginalized groups often struggle to assert their own heritages and identities, be this in politics or through monument building.<sup>216</sup> Moreover, the past is conditional to a wide range of interpretations making it difficult to include all possible understandings within the prevailing versions of heritage. The risk arises that these interpretations are most often promoted by government agencies or historical societies at specific sites and as a result, certain groups of people and their pasts are omitted from heritage narratives.<sup>217</sup>

From 1994 South Africa experienced what can be argued as the tumultuous years immediately following the transfer of democracy to the people of South Africa where South Africa saw an iconoclastic reaction by the new political leadership which involved the removal of statues from public places, art from Parliament and the renaming of places to reinstate the original African names or to erase colonial, settler or apartheid appropriation.<sup>218</sup> This first phase of getting rid of what was seen as offensive heritage arguably served as a form of decolonization and was followed by a more inclusive redress where new monuments and places of memory were added or adding existing places of commemoration were restructured by adding layers of misrepresented history.<sup>219</sup> K. A. Bakker and L. Müller claim that decisions about: whose memory gets represented and how it is presented have major implications to perception of how it was overcome and how it will shape a nation's character and its future when the history being documented is linked to an understanding of injustice.<sup>220</sup>

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<sup>216</sup> J.D. Bohland & E. Hague, Heritage and Identity, *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, 2009, p. 113.

<sup>217</sup> J.D. Bohland & E. Hague, Heritage and Identity, *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, 2009, p. 113.

<sup>218</sup> K. A. Bakker & L. Müller, Intangible Heritage and Community Identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa, *Museum International*, Vol. 62(1-2), 2010, p. 48.

<sup>219</sup> K. A. Bakker & L. Müller, Intangible Heritage and Community Identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa, *Museum International*, Vol. 62(1-2), 2010, p. 49.

<sup>220</sup> J. O'Reilly, Memories in Transition: Memory and Museums in the "New" South Africa, *The Journal of Museum Education*, Vol. 29(2/3), Museums of Memory (Spring/Summer), 2004, p. 14-15.

Also central to national identity building is the way in which heritage and culture is interpreted because revised narratives of the nation, as well as recovered or invented culture and traditions, are key resources for constructing national consciousness that is full of pride, affection and loyalty.<sup>221</sup> South Africa has many sites of remembering, -some of the pre 1994 sites have been retained and are being reinterpreted while most post 1994 sites need no reinterpretation. In a Masters study by A. Stinson on nation building in post-apartheid South Africa the point is made that:

Envisioning itself as the 'rainbow nation' the new South African government has made a strong commitment to building an inclusive national identity. In doing so the government has determined that it must not only acknowledge and confront the hateful past of apartheid but also transcend it.<sup>222</sup>

He further observes that there have been distinct shifts away from the nation-building discourse under the three ANC presidents following 1994: the 'Rainbow Nation' of President Nelson Mandela to the embracing of 'Africanism' under the leadership under President Thabo Mbeki and President Jacob Zuma's idea of a country 'that belongs to all'.<sup>223</sup> Regardless of these shifts, nation-building still remains a priority objective of government as with any nation. The ANC maintains its position that: 'South Africans will continue to have multiple identities based on class, gender, age, language, geographic location, religion etc.'<sup>224</sup> It contends that 'in a national democratic society, such diversity should feed into an overarching national identity. In its own unique way, South Africa should emerge as a united African nation, adding to the diversity and identity of the continent and humanity at large.'<sup>225</sup>

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<sup>221</sup> E. Hobsbawm as cited in S. Pitchford, *Identity Tourism Imaging and Imagining the Nation*, p. 3.

<sup>222</sup> A.T. Stinson, *National Identity and Nation-Building in Post- Apartheid South Africa*, MA Thesis, Rhodes University, 2009, p. 14.

<sup>223</sup> E. Bornman, Emerging Patterns of Social Identification in Postapartheid South Africa, *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 66(2), 2010, p. 239.

<sup>224</sup> ANC, *Building on the Foundation for a Better Life: Draft Strategy and Tactics of the African National Congress*, 1997.

<sup>225</sup> ANC, *Building on the Foundation for a Better Life: Draft Strategy and Tactics of the African National Congress*, 1997.

Moreover, Stinson says that %From national symbols to national programs, these nation-building initiatives have focused on creating a broad and inclusive sense of national unity in spite of the country's great diversity and contentious history.+This in essence communicates the government's commitment to building a common national identity.<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>226</sup> A.T. Stinson, *National Identity and Nation-Building in Post- Apartheid South Africa*, MA Thesis, Rhodes University, 2009, p. 37.

## CHAPTER 4:

### RESTRUCTURING HERITAGE AND CULTURAL TOURISM IN

### POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

It is clear that heritage and culture play a crucial role in identity formation processes. This is evident in the case of South Africa as discussed in the previous chapter. It is therefore not surprising that since 1994 the South African state, has been preoccupied with the identification and celebration of heritage<sup>227</sup> and inevitably heritage and cultural tourism.

It has been stated that of all the sectors of South Africa's economy, tourism was one of the most adversely affected by apartheid.<sup>228</sup> The international sanctions during this period severely restricted the volume of international tourism flows and apartheid legislation also limited the potential of domestic tourism as the majority Black population could not enjoy access to certain facilities, most notably selected beaches.<sup>229</sup>

Tourism, as G. Visser and C. M. Rogerson argues, was essentially anti-developmental in focus and centred around the recreational activities of white South Africans. However since, the 1994 democratic transition tourism has become recognised as an increasingly important sector for South Africa's economy and for achieving the government's goals for reconstruction and development.<sup>230</sup> More and more focus has been placed on the role tourism can play as a means for both social change and healing in South Africa by the state, the private sector and community organizations.<sup>231</sup>

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<sup>227</sup> S. Marschall, Commemorating 'Struggle Heroes': Constructing a Genealogy for the New South Africa, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol.12(2), 2006, pp. 176-177.

<sup>228</sup> G. Visser & C. M. Rogerson, Researching the South African Tourism and Development Nexus, *GeoJournal*, Vol. 60, 2004, p. 201.

<sup>229</sup> G. Visser & C. M. Rogerson, Researching the South African Tourism and Development Nexus, *GeoJournal*, Vol. 60, 2004, p. 201.

<sup>230</sup> G. Visser & C. M. Rogerson, Researching the South African Tourism and Development Nexus, *GeoJournal*, Vol. 60, 2004, p. 201.

<sup>231</sup> S. C. Goudie, F. Khan & D. Kilian, Transforming Tourism: Black Empowerment, Heritage and Identity Beyond Apartheid, *South African Geographical Journal*, Vol. 81(1), 1999, p. 22.

During the political settlement the main negotiating parties realised that in order for the transition to majority rule to be controllable, the charged atmosphere of the dying years of apartheid needed to be replaced by a far less charged one.<sup>232</sup> The negotiated settlement meant compromises on position and principle for both the apartheid state and the liberation movements.<sup>233</sup> The consequences of this stance were seen in the responses of many sites associated with the apartheid order, such as the National Military Museum in Johannesburg which was seen as the ultimate symbol of white rule. A number of new displays were added, recounting the history of the guerrilla campaigns waged by the ANC and Pan Africanist Congress.<sup>234</sup> By the 1990s every cultural and educational organisation that qualified for state grants actively engaged in the pursuit for appropriate responses to, and presentations of, a new identity and how the past could be dealt with.<sup>235</sup>

In many ways 1996 was a game changer for heritage and cultural tourism in post-apartheid South Africa. In an attempt to redefine heritage, culture and tourism, the South African government published three key White papers on: tourism development; arts, culture and heritage; and on the environment. These documents formed the foundational framework for the development of relationships between heritage and tourism.<sup>236</sup>

Other key policies and framework developments for heritage and cultural tourism after 1994 include, the National Arts Councils Act (1997), the National Heritage Resources Act (1999), and the National Heritage Councils Act (1999) and the National Tourism Sector Strategy (2010).

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<sup>232</sup> H. Hughes, *Rainbow, Renaissance, Tribes and Townships: Tourism and Heritage in South Africa since 1994* in S. Buhlungu et al. (eds), *State of the Nation: South Africa 2007*, 2007, p. 272.

<sup>233</sup> H. Hughes, *Rainbow, Renaissance, Tribes and Townships: Tourism and Heritage in South Africa since 1994* in S. Buhlungu et al. (eds), *State of the Nation: South Africa 2007*, 2007, p. 272.

<sup>234</sup> Coombes, 2004 *as cited in* H. Hughes, *Rainbow, Renaissance, Tribes and Townships: Tourism and Heritage in South Africa since 1994* in S. Buhlungu et al. (eds), *State of the Nation: South Africa 2007*, 2007, p. 272.

<sup>235</sup> H. Hughes, *Rainbow, Renaissance, Tribes and Townships: Tourism and Heritage in South Africa since 1994* in S. Buhlungu et al. (eds), *State of the Nation: South Africa 2007*, 2007, p. 273.

<sup>236</sup> H. Hughes, *Rainbow, Renaissance, Tribes and Townships: Tourism and Heritage in South Africa since 1994* in S. Buhlungu et al. (eds), *State of the Nation: South Africa 2007*, 2007, p. 273.

Before 1994, South African heritage legislation evolved from the Bushman Relics Protection Act of 1911, with the aim of preserving the country's pre-colonial and pre-historic heritage, through to the 1934 Historical Monuments Commission, which protected the built environment of settlers and colonists, to the National Monuments Act of 1969, which was intended to strengthen the state ideology of Afrikaner Nationalism and apartheid policy.<sup>237</sup>

The White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage, a key national heritage policy document for post-1994 South Africa, identified vital issues to be addressed and outlined the key requirements necessary for the transformation of the sector and the restructuring of key heritage institutions.<sup>238</sup> In stark contrast to the pre-1994 legislation the aim of the White paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage is:

To promote the arts, culture, heritage and literature in their own right, as significant and valuable areas of social and human endeavor in themselves. It spells out the institutional arrangements required to implement a new vision in which they are developed, practiced and celebrated among all our people, and it indicates the changes required of existing institutions to assist this. It also deals with the rights of practitioners within these domains. Other issues relating to areas such as cultural industries will be dealt with through Departmental policy development or White Papers, such as that for the Film Industry, which is under preparation.<sup>239</sup>

Dr. B. S. Ngubane, the then Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST), stated in his address on the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage in 1996 that South African society had been undergoing fundamental transformation over the last two years since the transition.

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<sup>237</sup> E. Delmont, Re-envision Greater Johannesburg: South African Heritage Development in the First Decade of Democracy, *African Arts*, Winter 2004, p. 30.

<sup>238</sup> DACST, *Review of Heritage Legislation Report*, October 2009.

<sup>239</sup> DACST, *White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage*, 1996.

He pointed out that every sector of South African society was facing change and while this may be unsettling for some, for many, it brings hope that their needs, views and aspirations will now also become part of the mainstream.<sup>240</sup> South Africa's first democratically elected government contributed to this process by creating the first Ministry of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, placing South Africa at the verge of experiencing a cultural renaissance.<sup>241</sup> He continued by stating that the arts, culture and heritage cannot be excluded in this transformation process, since they too were affected by the maldistribution of skills, resources and infrastructure during the apartheid era. He emphasized that given that the arts are based on the freedom of expression and critical thought, transformation in this area is vital to empowering creative voices throughout the country and is thus essential to the success of the democratic project.<sup>242</sup> The then Deputy Minister of DACST, Ms. B. Mabandla echoed the sentiments of Ngubane by saying that a democratic, post-colonial national arts and culture policy had been long overdue. She said that the realm of arts and culture policy will always be highly charged and emotional because the arts, culture and heritage are concerned with the most central aspect of humanity, the formation of identity. She concluded:

This renaissance in South Africa's arts will depend on a policy that ensures equity and is committed to promoting a consciousness that celebrates diversity. Through this document we are laying a basis to reclaim our heritage.<sup>243</sup>

The Green Paper on Environmental Policy for South Africa was also published in 1996. With the aim to provide a basis for developing an environmental policy which would lead South Africa on a path of sustainable development and ensure that all South Africans, both now and in the future, would have an environment which always caters for their wellbeing.<sup>244</sup>

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<sup>240</sup> DACST, *White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage*, 1996.

<sup>241</sup> DACST, *White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage*, 1996.

<sup>242</sup> DACST, *White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage*, 1996.

<sup>243</sup> DACST, *White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage*, May 1996.

<sup>244</sup> DEAT, *Green Paper on Environmental Policy for South Africa*, October 1996.

The Green Paper led to the development of a White Paper of Environmental Management Policy a year later in July 1997. This is an overarching framework policy containing government's environmental management policy and applies to all government institutions and to all activities that impact on the environment.<sup>245</sup> When it comes to tourism, South Africa's competitive advantage in this area lies within its rich diversity of fauna, flora, cultural resources and geographical features.<sup>246</sup> It is therefore crucial, as both the Green and White Paper on Environment state, that tourism development is environmentally sustainable and does not degrade the environment or reduce biodiversity.

The Tourism White Paper is the third key White Paper that was published that same year.<sup>247</sup> The White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa provides a framework and guidelines for tourism development and promotion. It identifies tourism as a priority sector for national economic development and acknowledges its potential role in the social-economic development of South Africa with the main aim to:

Develop the tourism sector as a national priority in a sustainable and acceptable manner, so that it will contribute significantly to the improvement of the quality of life of every South African. As a lead sector within the national economic strategy, a globally competitive tourism industry will be a major force in the reconstruction and development efforts of the government. In accordance with the tourism vision, a united, sustainable and competitive tourism industry in South Africa will lead global 'best practice' in socially, environmentally and culturally responsible tourism.<sup>248</sup>

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<sup>245</sup> DEAT, *White Paper on Environmental Management Policy for South Africa*, July 1997.

<sup>246</sup> DEAT, *White Paper on Environmental Management Policy for South Africa*, July 1997.

<sup>247</sup> DEAT, *Tourism White Paper on The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa*, May 1996.

<sup>248</sup> DEAT, *Tourism White Paper on The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa*, May 1996.

The Tourism White Paper is clear that tourism development should, amongst others, include the encouragement of community participation and the sustainable management of resources. Building on the white paper the Tourism in GEAR document also echoed the need for community participation. The Tourism in GEAR aims to forge a framework for implementing policies in the context of macro-economic strategy. Tourism in GEAR called for a collaborative approach where tourism should be government-led, private-sector driven and community-based.<sup>249</sup>

The Tourism White Paper also set out the roles of key players within the development and promotion of the tourism industry. The National Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT), now the National Department of Tourism (NDT), would set the parameters of national policy making, planning and facilitation and each of the nine provinces would have a tourism portfolio, to be exercised in accordance with national policy.<sup>250</sup>

The existing national tourism organization SATOUR (a tourism body put in place by the previous government) was mainly responsible for the marketing and promotion of the tourist industry internationally, while the nine provincial tourism organizations would focus on marketing domestically and undertake research, product development training and other functions.<sup>251</sup> Since then SATOUR underwent some institutional transformation and is now called South African Tourism (SAT). In addition to marketing, research and development, they must also ensure that the services rendered and facilities made available to tourists comply with the highest attainable standard as per the Tourism Act No. 72 of 1993.<sup>252</sup>

Amongst others, their key outputs are increasing tourist arrivals, tourist spend, graded accommodation establishments and global awareness of the Brand South Africa<sup>253</sup>

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<sup>249</sup> J. Viljoen & K. Tlabela, *Rural tourism development in South Africa: Trends and challenges*, 2007, p. 7.

<sup>250</sup> H. Hughes, *Rainbow, Renaissance, Tribes and Townships: Tourism and Heritage in South Africa since 1994* in S. Buhlungu et al. (eds), *State of the Nation: South Africa 2007*, 2007, p. 274.

<sup>251</sup> DEAT, *Tourism White Paper on The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa*, May 1996.

<sup>252</sup> NDT, *BOJANALA Tourism Edition 2*, May/June 2012, p. 14.

<sup>253</sup> NDT, *BOJANALA Tourism Edition 2*, May/June 2012, p. 14.

National museums . now known as declared cultural institutions in terms of the Cultural Institutions Act of 1969 of the old government, were arguably the heritage institutions that suffered most, with what Bredekamp terms *‘a serious image problem’*.<sup>254</sup> The White Paper of 1996 declared that these institutions nonetheless had the potential of playing an important role in heritage development if government would continue providing funding to them and the recommendation was finally embodied in the (new) Cultural Institutions Act of 1998.<sup>255</sup> The White Paper also suggested that the declared cultural institutions *‘be evaluated according to agreed criteria of what constitutes national’* and, in the absence of a coherent national museums policy, called *‘for transformation through a systematic process of restructuring and rationalisation’*.<sup>256</sup>

The White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage led to the formation of the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA), established in terms of the National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999. The main aim was to introduce an integrated and interactive system of the national heritage resources and empower civil society to conserve its heritage resources for future generations<sup>257</sup>. SAHRA, together with its Council, coordinates and promotes the management of heritage resources at national level.<sup>258</sup>

A National Heritage Council was appointed by the Minister of Arts and Culture to oversee the work of SAHRA. The council advises on overall policy and allocates funding and, in addition there is also a Heritage Council in each province.<sup>259</sup>

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<sup>254</sup> H.C.Bredekamp, *The Cultural Heritage of democratic South Africa: An Overview*, Iziko Museums of Cape Town, 2007, DISSANET, <http://www.dissanet.com/ifla/pdf/LIASA%2001%20Bredekamp.pdf>, s.a. Access: 2012-05-18.

<sup>255</sup> DACST, *White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage*, 1996; H.C.Bredekamp, *The Cultural Heritage of democratic South Africa: An Overview*, Iziko Museums of Cape Town, 2007, DISSANET, <http://www.dissanet.com/ifla/pdf/LIASA%2001%20Bredekamp.pdf>, s.a. Access: 2012-05-18.

<sup>256</sup> H.C.Bredekamp, *The Cultural Heritage of democratic South Africa: An Overview*, Iziko Museums of Cape Town, 2007, DISSANET, <http://www.dissanet.com/ifla/pdf/LIASA%2001%20Bredekamp.pdf>, s.a. Access: 2012-05-18.

<sup>257</sup> The Republic of South Africa, *The National Heritage Resources Act No. 25 of 1999*.

<sup>258</sup> DACST, *Annual 2000/2001 Report*, 2001.

<sup>259</sup> H. Hughes, *Rainbow, Renaissance, Tribes and Townships: Tourism and Heritage in South Africa since 1994* in S. Buhlungu et al. (eds), *State of the Nation: South Africa 2007*, 2007, p. 274.

In 1999 the South African government introduced legislation that replaced the National Monuments Act 23 of 1969 (as amended). The National Heritage Resources Act No 25 of 1999 was implemented in 2000 and aimed to:

Promote good management of the national estate, and to enable and encourage communities to nurture and conserve their legacy so that it may be bequeathed to future generations. Our heritage is unique and precious and it cannot be renewed. It helps us to define our cultural identity and therefore lies at the heart of our spiritual well-being and has the power to build our nation. It has the potential to affirm our diverse cultures, and in so doing shape our national character. Our heritage celebrates our achievements and contributes to redressing past inequities. It educates, it deepens our understanding of society and encourages us to empathize with the experience of others. It facilitates healing and material and symbolic restitution and it promotes new and previously neglected research into our rich oral traditions and customs.<sup>260</sup>

Moreover it was intended to transform existing heritage institutions and give more voice to indigenous forms of heritage. Borrowing from the Burra Charter developed by Australia's International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) in the late 1970s, the new Heritage Act emphasizes the notion of living and intangible heritage and argues both for the idea of cultural significance and for redress of previously marginalized heritages.<sup>261</sup> The Act also gives prominence to capacity building, in line with attempts of growing South Africa's human resources and skills base post-1994 and public education. It also acknowledges the magnitude of heritage resources for the use of tourism and economic development, but at the same time it argues for the management of these resources in a sustainable and sensitive way.<sup>262</sup> It is therefore clear that government's nation building program underlies this Act.

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<sup>260</sup> The Republic of South Africa, *The National Heritage Resources Act No. 25 of 1999*.

<sup>261</sup> E. Delmont, Re-envision Greater Johannesburg: South African Heritage Development in the First Decade of Democracy, *African Arts*, Winter 2004, p. 30.

<sup>262</sup> E. Delmont, Re-envision Greater Johannesburg: South African Heritage Development in the First Decade of Democracy, *African Arts*, Winter 2004, p. 30.

In an attempt to re-establish and re-image the nation's cultural heritage institutions, government introduced legislation pertaining to the state archives. The National Archives of South Africa Act of 1996, amended in 2001 as the National Archives and Records Service of South Africa Act, would ensure that the National Archives were managed properly and that it would be a safe keeper of government bodies' records. It would also serve as a re-imagined space for the preservation and use of a national archival heritage collecting the nation's social memory and fostering a national identity.<sup>263</sup> It could be argued that the state archives was a biased collection of the memory of what was considered as the South African nation during the years of colonial rule and apartheid, ranging from 1650s to well past 1994 until the new Constitution was adopted. Since then, the acquisition of the archives of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) is considered to be one of the most valuable acquisitions.<sup>264</sup> Another important heritage institution that needed transformation was the Foundation for the Creative Arts, which was replaced by the National Arts Council (NAC) within a year after the adoption of the new Constitution.<sup>265</sup> The objective of the NAC as stated in the National Arts Council Act of 1997 is to:

Provide, and encourage the provision of, opportunities for persons to practise the arts; to promote the appreciation, understanding and enjoyment of the arts and the general application of the arts in the community; to foster the expression of a national identity and consciousness by means of the arts; to uphold and promote the right of any person to freedom in the practice of the arts; and to give the historically disadvantaged such additional help and resources as are required to give them greater access to the arts.<sup>266</sup>

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<sup>263</sup> H. C. Bredekamp, *The Cultural Heritage of democratic South Africa: An Overview*, Iziko Museums of Cape Town, 2007, DISSANET, <http://www.dissanet.com/ifla/pdf/LIASA%2001%20Bredekamp.pdf>, s.a. Access: 2012-05-18, p. 7.

<sup>264</sup> TRC Report Vol. 7 as cited in H.C.Bredekamp, *The Cultural Heritage of democratic South Africa: An Overview*, Iziko Museums of Cape Town, 2007, DISSANET, <http://www.dissanet.com/ifla/pdf/LIASA%2001%20Bredekamp.pdf>, s.a. Access: 2012-05-18.

<sup>265</sup> H. C. Bredekamp, *The Cultural Heritage of democratic South Africa: An Overview*, Iziko Museums of Cape Town, 2007, DISSANET, <http://www.dissanet.com/ifla/pdf/LIASA%2001%20Bredekamp.pdf>, s.a. Access: 2012-05-18.

<sup>266</sup> Republic of South Africa, *National Arts Council Act No. 56 of 1997*.

Moreover, in an attempt to redress the iniquities of the past, the Council also strives to transform the arts by empowering artists to perform with pride and dignity at arts festivals.<sup>267</sup>

In 1996 the government established the Legacy Project to acknowledge previously neglected, marginalized and distorted South African heritage. It was the opinion of government that the expression of the country's history through monuments, museums and other forms to commemorate what is meaningful to all South Africans, has the potential to contribute to reconciliation and nation building in the country.<sup>268</sup> The initial Legacy Project was adopted by Cabinet in 1997, and was administered by the DACST, later the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) after government restructured ministries. The project is coordinated by the Legacy Committee which is an inter-departmental committee tasked with the establishment of new and diverse monuments, museums and commemorations.<sup>269</sup> The Legacy Project is still an ongoing programme of the DAC and each financial year new targets are set. In June 1998, the then Minister of DACST, Mr. Lionel Mtshali, announced that the following legacy projects had been approved by Cabinet:

- Nelson Mandela Museum
- Chief Albert Luthuli Commemoration
- Freedom Park
- Samora Machel Memorial
- Blood River Commemoration
- Centenary of the Anglo-Boer War
- Women's Monument

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<sup>267</sup> H. C. Bredekamp, *The Cultural Heritage of democratic South Africa: An Overview*, Iziko Museums of Cape Town, 2007, DISSANET, <http://www.dissanet.com/ifla/pdf/LIASA%2001%20Bredekamp.pdf>, s.a. Access: 2012-05-18.

<sup>268</sup> DACST, 'Statement by the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Mr. L. Mtshali, on Legacy Projects, 15 June 1998', [http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1998/98617\\_0w4489810150.htm](http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1998/98617_0w4489810150.htm), 16 November 2004, Access: 2012-03-04.

<sup>269</sup> DACST, 'Statement by the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Mr. L. Mtshali, on Legacy Projects, 15 June 1998', [http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1998/98617\\_0w4489810150.htm](http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1998/98617_0w4489810150.htm), 16 November 2004, Access: 2012-03-04.

- Khoi-San Heritage<sup>270</sup>

These projects were identified in the initial Legacy Project and later, as targets were achieved, new projects were identified for implementation. This initial selection is reflective of a wide, but inclusive, range of sites in terms of the multi-cultural South African population. It is indeed a concrete reflection of how the government is trying address the question of neglect, marginalization as well as balancing the heritage landscape.

Given the neglect of the freedom struggle in apartheid heritage and commemoration, as well as the fundamental role that Nelson Mandela played in the new South Africa, it is only obvious that attention be given to his place in the heritage dimension. A Nelson Mandela Museum was established at Umtata in the Eastern Cape.<sup>271</sup> The museum houses exhibitions that celebrate his life and his journey as well as the %Gift to the Nation+exhibition that showcases the gifts he has received from the people, institutions and governments around the world and a collection of images and artifacts that illustrate and illuminate his life.<sup>272</sup> Officially opened on 11 February 2000, it includes three elements: a museum in Umtata, a youth centre in Qunu and a visitors' centre in Mvezo.<sup>273</sup> There are also other forms of tribute dedicated to Nelson Mandela, including a range of statues and plaques across the country. Another stalwart in the freedom struggle was Albert Luthuli. The Luthuli Museum dedicated is a tribute to the legacy of South Africa's first Nobel Peace Prize winner. Chief Albert Luthuli also played a vital role in the struggle against apartheid oppression<sup>274</sup>

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<sup>270</sup> DACST, 'Statement by the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Mr. L. Mtshali, on Legacy Projects, 15 June 1998', [http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1998/98617\\_0w4489810150.htm](http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1998/98617_0w4489810150.htm), 16 November 2004, Access: 2012-03-04.

<sup>271</sup> DACST, 'Statement by the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Mr. L. Mtshali, on Legacy Projects, 15 June 1998', [http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1998/98617\\_0w4489810150.htm](http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1998/98617_0w4489810150.htm), 16 November 2004, Access: 2012-03-04.

<sup>272</sup> Nelson Mandela Museum, <http://www.nelsonmandelamuseum.org.za/about-us/about-the-nelson-mandela-museum>, s.a. Access: 2012-08-02.

<sup>273</sup> E. Delmont, Re-envision Greater Johannesburg: South African Heritage Development in the First Decade of Democracy, *African Arts*, Winter 2004, p. 31.

<sup>274</sup> DACST, 'Statement by the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Mr. L. Mtshali, on Legacy Projects, 15 June 1998', [http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1998/98617\\_0w4489810150.htm](http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1998/98617_0w4489810150.htm), 16 November 2004, Access: 2012-03-04.

He is regarded as a leader ahead of his time whose commitment to non-violence, non-racialism, democracy and human rights left an enduring legacy for all South Africans.<sup>275</sup> The museum situated in Kwazulu-Natal was officially opened on 21 August 2004 and includes the original 1927 home of Luthuli that is situated on 3233 Nokukhanya Luthuli Street, Groutville, KwaDukuza.<sup>276</sup> Today the home is a national monument. Set in landscaped gardens, the grounds provide a beautiful and perfect setting in which to take in the history and achievements of a man who became the first African to receive the Nobel Prize for Peace.<sup>277</sup>

Freedom Park, also largely associated with the freedom struggle, was launched on 1 June 2000 as a response to the need identified by the TRC for symbolic reparation of past conflicts in the history of South Africa.<sup>278</sup> It is the product of the many processes engaged in by government since 1994 to create and promote a new national identity and a consciousness of the common legacy that binds the people of South Africa.<sup>279</sup> Located on a 52-hectare site on Salvokop in Pretoria, the Park first opened in December 2007.<sup>280</sup> The components of Freedom Park incorporate, amongst others, a monument to victims of the struggle, a museum dedicated to the history of the freedom struggle and an indigenous garden of reflection and meditation.<sup>281</sup> Arguably one of South Africa's biggest new attractions, it will be discussed and analyzed in more depth in Chapter 5.

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<sup>275</sup> Luthuli Museum, <http://www.luthulimuseum.org.za/about-the-museum/events-a-exhibitions.html>, s.a. Accessed: 2012-04-12.

<sup>276</sup> Luthuli Museum, <http://www.luthulimuseum.org.za/about-the-museum/events-a-exhibitions.html>, s.a. Accessed: 2012-04-12.

<sup>277</sup> DACST, 'Statement by the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Mr. L. Mtshali, on Legacy Projects, 15 June 1998', [http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1998/98617\\_0w4489810150.htm](http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1998/98617_0w4489810150.htm), 16 November 2004, Access: 2012-03-04.

<sup>278</sup> Freedom Park, 'A Key Presidential Legacy Project', [http://www.freedompark.co.za/cms/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=23&Itemid=26&phpMyAdmin=17b790ef730b81da09a13c43c12692b2](http://www.freedompark.co.za/cms/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=23&Itemid=26&phpMyAdmin=17b790ef730b81da09a13c43c12692b2), s.a. Access: 2012-07-11.

<sup>279</sup> Freedom Park, 'A Key Presidential Legacy Project', [http://www.freedompark.co.za/cms/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=23&Itemid=26&phpMyAdmin=17b790ef730b81da09a13c43c12692b2](http://www.freedompark.co.za/cms/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=23&Itemid=26&phpMyAdmin=17b790ef730b81da09a13c43c12692b2), s.a. Access: 2012-07-11.

<sup>280</sup> Freedom Park, 'A Key Presidential Legacy Project', [http://www.freedompark.co.za/cms/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=23&Itemid=26&phpMyAdmin=17b790ef730b81da09a13c43c12692b2](http://www.freedompark.co.za/cms/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=23&Itemid=26&phpMyAdmin=17b790ef730b81da09a13c43c12692b2), s.a. Access: 2012-07-11.

<sup>281</sup> DACST, 'Statement by the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Mr. L. Mtshali, on Legacy Projects, 15 June 1998', [http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1998/98617\\_0w4489810150.htm](http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1998/98617_0w4489810150.htm), 16 November 2004, Access: 2012-03-04.

Another of the initial legacy projects is the Samora Machel Monument. It is a commemoration to the late Mozambican President, which marks the site of the plane crash at Mbusini, Mpumalanga that was unveiled on 19 January 1999.<sup>282</sup> As the president of Mozambique, Machel gave support to liberation movements in the region, such as South Africa's African National Congress and the Zimbabwe African National Union and allowed the groups to operate out of Mozambique.<sup>283</sup>

One might raise the question as to why the commemoration of a foreigner formed part of one of the very first key legacy projects in the reconstruction of South African heritage when there were other more obvious choices to consider at the time. It should be noted that the need for a monument in honour of the late president, especially considering his role in liberation movements is not disputed. Needless to say what is intriguing, is the fact that government deemed it fit to prioritize the monument along with seven other key identified projects on the very first Legacy Project initiative, when the aim of the project was clearly to focus on South African heritage which was previously neglected, marginalized and distorted.

The Blood River or Ncome Museum is a commemoration that involved a reinterpretation of a historical event.<sup>284</sup> Formerly only portraying a predominantly white account of this battle of 1838 between the Zulus and the Voortrekkers, this was revisited. Following the unveiling of a monument dedicated to the role of the Zulus in the Ncome Battle (Blood River) on 16 December 1998, the Ncome Museum was opened in 1999.<sup>285</sup> Other formerly white dominated heritage sites were those related to the South African War of 1899-1902 (Anglo-Boer War).<sup>286</sup>

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<sup>282</sup> DACST, 'Statement by the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Mr. L. Mtshali, on Legacy Projects, 15 June 1998', [http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1998/98617\\_0w4489810150.htm](http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1998/98617_0w4489810150.htm), 16 November 2004, Access: 2012-03-04.

<sup>283</sup> N. Brulliard, 'South Africa builds fitting memorial to Samora Machel', Global Post, [http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/south-africa/091110/samora-machel-monument-south-africa\\_November\\_2009](http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/south-africa/091110/samora-machel-monument-south-africa_November_2009), Accessed: 2012-03-21.

<sup>284</sup> DACST, 'Statement by the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Mr. L. Mtshali, on Legacy Projects, 15 June 1998', [http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1998/98617\\_0w4489810150.htm](http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1998/98617_0w4489810150.htm), 16 November 2004, Access: 2012-03-04.

<sup>285</sup> E. Delmont, Re-Envision Greater Johannesburg: South African Heritage Development in the First Decade of Democracy, *African Arts*, Winter 2004, p. 31.

<sup>286</sup> DACST, 'Statement by the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Mr. L. Mtshali, on Legacy Projects, 15 June 1998', [http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1998/98617\\_0w4489810150.htm](http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1998/98617_0w4489810150.htm), 16 November 2004, Access: 2012-03-04.

These were revisited with the centenary which was commemorated throughout the country between 1999 and 2002 within the broad principles of inclusivity, reconciliation and a balanced historical perspective. The broad impact of the War, not only on the Boers and the British, but also on black and other South Africans, was captured through various commemorations.<sup>287</sup>

Turning to the gendering of commemoration, a Women's Monument to commemorate the struggle for freedom by all the women of South Africa, irrespective of race, colour and political affiliation, was erected at the Union Buildings in Pretoria on the site of the historic women's anti-pass march of 9 August 1956.<sup>288</sup>

The Women's Monument, in the form of a grinding stone by artist Wilma Cruise, was unveiled at the Union Buildings on 9 August 2000.<sup>289</sup> The Monument is symbolic of the power of women, positioned in a bronzed plate on the vestibule between the east and west wings of the Union Buildings. The stairs that lead to the monument have been inscribed with gold lettering, reflecting an extract from the petition that was to be handed to Prime Minister J. G. Strydom.<sup>290</sup>

More recent plans are to erect another Women's Monument that incorporates a multi-purpose women's training centre at Lillian Ngoyi Square in Pretoria. This will also serve as a memorial to the women who marched to the Union Buildings in 1956. It will include a versatile centre that will provide space both for formal and informal training for women and have information for the younger generation about the women's struggle for liberation, as well as a market for local crafts.<sup>291</sup>

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<sup>287</sup> DACST, 'Statement by the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Mr. L. Mtshali, on Legacy Projects, 15 June 1998', [http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1998/98617\\_0w4489810150.htm](http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1998/98617_0w4489810150.htm), 16 November 2004, Access: 2012-03-04.

<sup>288</sup> DACST, 'Statement by the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Mr. L. Mtshali, on Legacy Projects, 15 June 1998', [http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1998/98617\\_0w4489810150.htm](http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1998/98617_0w4489810150.htm), 16 November 2004, Access: 2012-03-04.

<sup>289</sup> E. Delmont, Re-envision Greater Johannesburg: South African Heritage Development in the First Decade of Democracy, *African Arts*, Winter 2004, p. 31.

<sup>290</sup> DACST, *Annual Report 2000/2001*, p. 51.

<sup>291</sup> SANews, 'Women's Monument to Honour Marchers', <http://www.southafrica.info/about/history/women-100812b.htm>, 10 August 2012, Access: 2012-08-13.

As regards people who have generally been marginalized in the heritage domain, another legacy project focused on the Khoi-San. This gives broad recognition to the contribution of the Khoi-San to the country's entire heritage.<sup>292</sup> Most noticeably Hankey in Kouga Municipality, has been identified as part of the Khoisan Legacy Project. Other sites under consideration include:

The Kat River valley settlement, which rose in rebellion against British colonialism in 1850; Adam Kok's grave in Griqualand; the graves at Kinderlê, where 32 Khoi children were killed in 1804; Wonderwerk Cave; Phillipolis; Ratelgat, owned by the Griqua Ratelgat Development Trust; the sites of Griqua churches and other institutions in the Eastern Cape, Northern Cape and Western Cape; as well battle sites associated with the KhoiKhoi war of 1799 to 1803.<sup>293</sup>

By 2011 only three of the total of eight proposals, representing neglected or marginalised heritage have been implemented namely, Constitution Hill, The Samora Machel Memorial and Freedom Park. Seventeen other proposals have not been implemented or only implemented to a limited extent.<sup>294</sup> This study is unable to make conclusive remarks on the progress on the Legacy Projects made since then as at the time of this study the DAC have not yet publically published their 2011-2012 Annual Performance report.

Another heritage related initiative is the DACST administers Declared Cultural Institutions (DCIs). DCIs are cultural institutions that have been declared as such in terms of the Cultural Institutions Act, 1998.<sup>295</sup> Each DCI is a corporate body and falls under the control, management and direction of a council that is appointed by the Minister. Annual reports are compiled and available directly from the institutions. DAC subsidizes these institutions annually.<sup>296</sup>

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<sup>292</sup> DACST, 'Statement by the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Mr. L. Mtshali, on Legacy Projects, 15 June 1998', [http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1998/98617\\_0w4489810150.htm](http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1998/98617_0w4489810150.htm), 16 November 2004, Access: 2012-03-04.

<sup>293</sup> DAC, 'Legacy Projects', <http://www.dac.gov.za/legacy-projects.html#660000>, s.a. Access 2012-03-04

<sup>294</sup> DAC, *Mzansi Golden Economy Strategy*, November 2011.

<sup>295</sup> DACST, *Annual Report 2000/2001*, p. 54.

<sup>296</sup> DAC, *Annual Report 2010/2011*, p. 80.

Currently these fourteen DCIs are:

- Ditsong Museum of South Africa, Pretoria
- Iziko Museums of Cape Town
- National Museum, Bloemfontein
- KwaZulu- Natal Museum, Pietermaritzburg
- William Humphreys Art Gallery, Kimberly
- Afrikaans Language Museum and Language Monument, Paarl
- National English Literary Museum, Grahamstown
- Engelenburg House Art Collection, Pretoria
- War Museum of the Boer Republics, Bloemfontein
- Msunduzi/Voortrekker Museum, Pietermaritzburg
- Robben Island Museum, Robben Island
- Freedom Park, Pretoria
- Nelson Mandela Museum, Umtata
- Luthuli Museum, Stanger

Another important initiative by government was the development of a Tourism BEE Charter and Scorecard which also plays a major role in the transformation of the tourism industry in post-apartheid South Africa. This was established in accordance with the BEE strategy by DEAT in 2005 as part of the integrated socio-economic strategy outlined by the *Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act no. 53 of 2003*.<sup>297</sup> The Charter summarises the BEE policy as follows:

Black economic empowerment (BEE) is defined as an integrated and coherent socio-economic process that directly contributes to the economic transformation of South Africa and brings about significant increases in the number of black people that manage, own and control the country's economy, as well as significant decreases in income inequalities.<sup>298</sup>

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<sup>297</sup> Tourism BEE Charter and Scorecard, <http://www.tourismbeecharter.co.za/>, s.a. Access: 2012-09-27.

<sup>298</sup> Tourism BEE Charter and Scorecard, <http://www.tourismbeecharter.co.za/>, s.a. Access: 2012-09-27.

The main aim is to promote transformation and compliance by both the public and private sector, leveraging public sector spend to encourage transformation through procurement and other government tools as articulated in the Act.<sup>299</sup> It also enables beneficiaries to benefit of the empowerment opportunities generated due to private and public sector compliance.<sup>300</sup> Key areas identified include: black ownership; black representation at managerial levels; employment equity; skills development; preferential procurement for black owned enterprises; enterprise development; and social/community development.<sup>301</sup> However, in the years since the adoption of the tourism charter and scorecard, despite transformation processes, the tourism industry still remains largely white owned.<sup>302</sup> More recent attempts by government to restructure the heritage and cultural tourism industry is that of the adoption of the National Tourism Sector Strategy (NTSS) in 2010 and the National Strategy on Heritage and Cultural Tourism, 2012. The purpose of the NTSS is to contribute towards creating an enabling environment for sustainable tourism growth and development for South Africa and was developed in line with the White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa.<sup>303</sup>

The newly launched National Strategy on Heritage and Cultural Tourism, 2012 has been informed by the White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa, 1996 and the National Tourism Sector Strategy, 2010.<sup>304</sup> The National Strategy on Heritage and Cultural Tourism serves to guide and provide strategic direction for the development and promotion of heritage and cultural tourism in South Africa and serves as a framework for the coordination and integration of heritage and culture into the mainstream of tourism.<sup>305</sup>

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<sup>299</sup> NDT, 'Publications: B-BBEE', <http://www.tourism.gov.za/ResourceCentre/BEECharter/Pages/default.aspx>, s.a. Access: 2012-09-27.

<sup>300</sup> NDT, 'Publications: B-BBEE', <http://www.tourism.gov.za/ResourceCentre/BEECharter/Pages/default.aspx>, s.a. Access: 2012-09-27.

<sup>301</sup> Tourism BEE Charter and Scorecard, <http://www.tourismbeecharter.co.za/>, s.a. Access: 2012-09-27.

<sup>302</sup> NDT, 'Publications: B-BBEE', <http://www.tourism.gov.za/ResourceCentre/BEECharter/Pages/default.aspx>, s.a. Access: 2012-09-27.

<sup>303</sup> NDT, <http://www.tourism.gov.za/ResourceCentre/Pages/StrategicDocuments.aspx>, s.a. Access: 2012-07-20.

<sup>304</sup> NDT, *National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy*, March 2012.

<sup>305</sup> NDT, *National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy*, March 2012.

The development of a National Strategy on Heritage and Cultural Tourism was motivated by the following:

- Need for the integration of heritage and culture into tourism mainstream, for heritage and cultural tourism product development, sustainable tourism and economic development;
- Provide an opportunity for profiling and promoting the diverse heritage resources of South Africa through tourism product development;
- Need to improve the development and representation of heritage and cultural tourism products in tourism market;
- Opportunity for diversification of tourism products and formalization of the segment or niche market of heritage and cultural tourism through the strategy;
- Need to unlock the economic potential of heritage and cultural tourism products and measure the impact;
- Opportunity to raise awareness of the intrinsic education and conservation value of culture and heritage for an informed and nuanced understanding of the conservation needs of heritage resources for sustainability.<sup>306</sup>

New policy initiatives that are currently underway is the review of the White Paper on Arts and Culture, which the DAC initiated already in 2005. The recommendations from the review will later be aligned with vision 2016 of Mzansi Golden Economy Strategy which is DAC's contribution towards governments New Growth Path Framework of 2010.<sup>307</sup> The framework is aimed at enhancing growth, employment creation and equity throughout the country.

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<sup>306</sup> NDT, *National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy*, March 2012, p. 17.

<sup>307</sup> DAC, *Strategic Report 2011-2012*, April 2012.

The Cultural Laws Third Amendment Bill is also planned for the 2012/2013 financial year and the main objectives are to eliminate duplications and overlaps amongst and between acts; to eliminate wastage of public resources; to eliminate confusion and tension between or amongst institutions; and to clarify roles and responsibilities.<sup>308</sup> Government expressed their hope that the suggested amendments, if they are approved by Parliament, will unlock human and financial resources for service delivery and thereby significantly enhance operational efficiencies in the heritage sector.<sup>309</sup> These are just some of the key initiatives undertaken by the state in its attempt to restructure the heritage and cultural tourism industry in the aftermath of apartheid.

Generally restructuring efforts in the private sector of the heritage and cultural tourism industry in post-apartheid South Africa have been more limited and have occurred at a much slower pace than that initiated by the state. With the private sector being more business orientated some sectors scrambled to get on board with government's new restructuring processes and attempts to reconstruct were seen in various private tourism establishments and communities. As Hughes notes, interesting developments and changes were visible in heritage portrayal from large-scale sites requiring substantial investment to small-scale recreations of tradition.<sup>310</sup> No longer constrained by the systems of the apartheid regime, the industry was now open to all. New community ventures started to materialize, especially with the economic benefits that the heritage and cultural tourism industry potentially offered. Ranging from ethnically packaged cultural villages (such as Xhosaville, Shakaland, Lesedi) to local craft initiatives amongst the rural communities around national parks, urban township tours and action tours to sites of political struggle.<sup>311</sup> The transformation of the tourism sector was however initially constrained by the legacies of apartheid which was manifested in uneven access, not only to markets and market knowledge, but also to business finance, skills, technology and other resources.<sup>312</sup>

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<sup>308</sup> DAC, *Strategic Report 2011-2012*, April 2012

<sup>309</sup> DAC, *Strategic Report 2011-2012*, April 2012.

<sup>310</sup> H. Hughes, *Rainbow, Renaissance, Tribes and Townships: Tourism and Heritage in South Africa since 1994* in S. Buhlungu et al. (eds.), *State of the Nation: South Africa 2007*, 2007, p. 279.

<sup>311</sup> C. Rasool, *The Rise of Heritage and the Reconstitution of History in South Africa*, *Kronos*, Vol. 26, 2000, p. 3.

<sup>312</sup> FFTSA, *Tourism Policy Development in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, November 2008, pp. 14-15.

Private sector-led initiatives are vital as policy instruments because they reveal the goals the sector has for itself and how those goals overlap with key policies. They provide tools for implementing policy recommendations, thus creating a very strong linkage between the principles of the private sector and the policy objectives of the country.<sup>313</sup>

Some of the major private sector-led initiatives in South Africa include: The Imvelo Awards for Responsible Tourism which is organised by the Federated Hospitality Association of Southern Africa (FEDHASA) and was established in 2002 to recognise tourism and hospitality businesses that make an actual, measurable and sustained input to responsible tourism.<sup>314</sup> Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa (FTTSA) is a non-profit organisation promoting sustainable tourism development through awareness raising, research and advocacy, capacity building and by facilitating the world's first tourism Fair Trade certification programme.<sup>315</sup> Criteria includes fair wages and working conditions; fair business operations; fair distribution of benefits; ethical business practice; and respect for human rights, culture and environment.<sup>316</sup> The Heritage Environmental Programme was established in 2002 and recognises and identifies environmentally responsible companies and products in southern Africa. It assesses the ability to run a successful and profitable tourism business; the desire to learn and educate; providing viable solutions to problems; and rewarding behaviours and suggestions that enhance the business's overall environmental focus; the development of a sensitive attitude towards the environment which ensures the long-term sustainability of the business; and the desire to involve local communities in the planning, running and management of the business; whilst enhancing the benefits they receive due to applicable tourism operations.<sup>317</sup>

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<sup>313</sup> FTTSA, *Tourism Policy Development in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, November 2008, p. 24.

<sup>314</sup> Imvelo Awards, <http://www.imveloawards.co.za>, s.a. Access: 2012-06-20. & FTTSA, *Tourism Policy Development in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, November 2008, p. 27.

<sup>315</sup> FTTSA, <http://www.fairtourismsa.org.za>, s.a. Access 2012-06-20. and FTTSA, *Tourism Policy Development in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, November 2008, p. 26.

<sup>316</sup> FTTSA, <http://www.fairtourismsa.org.za>, s.a. Access 2012-06-20. and FTTSA, *Tourism Policy Development in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, November 2008, p. 26.

<sup>317</sup> The Heritage Environmental Programme, <http://www.heritagesa.co.za/>, s.a. Access: 2012-06-20; FTTSA, *Tourism Policy Development in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, November 2008, p. 27.

The Business Trust Challenge Fund provides once-off grants to private companies to support pro-poor initiatives by established businesses and to provide ways of improving market access for the poor. Focusing on tourism, agribusiness and mining sectors, they attempt to stimulate private sector investment and risk-taking to boost the pro-poor impact.<sup>318</sup> The African Safari Lodge Foundation is a non-profit organisation aimed at stimulating transformation in rural areas of Southern Africa through creating partnerships between safari lodges and communities.<sup>319</sup> All these are indeed incentives to encourage a more inclusive tourism industry.

It is widely agreed that tourism has become a fiercely competitive business. For tourism destinations the world over, as indeed for South Africa, competitive advantage is no longer *natural*, but increasingly *man-made* - driven by science, technology, information and innovation.<sup>320</sup> It is thus not only the natural resources of South Africa that will determine its competitiveness in tourism, but rather, how these resources are managed and how man-made innovations compliment these resources.<sup>321</sup>

South Africa has become a major tourism destination due to the political transformation processes. The marketplace is increasingly competitive and dynamic in change, therefore competent strategies are becoming crucial for destinations to remain viable and to increase their international tourism numbers, and that leads to a number of problems.<sup>322</sup> The tourism industry being made up of multiform sectors is a very diverse and complex and if laws are not specifically developed for tourism, many problems can occur.<sup>323</sup> Furthermore legislation can also cause a direct or indirect limitation on the tourism industry.<sup>324</sup>

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<sup>318</sup> FFTSA, *Tourism Policy Development in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, November 2008, p. 27.

<sup>319</sup> The African Safari Lodge Foundation, <http://www.asl-foundation.org/>, s.a. Access: 2012-06-20; FFTSA, *Tourism Policy Development in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, November 2008, p. 27.

<sup>320</sup> DEAT, *Tourism White Paper: The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa*, May 1996.

<sup>321</sup> DEAT, *Tourism White Paper: The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa*, May 1996.

<sup>322</sup> E. Heath, 1996 as cited in Saayman, 1996 as cited in S. Swart & M. Saayman, Legislative Restriction on the Tourism Industry: A South African Perspective, *World Leisure & Recreation*, Vol. 39(1), 1997, p. 24.

<sup>323</sup> S. Swart & M. Saayman, Legislative Restriction on the Tourism Industry: A South African Perspective, *World Leisure & Recreation*, Vol. 39(1), 1997, p. 24.

<sup>324</sup> S. Swart & M. Saayman, Legislative Restriction on the Tourism Industry: A South African Perspective, *World Leisure & Recreation*, Vol. 39(1), 1997, p. 24.

Such possible limitations are evident in the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage, which, as previously stated, is a key national heritage policy document, which identified critical issues to be addressed and outlined key requirements for the transformation of the sector and the restructuring of key heritage institutions.<sup>325</sup> However, the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage was formulated at a time when the country was in a state of rapture, and under a government of national unity, thus the White Paper reflects, the concerns and constraints of the period.<sup>326</sup> The document has thus become outdated and is in need of revision to reflect changing and expanding government programmes and policies accommodate current priorities and challenges and address factors that impede delivery.<sup>327</sup>

DAC consequently initiated a review process in which it became clear that the White Paper is silent on a number of issues on which policy guidance is required.<sup>328</sup> Some of these issues identified by the DAC's Review of Legislation Report also have a direct impact on heritage and cultural tourism, such as:

- Intangible cultural heritage;
- community based heritage initiatives;
- monuments and memorials;
- identifying and commemorating victims of conflict;
- repatriation and restitution of heritage concerns;
- the protection and promotion of indigenous knowledge;
- research and development in the arts, culture and heritage;
- building and sharing intellectual capital;
- access to heritage resources, institutions and collections;
- funding.
- digitisation of heritage concerns;
- social cohesion;
- cultural world heritage sites;
- heritage and tourism; and

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<sup>325</sup> DACST, *White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage*, 1996.

<sup>326</sup> DAC, *Review of Heritage Legislation Report*, October 2009, p. 23

<sup>327</sup> DAC, *Review of Heritage Legislation Report*, October 2009, p. 23.

<sup>328</sup> DAC, *Review of Heritage Legislation Report*, October 2009, p. 30.

- building and sharing intellectual capital by building a knowledge society.<sup>329</sup>

The review processes of the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage was initiated by DAC in 2005 and highlighted a number of concerns around the roles and responsibilities of the Minister, the Department, its associated institutions and agencies, as well as the way in which these relate to, or interact with, provincial and local government and other stakeholders.<sup>330</sup>

The review identified that to some extent an overlap exists between the roles and responsibilities of DAC and its associated institutions. The White Paper, implies that the role of policy formulation lies with statutory bodies tasked with advising the Minister on such matters, and that the role of DAC, as the Minister's executive arm, is to implement such policies.<sup>331</sup> However the White Paper tasks the NHC with accountability for liaising with the World Heritage Committee regarding World Heritage Sites, whereas this function is currently performed by the Department of Environmental Affairs (DEAT) and, to some extent, DAC, SAHRA and the NHC are tasked with responsibilities for repatriation issues+ of duplication, overlap, and omission.<sup>332</sup>

It is clear that there is no specific policy framework on heritage and cultural tourism. However, despite this all the above discussed policies and strategies all have an impact on heritage and cultural tourism in one way or another. Each sector seems to have its own policy and legislation that govern them. The heritage and cultural tourism industry is largely dependent on the resources that lie within the scope of heritage, arts and culture. What makes it difficult and problematic is that each has its own mandate area and each has its own set of goals. For example, the DAC focuses on the conservation of heritage and cultural resources for the preservation of the future nations, whereas the NDT is all about focusing on packaging these resources for tourism consumption in order to generate and contribute towards the growth of the South African economy.

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<sup>329</sup> DAC, *Review of Heritage Legislation Report*, October 2009, p. 23.

<sup>330</sup> DAC, *Review of Heritage Legislation Report*, October 2009, p. 25.

<sup>331</sup> DAC, *Review of Heritage Legislation Report*, October 2009, p. 25.

<sup>332</sup> DAC, *Review of Heritage Legislation Report*, October 2009, p. 25.

The National Strategy on Heritage and Cultural Tourism highlights the following benefits of heritage and cultural tourism development:

The potential of tourism to generate and contribute towards economic development through the packaging and commercialisation of heritage and cultural products; assist in keeping traditions alive by encouraging the revival of traditions and the restoration of sites and monuments and finance the protection of cultural heritage resources; and increase visitor appreciation of heritage. It furthermore also has the potential to generate a significant number of decent jobs vital to combat the huge unemployment rate; it can be used in heritage conservation; the social and symbolic uses of cultural heritage and cultural tourism products in nation building and social cohesion and participation of local communities.<sup>333</sup>

However, the benefits from heritage and cultural tourism activities are not always accessed equally by the local communities and stakeholders whose cultural heritage has been commercialized for tourism purposes, this is despite the fact that the potential to generate a significant number of decent jobs is necessary to reduce the huge unemployment rate.<sup>334</sup> At the same time the Strategy acknowledges that despite the benefits, tourism can also be detrimental to heritage when it is not well managed. Uncontrolled and unethical tourism practices have had adverse impacts on culture and heritage management, and the broader societal values.<sup>335</sup> The commoditization of cultural heritage through tourism activities has indicated that tourism tends to flourish on the packaging of heritage resources for tourist consumption only for the purposes of tourism growth and development and not so much for the conservation of cultural heritage resources.<sup>336</sup>

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<sup>333</sup> NDT, *National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy*, March 2012, pp. 28-34.

<sup>334</sup> NDT, *National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy*, March 2012, p. 28.

<sup>335</sup> NDT, *National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy*, March 2012, p. 28.

<sup>336</sup> NDT, *National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy*, March 2012, p. 28.

That being said, on the other side the heritage sector has been mainly concerned with the protection of heritage without considering the socio-economic opportunities the use of the resources holds. There thus seem to be a lack of synergy in structural alignment regarding a mutual beneficial association between heritage and tourism.<sup>337</sup>

A number of issues have been raised in the development of the National Strategy on Heritage and Cultural tourism that emanate from the legislative and policy frameworks that inform the field. These include: the manner in which some public and private sector institutions entrusted with the responsibility for the management of culture, heritage and tourism often operate in isolation from each other, even if their mandates tend to overlap.<sup>338</sup> There is significant lack of synergy in programmes of heritage and cultural tourism due to the lack institutional arrangement and strategic partnerships. The Intergovernmental Relations Framework (2005) provides a framework for cooperative governance and coordination in the implementation of government policy, legislation and programmes across the three spheres of government.<sup>339</sup> It is ultimately necessary to establish a sense of balance between the conservation of heritage and the development of tourism.<sup>340</sup>

In terms of mutual beneficiation between heritage and tourism a huge gap exists, there are no or little benefits in revenue streams accruing to heritage conservation in the commercialization of heritage resources through tourism activities.<sup>341</sup>

Many of the challenges that heritage and cultural tourism face in terms of the different legislative and policy frameworks can be addressed through an integrated management approach which would address the needs of both heritage and cultural resources and tourism products.<sup>342</sup>

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<sup>337</sup> NDT, *National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy*, March 2012, p. 28.

<sup>338</sup> NDT, *National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy*, March 2012, p. 35.

<sup>339</sup> NDT, *National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy*, March 2012, p. 35.

<sup>340</sup> NDT, *National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy*, March 2012, p. 35.

<sup>341</sup> NDT, *National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy*, March 2012, p. 37.

<sup>342</sup> NDT, *National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy*, March 2012, p. 37.

It is clear that the challenges around policy gaps and frameworks facing heritage and cultural tourism have not gone unnoticed. The development of a National Heritage and Cultural Tourism strategy by the NDT can arguably be seen as an attempt to address the issue of a lack of a framework for heritage and cultural tourism. Whether the strategy will solve some of the issues that exist between arts, culture, heritage and tourism remains to be seen. In 2012 a Memorandum of Understanding between the NDT and DAC has been drawn up for the purposes of development and management of heritage and cultural tourism and is in the process of being finalized.<sup>343</sup>

The DAC declared in their 2012-2013 Strategic Plan that there will be two major shifts within their policy frameworks.<sup>344</sup> The first is the recognition that a number of inadequacies in the policy and regulatory environment need to be addressed so as to strengthen governance in the sector, increase investment and improve information and statistics for more effective planning and decision-making. The second major shift is the process of alignment to specific outcomes of government and implicit in this approach is the need for consultation and collaboration.<sup>345</sup> The Department further stated that it can only achieve its vision through cooperation with a range of public and private sector institutions and stakeholders. The above mentioned development and implementation of the Mzansi Golden Economy Strategy is an example of how the Department intends to mobilise the resources of all stakeholders in the sector.<sup>346</sup> The DAC further declared in their 2012-2013 Strategic Plan that they plan to align the recommendations of the policy gaps identified by the legislation review with the vision 2016 of the Mzansi Golden Economy Strategy.<sup>347</sup> They further plan to address existing duplications and overlaps between acts; to eliminate wastage of public resources; to eliminate confusion and tension between or amongst institutions; and to clarify roles and responsibilities through the Cultural Laws Third Amendment Bill that still needs to be approved.<sup>348</sup>

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<sup>343</sup> NDT, *National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy*, March 2012, p. 47.

<sup>344</sup> DAC, *Strategic Annual Plan 2011-2012*, 2012, p. 2.

<sup>345</sup> DAC, *Strategic Annual Plan 2011-2012*, 2012, p. 2.

<sup>346</sup> DAC, *Strategic Annual Plan 2011-2012*, 2012, p. 2.

<sup>347</sup> DAC, *Strategic Annual Plan 2011-2012*, 2012, p. 4.

<sup>348</sup> DAC, *Strategic Annual Plan 2011-2012*, 2012, p. 4.

The DAC states that:

It is hoped that the suggested amendments, if they are approved by Parliament, will unlock human and financial resources for service delivery and thereby significantly enhance operational efficiencies in the heritage sector.<sup>349</sup>

South Africa has developed a number strategies and policies since 1994 in an attempt to transform the heritage and cultural tourism industry. The challenge that faces the industry is that these strategies and policies, although overlapping in some areas, fall within different ministry mandates, which unavoidably leads to different priorities when it comes to transformation and reconstruction. Some steps have been taken to remedy the situation, most noticeably by the two leading role players in heritage, culture and tourism, namely the NDT and the DAC. The extent to which these remedial steps within the legislative framework will assist in minimizing the constraints experienced towards the transformation and reconstruction experienced within legislative framework also remains to be seen.

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<sup>349</sup> DAC, *Strategic Annual Plan 2011-2012*, 2012, p. 4.

## CHAPTER 5

### HERITAGE AND CULTURAL TOURISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

This chapter focuses on significant developments in the portrayal of heritage and cultural tourism in South Africa since 1994. The discussion that follows will make use of several specific cases as examples to provide an indication of how the representation of South African heritage and culture has transformed. It does not however claim to be an exhaustive examination of these developments, but rather a sampling of some of the most recent trends.

From the start of the post-apartheid era, the heritage and cultural sector has been booming in South Africa. All over the country new museums have been constructed while new heritage sites, commemorative monuments, memorials, statues and busts have been erected.<sup>350</sup> With South Africa's re-integration into the global economy and with the establishment of new regional economic linkages within Africa, tourism as a whole has assumed a new significance as a potential economic driver for the development of the post-apartheid economy.<sup>351</sup> The tourist industry, and more specifically heritage and cultural tourism, have been given the responsibility of packaging, constructing, and transmitting images and representations of the new society and its past.<sup>352</sup> In attempts to correct the imbalances of the past, heritage and cultural tourism initiatives have mushroomed throughout the country transforming the industry. However, not everyone agrees that there is a need for such commemorative endeavour, especially in view of the country's staggering levels of poverty and scarce resources.<sup>353</sup> Yet despite this, the drive forges ahead.

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<sup>350</sup> S. Marschall, Gestures of Compensation: post-apartheid monuments and memorials, *Transformation*, No. 55, 2004, p. 78.

<sup>351</sup> C. M. Rogerson, Regional tourism in South Africa: A case of 'mass tourism of the South', *GeoJournal*, Vol. 60(3), 2004, p. 231.

<sup>352</sup> C. Rasool, The Rise of Heritage and the Reconstitution of History in South Africa, *Kronos*, Vol. 26, 2000, p. 5.

<sup>353</sup> S. Marschall, Gestures of Compensation: post-apartheid monuments and memorials, *Transformation*, No. 55, 2004, p. 78.

The heritage and cultural property of South Africa has changed significantly during the last 18 years of democracy. With South Africa entering the international sphere again, no longer being restricted by the systems of apartheid and sanctions, it has been afforded renewed international recognition. One of the key developments in this regard is the declaration of eight of its scenic and cultural treasures declared South African World Heritage Sites by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO).<sup>354</sup> Of these eight, four are categorized as 'cultural', three are defined as 'natural' and one is noted for both its cultural and natural value.<sup>355</sup>

The cultural sites include the Cradle of Humankind in the Sterkfontien region, rich in fossils of hominids, the early ancestors of humans. Nudging the country's Zimbabwean and Botswana borders are the remnants of an intriguing ancient civilization at Mapungubwe, dating back over 700 years. The third cultural site is that of the Richtersveld Cultural and Botanical Landscape, terrain of the semi-nomadic Nama in the Northern Cape and Robben Island, historic site just off the coast of the Western Cape. Among our natural world heritage sites are iSimangaliso Wetland Park, a huge estuary with a vast variety of animal and bird life in the area of St Lucia in the province of Kwa-Zulu Natal; the Cape Floral Region stretching from Cape Peninsula into the Eastern Cape province, containing 3% of all the earth's plant species; and the North West province's Vredevort Dome, an impact crater formed by the meteorite collision billions of years ago. Lastly, the site of both cultural and natural value, uKhahlamba Drakensberg Park with its mountains which are home to some of the rock art of the ancient San people.<sup>356</sup>

The listing of eight of the country's cultural and natural resource wonders as World Heritage Sites has arguably had a double-edged impact on the country's tourism industry. Firstly it can be argued that getting eight World Heritage Sites declared within the span of 18 years has had a positive impact in attracting more tourists.

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<sup>354</sup> UNESCO, 'World Heritage List', <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list>, 2012, Access: 2012-08-05.

<sup>355</sup> UNESCO, 'World Heritage List', <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list>, 2012, Access: 2012-08-05.

<sup>356</sup> SAT, 'South African World Heritage Sites', <http://www.southafrica.net/sat/content/en/za/full-article?oid=4365&sn=Detail&pid=423&South-African-World-Heritage-Sites>, s.a. Access: 2012-07-04;<sup>356</sup> J. Grobler, The Impact of Politics on Heritage and Cultural Tourism in South Africa, *S.A Journal of Cultural History*, Vol. 22(1), June 2008, p. 181.

However, B.J.M van der Aa, contradicts this with his argument that the possibility of attracting more tourist numbers as a result of being placed on the list, is less likely as tourist numbers at these types of sites are often already relatively high.<sup>357</sup> But, with South Africa still a developing country it can be argued that in getting onto the World Heritage Sites list, South Africa has, as a tourism destination, gained more international exposure which has contributed to the increase in tourist numbers. Secondly, within South Africa the pride the country felt with these World Heritage Site listings contributed towards a sense of shared identity, falling neatly into line with the nation building initiatives of the state.

South Africa has also seen a trend in the growth of community tourism, as urban and rural communities have sought to present a heritage that has until now been obscured or totally neglected. Tourist encounters with living local cultures are arranged in a congested marketplace of sites and routes, competing with each other as the most authentic representation of the past.<sup>358</sup> Hughes identified two types of community tourism, namely cultural villages and township tours.<sup>359</sup> Cultural villages are purpose-built custom-made complexes intended, with the help of cultural workers, as a simulation of aspects of the way of life of a cultural grouping, as it was at a specific period (or over several periods) of time.<sup>360</sup> These cultural villages typically consist of a homestead to show living arrangements and an area for dance, music, storytelling and other live cultural displays, a restaurant and a craft/souvenir outlet.<sup>361</sup> These villages offer the tourist convenient snapshots of histories and culture(s), allowing firsthand experiences and glimpses into traditional cultures. However, the re-imagining and repackaging of traditions are also being directed at South Africans of the new South Africa.<sup>362</sup>

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<sup>357</sup> B. J. M. van der Aa *et al.*, *World Heritage as NIMBY? The Case of the Dutch Part of Wadden Sea in D.* Harrison & M. Hitchcock (eds), *The Politics of World Heritage*, p. 18.

<sup>358</sup> L. Witz, C. Rassool, & G. Minkley, Repackaging the Past for South African Tourism, *Daedalus*, Vol. 130(1), Why South Africa Matters (Winter, 2001), p. 278.

<sup>359</sup> H. Hughes, Rainbow, Renaissance, Tribes and Townships: Tourism and Heritage in South Africa since 1994 in S. Buhlungu *et al.* (eds.), *State of the Nation: South Africa 2007*, 2007, p. 280.

<sup>360</sup> E. Jansen van Veuren, Transforming Cultural Villages in the Spatial Development Initiatives of South Africa, *South African Geographical Journal*, Vol. 83(2), 2001, p. 139.

<sup>361</sup> H. Hughes, Rainbow, Renaissance, Tribes and Townships: Tourism and Heritage in South Africa since 1994 in S. Buhlungu *et al.* (eds.), *State of the Nation: South Africa 2007*, 2007, p. 280.

<sup>362</sup> L. Witz, C. Rassool, & G. Minkley, Repackaging the Past for South African Tourism, *Daedalus*, Vol. 130(1), Why South Africa Matters (Winter, 2001), p. 280.

It has been argued that cultural villages are presented as a way to know oneself, to learn about the Other and to become a country.<sup>363</sup> Apart from the international showcasing of the country and this internal nation and identity building potential, cultural villages also have the potential to empower communities economically. J. Grobler argues that in South Africa this is only true to a limited extent since most of the more popular and successful cultural villages belong to nationwide hotel groups,<sup>364</sup> and thus the economic benefits very rarely go to the community itself. This concentration of economic power which is often entirely in white hands raises questions about who owns local culture as both identity builders and resource developers in the new South Africa.<sup>365</sup>

An example of the latter is the well-known Lesedi cultural village situated in Gauteng province. It is a prime example of a village that displays a number of different African cultures, five traditional homesteads to be exact.<sup>366</sup> It is arguably one of South Africa's most successful cultural villages. Romanticized versions of indigenous South African pasts are performed by an indigenous cast, directed by white business men and anthropologists and performed for a predominantly white international audience.<sup>367</sup> There are now roughly around 40 cultural villages operating across South Africa, they are built on the belief of ethnic distinctiveness and the belief that they are providing knowledge and portrayal of both tangible and intangible indigenous heritage.<sup>368</sup> These cultural village attractions have been accused of simplifying, commodifying and displaying African cultures as static, unchanging and one-dimensional.<sup>369</sup>

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<sup>363</sup> L. Witz, C. Rassool, & G. Minkley, Repackaging the Past for South African Tourism, *Daedalus*, Vol. 130(1), Why South Africa Matters (Winter, 2001), p. 282.

<sup>364</sup> J. Grobler, The Impact of Politics on Heritage and Cultural Tourism in South Africa, *S.A Journal of Cultural History*, Vol. 22(1), June 2008, p. 181.

<sup>365</sup> B. Hayward, Repackaging the Past and Commodifying Culture: Constructing heritage in "cultural villages" in post-apartheid South Africa, *Undercurrent Journal*, Vol. IV (1), 2007, p. 27.

<sup>366</sup> H. Hughes, Rainbow, Renaissance, Tribes and Townships: Tourism and Heritage in South Africa since 1994 in S. Buhlungu et al. (eds), *State of the Nation: South Africa 2007*, 2007, p. 280.

<sup>367</sup> B. Hayward, Repackaging the Past and Commodifying Culture: Constructing heritage in "cultural villages" in post-apartheid South Africa, *Undercurrent Journal* Volume IV(1), 2007, pp. 27.

<sup>368</sup> H. Hughes, Rainbow, Renaissance, Tribes and Townships: Tourism and Heritage in South Africa since 1994 in S. Buhlungu et al. (eds.), *State of the Nation: South Africa 2007*, 2007, p. 280.

<sup>369</sup> B. Hayward, Repackaging the Past and Commodifying Culture: Constructing heritage in "cultural villages" in post-apartheid South Africa, *Undercurrent Journal* Volume IV (1), 2007, p. 28.

This leaves one to conclude that it is all rather contradictory. Cultural villages cannot be perceived as contributing towards identity formation and nation building as these portrayals are firstly mostly staged and thus basically unauthentic and secondly, being predominantly white-owned, the communities can surely not benefit much economically. One can safely conclude that the transformation of cultural village tourism has thus far not been that successful.

In the light of this it is therefore not surprising that earlier in April this year NDT launched its National Rural Tourism Strategy. This strategy meant to ensure a developmental approach for packaging rural tourism products and opportunities in South Africa. It is also meant to prioritise spatial nodes which have a growth potential in order to stimulate development of the tourism industry in South Africa.<sup>370</sup> It is hoped that the National Rural Strategy will enhance the development and growth of tourism in rural communities and in doing so, address the aforementioned challenges.

The emergence of township tourism is largely an occurrence that can be ascribed to the post-apartheid period. As I. Nemasetoni and C.M. Rogerson further argue, township tourism brings visitors to the sites of significance in the anti-apartheid movement, as well as improves the understanding of poverty issues of the previously historically oppressed communities.<sup>371</sup> Township tours provide samples of ethnic diversity, visual traces of apartheid's deprivations and memorials to resistance. Soweto is arguably the triumph of all township tours, presented through its rows of houses, and where the struggle against apartheid was reignited in the mid 1970s.<sup>372</sup> Today township tours are sold to tourist as a must experience where an emotional connection will be discovered and conviviality and the sense of camaraderie that underpins South Africa's working class will be tangible.<sup>373</sup>

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<sup>370</sup> NDT, *National Rural Tourism Strategy*, April 2012.

<sup>371</sup> I. Nemasetoni & C.M. Rogerson, *Developing Small Firms in Township Tourism: Emerging Tour Operators in Gauteng, South Africa*, *Urban Forum*, Vol. 16(2-3), September 2005, p. 201.

<sup>372</sup> L. Witz, C. Rassool, & G. Minkley, *Repackaging the Past for South African Tourism*, *Daedalus*, Vol. 130(1), *Why South Africa Matters* (Winter, 2001), p. 284.

<sup>373</sup> SAT, 'Townships in South Africa', <http://www.southafrica.net/sat/content/en/za/full-article?oid=9560&sn=Detail&pid=105&Townships-in-South-Africa>, s.a. Access: 2012-06-18.

Top township tourism experiences include Johannesburg's Soweto and Alexandra, the country's most populous and historically rich township; Pretoria's Mamelodi and Soshanguve, which are both jazz music strongholds; and Cape Town's Khayelitsha and Langa, where Brenda Fassie, the country's undisputed queen of pop was born.<sup>374</sup> Township tours in present day South Africa are such a popular tourism experience that they are offered by professional tour operators as part of packages. Similarly to cultural villages, this is an opportunity to represent a heritage and life style that was previously hidden from the world.

One of the most noteworthy developments in heritage since 1994 is arguably the case of Robben Island Museum, South Africa's first new major heritage institution.<sup>375</sup> Situated on Robben Island, located twelve miles off the coastline of Cape Town at the entrance to Table Bay,<sup>376</sup> Robben Island Museum was opened on Heritage Day, the 24<sup>th</sup> of September 1997.<sup>377</sup> At the opening Mr. Nelson Mandela (then president of South Africa) said that it is: 'A vital part of South Africa's collective heritage. Siquithini - the Island . a place of pain and banishment for centuries and now of triumph . presents us with the rich challenge of heritage.'<sup>378</sup>

For nearly 400 years, Robben Island served as a place of confinement for lepers and the insane and for exile for political dissidents. It is most renowned for the period from 1961 to 1991 when it was a maximum security prison and metaphor for the inhumanity of apartheid.<sup>379</sup> It was here that Mandela was held as prisoner 466/64.<sup>380</sup>

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<sup>374</sup> SAT, 'Townships in South Africa', <http://www.southafrica.net/sat/content/en/za/full-article?oid=9560&sn=Detail&pid=105&Townships-in-South-Africa>, s.a. Access: 2012-06-18.

<sup>375</sup> S. Hoelscher & D. H. Alderman, Memory and place: geographies of a critical relationship, *Social & Cultural Geography*, Vol. 5(3), 2004, p. 347.

<sup>376</sup> S. Hoelscher & D. H. Alderman, Memory and place: geographies of a critical relationship, *Social & Cultural Geography*, Vol. 5(3), 2004, p. 347.

<sup>377</sup> N. Gumede, 1997 as cited in Goudie, F. Khan & D. Kilian, Transforming Tourism: Black Empowerment, Heritage and Identity Beyond Apartheid, *South African Geographical Journal*, Vol. 81(1), 1999, p. 24.

<sup>378</sup> ANC, 'Speeches: Address by President Mandela on Heritage Day, 24 September 1997', <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=4215>, s.a. Access: 2012-06-21.

<sup>379</sup> S. Hoelscher & D. H. Alderman, Memory and place: geographies of a critical relationship, *Social & Cultural Geography*, Vol. 5(3), 2004, p. 347.

<sup>380</sup> V. Riouful, Behind Telling: Post-Apartheid Representations of Robben Island's Past, *Kronos*, Vol. 26, Aug 2000, p. 24.

Robben Island is approximately 475 ha in size with a complex cultural landscape, of which the maximum-security prison is the main attraction for visitor. Besides the prison, a village and other buildings including a Muslim shrine and Second World War bunkers and gun emplacements are located within the island landscape.<sup>381</sup> Many political prisoners were imprisoned here for their fight against oppression. Initially, the island was declared a Cultural Institution and a Robben Island Council was established and Robben Island Museum was developed. The change from closed-access prison to open-access cultural attraction came abruptly due to political pressure.<sup>382</sup> In 1999 Robben Island was declared one of South Africa's first three World Heritage sites, together with Greater St Lucia Wetlands and the Sterkfontein fossil hominid sites in December 1999.<sup>383</sup>

Attempts were made to interpret a new national history and identity based on struggle, not only the struggle against apartheid, but struggle against different ruling and colonising groups. Dutch, British and Afrikaner - throughout South Africa's history.<sup>384</sup> As J. M. Gore argues, Robben Island can be seen as representing this entire period, through its long recorded history as a prison for both criminal and political prisoners, including leading Xhosa and other chiefs in the nineteenth century, as well as the prominent struggle leaders during the second half of the twentieth.<sup>385</sup> Robben Island is indeed the heritage of all South Africans and is thus relevant to the present government's nation-building agenda. It functions as a reflection of a larger state with a global, rather than regional, identity.<sup>386</sup>

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<sup>381</sup> M. Shackley, Potential Futures for Robben Island: Shrine, Museum or Theme Park?, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol.7(4), 2001, pp. 355-356.

<sup>382</sup> M. Shackley, Potential Futures for Robben Island: Shrine, Museum or Theme Park?, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol.7(4), 2001, pp. 355-356.

<sup>383</sup> M. Shackley, Potential Futures for Robben Island: Shrine, Museum or Theme Park?, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol.7(4), 2001, pp. 355-356.

<sup>384</sup> J.M. Gore, New Histories in a Post-Colonial Society – Transformation in South African Museums since 1994, *Historia*, Vol. 50(1), May 2005, p. 80.

<sup>385</sup> J.M. Gore, New Histories in a Post-Colonial Society – Transformation in South African Museums since 1994, *Historia*, Vol. 50(1), May 2005, p. 80.

<sup>386</sup> M. Shackley, Potential Futures for Robben Island: Shrine, Museum or Theme Park?, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol.7(4), 2001, pp. 355-356.

Today, listed under the top tourism attractions South Africa has to offer, this heritage site is a worldwide beacon for human rights.<sup>387</sup> Apart from its heritage and cultural significance, the island also offers natural significance including birdlife, geology, marine and wildlife and natural vegetation, all of which forms part of the museum's conservation.<sup>388</sup>

Another prominent example of a site of suffering and struggle which has been successfully used for the purpose of establishing a museum is District Six.<sup>389</sup> This area was named the Sixth Municipal District of Cape Town in 1867 and originally established as a mixed community of freed slaves, merchants, artisans, labourers and immigrants.<sup>390</sup> It was a vibrant centre with close links to the city and the port. By the beginning of the twentieth century, however, the process of removals and marginalisation of the later apartheid era had begun. The first communities to be 'resettled' were black South Africans, forcibly displaced from the District in 1901.<sup>391</sup> In 1966 it was declared a white area under the Group Areas Act of 1950, and by 1982, the life of the community was over. It was then that 60 000 people were forcibly removed to barren outlying areas aptly known as the Cape Flats<sup>392</sup> and almost all of the buildings were bulldozed.<sup>393</sup> Flatly refusing to sell or deconsecrate their grounds, fierce battles ensued between the state and wealthy businesses as they tried to occupy and develop the land.<sup>394</sup> However in 1994 District Six Museum situated in the Methodist Church in the area was opened to keep alive the memories of District Six's people and displaced people everywhere.<sup>395</sup>

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<sup>387</sup> SAT, 'Top 10 Attractions', <http://www.southafrica.net/sat/content/en/za/top-10-attractions>, s.a Access: 2012-06-21.

<sup>388</sup> Robben Island Museum, 'Natural Conservation', [http://www.robben-island.org.za/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=18&Itemid=17](http://www.robben-island.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=18&Itemid=17), s.a Access: 2012-06-21.

<sup>389</sup> J.M. Gore, New Histories in a Post-Colonial Society – Transformation in South African Museums since 1994, *Historia*, Vol. 50(1), May 2005, p. 82.

<sup>390</sup> District Six Museum, 'About the Museum', <http://www.districtsix.co.za/>, s.a. Access 2012-06-21.

<sup>391</sup> J.M. Gore, New Histories in a Post-Colonial Society – Transformation in South African Museums since 1994, *Historia*, Vol. 50(1), May 2005, p. 82.

<sup>392</sup> District Six Museum, 'About the Museum', <http://www.districtsix.co.za/>, s.a. Access 2012-06-21.

<sup>393</sup> V.Layne, District Six Museum: An Ordinary People's Place, *The Public Historian*, Vol. 30(1), 2008, p. 53.

<sup>394</sup> S. Prosalendis, 1995 as cited in J.M. Gore, New Histories in a Post-Colonial Society – Transformation in South African Museums since 1994, *Historia*, Vol. 50(1), May 2005, p. 82.

<sup>395</sup> V.Layne, District Six Museum: An Ordinary People's Place, *The Public Historian*, Vol. 30(1), 2008, p. 53.

The District Six Museum's influence and meaning has become of national importance. Through its displays and public programmes it also addresses issues such as reconciliation, discrimination and resistance.<sup>396</sup> In this way District Six, like Robben Island, has also become an iconic symbol of the suffering and triumph of the masses during apartheid and is another example of a new heritage institution representing a national history and identity based on the struggle.<sup>397</sup> Today the District Six Museum forms a key part of the Western Cape province's historical attractions highlights. One of the first museums to transform its existing exhibits, was the Africana Museum in Johannesburg. It moved premises and changed its name to MuseumAfrica and so, to an extent, can actually be called a new museum.<sup>398</sup> Originally established in 1935 around the vast private collection of Dr. John Gaspard Gubbins, it houses today around 850 000 objects and includes significant collections of paintings, manuscripts, African cultural artefacts, Cape silver, ceramics, furniture, photography, costumes, explorer maps and other materials.<sup>399</sup> In 1974, the old Market Building in Newtown was earmarked for development as a cultural history museum, but it took nearly 20 years to realize this vision. MuseumAfrica eventually took over the rest of the old market buildings that had stood unoccupied for many years and opened its doors in 1994. The move allowed the museum staff an opportunity to reconsider the content and significance of the collections. For the first time, the museum provided an inclusive history of South Africa, focusing on worker and black history.<sup>400</sup> Numerous smaller community museums have also appeared reflecting on the history and culture of black South Africans. These include displays of the Mapoch Ndebele and KortKloof cultural villages in the North West Province. Another example is the Mgwali Community Museum in the Eastern Cape which opened in 2002 with the mission to resuscitate heritage and re-write history.<sup>401</sup>

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<sup>396</sup> J.M. Gore, *New Histories in a Post-Colonial Society – Transformation in South African Museums since 1994*, *Historia*, Vol. 50(1), May 2005, p. 84.

<sup>397</sup> J.M. Gore, *New Histories in a Post-Colonial Society – Transformation in South African Museums since 1994*, *Historia*, Vol. 50(1), May 2005, p. 84.

<sup>398</sup> J.M. Gore, *New Histories in a Post-Colonial Society – Transformation in South African Museums since 1994*, *Historia*, Vol. 50(1), May 2005, p. 88.

<sup>399</sup> Museum Africa, [http://www.newtown.co.za/heritage/view/index/museum\\_africa](http://www.newtown.co.za/heritage/view/index/museum_africa), s.a. Access:2012-06-13.

<sup>400</sup> Museum Africa, [http://www.newtown.co.za/heritage/view/index/museum\\_africa](http://www.newtown.co.za/heritage/view/index/museum_africa), s.a. Access: 2012-06-13.

<sup>401</sup> J.M. Gore, *New Histories in a Post-Colonial Society – Transformation in South African Museums since 1994*, *Historia*, Vol. 50(1), May 2005, p. 84.

Although not one of South Africa's biggest museums in terms of a tourism attraction, it bears significance in the fact that it was one of the first museums in South Africa's attempt at transformation.

The historical Apartheid Museum, situated across from the Gold Reef City theme park in Johannesburg, is the first of its kind in that it illustrates the rise and fall of apartheid. The focus of this museum is the long struggle for freedom from racial oppression.<sup>402</sup> In 1995 the South African government through its Gambling Board agency set up a process for the granting of casino licenses. The bid documents stipulated that bidders should demonstrate how they would attract tourism and in so doing, grow the economy and stimulate job creation. A consortium, called Akani Egoli (Gold Reef City), put in a bid that included the commitment to building a museum. Their bid was successful, the Gold Reef City Casino was built and an adjacent piece of land given for the construction of a museum. The cost of the construction of what became the Apartheid Museum was paid for by Gold Reef City.

The Apartheid Museum which opened in 2001 is registered as a Section 21 company (incorporated not for gain) with an independent board of trustees. The company is separate from Gold Reef City, which has leased the museum to the Section 21 Company for the duration of the casino license. The museum is self reliant on donations, contributions and sponsorships.<sup>403</sup> It consists of twenty-two exhibition areas designed by a team of curators, filmmakers and historians. The museum makes use of multimedia (film footage, newspaper clippings, text panels and artefacts) to recreate the experience of what it was like under apartheid.<sup>404</sup>

Along with museums, many monuments also went through a process of transformation and restructuring after 1994.<sup>405</sup>

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<sup>402</sup> SAT, 'Articles: The Apartheid Museum', [http://www.southafrica.net/sat/content/en/za/search-results?search\\_keyword=Apartheid+Museum&pid=1](http://www.southafrica.net/sat/content/en/za/search-results?search_keyword=Apartheid+Museum&pid=1), s.a. Access: 2012-09-28.

<sup>403</sup> Apartheid Museum, 'About the Museum', <http://www.apartheidmuseum.org/about-museum-0>, s.a. Access: 2012-09-28.

<sup>404</sup> SouthAfrica.Info, 'The Apartheid Museum', <http://www.southafrica.info/about/history/apartmuseum.htm>, s.a. Access: 2012-09-28.

<sup>405</sup> J. Grobler, The Impact of Politics on Heritage and Cultural Tourism in South Africa, *S.A Journal of Cultural History*, Vol. 22(1), June 2008, p. 183.

However unlike museums, existing monuments can usually not be altered. The most notorious example would be the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria, which actively remoulded its symbolism in an attempt to rid itself of its image of representing the holy ground of Afrikaner nationalism.<sup>406</sup> The Voortrekker Monument, situated south of Pretoria, is an ideal example of a monument that was erected to mark an Afrikaner nationalistic historic event, namely the Great Trek of 1835 to 1852.<sup>407</sup>

The Voortrekker Monument has and still play a major part in Afrikaner identity having been used as a tool by the Nationalist Party to further its Afrikaner nation-building cause.<sup>408</sup> To many Afrikaners the monument is an icon and represents their heritage. However, with the end of the apartheid era and the new democratic state taking over, the monument has been a sensitive subject. Like so many other heritage and cultural sites in South Africa it was representative of white history and many whites were concerned about its future under the new ANC-led government. The Monument however has made various attempts to play a constructive role in the establishment of a new South African identity in the post-apartheid era.<sup>409</sup> Since 1994, the management has increased nation building and reconciliation activities and embarked on various projects to become more inclusive and part of the new South Africa.<sup>410</sup> Although not without challenges, the Voortrekker Monument has seemingly managed to reposition itself within the new South Africa and this is more than evident in what has more recently transpired. On the 16th March 2012 the DAC, the SAHRA and the Voortrekker Monument hosted an event to celebrate the declaration of the monument as a national heritage site.<sup>411</sup>

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<sup>406</sup> A. Grundlingh cited in J. Grobler, *The Impact of Politics on Heritage and Cultural Tourism in South Africa*, *S.A Journal of Cultural History*, Vol. 22(1), June 2008, p. 183.

<sup>407</sup> C. Kruger & M. van Heerden, *The Voortrekker Monument Heritage Site: A New Statement of Significance*, *Historia*, Vol. 50(2), November 2005, p. 243.

<sup>408</sup> C. Kruger & M. van Heerden, *The Voortrekker Monument Heritage Site: A New Statement of Significance*, *Historia*, Vol. 50(2), November 2005, p. 258.

<sup>409</sup> C. Kruger & M. van Heerden, *The Voortrekker Monument Heritage Site: A New Statement of Significance*, *Historia*, Vol. 50 (2), November 2005, p. 258.

<sup>410</sup> C. Kruger & M. van Heerden, *The Voortrekker Monument Heritage Site: A New Statement of Significance*, *Historia*, Vol. 50 (2), November 2005, p. 258.

<sup>411</sup> DAC, 'Declaration of the Voortrekker Monument as a National Heritage', <http://www.dac.gov.za/projects/heritage/voortrekker-monument.html>, 16 March 2012, Access: 2012-03-20.

The event was attended by Afrikaner communities, the Voortrekker Monument funders and the board of trustees, Freedom Park and the DAC.<sup>412</sup> Today the Voortrekker Monument is still listed as one of the top ten monuments to visit.<sup>413</sup>

A key South African approach to redressing past imbalances in the heritage field has been the complementation of existing monuments and heritage sites with new ones, which represent the heroes, achievements and sufferings of the previously neglected black majority.<sup>414</sup> Marshall argues that in South Africa this is not an easy task as new commemorative structures are often set up in the immediate vicinity or in deliberate juxtaposition to existing monuments. She points out that many new monuments were seen as a %critical response to a specific, existing monument, highlighting absences of representation and posing counter-narratives to biased or exclusive interpretations of the past.<sup>415</sup>

What Marshall claims is clearly illustrated in the positioning of Freedom Park opposite the Voortrekker Monument. Situated on a site deliberately proximate and almost challenging to the Voortrekker Monument on Salvokop.<sup>416</sup> Freedom Park is the creation of a memorial that tells the story of South Africa's pre-colonial, colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid history and heritage. It spans a period of 3.6 billion years of humanity and acknowledges those that contributed to the freedom of the country.<sup>417</sup>

A first of its kind internationally, Freedom Park is founded on the values of human dignity, rights and freedom, and is a reflection of the sacrificial achievements the nation has made. It tells the story of South Africa's reconciliation process and the

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<sup>412</sup> DAC, 'Declaration of the Voortrekker Monument as a National Heritage', <http://www.dac.gov.za/projects/heritage/voortrekker-monument.html>, 16 March 2012, Access: 2012-03-20.

<sup>413</sup> SAT, 'Top 10 Monuments', <http://www.southafrica.net/sat/content/en/za/top-10detail?oid=16776&sn=Detail&pid=940&Monuments>, s.a Access: 2012-06-21.

<sup>414</sup> S. Marschall, Transforming the Landscape of Memory: The South African Commemorative Effort in International Perspective, *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 55(1), 2006, p. 182.

<sup>415</sup> S. Marschall, Transforming the Landscape of Memory: The South African Commemorative Effort in International Perspective, *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 55(1), 2006, p. 182.

<sup>416</sup> H. Hughes, Rainbow, Renaissance, Tribes and Townships: Tourism and Heritage in South Africa since 1994 in S. Buhlungu et al. (eds), *State of the Nation: South Africa 2007*, 2007, p. 279.

<sup>417</sup> Freedom Park, <http://www.freedompark.co.za/cms/index.php>, s.a. Access: 2012-03-20.

advancement of human rights entrenched in the Constitution. Freedom Park . an embodiment of where we come from as a nation - tells a tale of South Africa's diverse heritage in a visual and interactive way.<sup>418</sup>

Freedom Park has a number of elements that reflect on the struggles of the past: a vast wall commemorating those who have paid the ultimate price for freedom; an eternal flame paying tribute to the unknown and unsung heroes and heroines; a gallery dedicated to the legends of humanity; a symbolic resting place for those who have died and the story of Southern Africa's 3.6 billion years of history.<sup>419</sup> The Freedom Park Project is one of abovementioned government's initial Legacy Projects that acknowledges and celebrates South Africa's multicultural heritage. At its core is the struggle for human rights and democracy in South Africa. It represents, in a visible, experiential and interactive manner, our developing national consciousness and identity.<sup>420</sup> It is indeed seen as the post-apartheid counterpart of the Afrikaner Nationalist Voortrekker Monument on the adjacent hill.<sup>421</sup> The Freedom Park project is ongoing since besides the five sites, //hapo, Moshate, S'khumbuto, Uitspanplek, and Isivivane, opened to the public in 2007, another two sites, Tiva and Vhuawelo, and the Pan-African Archives, are still to be completed.<sup>422</sup>

Similar to the above is the Egazini Memorial in Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape province. It also responds to an existing memorial representing the white side of the battle of Grahamstown of 1819.<sup>423</sup>

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<sup>418</sup> Freedom Park, 'A Key Presidential Legacy Project', [http://www.freedompark.co.za/cms/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=23&Itemid=26&phpMyAdmin=17b790ef730b81da09a13c43c12692b2](http://www.freedompark.co.za/cms/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=23&Itemid=26&phpMyAdmin=17b790ef730b81da09a13c43c12692b2), s.a. Access: 2012-07-11.

<sup>419</sup> Freedom Park, 'A Key Presidential Legacy Project', [http://www.freedompark.co.za/cms/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=23&Itemid=26&phpMyAdmin=17b790ef730b81da09a13c43c12692b2](http://www.freedompark.co.za/cms/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=23&Itemid=26&phpMyAdmin=17b790ef730b81da09a13c43c12692b2), s.a. Access: 2012-07-11.

<sup>420</sup> DACST, *Annual Report 2000/2001*, p. 52.

<sup>421</sup> S. Marschall, Transforming the Landscape of Memory: The South African Commemorative Effort in International Perspective, *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 55(1), 2006, p. 182.

<sup>422</sup> SAT, 'Freedom Park', [http://www.southafrica.net/sat/content/en/za/search-results?search\\_keyword=Freedom+Park&pid=940](http://www.southafrica.net/sat/content/en/za/search-results?search_keyword=Freedom+Park&pid=940), s.a. Access: 2012-06-21.

<sup>423</sup> S. Marschall, Transforming the Landscape of Memory: The South African Commemorative Effort in International Perspective, *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 55(1), 2006, p. 182.

In both these cases, the new commemorative structure derives part of its intended meaning from the presence and specific content of the older monument; at the same time, the presence and content of the new monument invariably affects the older monument.<sup>424</sup> Other examples of this kind of juxtapositioning include the new memorials at prominent battlefields in KwaZulu-Natal, such as the Ncome, Isandlwana and Rorkes' Drift, commemorating Zulu warriors who fell during the course of various wars with the Voortrekkers and the British army. These complement the older memorials which were established exclusively for the white combatants.<sup>425</sup> It could be argued that although erected in what initially may seem as challenging and in direct opposition to existing colonial and apartheid era memorials, these new counter post-apartheid memorials represent a form of reparation.

Situated between Braamfontein and Hillbrow precincts in Johannesburg lies Constitution Hill. A city precinct, anchored by the South African Constitutional Court. Constitution Hill is also the site of Johannesburg's notorious Old Fort Prison Complex, where thousands of ordinary people were brutally punished before the dawn of democracy.<sup>426</sup> The Old Fort was built in 1896. 1899 by the government of the then South African Republic to protect the Witwatersrand gold mines from British incursions and to police the unruly mining town of Johannesburg.<sup>427</sup> The Old Fort Complex, later commonly known as Number Four after one of the prison buildings, subsequently became the main prison for central Johannesburg and, in addition to the original Fort, further structures were built between 1904 and 1928. In total the penal buildings comprised the Old Fort (white male prisoners), the Women's Gaol (mixed race, but segregated), Number Four (black male prisoners) and the Awaiting Trial Block (ATB, black male prisoners).<sup>428</sup>

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<sup>424</sup> S. Marschall, Transforming the Landscape of Memory: The South African Commemorative Effort in International Perspective, *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 55(1), 2006, p. 182.

<sup>425</sup> S. Marschall, Transforming the Landscape of Memory: The South African Commemorative Effort in International Perspective, *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 55 (1), 2006, p. 182.

<sup>426</sup> Constitution Hill, <http://www.constitutionhill.org.za/>, s.a. Access: 2012-09-27.

<sup>427</sup> T. King & M.K. Flynn, Heritage and the post-apartheid city: Constitution Hill, Johannesburg, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 18(1), 2012, p. 66.

<sup>428</sup> T. King & M.K. Flynn, Heritage and the post-apartheid city: Constitution Hill, Johannesburg, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 18(1), 2012, pp. 66-67.

The Old Fort was infamous for its harsh treatment of prisoners, who ranged from common criminals to hundreds of thousands of ordinary men and women who contravened colonial and apartheid legislation.<sup>429</sup> Apart from the Boer military leaders who were imprisoned there during the South African War of 1899-1902, many important political leaders in South African history were also imprisoned in the Old Fort. These include Mahatma Gandhi, Nelson Mandela, Winnie Mandela and Fatima Meer to name but a few.<sup>430</sup>

When the jails closed in 1983, the site lay abandoned for many years. In 1996, the judges of the newly established Constitutional Court announced that because of its history this notorious prison complex was to become the home of the South African Constitutional Court which opened in March 2004.<sup>431</sup> Constitution Hill is described by South African Tourism as:

A human rights precinct and a world-class heritage tourist attraction incorporating cultural, historical, artistic, educational and recreational spaces that celebrate South Africa's ability to negotiate a peaceful, miraculous democracy out of bloody oppression.<sup>432</sup>

The importance of Constitution Hill, as T. King and M.K. Flynn argue, is that it differs from most prominent post-apartheid heritage sites in the fact that that it is not re-balancing a biased public past by simply erecting new monuments or changing displays to re' ect new heroes. Its heritage is interpreted as being symbolic of a change in national values by emphasising human rights rather than having to compete against an apartheid heritage site at the same location.<sup>433</sup>

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<sup>429</sup> Constitution Hill, 'Our History' <http://www.constitutionhill.org.za/>, s.a. Access: 2012-09-27.

<sup>430</sup> C. Madikida, L. Segal & C. van den Berg, The Reconstruction of Memory at Constitution Hill, *The Public Historian*, Vol. 30(1), February 2008, p. 18.

<sup>431</sup> C. Madikida, L. Segal & C. van den Berg, The Reconstruction of Memory at Constitution Hill, *The Public Historian*, Vol. 30(1), February 2008, p. 18.

<sup>432</sup> SAT, 'Preserving our Human Rights: Constitution Hill', <http://www.southafrica.net/sat/content/en/za/full-article?oid=8569&sn=Detail&pid=1>, s.a. Access: 2012-09-27.

<sup>433</sup> T. King & M.K. Flynn, Heritage and the post-apartheid city: Constitution Hill, Johannesburg, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 18(1), 2012, p. 70.

They further point out that it avoids the trap of merely assuming that social justice in post-apartheid heritage is simply a matter of refashioning content. They claim:

Rather, Constitution Hill is intended as part of social transformation by grounding its heritage fundamentally in the ideals of the new democracy itself . constitutionalism and the rule of law . to the extent that the anchor is the Constitutional Court itself.<sup>434</sup>

Like Constitution Hill, the National Cultural History Museum in Pretoria is a cultural museum dedicated to the preservation of culture and heritage of all South Africans. It aims to explore cultural multiplicity and commonalities, and to link the present with the past to offer a better understanding of both. With access to a collection of about three million objects, different displays of permanent and temporary exhibitions are alternated. The museum works with institutions and community-based organisations to host film festivals, arts and crafts exhibitions, seminars, conferences and other cultural events thus making a concerted effort to link with the communities it serves.<sup>435</sup>

Since the beginning of the 1990s the fate of monuments and other aspects of the heritage sector were debated in academia, among political leaders and among the general public.<sup>436</sup> These key debates focused on the pre-empted future of existing monuments dating from the colonial and apartheid eras and on the issue of redressing the imbalance palpable in the country's heritage landscape.<sup>437</sup> However, since the transfer of power, relatively few existing public monuments have been removed. The removal of the statue of Verwoerd from public display in Bloemfontein in 1994 was a rare example.<sup>438</sup>

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<sup>434</sup> T. King & M.K. Flynn, Heritage and the post-apartheid city: Constitution Hill, Johannesburg, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 18(1), 2012, p. 70.

<sup>435</sup> SouthAfrica.Info, 'SA Museums: Gauteng', <http://www.southafrica.info/travel/cultural/179901.htm>. s.a. Access: 2012-09-29.

<sup>436</sup> S. Marschall, Transforming the Landscape of Memory: The South African Commemorative Effort in International Perspective, *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 55 (1), 2006, p. 167.

<sup>437</sup> S. Marschall, Transforming the Landscape of Memory: The South African Commemorative Effort in International Perspective, *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 55 (1), 2006, p. 167.

<sup>438</sup> C. Saunders, 'The Transformation of heritage in the new South Africa', in H.E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa* 2007, p. 188.

In Cape Town, there was a brief attempt to redo some of the statues. The statue of General Louis Botha, the first prime minister of a united South Africa, which stands outside Parliament was a case in point. The statue was draped in a blanket and the face transformed, so that Botha became a Xhosa initiate. But the statue was soon restored to as it had been, with officials saying that it was wrong to tamper with, or destroy, existing monuments, for that would be to destroy history.<sup>439</sup>

Another case was the statue of Venda king Makhado, which was unveiled on 6 September 2005 at the Soutpansberg Tourism Information Centre in Makhado (previously Louis Trichardt) in Limpopo province. Six days after the unveiling, it was defaced with the colours of the old South African flag painted across it. The head was painted orange, the torso white and the legs blue. Subsequent to the unveiling of the Makhado statue, the statue of Louis Trichardt was removed from its pedestal and stored, initially in a tool-shed and later in a public library. The Municipality claimed that it was considering plans to build a museum which would house all apartheid era historical statues.<sup>440</sup>

It could be argued that in this case the defacing of the new and the consequent removal of the other were more a case of a local political power struggle. The new democratic government decided not to adopt radical iconoclasm as far as existing monuments were concerned.<sup>441</sup>

In line with the recommendations of the National Monuments Council in the early 1990s, new commemorative structures and spaces to balance the existing heritage landscape and to commemorate those who fought for liberation were called for.<sup>442</sup>

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<sup>439</sup> C. Saunders, 'The Transformation of heritage in the new South Africa', in H.E. Stolten, (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics, The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa* 2007, p. 189.

<sup>440</sup> M. Thotse, Contesting names and statues: battles over the Louis Trichardt/Makhado 'city-text' in Limpopo Province, South Africa, *Kronos (Belville)*, Nov 2010, Vol. 36(1), pp. 177-179.

<sup>441</sup> S. Marschall, Transforming the Landscape of Memory: The South African Commemorative Effort in International Perspective, *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 55(1), 2006, p. 168.

<sup>442</sup> S. Marschall, Transforming the Landscape of Memory: The South African Commemorative Effort in International Perspective, *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 55(1), 2006, p. 168.

The motive behind this decision can arguably be pinned down to both political and socio-economic considerations: on the one hand the process of reconciliation and peaceful transition would be facilitated, while on the other hand, it avoided alienating the white minority and jeopardising international investors.<sup>443</sup> Interestingly enough the outrage over the removals did not only emanate from a white minority, but also from black South Africans. In her article in *The Herald*, Olwethu Nonkanga wrote about the intention to remove white monuments and change street names in Port Elizabeth:

If Xego wants to do that, why doesn't he also remove the hospitals, educational institutions and wealth they (white people) discovered in our poor country, because these people did not just bring apartheid but also those other things.<sup>444</sup>

Some of the removed monuments which no longer had a place in the new South Africa due to its offensive reminder of apartheid found a new home in Orania. A collection of busts and statues of Afrikaner nationalist leaders and icons was unveiled on 31 May 2007 on Orania's Monumentkoppie.<sup>445</sup> Commemorative works of Afrikaner nationalist leaders such as Paul Kruger, J. B. M. Hertzog, D.F. Malan, Hans Strijdom and H.F. Verwoerd were transferred there.<sup>446</sup> Granite columns were also positioned in a half circle to accommodate any newly donated statues to be added to the collection. The focus point of the monument is a unique small statue of a young man rolling up his sleeves by artist Elly Holm. The boy is symbolic of Orania's policy of self-reliance that ensures all jobs in the town, from management to manual labour, are done only by Afrikaners. The collection replaces the statue of Verwoerd that was erected in 1993 on the hill outside the town which was moved to the garden of the Verwoerdversameling (Verwoerd collection) in the town of Orania.<sup>447</sup>

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<sup>443</sup> P. Bourdieu, 1992 as cited in S. Marschall, Transforming the Landscape of Memory: The South African Commemorative Effort in International Perspective, *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 55(1), 2006, p. 167.

<sup>444</sup> O. Nonkanga, 'Hatred for White Folks Unjustified', *The Herald*, 3 July 2007, p. 7

<sup>445</sup> K. Ebersohn, 'Afrikanerleiers se borsbeelde kry tuiste', *Volksblad*, 1 June 2007, p. 7.

<sup>446</sup> K. Ebersohn, 'Afrikanerleiers se borsbeelde kry tuiste', *Volksblad*, 1 June 2007, p. 7.

<sup>447</sup> K. Ebersohn, 'Afrikanerleiers se borsbeelde kry tuiste', *Volksblad*, 1 June 2007, p. 7.

The interpretive meanings of public monuments can be observed to have altered constantly in relation to existing political conditions and the changing physical landscape. K. Savage talks about the 'changing lives of monuments',<sup>448</sup> while C. Mills and P.H. Simpson suggest that 'monuments can be thought of as slates, upon which history can be layered.'<sup>449</sup> In the light of these viewpoints, a few examples emerge in the context of South Africa.

The removal of apartheid icons and the installing of the 'Art Against Apartheid' exhibition at the Parliament House in Cape Town is a case in point. It included the depiction of the bust of H. F. Verwoerd, the architect of apartheid, wrapped up and waiting to be placed in storage; the picture of P. W. Botha's cabinet being removed and carried from parliament and into storage; and the installation of anti-apartheid artwork on the walls of the parliament.<sup>450</sup>

These are all powerful rituals of transformation and, as A. Galla observes, this interpretation of the triumph of people over apartheid in the corridors of executive power is 'symbolic of transformations across South Africa.'<sup>451</sup> The 'Art Contre/Art Against Apartheid' exhibition is a collection of anti-apartheid works which was initiated by a French-based association called Artists of the World Against Apartheid assisted by the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid. The result was a magnificent collection from many of the world's leading artists of the 1970s and 1980s. With the assistance of the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid, the association launched a global appeal to artists to contribute to a collection of anti-apartheid works.<sup>452</sup>

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<sup>448</sup> K. Savage, 1997 as cited in S. Marschall, Transforming the Landscape of Memory: The South African Commemorative Effort in International Perspective, *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 55(1), 2006, p. 172.

<sup>449</sup> C. Mills, & P.H. Simpson, 2003 as cited in S. Marschall, Transforming the Landscape of Memory: The South African Commemorative Effort in International Perspective, *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 55(1), 2006, p. 172.

<sup>450</sup> A. Galla, Transformation in South Africa: a legacy challenged. *Museum International (UNESCO, Paris)*, No. 202, Vol. 51(2), 1999, pp. 39-40.

<sup>451</sup> A. Galla, Transformation in South Africa: a legacy challenged. *Museum International (UNESCO, Paris)*, No. 202, Vol. 51(2), 1999, pp. 39-40.

<sup>452</sup> UWC Robben Island Mayibuye Archives, 'Art Against Apartheid', [http://mayibuyearchives.org/index.php?module=cms&action=showfulltext&id=gen20Srv23Nme0\\_3372\\_1257256009&parent=gen20Srv23Nme0\\_1493\\_1252254720](http://mayibuyearchives.org/index.php?module=cms&action=showfulltext&id=gen20Srv23Nme0_3372_1257256009&parent=gen20Srv23Nme0_1493_1252254720), s.a. Access: 2012-09-28.

In November 1983 the exhibition at the Fondation Nationale des Arts Graphiques et Plastiques in Paris opened. The exhibition was held in trust and given to the people of South Africa on the achievement of the first free and democratic government by universal suffrage to form the basis of a future museum against apartheid. The collection, comprising works by 80 artists, also consists of text contributions by internationally acclaimed poets, writers and philosophers. It has been exhibited in more than 40 cities worldwide. The collection was displayed in parliament from 1996, after the removal of many old apartheid art works and portraits. It was then relocated to the Mayibuye Centre on Robben Island on the recommendation of then president Nelson Mandela.<sup>453</sup>

In stark contrast to this Art Against Apartheid exhibition, is the apartheid parliament's art collection hidden underneath parliament within the basement art house.<sup>454</sup> This massive collection consists mainly of various historical paintings of former old Afrikaner Nationalists leaders, maps, drawings, photos depicting the country's people, landscapes, fauna and flora.<sup>455</sup> In 2011 the intention of the new parliament as regards this pre-1994 art collection was still unclear. However, questions were raised around the purpose of keeping this vast Africana collection hidden.<sup>456</sup> It has more recently been reported that parliament intends to open an art gallery to exhibit some of the pieces of the art collection worth over tens of millions of rand.<sup>457</sup>

In South Africa the development of post-apartheid heritage has largely been driven by the political priority to correct biased portrayals of heritage.<sup>458</sup>

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<sup>453</sup> UWC Robben Island Mayibuye Archives, 'Art Against Apartheid', [http://mayibuyearchives.org/index.php?module=cms&action=showfulltext&id=gen20Srv23Nme0\\_3372\\_1257256009&parent=gen20Srv23Nme0\\_1493\\_1252254720](http://mayibuyearchives.org/index.php?module=cms&action=showfulltext&id=gen20Srv23Nme0_3372_1257256009&parent=gen20Srv23Nme0_1493_1252254720), s.a. Access: 2012-09-28.

<sup>454</sup> P. du Toit, Net 'n vergete monument 'vir politici se verwaandheid'? (En wat gaan daarvan word?), *Beeld*, 12 February 2011, pp. 12-14.

<sup>455</sup> P. du Toit, Net 'n vergete monument 'vir politici se verwaandheid'? (En wat gaan daarvan word?), *Beeld*, 12 February 2011, pp. 12-14.

<sup>456</sup> P. du Toit, Net 'n vergete monument 'vir politici se verwaandheid'? (En wat gaan daarvan word?), *Beeld*, 12 February 2011, pp. 12-14.

<sup>457</sup> SABC, 'Parliament to open art gallery', <http://www.sabc.co.za/news/a/a93e378049b1e105aa99ef289d3b33f3/Parliament-to-open-art-gallery-20120106>, 6 February 2012, Access: 2012-09-29.

<sup>458</sup> T. King & M.K. Flynn, Heritage and the post-apartheid city: Constitution Hill, Johannesburg, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 18(1), 2012, p. 78.

These corrections of monuments, museums and heritage sites was arguably done in the interest of post-apartheid nationhood and the economic imperative to make heritage pay for itself, either in visitor numbers or as a development hub.<sup>459</sup> Grobler argues that the notion of political correctness influences the impact of politics on heritage and cultural tourism.<sup>460</sup> C.M. Hall asserts that there are five key elements of politics in relation to tourism:

- Firstly, it is about the power to make decisions for a collection of people.
- Secondly, it is about ideologies that determine the choices which affect decisions.
- Thirdly, it is about who makes the decisions and how representative they are.
- Fourthly, it is about the processes by which decisions are made.
- Finally, it has to do with how decisions are implemented and applied to the community.<sup>461</sup>

There is therefore an indelible link between those in power (government) and the representation of heritage and culture (museums, sites) which are ultimately an integral part of the tourist industry. Since 1994 various attempts have been made by both the public and private sphere to transform the heritage and cultural tourism industry in an effort to render it inclusive of previously omitted and/or biased heritage and cultural representations. It is evident through the key examples discussed in this chapter that South Africa's heritage and cultural landscape has changed dramatically since the installation of the new democratic dispensation. Heritage as a category has been necessarily framed by the spectre of the TRC, its place in wider society, the general underpinnings of amnesty, forgiveness and the desire to move past the injustices and forward as a nation.<sup>462</sup> This is evident from the discussion in previous chapters.

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<sup>459</sup> T. King & M.K. Flynn, Heritage and the post-apartheid city: Constitution Hill, Johannesburg, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 18(1), 2012, p. 78.

<sup>460</sup> J. Grobler, The Impact of Politics on Heritage and Cultural Tourism in South Africa, *S.A Journal of Cultural History*, Vol. 22(1), June 2008, p. 167.

<sup>461</sup> C.M. Hall as cited in J. Grobler, The Impact of Politics on Heritage and Cultural Tourism in South Africa, *S.A Journal of Cultural History*, Vol. 22(1), June 2008, p. 167.

<sup>462</sup> L. Meskell & C. Scheermeyer, Heritage as Therapy: Set Pieces from the New South Africa, *Journal of Material Culture*, Vol. 13(2), 2008, p. 153.

South African cultural productions, including objects, memorials, museums, heritage sites and public spaces of commemoration are believed to provide a therapeutic platform.<sup>463</sup> As L. Meskell and C. Scheermeyer argue, the material spaces of daily life provide a vantage point to examine how practices of remembering and forgetting encompass the public sphere and the world of things, and how traumatic embrace is configured to include (and exclude) certain constituencies. Spectacles of trauma and memory in the new South Africa are similarly shot through with other interventions including the pressures of state politics, development tactics and international tourism.<sup>464</sup>

In South Africa, there has been a trend of combining existing heritage exhibits with monuments and museum displays representing African, Indian or Coloured heritage in an attempt to correct biased portrayals.<sup>465</sup> This tendency has been criticised as falling short of real transformation. It has been claimed that this merely replicates racial and ethnic categories constructed during the colonial and apartheid eras.<sup>466</sup> However, as Marschall states it must be acknowledged that South Africa has also made significant efforts at rendering the country's heritage landscape inclusive. Many existing monuments and memorials have also been re-interpreted, re-contextualised or relocated to render them less authoritative or less offensive to the majority of the population.<sup>467</sup>

In addition, new monuments, memorials and museums have been established. The key examples discussed in this chapter clearly testify as to how the heritage and cultural sphere have changed since the advent of post-apartheid South Africa. Although the process of reconstructing is still clearly an on-going battle for South Africa, the question that needs answering is to what extent has South Africa managed to transform and correct the industry to date.

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<sup>463</sup> L. Meskell & C. Scheermeyer, Heritage as Therapy: Set Pieces from the New South Africa, *Journal of Material Culture*, Vol. 13(2), 2008, p. 153.

<sup>464</sup> L. Meskell & C. Scheermeyer, Heritage as Therapy: Set Pieces from the New South Africa, *Journal of Material Culture*, Vol. 13(2), 2008, p. 153.

<sup>465</sup> C. Rasool, 2001 as cited in S. Marschall, Transforming the Landscape of Memory: The South African Commemorative Effort in International Perspective, *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 55 (1), 2006, p. 183.

<sup>466</sup> C. Rasool, 2001 as cited in S. Marschall, Transforming the Landscape of Memory: The South African Commemorative Effort in International Perspective, *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 55 (1), 2006, p. 183.

<sup>467</sup> S. Marschall, Transforming the Landscape of Memory: The South African Commemorative Effort in International Perspective, *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 55 (1), 2006, p. 183.

## CHAPTER 6:

### CONCLUSION

Since South Africa's transition to democracy in 1994, the importance of the tourism industry for the country has grown tremendously. Tourism before 1994 was in essence simply seen as a leisure activity enjoyed by those in power namely the ruling white elite class. However, by 1994 this had all changed. With the end of apartheid and the advent of the new South Africa the tourism sector gained major recognition as a sector with the ability to boost South Africa's economy. At the same time, it also became a means for achieving the new government's goal of reconstruction and nation building in a country that was left divided by the negative effects of the apartheid system. Within the broader framework that is tourism it was heritage and cultural tourism that was seen to be a catalyst for social change and healing.

To a certain extent the responsibility of reconstructing, repackaging, transmitting images and representations of the new nation and its past, came to rest on the shoulders of the heritage and cultural tourism industry. Through the therapeutic benefits of reconstructing and re-imagining the heritage and cultural sector, South Africa was given the opportunity to not only correct a sector that was once biased, unfair and unequal in its representation of its people and history but also at the same time it provided an opportunity for reconciliation.

During the apartheid era, the majority of South Africans saw their own identity denied through lack of representation, and they were in need of a new common national identity and nationhood in order to overcome the division and injustices of apartheid. In addition, the state itself needed South Africans to adopt a shared sense of nationhood to ensure the successful and stable functioning of the democratic state.

In order to build a new nation, South Africa had to confront the inequality and injustices of the past. History, through heritage, was seen as a tool for nation-building. History, like heritage, was largely representative of the dominant minority ruling class and underwent similar reconstruction processes in order to correct the imbalances of the past.

The ANC as the new South African government, set out to implement its strategic objective of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) which was to create a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society.<sup>468</sup> A major component of this effort at national reconciliation was (and is) the government's nation building project with the aim to foster national identity in order to promote unity and social cohesion within the state. Heritage and culture played a crucial role in identity formation processes in the case of South Africa and the state became preoccupied with the identification and celebration of heritage.

In an attempt to redefine heritage, culture and tourism, the government embarked on various restructuring and transformation initiatives and programmes. It developed a number of new strategies, policies and legislation since 1994 in an attempt to transform the heritage and cultural tourism industry with a new framework and to foster relationships. In addition, various other projects and initiatives were seen within the industry to assist in building a new national identity and to rectify all the inequalities and imbalances that existed as a consequence of the past.

Restructuring efforts to transform and reconstruct the industry to be representative of all South Africans within the heritage and cultural industry were not only seen within the public sector, but also at institutional level and within the private sector. However, despite these various initiatives and attempts, the challenges the industry face had an enormous impact resulting in slow transformation and reconstruction. Despite these challenges and the slowness of the transformation within the sector, it is clear that reconstruction and transformation processes have to a certain degree been successful.

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<sup>468</sup> ANC 1997, All Power to the People! Building on the Foundation for a Better Life, *Strategy and Tactics of the African National Congress*, 1 July 1997.

Where the heritage and cultural landscape was previously largely representative of a select group only (exclusive) and silent on others, the reconstruction and transformation efforts have started shifting the balance (inclusive). Thus with government's decision to leave the majority of old South Africa's heritage intact, the tipping of the scale from exclusive to inclusive has not been totally unbalanced. Despite appearances that South Africa's restructuring and transformation attempts since the advent of post-apartheid South Africa have been exclusive, one should bear in mind that since the state decided to leave the old exclusive heritage and cultural tourism largely untouched, the balance could only be achieved by focusing on what was previously omitted. Since reconstruction and transformation processes within heritage and cultural tourism and within the country as a whole are still an ongoing processes, this study can only conclude on the progress made over the past 18 years of democracy.

It is clear that the political changes that South Africa has undergone since the advent of a new democratic country, along with the ensuing transformation processes at every level and the explicit nation-building programs to reconstruct the country, have indeed had a positive impact on tourism. Not only have the number of tourist visiting South Africa increased since 1994, but existing heritage and cultural tourism attractions were revisited and re-imaged while new ones were created.

Despite the numerous development programmes, restructuring and nation building initiatives within heritage and cultural tourism since the advent of post-apartheid, the sector still faces a number of challenges. Amongst these are the slow transformation and reconstruction processes within heritage and cultural tourism which can to a certain degree be attributed to the argument that tourism was one of the sectors that was most affected by the limitations of the apartheid era. As a result challenges such as uneven access, not only to markets and market knowledge, but also to business finance, skills, technology and other resources plague the sector. This in return results in an uneven distribution of the economic benefits that heritage and cultural tourism offers. It is also clear that the management of culture, heritage and tourism often operate in isolation from each other. There is clearly a need for a more integrated framework for heritage and cultural tourism to address this problem.

It is hoped that the recently developed National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy driven by the NDT will be able to begin to address the absence of an institutional framework. Despite the efforts that have been made in reconstructing the sector since 1994, the benefits of heritage and cultural tourism, both economic and social, have not yet been fully recognised by all.

However, despite the challenges that heritage and cultural tourism face within post-apartheid South Africa, and despite the appearance of the restructuring attempts made to be exclusive it can be concluded that at a glance South Africa (both government and private sector) have, thus far, succeeded to a certain degree, in transforming what was once exclusive heritage and cultural tourism to what is now more inclusive heritage and cultural tourism. Heritage and cultural tourism in South Africa is today more representative of the country's diverse nation, and its equally diverse heritages and cultures.

In conclusion in order to overcome the legacy of colonialism and apartheid, South Africa needs to continue in its attempts of unifying as a nation and building a just and inclusive society.

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