

Maintaining the Façade: The Disconnect Between Policy and Practice in Heritage Resources Management in Makhanda, South Africa

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Declaration

I, Zandile Dlongolo, hereby declare that I have read and understood the University's plagiarism policy. The thesis titled "**Maintaining the Façade: The Disconnect Between Policy and Practice in Heritage Resources Management in Makhanda, South Africa**" is my original work and has never been previously submitted for assessment at any institution. All secondary sources used in writing this thesis have been acknowledged and referenced following the rules and regulations of Rhodes University.

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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to:

My late mother and uncle, Dudu Khumalo and Babo Khumalo

My father, Siphon Dlongolo,

My support system, the Khumalo, Dlongolo and Mvula Families

My Daughter, Ndalo Mvula

Abstract

Cultural heritage is globally acknowledged as having the potential to contribute to positive economic, environmental, political, and social impacts (Graham, 2002). In the South African context, cultural heritage management is rooted in colonial and apartheid narratives that mark a large part of the country's history. Post-apartheid transformation processes have driven new approaches to managing heritage to represent the shared collective narrative of a democratic South Africa. This transformation includes the formation of the three-tiered South African heritage management system by the National Heritage Resources Agency (NHRA) in 1999 and a rethinking of what heritage constitutes and whose heritage matters. Despite the extensive cultural heritage resources in the country, literature concerning the management of these assets in the context of the urban environment and urban planning and management is limited (Donaldson, 2001; Donaldson et al., 2013; Buchanan & Donaldson, 2021; Kruger & Donaldson, 2021). This research explores the built environment heritage resources in Makhanda (formerly Grahamstown) in the Eastern Cape province. Makhanda possesses a rich and varied cultural heritage landscape, including over 70 Provincial Heritage Resources in the form of built environment heritage. The case study provides a perfect laboratory for investigating the various threats and opportunities in the local context that severely affect heritage management. The research used a mixed-method approach to generate data. Primary data were collected through a field survey of built environment heritage resources, semi-structured interviews, and focus groups. Secondary data sources comprised government policy documents, by-laws, reports, research papers and newspaper articles. In the localised context, findings illustrated several challenges affecting local heritage management, centring mainly on the balance between heritage resource management and overall urban management. Findings identified challenges included a poor acknowledgement of the nuances in local history, questions on the effectiveness of legislation, governance and management issues, conflicting demands for social services and urban development, and building maintenance. Heritage resources are acknowledged as a potential tool to meet the local community's needs, and opportunities for developing the heritage sector were also identified. These suggestions include information sharing and cooperation between the municipality, community and various role players, community education, tourism product development, institutional development through skills development, the incorporation of intangible heritage, and the acknowledgement of more inclusive forms of cultural heritage. Overall, the findings indicate that the disconnection in heritage management, urban management practices, and municipal dysfunction in Makhanda threatens the built environment heritage and the local sense of place. The study argues that for local heritage

management to succeed, there needs to be a balanced approach to heritage management and urban management through improvements in stakeholder relationships, governance, institutional capacity, knowledge sharing and community involvement in decision-making processes.

Keywords: South Africa, Makhanda, heritage management, urban development, built heritage

List of Abbreviations

ACTAG	The Arts and Culture Task Group
BEHR	Built Environment Heritage Resources
CBD	Central Business District
CH	Cultural Heritage
CHM	Cultural Heritage Management
COGTA	Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease
CWP	Community Work Programme
DACST	Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology
DCMS	Department for Digital, Culture, Media, and Sport
DSRAC	Department of Sport, Recreation, Arts and Culture
ECPHRA	Eastern Cape Provincial Heritage Resources Authority
ECSECC	Eastern Cape Socio-Economic Consultative Council
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessments
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme
ESRI	Environmental Systems Research Institute
GAA	Group Areas Act
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIS	Geographic Information Systems
GVA	Gross Value Added
HIA	Heritage Impact Assessment
HM	Heritage Management
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
ILAM	International Library of African Music
LED	Local Economic Development
MBF	Makhanda Business Forum
MRA	Makhanda Residents Association
NHC	National Heritage Council
NHRA	National Heritage Resources Act
PBHERS	Proclaimed Built Environment Heritage Resources
PHRA	Provincial Heritage Resources Authority
SAHRA	South African Heritage Resources Agency

SAHRIS	South African Heritage Resources Agency
SBDM	Sarah Baartman District Municipality
SDF	Spatial Development Framework
SMME	Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises
UM	Urban Management
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNWTO	World Tourism Organisation

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background, Context, and Motivation

There may have been a time when preservation was about saving an old building here or there, but those days are gone. Preservation is in the business of saving communities and the values they embody.

(Moe, n.d)

Cultural heritage is globally acknowledged for contributing to current economic, environmental, political, and social issues (Graham, 2002). It is essential for social cohesion, job creation, educational resources, national identity, and cultural and religious values (Chirikure, 2013). Since it was first associated with monuments, understandings of heritage have significantly changed, leading to the discovery of new facets and dimensions of cultural heritage. Globally, cultural heritage now includes all that is significant to humanity, including natural and spiritual resources and tangible and intangible cultural assets (Penna, 2018). Therefore, cultural Heritage Management (CHM) strategies aim to identify, interpret, and protect these resources for future generations. Furthermore, they need to provide better approaches to recognise differences and give competing interests legitimacy so they can search for common ground. Understanding the distinctions between the two is vital in successful heritage management linked to the varying conservation strategies for the various types of cultural heritage.

Globally, three cultural landscape categories were adopted for World Assets status in 1992, a significant turning point reflecting this conceptual shift in mentality in cultural heritage administration (Taylor, 2010). Global cultural heritage administration has been achieved through organisations like the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). These global organisations acknowledge cultural heritage as a reflection of the ever-changing belief systems, traditions, knowledge, and values that have reached today and are guided by Goals 11 and 8 of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Specific mention is made of SDG 11.4, which strongly focuses on protecting and preserving heritage. It is valued for its historical, sociological, and anthropological significance and is seen as a facilitator of sustainable development (Bokova, 2017). Since 1965, UNESCO and ICOMOS have been instrumental in the development and discussions on global terminology and parameters of

heritage (Ahmad, 2006). Internationally, it is advised that UNESCO and ICOMOS take the initiative in the intellectual debates about vocabulary, scope, and standard terms and that countries embrace them nationally (Ahmad, 2006).

In South Africa, cultural heritage management is linked to colonial and apartheid narratives marking a significant part of the country's history. The dawn of democracy in South Africa challenges narratives of heritage management conducted in the colonial past and those driven by the Apartheid government (Corsane, 2004). Legislative transformative processes in the country addressed the need to represent the shared collective narrative of democratic South Africa, as they are highly valued for various objectives, including nation-building and socioeconomic advancement (Steenkamp, 2021). However, this shift in ideologies, legislation and the nuances of culture adds to the complexity of heritage management in the South African context. Post-apartheid legislative changes have been crucial in unravelling these complexities in our country's varied and contested history and shifting the focus of heritage legislation from a singular focus on tangible heritage to incorporating the intangible aspects.

Post-apartheid legislative processes led to the formation of the three-tiered South African heritage management system by the National Heritage Resources Agency (NHRA) in 1999. This system acknowledges three critical players in heritage management practices, i.e., the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA), Provincial Heritage Resources Authority (PHRAs) and local authorities responsible for managing heritage resources at varying levels (Corsane, 2004; van der Merwe, 2018). While significant strides have been made in national heritage management through the formulation of this legislation and SAHRA, several teething issues persist and hamper heritage management strategies, putting South Africa's heritage resources under severe threat (Corsane, 2004). As a result, exploring these challenges and opportunities to improve South African cultural heritage management is crucial. These resources must be preserved because of their value as part of South Africa's history and as tools for driving local economic development.

The research explores built environment heritage resources in Makhanda (formerly Grahamstown), Eastern Cape. Makhanda is a culturally and creatively diverse city seen through the many festivals, religious centres, and heritage monuments (Makana Tourism, 2022). The city boasts over 70 proclaimed provincial heritage sites, all offering insight into the evolution of the city and its history. The town's rich and eventful history, specifically through the history of the 1820 Settlers and Xhosa wars, is brought to life through its old buildings and monuments. The conflict between the British Settler and the Xhosa people, who held land to the east, arose from Lieutenant Colonel John Graham's efforts to stabilise and secure the Cape Colony in 1812, marking a significant part in the establishment of the city (Daniel, 1974). This nuanced history with diverse narratives has significantly affected local heritage

management practices, much like the nuances in South Africa's history. This makes it a place of interest in a case study that is a microcosm of national dynamics.

Historically, in Makhanda, heritage conservation priorities in the city and municipality were high, as seen through various policies and by-laws, the designation of a conservation area, a listing of important buildings in the municipal area (Radford Reports) and a heritage site proclamation through the work done through conservation-centric collaborative efforts between the local municipality and professionals like Dr Eily Gledhill (founder of Historic Grahamstown) and Professor Dennis Radford (of the Radford Reports). The city's historic centre was then declared a conservation area and a local conservation by-law was formulated, including building and signage guidelines applied within the conservation area. Unfortunately, there has been a significant decline in local conservation over the past two decades, with little done to ensure the prolonged success of local heritage management. Despite transformative processes such as renaming Grahamstown to Makhanda, the city still faces governance issues, poor infrastructure maintenance, and poor service delivery due to ineffective local government (News24, 2018; Irvine, 2021; Grocott's Mail, 2022). This municipal dysfunction negatively impacts local heritage management because the municipality has failed to fully protect intangible heritage and enforce the NHRA to protect tangible resources.

Makhanda, therefore, provides a perfect laboratory for this case study as the various tensions and dynamics severely affect the potential and practice of heritage management. It possesses the ideal backdrop for understanding institutional and local challenges associated with heritage management in a city crippled by municipal issues and ineffective governance. But also, in understanding how a city like Makhanda in transition can provide heritage strategies representative of the nuanced history and how that may affect the full integration of tangible and intangible heritage, consequently, the threats and opportunities for managing heritage resources in a city such as Makhanda, which has a rich resource base of tangible resources, must be investigated extensively to ensure they are not lost forever. Investigations in localised contexts are vital given the vast literature on theorising, understanding, and effectiveness of legislation focused mainly on more prominent cities. Therefore, this research addresses gaps in the literature on policy and legislation enforcement in small towns and local contexts. This research also seeks to establish an inventory currently lacking in the city of the existing heritage resources. Finally, it will explore the challenges and opportunities in managing Makhanda's built environment heritage resources. These are all aimed at understanding what is happening practically on the ground and providing recommendations for managing local heritage.

1.2 Research Aim

To investigate the challenges and opportunities for the management of built environment heritage resources in Makhanda.

1.3 Research Objectives

1.3.1 Objective 1

Create an inventory or database of built environment heritage resources in Makhanda using South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) heritage survey criteria.

1.3.2 Objective 2

Investigate the various challenges faced in managing built environment heritage resources in Makhanda.

1.3.3 Objective 3

Investigate the opportunities to improve the management of the built environment heritage resources in Makhanda.

1.4 Research Methodology

This study uses a mixed-method approach to the research. This research approach considers diverse perspectives, positions, viewpoints, and opinions by primarily incorporating the standpoints of qualitative and quantitative research in theory and practice (Johnson et al., 2007). Quantitative techniques constituting the first phase of primary data collection were used to conduct a field survey (Objective 1) of the declared built environment heritage resources of Makhanda. This data was then analysed using spatial software (ArcGIS Pro and Survey123) to understand better and investigate the state of the built environment heritage resources. Qualitative techniques were used to explore the challenges and opportunities to improve the management of Makhanda's built environment heritage resources (Objectives 2 and 3) using a critical realist methodological framework for qualitative approaches. These included semi-structured interviews with key informants from various heritage and government agencies and

with homeowners to study their perceptions of the challenges and opportunities for local heritage management.

1.5 Structure of Dissertation

The research delineates four broad themes in the research approach (Figure 1.1): theoretical background, geographical context, results and discussion, and conclusion. The research will be contextualised (Figure 1.1) by examining the ongoing challenges associated with preserving heritage resources at the international, regional, and local scales that will follow this chapter. Relevant literature in the 'Literature Review' chapter will examine the definition of cultural heritage, analyse global cultural heritage management trends using case studies, investigate the transformation in South African cultural heritage management practice, and investigate the links between place and place-identity and heritage and development. It will also examine the role of cultural tourism as a contributor to development and the function of spatial technologies. The literature review will identify the various gaps in the literature and highlight the significance of this research in filling these gaps. The 'Research Design and Methodology' chapter will describe how the study's research questions and objectives were handled and how the data analysis and presentation were approached. The 'Makhanda' chapter will introduce the reader to the case study location and explain the many elements of this city that will form the basis of the inquiry. The findings are provided in the 'Research Findings' chapter, followed by an interpretation of the research findings and a concluding discussion in the 'Discussion' and 'Conclusion' chapters that re-contextualise the research findings.

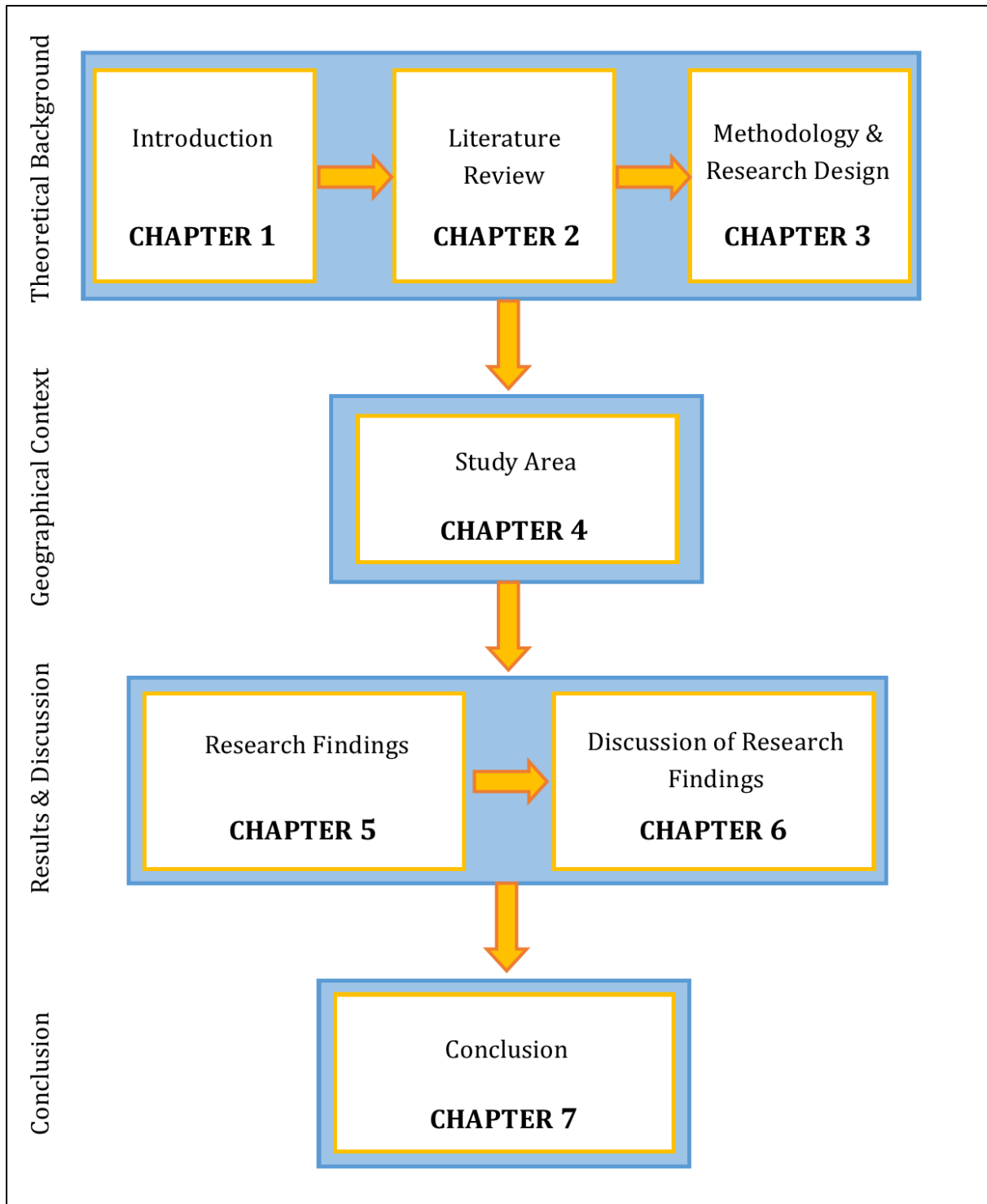


Figure 1.1: Dissertation Structure Flow Chart.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Due to pressure from global challenges, including urbanisation, economic development, and climate change, heritage management conservation efforts have become increasingly vital in the twenty-first century. Since the 1960s, almost all international cultural policy documents on heritage have emphasised an integrative and holistic approach to heritage and urban development. According to Veldpaus et al. (2013), it is critical to strike a balance between the advantages of socioeconomic and urban growth and the protection of cultural heritage.

This chapter examines and reviews the existing literature on regional and global trends in cultural heritage management to establish the foundation for this research. Sustainable urban and heritage management will be emphasised as a workable substitute strategy, and its application to regional heritage strategies will be examined. It will be suggested that adopting new perspectives and methods will improve our knowledge of heritage management practices and dynamics. This review is structured into eight sections that provide a brief overview of what will be covered. The first section will discuss the constantly evolving definition of heritage. The following sections will then provide an overview of global heritage management practices within urban populations, the evolution of South African heritage practice and its effects on heritage resources. The concept of place and how place-identity and cultural heritage are threatened by urban development follow. A discussion of trends and practices in cultural heritage tourism and case studies on cultural heritage management in South Africa will follow this. Finally, it will review the function of spatial technologies in cultural heritage management will be examined.

2.1 Defining Cultural Heritage

This section explores how the concept of cultural heritage has changed around the globe while considering the objectives and conclusions of previous studies on the subject. This investigation will be incorporated into the Makhanda case study. The definitions of culture, heritage, and cultural heritage are the three focus areas that make up this section.

Despite being used more frequently in modern environmental and development discourse, heritage has generally remained conceptually problematic (Zazu, 2011). The definition of heritage has always been a complex and elusive endeavour since it cannot be defined with any significant degree of universality due to its hybridity and multidisciplinary applications

(Zazu, 2011). The following discussion seeks to define culture, heritage, and cultural heritage to achieve a complete understanding.

2.1.1 Definition of Culture

Culture represents the culmination of a group of people's combined creativity, which is constantly active and evolving (National Heritage Council, 2012). Every society has a culture; sometimes, a society as diverse as ours has multiple cultures. These cultures range from being accessible to exploitative. Every culture has a material foundation and ideals that reflect the originality and ingenuity of its members. The concrete and intangible are among them (National Heritage Council, 2012). Torres (2002) adds that culture collectively represents distinctive characteristics of social groups. These distinctive qualities include spiritual, material, intellectual, emotional, literary, artistic aspects, lifestyles, belief systems, and value systems.

The concept of culture is constantly evolving and has varying definitions by various authors. Some of these definitions can be seen in Table 2.1 below:

Table 1: Definitions of Culture (Adapted from Brumann, 1999).

Author	Definition
Tylor (1871)	The complex whole that encompasses knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, customs, and any other skills and habits that man has developed as a member of society is known as culture or civilisation.
Linton(1936)	Any society's culture is made up of all the beliefs, emotional conditioning, and behavioural patterns that its members have learned through instruction or imitation and that, to a greater or lesser extent, they all share.
Harris (1975)	A group of people's entire socially acquired manner of living is referred to as their culture. It comprises of the predictable, repeating patterns of thinking, feeling, and acting that distinguish members of a certain community or social group.
Keesing (1981)	Culture is a term used to describe acquired knowledge and experience. They are socially transmitted behavioural norms that are specific to a given social group.
Bailey & Peoples (1998)	Culture is the socially transmitted knowledge and behaviour shared by some group of people
Brumann (1999)	Culture is defined as the collection of taught behaviours (and/or its tangible and intangible by-products) that are distinctive to a given group or people.

The definitions in Table 2.1, while similar and share several traits, differ in overall emphasis. Brumann (1999) adds that cultural theorists emphasise how an individual is immersed in the culture, even unknowingly. In contrast, postmodern definitions emphasise how individuals actively shape their cultural environment and continually remake their cultural identity to adapt to changing circumstances (Brumann, 1999).

Brumann (1999), therefore, proposes three critical findings to be acknowledged in cultural analyses. Firstly, culture's social reproduction depends on the place or group and is never guaranteed. Secondly, culture, while it has boundaries, is constantly subject to challenges. Finally, culture is not limited to identity and ethnicity. Snow (1996) further suggests culture also encompasses intangible elements and many other elements, such as daily living, the life cycle, and values, highlighting its multifaceted and all-encompassing nature.

Lane (2009) concludes that culture is negotiated by individuals while creating personal identity. It represents the explicit and implicit patterns of living, commonly accepted symbols, and meanings. Furthermore, it acknowledges the deep structure of knowledge, belief, art, morals, laws, customs, behaviours, traditions, and shared habits that make up ways of life. The concepts in Table 2.1 and other modern ideas provide an inclusive understanding of culture. As such, Lane (2009) highlights that understanding culture requires seeing beyond the obvious to comprehend how altering contexts of place, identity, history, and power continuously reshape values, codes, beliefs, and social connections. Finally, it is essential to understand that the inherited aspects of culture are inherited from the past generation to the present generation, which is heritage.

2.1.2 Definition of Heritage

Several definitions of heritage have been put out from a variety of disciplinary viewpoints (archaeology, geography, anthropology, and conservation studies), but all definitions concur that heritage is what humankind uses today and is inherited from the past (Graham et al., 2016; Hall & McArthur, 1998; Timothy, 2011). Additionally, Kansa (2013) highlights that heritage definitions frequently focus on either a particular form of heritage or an interpretation of heritage and are either highly general or very specialised. As such, Timothy (2014) acknowledges two significant misconceptions about what heritage is. The first is that heritage only exists when something is old. This perspective illustrates a lack of knowledge of the past as a cultural resource. Wall (1989) points out that ancient monuments and ruins were not always there. They were once brand-new, but due to their age and, in some instances, their neglect, they have acquired heritage value. The second widespread misconception contends that heritage must be material or tangible (Timothy, 2014). While this research focuses on the

tangible, it does not dispute the countless variations of heritage. Ongoing discourse about the tangible and intangible history of people, groups, communities, and nations is a significant component of public life in today's contemporary society (Timothy, 2014). Acknowledging these misconceptions, he accepts that heritage management needs to be driven towards inclusivity and representative of local environments. Amongst these discussions are the questions on the value, significance, contribution to society, and authority over these heritage assets.

At an international scale, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) (1999) provides a comprehensive definition of heritage, recognising that the natural and cultural environment should serve as a foundation for heritage. This includes historic sites, collections, physical settings, cultural practices, and biodiversity. These all play a crucial role in communicating past and present knowledge. Furthermore, heritage is a tool for preserving and communicating historical processes in contemporary life that define national, regional, local, and indigenous identities (ICOMOS, 1999). Understanding heritage acknowledges it as a foundation for present and future growth through understanding communities' unique history and collective memories.

Consequently, a need exists for continued reflection, discussion, and debate on several questions relating to the value, significance, and nature of experiences. Additionally, it strengthens a sense of identity, ensures a sense of rootedness, and guarantees that changes brought about by cultural dynamism are not made for their own sake but because people consciously work to improve their quality of life (National Heritage Council, 2012; UNESCO, 2013). The National Heritage Council of South Africa (NHC) defines heritage as follows: "Heritage is what is preserved from the past as the living collective memory of a people not only to inform the present about the past but also to equip successive generations to fashion their future. It is what creates a sense of identity and assures rootedness and continuity, so that what is brought out by dynamism of culture is not changed for its own sake, but it is a result of people's conscious choice to create a better life." (National Heritage Council, 2012:10).

Arguments favouring heritage protection acknowledge the various applications of heritage and its significance socially, economically, politically and scientifically within contemporary life. Socially, they contribute to a sense of place and cultural identity, economically through increased visitor interactions and tourism, politically through message transmission and symbolism, and scientific understanding through increased research and knowledge (Timothy & Boyd, 2003). Heritage is constantly challenged and fought over by many groups for various reasons. Consequently, disputes arise due to debates over how heritage places are associated with various values (Nilson & Thorell, 2014).

Heritage is a contemporary practice with extensive ramifications and may be a long-term regional and urban planning component. As such, heritage can be a foundation for regional economic growth, a stage for cross-cultural dialogue, a means of engaging in moral reflection, and a base for political recognition. Due to the complexities of how heritage is defined, much work remains to be done to understand how the various attributes of a heritage item interact to influence its perceived value. Heritage permeates every element of culture and society; therefore, heritage must be considered when addressing all facets of social life (Konsa, 2013).

2.1.3 Definition of Cultural Heritage

Khakzad (2015) defines cultural heritage as the representation of elements of the past that are contemporarily presented for their contribution economically, politically, and socially. Cultural heritage broadly reflects a community's traditions or way of life passed down from generation to generation. Inclusive of values, sites and products with various values and significance levels (ICOMOS, 2002; UNESCO, 2010; Timothy, 2011). It also reflects the collection of material artefacts and intangible characteristics that make up a group or culture and are passed down for the benefit of coming generations (UNESCO, 2010). The best way to solve conflicts within cultural heritage and resource management is to acknowledge differences and provide legitimacy to competing interests to look for common ground. On a global scale, the adoption of the world heritage approach has resulted in a shift in the allocation of sites, which has favoured developed regions. According to Steiner and Frey (2011), this approach's implementation caused a growing bias in the distribution of sites favouring European nations. Literature is lacking in proposals for changing these biases and how these have affected heritage management strategies in developing regions in African countries.

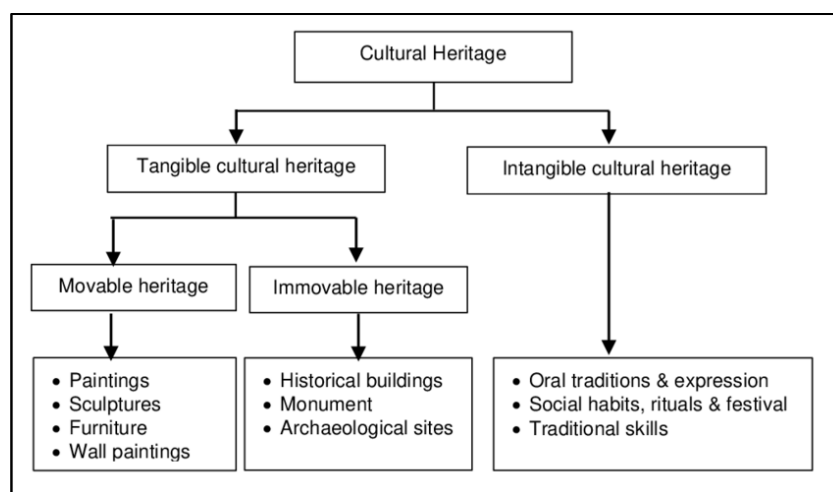


Figure 2.1: Cultural heritage classification from UNESCO (Isa et al., 2018:1374).

Tangible heritage refers to the heritage that includes buildings and historical places, monuments, and artefacts vital in the context of architecture, archaeology, science, or technology (UNESCO, 2010). While live representations and traditions from groups or communities passed down from generation to generation are intangible heritage (UNESCO, 2010). Oral transmission of living expressions and customs is the primary method of expressing intangible heritage. Figure 2.1 illustrates UNESCO's 2003 cultural heritage classification of intangible heritage based on five domains: oral traditions and expressions that include language, performing arts, social practices, rituals, and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe, and traditional craftsmanship. While heritage is associated with memories and identity, it is inescapably altered by global changes and forces of globalisation (Phillips & Reyes, 2011). Cultural heritages play a significant role in economic and social life, even though most remain unofficial, unprotected by the public, and mismanaged explicitly (Barrère, 2016). Evidently, within the literature, there is a heavy focus on tangible heritage.

One of the emerging issues in the cultural heritage literature is the disconnect between local communities and heritage management. Thurley (2005), therefore, proposes that for cultural heritage and conservation to be acknowledged by communities, there needs to be an understanding of this heritage. As such, the heritage cycle (Figure 2.2) outlines key aspects of the cultural heritage process by emphasising the importance of heritage understanding, value, care, and enjoyment for it to be shared. This enables non-specialists and communities to grasp what heritage practitioners are attempting to achieve and for consistency in recommendations and decisions across the country (Thurley, 2005). Literature, albeit poor in the engagement of local communities in cultural heritage management in developing regions such as South Africa, is lacking despite the nation's past and the political transformation processes that have occurred. Therefore, this research could contribute to filling this gap by understanding the historical environment by analysing the existing built heritage and the local heritage management context, which is crucial in valuing, caring for and later enjoying this heritage.

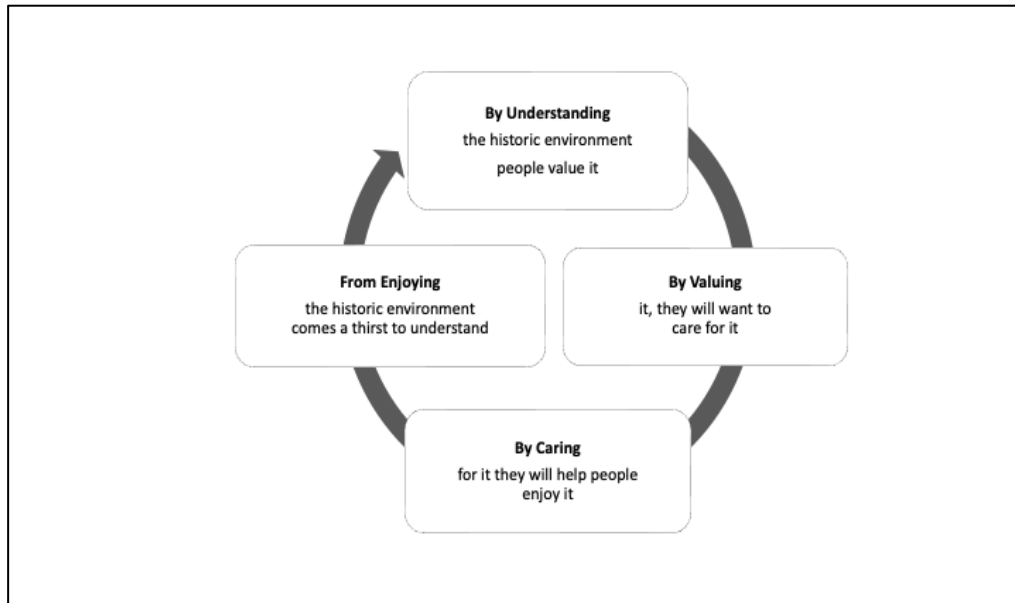


Figure 2.2: The Heritage Cycle (Adapted from Thurley, 2005).

2.2 Cultural Heritage Management: A Global Perspective

Heritage management approaches differ significantly throughout the world. Therefore, a one-size-fits-all approach is ineffective and local contexts must be acknowledged as they determine the success of heritage strategies. This section discusses global case studies of cultural heritage management worldwide to provide context and lessons pertaining to the present research. These lessons are found through an analysis of various cultural heritage management strategies and how these have been adapted within their localised context, along with successes and challenges faced. They are expanding on an ongoing dialogue regarding the administration, protection, and worth of cultural heritage through the development of cultural heritage preservation and research throughout history and present-day nations.

Many people consider establishing conservation principles in the second half of the 20th century to be the most critical success of conservation efforts (Ahmad, 2006). According to Vegheş (2018), there have been several reflections on urban heritage recently, most notably at the international level by UNESCO and ICOMOS. The primary role of these organisations is protecting cultural property from various threats and drafting principles or guidelines which influence global heritage management (Ahmad, 2006). These principles or guidelines are published as charters, recommendations, resolutions, declarations, or statements.

The nineteenth century saw a debate about preservation strategies, but it was not until the middle of the twentieth century that several international and national charters were created.

They are used as professional ethics instruments to guide the practice of cultural heritage conservation, addressing heritage values, conservation, and planning (Taylor, 2002). Some foundational charters include the Venice Charter (1964), based on earlier documents, and the Burra Charter of Australia ICOMOS (1979; revised in 1999). Both sought to establish guiding philosophies on identifying and preserving heritage place values (Taylor, 2002). This idea is now widely recognised as crucial to maintaining the integrity of historical sites.

The Venice Charter of 1964 formalised the recognition of international guidelines for architecture and heritage sites by establishing conservation guidelines based on authenticity and the need to preserve a site or building's physical and historical context (ICOMOS, 1964). The Venice Charter is considered the most powerful worldwide conservation document. According to the Venice Charter, monuments preserved are not just works of art but also historical documentation. It also establishes preservation guidelines for restoring structures containing work from various periods (ICOMOS, 1964).

The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance: The Burra Charter is a national charter that outlines standards for cultural site management and protection in Australia. The Charter is especially noted for its cultural significance definition and guiding principles in applying this significance in the management and maintenance of cultural sites (ICOMOS, 2013). The Charter exemplifies how tailoring international principles to the needs and values of a specific nation or cultural groups within that nation can positively contribute to site management.

The Burra Charter's values-based approach is captured in a straightforward and logical method: understanding significance, policy determination and policy-compliance management. This method is outlined in the simple steps provided in Figure 2.3, based on the charter's most recent edition (ICOMOS, 2013). This focuses on understanding significance through understanding the place and assessing its significance. The policy can then be developed based on identifying all factors a policy can be developed, and management can be per this policy.



Figure 2.3: The stages in creating and maintaining a site of cultural value are outlined in the Burra Charter (ICOMOS, 2013).

Based on the Venice Charter, the ICOMOS Charter on the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites of 2008 tries to create rules for interpreting cultural heritage sites, underlining the need for public communication and education to protect heritage (ICOMOS, 2008). The Charter recognises heritage sites and the intangible elements linked with them as a resource for learning about the past. To preserve the site's authenticity, interpretative programs must discern and recognise the stages of its evolution. The Charter emphasises stakeholder inclusion in site interpretation and further acknowledges that the community can choose not to have a site publicly interpreted in particular circumstances (ICOMOS, 2008).

These fundamental charters expanded heritage terminology and practice at the national and regional levels (Ahmad, 2006). Furthermore, they allowed the definition of heritage to be reinterpreted and defined differently worldwide, specifically in Europe, Australia, Argentina, and Africa. Although it is now generally accepted that heritage encompasses tangible, intangible, and environments. Heritage management-specific vocabulary has not been streamlined or standardised, and nations have no uniformity. According to Byrne (1991), universal approaches to heritage management serve as a barrier to managing cultural sites for those with a particular interest in them. Byrne (1991) contends concepts of

universal heritage value have been used to operationalise Western notions of heritage management in non-Western societies, raising the possibility that these notions might conflict with regional customs and still-evolving cultural traditions. Therefore, inclusive legislation and management strategies must be developed at the regional, national, and local levels. Formulating heritage legislation at various scales is one of the first steps in the cultural heritage management space. However, to be acknowledged and effective, heritage legislation must be adapted to the local context and history.

2.2.1 Europe

The Council of Europe set an example for the rest of the world by creating and approving regional charters that explicitly address the circumstances of European nations. In 1975, Amsterdam witnessed the adoption of the Amsterdam Declaration and the European Charter of Architectural Heritage (Ahmad, 2006). Both parties discussed the evolving definition of architectural heritage, the implementation strategy, integrated conservation, and the administrative role of authorities (Ahmad, 2006).

The Amsterdam Declaration broadened the definition of European architectural heritage to include groupings of buildings and individual structures. Ahmad (2006) emphasises the necessity of having social factors within architectural heritage and town planning policy by continuing existing social and physical traits in urban and rural areas. Other industrialised nations quickly adopted the Council of Europe's effort to draft standard charters among the various European countries. These developments were instrumental in solidifying European heritage management policies. The following discussion examines how this has translated into heritage management practice in the United Kingdom.

The United Kingdom was among the first countries to protect its built environment heritage actively. The Department of Culture, Media, and Sport (DCMS) are currently in charge of cultural heritage protection in the United Kingdom, with the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990 as the current legislation (Akbulut and Ekin, 2019). Historic England is a DCMS-sponsored authority tasked with protecting England's historic landscape. As a result, buildings of outstanding architectural or historical interest are identified and protected on time. In the United Kingdom, the heritage listing process is open and consultative. Anyone can submit a location with significant heritage value to be considered for inclusion on the National Heritage List (Zahari et al., 2022). These open channels of heritage management and the public's ability have allowed the community to participate actively in heritage management, which is critical for overall success.

Within Europe, the United Kingdom is considered a multilateral example of cultural heritage management beneficial for European cultural tourism (Akbulut & Ekin, 2019; Zahari et al., 2022). Akbulut and Ekin (2019) argue that this has partly been due to collaboration between government and non-government organisations. Regarding government and non-government organisations' involvement, the United Kingdom is a multilateral example of cultural heritage management that benefits Europe as a top destination for cultural tourism (Akbulut & Ekin, 2019; Zahari et al., 2022). A practical illustration of this is the management system for British cultural heritage illustrated in Figure 2.4.

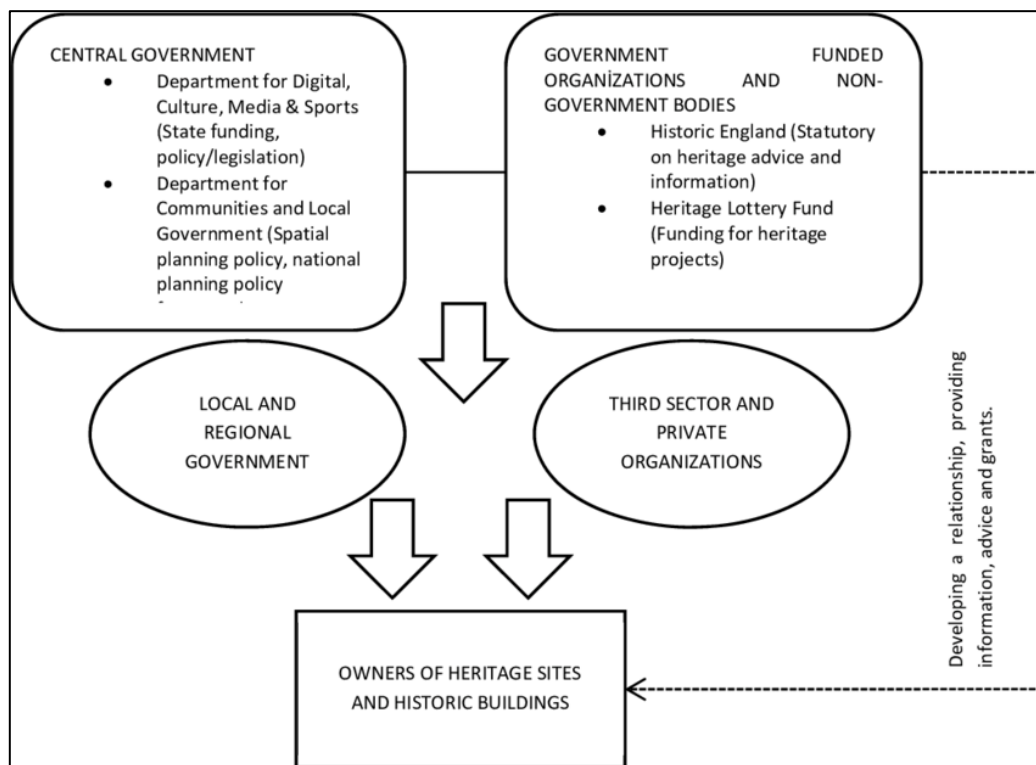


Figure 2.4: United Kingdom Organisational Chart for Cultural Heritage Management (Akbulut & Ekin, 2019).

In addition to the open and consultative process and the collaboration between stakeholders and non-government organisations in heritage management, heritage building owners are eligible for tax incentives where their taxes are lowered or even waived if they maintain their buildings following the requirements outlined in local ordinances (Akbulut & Ekin, 2019). To adequately oversee each stage of the preservation effort, foundations and non-profit organisations, such as the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty, are founded to raise money for purchasing heritage buildings from the owners (Akbulut & Ekin, 2019).

In the middle of the 20th century, it was apparent that many private owners of heritage properties could no longer afford to maintain them. This resulted in a focus on country buildings and landscapes, with many of its most popular properties making up this landscape (Akbulut & Ekin, 2019). Additionally, the Town and Country Planning Act made previously unheard-of advancements in preserving historical and cultural assets (Akbulut & Ekin, 2019). Furthermore, the Society for the Preservation of Historic Buildings appealed against abandonment and demolition individually.

Using the examples in this discussion, it is evident that countries need to not only focus on developing ground-breaking legislation but also adapt approaches in line with what is happening in the country socioeconomically. This can be achieved through collaborative initiatives between the government, heritage practitioners and local organisations, as seen in the United Kingdom.

2.2.2 Australia

Australian heritage legislation has been acknowledged globally as innovative and challenging due to internal contestations from colonialism (Egloff, 2002; Carlsen et al., 2008; Westrik, 2013). For this reason, it is an interesting example because South Africa shares a similarly contentious history. The first historic management laws in Australia were passed in the 1970s. As Australia's urban landscape rapidly developed during the 1960s and 1970s, there was a great deal of public concern about the loss and destruction of many significant natural and cultural sites (Veale, 2014). This led to the law enacting substantial changes in philosophy, practice, and public interest in protecting natural and cultural assets. It has developed into an increasingly complicated system of heritage laws and processes from an ad hoc community-driven movement centred on preserving natural ecosystems, historic sites, and structures through activism and protest (Veale, 2014).

The other issue in Australian heritage management is the marginalisation of indigenous heritage within these management practices, including the terminology used to characterise Indigenous heritage, the structure and wording of the legislation, the varying emphasis put on Indigenous and non-Indigenous heritage, and the many regimes that continue to differentiate Indigenous heritage from settler European heritage today (Veale, 2014; Burke & Smith, 2010). The strain caused by more than 200 years of forging this gap is palpable. Veale (2014) highlights that the friction between Indigenous and European worldviews is reflected in the shifting attitudes about administering Aboriginal sites. This has pushed Australian cultural heritage management in novel and innovative ways.

Australia's initial heritage management laws and regulations did not consider Indigenous worldviews. Like history, legislation is created by the winners. From a European viewpoint, it is evident that humans create culture, but for Indigenous peoples, culture can be a product of nature or a result of how people engage with it (Burke & Smith, 2010). The landscape is a cultural artefact because of how humans have altered the environment and because of ancestral beings. The spirits of recently passed people continue to live there and watch how their nation is managed today (Burke & Smith, 2010). It has been argued that indigenous voices should be included in studies and policymaking. To treat Indigenous Australians and their legacy reasonably, there should be more Indigenous input in developing heritage policies at all levels of government (du Crous, 2022)

Despite having a solid reputation for historical conservation established since the 1970s, Australia seems to be experiencing a crisis regarding preserving several important historical sites. It was discovered that the 1990s shift away from independent technical guidance on national heritage policy had a significant influence (du Crous, 2022). This shift results from a change in national ethos away from the earlier Whitlam/National Estate's larger vision of heritage duties and toward a narrower, more conservative one. Additionally, there is a need to treat Indigenous Australians and their legacy reasonably. There should be more Indigenous input in developing heritage policies at all levels of government (du Crous, 2022). Australian cultural heritage has been fundamental globally as heritage practices and procedures have been integrated into urban planning and development processes. Furthermore, the Burra Charter has been used worldwide by organisations such as UNESCO and ICOMOS to develop new strategic frameworks and principles for global heritage management.

This case study provides insight into how Australia's contentious history, like that of South Africa, has affected heritage management. The marginalisation of Indigenous Australians in studies and policymaking has been a concern. However, overall, Australian cultural heritage management provides critical insights into the role of localising legislation, inclusion of all heritage and ensuring all voices are heard in heritage management processes. Like Australia, South Africa has dealt with issues of marginalising specific groups in heritage management in the colonial and apartheid periods. Transformative processes in post-apartheid South Africa have sought to undo this marginalisation towards a more inclusive heritage management landscape. However, this has resulted in several issues in South African heritage management, which this research aims to address on a local scale.

2.2.3 Argentina

Heritage management in the context of Argentina, as with other Latin American countries, poses significant issues for the future. Some of the problems are the segregated heritage management strategies resulting in a lack of integration of cultural and natural heritage components. This segregation is not limited to heritage elements but also to stakeholder interactions and participation, with various stakeholders working independently and not collectively with others (Oftedal, 2014). Oftedal (2014) highlights that heritage practitioners cite bureaucratic delays as constituting a barrier, especially when the State is an essential participant in the process to prevent deterioration processes or adverse effects on the heritage components. Initiatives to increase heritage value are placed on a secondary plane regarding economic resources because preserving culture and nature is only a secondary requirement in government projects, leaving very few resources, if any, for these heritage management tasks (Oftedal, 2014).

Endere (2010) notes that national and provincial states have proven inefficient and bureaucratic in protecting cultural heritage from 1913, when the first heritage law was passed, to today. In terms of Argentina's cultural heritage management, there is a need for a new set of laws that integrates natural, cultural, tangible, and intangible heritage and coordinates legal and administrative systems between national and provincial authorities (Endere, 2010). It also appears clear that legal and administrative heritage systems changes should enable and encourage social participation to ensure their long-term viability and create new commitments and responsibilities as well as new opportunities for dialogues about the protection of cultural heritage. Empowering institutions representing various population sectors should be necessary to participate in heritage issues in cooperation with local, provincial, and national governments (Endere, 2010). The case study of Argentina provides insight into failures in localising strategies, exclusion of the public, integrating all heritage and the risks of over-tourism that have affected and threatened Argentinian heritage.

2.2.4 Africa

In many ways, African heritage is distinct and unique. However, many of its core characteristics do not easily fit into how heritage is supposed to be. Consequently, there has often been a gap between the international prescriptive heritage language and the diverse resources, meanings, and engagements that African heritage managers deal with daily (Keitumetse, 2016). In Africa, tangible and intangible heritage are often mixed, and new additions and age-old practices coexist in many places. Additionally, many of Africa's management regimes must rely on laws originally drafted by colonial powers and, thus, on

specific notions of property rights and authenticity (Keitumetse, 2016). According to Byrne (1991), although Western ideas of heritage certainly have a place in non-Western cultures, this does not mean they must be imposed.

However, throughout the colonial period, particularly at the start of the twentieth century in southern Africa, there was a greater focus on formalising cultural protection through policy and legal mechanisms. Mumma (2005) notes that several African countries, including South Africa, have a long history of heritage conservation. One of the far-reaching consequences of these formal management systems was that heritage resources became state property, subject to state control. However, like in Australia and Argentina, local people were typically excluded from having authority, power and influence on decision-making and policy development in African heritage management, especially during the colonial era (Cook et al., 2000). Academics have recognised numerous barriers to preserving and managing African heritage, which has hampered collaboration between government and communities, inclusivity of all heritage and people, and contested histories (Cook et al., 2000; Mumma, 2005; Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008; Chirikure et al., 2010; Steiner & Frey, 2011).

The most significant of these issues include physical and cultural factors. Physical factors affecting heritage management include climate change, weathering, and erosion. Cultural factors include vandalism and looting, poor protection, poor management issues, limited institutional capacity, political unrest, a lack of funds, limited research on preservation techniques and methods, poor understanding of the value of cultural heritage resources, and a lack of suitable equipment for information (Brandt and Mohamed, 1996; Mabulla, 2000; Cook et al., 2000; Mumma, 2005; Keitumetse, 2016).

The above issues, socio-economic issues, and economic challenges in African heritage management are at risk. Despite the large resource base of cultural heritage in the African continent, heritage frequently comes in relatively low on government priority lists despite being valuable and one of the continent's greatest ironies (Keitumetse, 2016). In South Africa, policy reform and transformation agendas have driven the need to move towards inclusive and sustainable heritage practices through legislative reform and the restructuring of national heritage structures. There is a gap in how these reforms translate into local heritage management in small cities with complex realities. A knowledge gap, this research aims to fill.

2.3 Cultural Heritage in Post-colonial and Post-apartheid South Africa

Traditional notions of museums and heritage in South Africa are frequently contested regarding how heritage and knowledge were created and generated during the colonial era (Corsane, 2004). One of the prevailing narratives in heritage development in the post-apartheid period is the shift from Eurocentric viewpoints to ones inclusive of all South Africans' diverse culture and heritage. This narrative is driven by the need to redress the lack of inclusivity and acknowledge the nation's rich and varied cultural history in heritage management. This section below addresses legislative transformation for cultural heritage from the colonial era to post-apartheid South Africa. The discussion will be based on Figure 2.5, which provides a timeline for South Africa's legislative process. This section is crucial as it investigates the legislative context of heritage management in Makhanda.

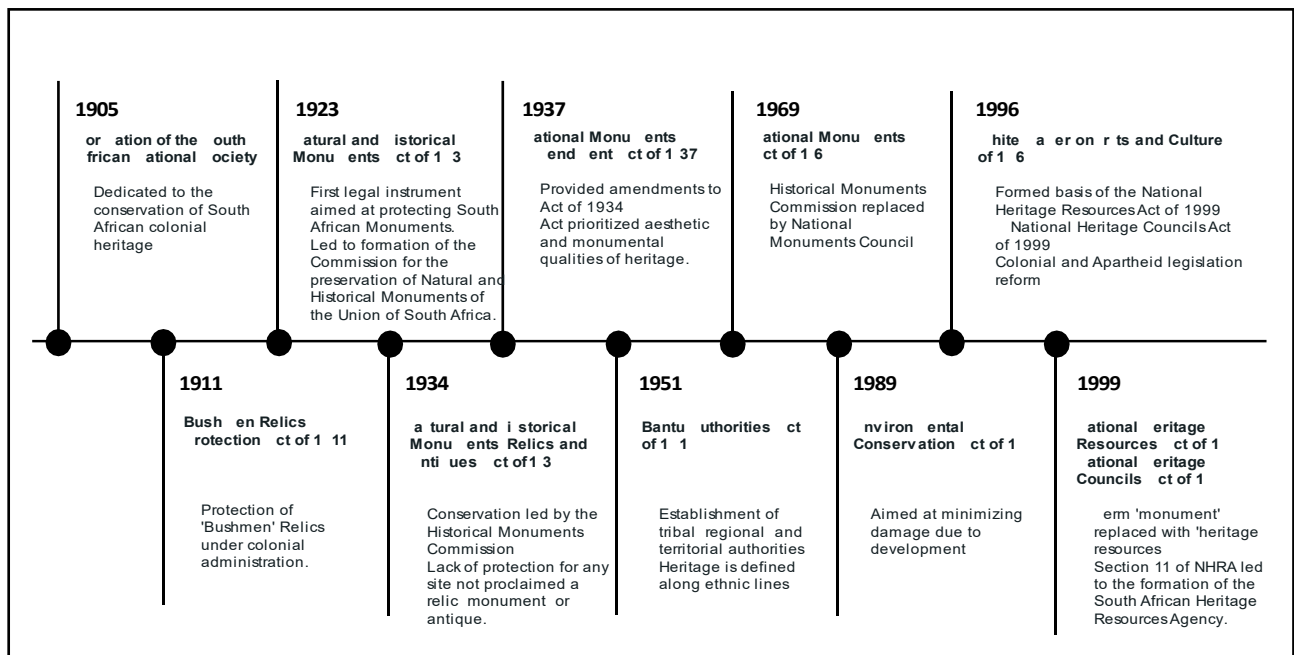


Figure 2.5: Historical timeline of South Africa's heritage legislation (Adapted from Corsane, 2004; Manetsi, 2017).

2.3.1 Colonialism and Heritage in South Africa

Colonialism has had a lasting impact on many aspects of urban design, culture, and life in many parts of the Global South due to its influence on social norms, language, education, knowledge systems, urban planning, and architecture (Shackleton & Gwedla, 2021). South Africa is an intriguing case study for how to assess colonialism's legacy. Like many formerly

colonised countries, South Africa has a complex history of occupation and expansion that persisted post-independence (Shackleton & Gwedla, 2021).

Professionals and conservationists drove the initialisation of the South African heritage practice and formalised it through the formation of the South African National Society (SANS) in 1905. The SANS was tasked with preserving all ancient colonial architecture in South Africa and was dedicated to protecting colonial heritage in South Africa (The South African National Society, 1906). Increased concern about the state of rock art and archaeological sites led to the launching of a rock art and archaeological sites campaign. This previous work is thought to have influenced the passage of the Bushmen Relics Protection Act in 1911 (Manetsi, 2017). The Act was passed in response to growing concern about the erosion and extinction of rock art due to exports. As part of the invasive scientific investigation into "Bushmen," the skeleton remains were collected between 1906 and 1917. According to SAHRA archives (2022), they were distributed in five museums across the country, including Makhanda's (formerly Grahamstown). Similar remains were also housed in 134 museums around Europe. The Bushmen Relics Protection Act of 1911 sought to preserve and protect drawings or paintings on stone or petroglyph thought to have been performed by South African Bushmen or other aborigines, as well as aboriginal tombs, caves, rock, shelters, middens, or shell mounds (Republic of South Africa, 1911).

The Bushmen Relics Protection Act of 1911 was later replaced by a new policy in 1923. The Natural and Historical Monuments Act of 1923 was the first legal instrument in South Africa to protect monuments (Republic of South Africa, 1923). The Act also encompassed areas of land of distinctive beauty, interesting flora and fauna, and objects of aesthetic, historical or scientific importance. Unlike the Bushmen Relics Protection Act, the 1923 Act was in charge of a broader range of sites, including historical structures and monuments (Republic of South Africa, 1923). However, the Act displayed a strong bias towards conserving the tangible aspects of heritage. The Natural and Historical Monuments Act of 1923 established the first official entity in charge of heritage management: the Commission for the Preservation of the Natural and Historical Monuments of the Union, also known as the Historical Monuments Commission (Republic of South Africa, 1923).

The Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act of 1934 gave the Historical Monuments Commission expanded powers to manage South Africa's heritage monuments (Republic of South Africa, 1923). This act superseded the Bushmen Relics Protection Act of 1911 and the Natural and Historical Monuments Act of 1923. The Historical Monuments Commission was given the authority under the new Act to provide recommendations on places or objects to be officially designated as national monuments by publication in the government gazette and, in the event of a property, endorsement of the title deed (Republic of South Africa,

1934). National monument status at this point was South Africa's highest form of acknowledgement for a heritage site.

2.3.2 Apartheid and Heritage in South Africa

The movement or body of thought dedicated to the anticolonial struggle to end colonialism is known as post-colonialism. According to Ryan (2004), postcolonial theory incorporates the psychology of the coloniser and the colonised into decolonisation. The interaction between European nations and the territories they colonised is the primary setting in which the relationship between (post) coloniser and (post) colonised is seen (Hall & Tucker, 2004). Promotion and preservation of colonial-era history continued under apartheid, but this time, it coexisted with the dominant Afrikaner heritage narrative that celebrated white Afrikaner conquest and accomplishments (Kros, 2010).

During apartheid, heritage legislation included the National Monuments Council Act of 1969, concretising the authoritarian position of the state in heritage management. The act further included the erection of monuments for prominent and significant figures, setting up gardens of remembrance, and preserving tangible and intangible national monuments (Manetsi, 2017). Additionally, it provided one specific provision for the preservation of "Voortrekker Graves," belonging to participants of the Great Trek who died between 1835 and 185 (Republic of South Africa, 1969). Much of the National Monuments Council's conservation approach remained concentrated on the built environment and the colonial and apartheid-era architecture that honoured the cultures of the white minority, to the exclusion of the majority black population's cultural legacy (Manetsi, 2017). The National Monuments Act was revised multiple times to extend the power of the National Monuments Council to include cultural heritage conservation, but the Act's structural core principles remained unchanged.

The Environmental Conservation Act of 1989 added to the protection of heritage by reducing the probability of designated heritage sites being destroyed through development processes (Republic of South Africa, 1989). Despite the passage of the 1989 Act, heritage legislation was mainly dormant in protecting heritage due to development threats, a condition rectified by the National Heritage Resources Act of 1999 (Manetsi, 2017).

2.3.3 Heritage in Post-apartheid South Africa

Even after more than 25 years of democracy, the effects of colonialism and apartheid are still felt in South Africa's socioeconomic, political, cultural, and even environmental reality. Despite significant transformational efforts in heritage management, historically ingrained structural

elements persist, including racial separation, poverty, unequal access to land and resources, and various covert forms of racial discrimination (Wells, 2008; Durrheim, Mtose and Brown, 2011). Bredekamp (2017) emphasised the importance of the past when he noted that the events that transpired during the apartheid era significantly impacted the discourse surrounding the definition of cultural heritage in post-apartheid South Africa. Almost three decades into democracy, South Africa appears to be united as a nation in many respects, yet in other respects, it is not. Addressing a shared heritage narrative important within the South African Constitution's preamble has prompted legislative revisions (Corsane, 2004). The need to establish a foundation that empowers the community in actively participating in the reconstruction, protection, and sustainable development of history is at the heart of this (Corsane, 2004).

More intricate factors must be considered when defining cultural heritage in South Africa. The legacy of the nation's past has resulted in an overly limited and corrupted understanding of what culture and tradition are, impacting how people see their culture and heritage (Benson, 2013). For example, adapting the tangible and intangible heritage of the colonial and apartheid to that of the new dispensation is a critical aspect of this. The only way the interested parties and key players can advance toward a future that is less divided than in the past is by promoting discussion and open discourse on these issues. Legislation can be read and applied more precisely when terminology is understood (Benson & Prinsloo, 2013). This should have a favourable effect on how the South African government handles its duties regarding the management and defence of the National Estate. Benson and Prinsloo (2013) argue that heritage-related crime would be dealt with more thoroughly if there were a better grasp of the entire field of heritage and culture in South Africa and what factors affect it.

After 1994, a shift in ideologies promoted a new national identity, the "rainbow nation," a commitment to peace, reconstruction, and reconciliation. It shows the country and foreign tourists the society copes with the burdens of its history, where heritage played a crucial role in bringing the "dark" past aspects forward (Benson & Prinsloo, 2013). The establishment of a new national ministry and the Department of Arts, Culture, Science, and Technology (DACST) in 1994 was the most concrete turning point in the transformational process (Corsane, 2004). This newly established department merged archives, museums and other historical organisations and would preserve and conserve the country's heritage resources (Corsane, 2004). It later established the Arts and Culture Task Group (ACTAG), which was tasked with establishing and investigating through consultative and negotiation processes to address policy contestations, forming a tool for new and longer-term policy development (Corsane, 2004).

Developed policies attempted to bridge the gaps and reduce conflict by employing a more community-based integrated approach to heritage management. This strategy fosters equal access to cultural heritage resources while celebrating variety (Corsane, 2004). Following on from the ACTAG report, the DACST issued a document in 1996 titled "White Paper on Arts, Culture, and Heritage: All Our Legacies, Our Common Future," which recognised the importance of both intangible and tangible assets critical to the state's Reconstruction and Development Programme (Corsane, 2004). It created a platform for formulating new legislation and linked to drafting the National Heritage Bill (RSA 1998). The Bill was vital in creating a structure promoting good governance at the various government levels because it addressed themes of constructing cultural identities, spiritual well-being, nation-building, and affirming cultural diversity. This Bill was intended to provide two key components: the constitution of the National Heritage Council (NHC) leading to the establishment of national and provincial heritage agencies replacing the National Monuments Council. A change was made to reduce the scope of this Bill. However, it was too complex due to its representation of two national bodies (Corsane, 2004).

Consequently, it was split into the National Heritage Council Act (RSA, 1999a) and the National Heritage Resources Act (RSA, 1999b). The first legislation established the NHC as a judicial authority responsible for creating, promoting, safeguarding, and coordinating national heritage management. Conversely, the second aimed to develop the South African Heritage Resources Agency as a national organisation to previous Acts (Corsane, 2004).

Cultural policy reformulation, transformation, restructuring, and rationalisation programs have significantly changed culture, heritage, and museums. In a country as culturally varied as South Africa, these processes are not without controversy. What heritage is and how it is used (or abused) is frequently debated (Corsane, 2004). Heritage issues have become part of a social and public dialogue to increase inclusivity. As a result, implementing new policies marked a significant evolution in heritage management discourse in democratic South Africa. The White Paper on Arts and Culture (1996), the National Heritage Resources Act (1999), and the National Heritage Councils Act (2001) were among the new measures implemented (Corsane, 2004). However, this transformation has succeeded only in policy with a disconnect in how this management happens in practice (Corsane, 2004; Ndlovu, 2011).

To democratise and open the heritage sector, the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) was established as the national authority and given responsibility for the management, protection, and facilitation of the auditing and registration of heritage resources

(Corsane, 2004; van der Merwe, 2018). SAHRA would establish guidelines promoting community involvement and assisting provincial heritage bodies at the national level (Corsane, 2004). A three-tiered heritage management structure was subsequently formed, extending authority to Provincial Heritage Resources Authority (PHRAs) and local municipalities.

Building an intellectual framework and practical strategies to raise the profile of intangible cultural assets is one of the most significant difficulties that SAHRA faces (Benson & Prinsloo, 2013). These difficulties include the inability to collaborate with the tourism industry to develop tourism services, a focus skewed toward specific heritage resources, a struggle between competing needs (heritage conservation against development), and a lack of management skills. Due to dysfunctional provincial authorities' limited reach and capacity in its core function, which has led to the neglect of heritage resources and the geographic dispersion of such resources, the situation is further complicated (Corsane, 2004). Corsane (2004) and Benson and Prinsloo (2013) note other challenges, including the difficulty in creating integrated approaches that are inclusive and community-oriented and ensuring that there is good governance between it and local and provincial bodies. Other difficulties are noted by Corsane (2004) and Benson and Prinsloo (2013), such as how difficult it is to develop integrated strategies that are inclusive and community-oriented and how important it is to ensure effective governance between local and provincial bodies. This requires surpassing Eurocentric Western techniques and challenging conventional beliefs and managerial approaches. According to Corsane (2004), strategies must support two-way communication with communities and social groupings as opposed to the conventional idea of deploying outreach initiatives to encourage community involvement (Corsane, 2004). Managing museums and cultural heritage must involve communities as active participants and subjects. On the other hand, communities must be able to participate as professionals in decision-making processes and activities related to museums and heritage management rather than just as research subjects (Corsane, 2004; Benson & Prinsloo, 2013). In South Africa, the PHRAs have significant authority in grading, declaration and issuing permits; however, they face significant capacity, financial and poor management challenges (Donaldson, 2005; van der Merwe, 2018).

For this reason, this research investigates issues faced within the local context, specifically in contemporary Makhanda, and explores opportunities for preserving heritage resources in the local community. However, the local dynamics do not exist in a vacuum, so the research is situated in the national context of heritage resource management.

2.4 Place, Identity, and Heritage

Previous decades saw a focus on tangible forms of heritage, and Western conceptions of heritage have viewed them as more authentic and vital than intangible forms, and this is due to historical factors. However, in recent years, there has been increased engagement with the significance of the intangible and its importance in attempts to achieve authentic or best-practice heritage outcomes (Lesh, 2020).

The distinction between the tangible and intangible compound conceptions of place in human geography and other academic disciplines is essential to this aim. People's varied expectations and perceptions of place are always at risk of being erased when a place enters the purview of conservation because of the continuous emphasis on the physical over the intangible. This section discusses the concept of place in heritage conservation and its evolution over the past few decades (Lesh, 2020).

2.4.1 Defining Place

The concept of a 'place' refers to the character of a space and is linked to the experiences and attachments associated with the space. Factors such as meaning, practice, and materiality are all interconnected within the creation of place (Lesh, 2020). When these constructed meanings are etched into the physical landscape, they acquire some durability but are still subject to objection and opposition (Puren et al. 2012). While implications tied to these places are shared, they are not fixed and are open to counter meanings (Puren et al. 2012). Avrami et al. (2000) note that aesthetic, historical, social, scientific, and spiritual factors are vital in assessing the significance of a place. Place can be linked to the identity of an individual or community and can play a role in their sense of belonging (Hubbard et al. 2004). For instance, a cultural heritage site might have significance because of the layers of meaning developed through its use by a particular community.

An example of this is a religious building. Alongside the cultural or religious expressions in its material form (icons and symbols, altars, architectural design) are the meanings attached to it through its use for rituals by a specific religious community. The space becomes a representation of the identity of the particular religious community, and alongside this, a sense of belonging will develop. It is precisely this intangible layer of meaning that is valued in terms of cultural heritage. It is for this reason that the academic literature argues that heritage places may be considered a social collection of individuals, objects, and meanings (Harrison, 2018; Pendlebury, 2013).

The relationships between heritage, place, and people are seen in modern heritage studies as less stable, quantifiable, and predictable than in the past. Innovative professionals now work to implement concepts highlighting locations' dynamics, contingency, and experience. As a result, the heritage place is seen as constantly evolving, constantly reimagined, and recreated by interactions between tangible and immaterial actors and materials (Lesh, 2020). The concept of place serves as a reminder that a site's physical limits can never fully encompass its heritage worth. Indeed, place demonstrates that the intangible is a crucial component of legacy. Its provocations could strengthen the bond between humans and the environment (Lesh, 2020).

More importantly, in this research, the dynamics and tensions in heritage management affect Makhanda's sense of place and place identity as one of South Africa's leading architectural cultural, educational and tourist centres. This will be achieved by investigating challenges threatening local heritage management in the urban environment.

2.4.2 Place and Heritage Conservation

In terms of heritage, there has been a definite change toward a people-centred, practical approach with a shift in focus from monuments to people, objects to functions, and from preservation to sustainable use and development (Loulanski, 2006). Lesh (2020) credits the Burra Charter of 2013 with advancing these perspectives and driving global policy transformation in how heritage is viewed promoting the shift from 'monument' to 'place' and suggesting a methodical and well-thought-out strategy for managing cultural heritage (Lesh, 2020). As a result, it gave freedom to locate, evaluate, and protect a variety of what we now refer to as 'places' (Lesh, 2020). These factors have led to the Burra Charter being referred to as a "relativist" or "postmodern" legacy document. Instrumental in shifting understandings of place through the proposition of conservation strategies rooted in understanding a place before any decisions about its future could be made (Lesh, 2020). By doing so, conservation could address more places people relate to. Most crucially, heritage is no longer seen as apart from the societal context in which it was created. Instead, it is increasingly seen as a human creation created and defined by people. Thus, a shift toward broader definitions, functions, and cultural heritage applications is evident. Loulanski (2006) notes heritage has grown to include landscapes, urban and rural areas, and the entire historic environment and place, in addition to distinct artefacts (architecture, archaeology, and movables). This shift has also been seen in prioritising the importance of a collective of buildings instead of individual buildings, which make a townscape. Cullen (1961) highlights several critical details on

townscape, including how townscapes bring together buildings for the collective enjoyment individual buildings cannot bring.

Furthermore, an added look at collective buildings brings about art in the environment that transcends the architecture of individual buildings. These art forms can be through streetscapes, townscapes, or conservation areas. When discussing the role of conservation area designation, Baumann (1997) states that this designation considers the physical characteristics within the townscape, leading to the unity of constituent parts. According to Baumann (1999), the visual qualities and visual harmony produced by the composition and organisation of urban features inform townscape quality. Townscapes are also culturally significant, and their significance is determined by the continued use over time of the physical structures that make a place (Lira et al., 2009). As such, authentic manifestations in the urban townscape need to allow for space to be experienced dynamically rather than an isolated set piece

Wells (2010) suggests three fundamental ways "place" has been conceptualized within the heritage field in his analysis of heritage charters: the spirit of place, sense of place, and place attachment. Lesh (2020) highlights the gap between traditional notions and practices in heritage studies and how they challenge the practical application of conservation today. While the links between place and heritage are being circulated globally and efforts are being made to implement these ideas through policy, research and charters, the application of this has been complex (Puren et al., 2012; Pendlebury, 2013; Harrison, 2018; Lesh, 2020). This has been partly due to the diversity in civilizations and cultures, resulting in struggles to find effective means of meaningfully protecting places for people and localising conservation practices (Lesh, 2020). Place demonstrates that it is a crucial heritage component, and its provocations can potentially strengthen the bond between humans and the environment.

Lesh (2020) argues the effects of prioritising the tangible in conservation practice have downplayed the role of communities and their sense of place. Noting the conflicting interests in development and conservation practices, it is crucial to understand heritage is no more or less essential than the social significance of a place, as these are related to social, economic, planning, and architectural issues (Lesh, 2020). As such, heritage management in urban environments must recognise that the tangible and intangible are equally socially and politically charged. Furthermore, understanding heritage and urban development as overlapping processes rather than opposing phenomena must be the foundation for critically engaged conservation (Bandarin & van Oers, 2012). The history of distinct racial development in South Africa has generated significant interest in place identity studies. In South Africa, history and politics have a significant role in defining place identity. Given the many factors that influence place identities in South Africa, such as race, ethnicity, history, culture, religion,

and language, place identities are social constructs that are continually evolving (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000).

In South Africa, heritage management and urban planning policies are disconnected despite their interconnectedness in the places they represent. This has resulted in many challenges in urban environments around the country due to disputes over urban development and heritage conservation. As such, there needs to be a shift towards integrating heritage management and urban planning policies. While scholarly research in heritage conservation comes from multidisciplinary approaches, challenges and gaps exist in how practices and expertise become distanced from the communities in which these efforts are aimed (Smith, 2006). This research aims to fill this gap by illustrating the role government agencies, researchers, and the public can play in achieving successful heritage management and conservation in small towns

2.5 Place, Heritage, and Development

Heritage conservation is part of broader urban, social, and economic processes, with architecture and urban planning significantly impacting its practice (Lesh, 2020). Regarding conservation, the socially constructed meanings of place are becoming more significant (Wells, 2010). The property market and the development sector impact the locations where conservation occurs. Thus, decisions are always influenced by various stakeholders and interests (Lesh, 2020). The absence of precise articulations for the concept in academic and practitioner circles has not prevented conservation from satisfactorily embracing it until now. Lesh (2020) suggests it can be challenging to balance the whims of place within the confines of a property, especially when conflicting demands for a location's future are being made. Heritage conservation practice is frequently contested, and various groups, including practitioners, legislators, developers, and civil society members, have divergent ideas on how it should be conducted (Lesh, 2020). Several authors have highlighted the role of cultural heritage as a driver of economic and social growth, and research shows that World Heritage assets are threatened mainly by aggressive development and management flaws (ICOMOS, 2005; Turner et al., 2011). This section explores the relationship between heritage and development. The section investigates the relationship between heritage and the sustainable development paradigm. The potential for conflict and synergy between heritage conservation and economic and urban development will then be discussed.

2.5.1 Heritage and Sustainable Development

Development is the economic, social, and political process that raises a growing population's perceived standard of living through time (Hodder, 2000). According to this definition, growth in the quality of living must be cumulative rather than transient and significant enough for increasing numbers of people in a society to feel it. It also argues that it incorporates social and political processes and economic ones.

Sustainable Development refers to a group of human acts and endeavours that attempt to satisfy societal demands without jeopardizing the usage of local resources in the future (United Nations, 1987). The concept and application of sustainable development can benefit significantly from cultural heritage's social and cultural processes (Harrison, 2010.). Because societies determine their social norms throughout their historical development and afterwards construct cultural practices that their members accept, there is a connection between cultural heritage and sustainability. Penna (2018) highlights the preservation of cultural landscapes is of utmost importance since it is inside this cultural landscape that communities establish their sense of belonging and where local people identify themselves. Today, we recognise that communities must explore locally available resources without harming or ruining the environment. By doing this, people may ensure that current and future generations have access to these resources (Penna, 2018). Implementing projects that address social, economic, and environmental issues individually might be considered sustainable development in the current context, where we see rising demand from everyday human activities and, as a result, the depletion of all types of resources.

The United Nations (UN) approved 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in September 2015 to change the world by 2030. (United Nations, 2015). Before this change, in 2013, UNESCO stated that culture should be at the core of sustainable development strategies (UNESCO, 2013b), and cultural heritage was included in the Sustainable Development Agenda. Cultural heritage is regarded as a facilitator of sustainable development since it has historical, social, and anthropological importance. As a result, it is mentioned in Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 11 and 8 of the United Nations. SDG 11.4 emphasizes preserving and protecting cultural heritage (Xiao et al., 2018).

Policy analysis has also highlighted the tensions between urban development and heritage conservation. O'Donnell (2004) argues the indirect importance of regulatory tools and how they contribute positively and negatively to heritage conservation. Silva et al. (2021) identified three approaches to understanding the degree of integration of planning and heritage. Firstly, heritage is disconnected and seen as a sector where the primary aim is collection, limited to expert knowledge and heritage is viewed as a threat to development. Secondly, heritage is

treated as a resource, and there is some integration between the two. Finally, heritage is viewed as a process and social construct guiding development (Silva et al., 2021). An understanding of this approach helps in supporting the drive towards sustainability. However, economic necessity, particularly in developing regions, frequently takes precedence over cultural demands, and cultural heritage may be exploited to promote tourism as a critical source of income. This complicates balancing sustainable practice in the economic use and preservation of heritage. Finding a sustainable balance between using a cultural heritage place for economic advantage and protecting it becomes challenging.

There is a lack of harmony between the existing urban fabric and new developments. For instance, urbanization in many places has produced new tourist destinations with various architectural expressions, but they threaten the local community's place identity and sense of place. This is true in Kuala Lumpur, where urbanization has caused the ancient urban areas to decay, and modernism has taken over the historical image of the city (Said & Hamzah, 2020). Said & Hamzah (2020) recommend adaptive-use strategies to support regeneration, allowing new uses and adaptations for dilapidated buildings. However, a more robust conservation management plan protects the cultural identity and the people that make up the townscape and conveys the region's narrative.

Additionally, local stakeholders must understand the value of protecting heritage to prevent the town's historic fabric from being lost beneath the layers of urbanization (Said & Hamzah, 2020). These threats are also valid in South Africa, where urban sprawl and densification are threatening not only heritage but the sense of place and place identity of South African heritage in places like Stellenbosch & the Vredefort Dome in Parys (Jordaan, 2009; Kruger & Donaldson, 2021; Buchanan & Donaldson, 2021). This study aims to add to this knowledge by investigating the effects of the various threats to Makhanda's local heritage that potentially threaten the local sense of place.

Discussions on the conservation and development of built heritage might benefit from reading Maslow's work. Tweed and Sutherland (2007) argue that buildings must satisfy even the most fundamental requirements, such as shelter from dangerous environments. They never serve a solely practical purpose; they also help satisfy higher demands. Tweed and Sutherland (2007) add that even the most ordinary buildings can unwittingly take on higher-level connotations, meanings that may differ for various groups.

Cities may generate a distinctive sense of place and the most significant urban landscapes by maintaining their history, strengthening their branding, and creating the right environment to attract investors. Additionally, it has been demonstrated that enhancing a city's self-image and identity through recognizing heritage assets boosts civic pride and motivates communities to

actively address various development and livelihood challenges (Ebbe, 2009). Unreplaceable natural and cultural resources are at serious risk in today's rapidly urbanizing cities due to unchecked growth and informal expansion. For instance, developers put pressure on municipalities to create necessary infrastructure that unduly harms traditional cityscapes, and developers push for the demolition of low-rise traditional buildings and the removal of parks in favour of high-density developments (Ebbe, 2009). Investment in historical protection is a low priority since urban populations are increasing, local resources are typically poor, and most governments struggle to provide essential infrastructural services. Due to their ability to support economic growth and urban renewal, well-planned interventions incorporating cultural conservation elements are becoming increasingly significant (Ebbe, 2009). Urban infrastructure projects can be a platform for successful heritage development and protection interventions. In the urban setting, cultural legacy is not seen as passed down from one generation to the next because of its capacity for continuity, but rather as something that is wished to be thoroughly assessed and experienced or as contemporary applications of the past. These ideas highlight how crucial management is to balance cultural heritage protection and use (Gültekin & Ucar, 2011).

One of the significant challenges in the urban development space occurs when legislation and classification of regions addressing heritage policy are in place, and such regulations are either ignored or difficult to apply (Behiri, 2011). This can result in the elimination of entire neighbourhoods quickly, and there is vital greater flexibility in the law, regulations, and planning decisions (Graham, 2002). Puren and Jordaan (2014) argue that integrating built heritage into urban development is a divisive subject in South Africa because there is a contrast between Western and African mentality. One of these issues is South Africa's spatial planning system, which has been dramatically impacted by contemporary planning methods and has resulted in the easy demolition or isolation of historic urban centres in the name of "reconstruction" and development (Puren & Jordaan, 2014). Another difficulty is redefining constructed heritage and its role in a multicultural South African society. This breaks with a long-standing history in which only a Western preservationist understanding of built heritage was supported by laws and regulations contrary to the previous tradition, which exclusively supported a Western preservationist understanding of built heritage in laws and legislation (Puren & Jordaan, 2014). Given the imbalance between urban planning and heritage management policies, these are some of the issues that this study seeks to address.

2.5.2 Heritage and Economic Development

The shifts in development thinking that occurred in the 1990s generally include acknowledging culture. The Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF), published by the World Bank, is a comprehensive development paradigm emphasising cultural heritage and development as the drivers of economic success within its social context (Wolfensohn, 1999). In the past, development models have underestimated the fundamental ability of the cultural sector to enable economic growth, ignoring the significance of cultural factors in causing and empowering development (The World Bank, 2001). However, local, regional, and national public development policies increasingly consider cultural heritage a critical asset in socioeconomic growth (Murzyn-Kupisz, 2012). Murzyn-Kupisz (2012) adds that including socioeconomic factors in implementing various projects related to protecting, restoring, and adapting heritage sites or preserving immaterial heritage may benefit development initiatives.

The degree to which a nation supports cultural heritage conservation and is crucial for economic development might vary depending on its level of development (Donatella & Bertacchini, 2011). This could occur both directly, since developing nations may place less importance on promoting culture, and indirectly, since economic development may impact a country's ability to bargain with international organisations. According to Donatella & Bertacchini (2011), two essential explanations exist for the importance of economic development in influencing people's willingness to actively participate in promoting culture. Firstly, promoting culture might not be a priority in developing nations due to competing priorities. Secondly, a country's size and level of economic development may affect its political power within international organisations.

In Figure 2.6, Murzyn-Kupisz (2012) elaborates on several potential areas where cultural legacy might affect socio-economic growth. Murzyn-Kupisz (2020) mentions a few of these economic advantages related to cultural heritage at various scales, where these advantages may be direct (job possibilities created via the provision of heritage services) or indirect (tourism and real estate). These effects can be extensive and not only benefit the economy. They can also improve living standards and quality of life, support the knowledge economy by serving as education resources, improve urban and regeneration processes, and boost local branding and image.

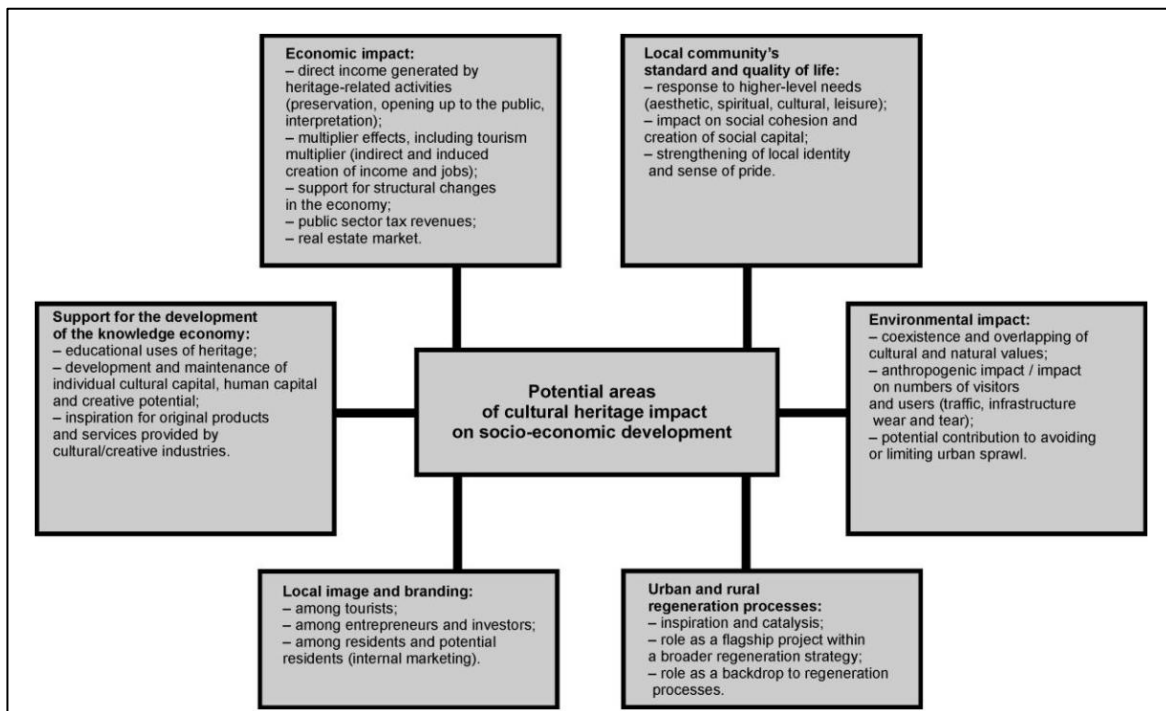


Figure 2.6: Areas where cultural heritage may influence socio-economic development (Murzyn-Kupisz, 2012).

Therefore, heritage may have an economic, social, cultural, or environmental impact on development. Heritage resources may have the potential to be exceptional but detrimental or neutral if they are not well-recognised or used sustainably (Ashworth, 2006).

2.6 Cultural Heritage Tourism

Cultural tourism has been the subject of continuous growth in anthropology, cultural consumption, cultural motivations, heritage preservation, cultural tourist economics, and its relationship to the creative economy (Kumar, 2017; Richards, 2018). Significant research themes include the shift from tangible to intangible heritage, increased attention to indigenous and other minority people, and an expansion of the geographical reach of the study of cultural tourism (Richards, 2018).

2.6.1 Defining Cultural Heritage Tourism

According to Macintosh & Goeldner (1995), tourism is the collection of all the connections and phenomena that result from visitors' interactions with businesses, governments, and local communities while they are being attracted to and hosted by other tourists. Tourism is essential for generating income for countries, promoting mutual understanding among people,

and expanding social, economic, cultural, and scientific cooperation (Bonarou, 2011). Heritage has always been a major tourist attraction, forming a fundamental resource for tourism development (Bonarou, 2011). Culture and heritage are intricately linked, with societies interpreting their legacy through the prism of their cultural values. It's important to note that culture and heritage are dynamic ideas with the continual process of being both culture bearers and makers (Erwin, 2010).

Cultural tourism attracts visitors to places by their distinctive practices, traditions, heritage, or way of life. These visitors can choose from various cultural tourism activities, including field trips, creative and cultural arts, festival tours, site visits, nature excursions, and pilgrimages for folklore or art (Republic of South Africa, 2012). The UNWTO (1985) uses two different definitions of cultural tourism. The restricted meaning covers people travelling primarily for cultural reasons, such as pilgrimages, study tours, attendance at festivals and other cultural events, site visits, and travel to historical places.

The rise in leisure travel following World War 2 is mainly responsible for creating cultural tourism as a social phenomenon and a subject of scholarly investigation (Richards, 2018). In Europe, travel promoted more intercultural understanding and aided in the recovery of crumbling economies. By the 1980s, this burgeoning niche sector was named "culture tourism" due to increased foreign visitors to popular attractions and places (Richards, 2018). Heritage has long been one of the cornerstones of cultural tourism, especially tangible heritage. According to Timothy (2011), heritage is almost as contentious as the debate over cultural tourism. In other words, he finds no difference between cultural tourism and heritage tourism since he views heritage as a wide variety of resources, encompassing built patrimony, living lifestyles, ancient artefacts, and modern art and culture. However, a lot of study on cultural heritage has tended to focus on specific facets of heritage, including the locations of "World Heritage Sites" (WHS) or discussions surrounding "contested heritage," which is consumed by tourists and other people (Yankholmes & McKercher, 2015).

There has been little promotion for small-scale tourism for local economic development in academic and policymaking areas (Hampton, 2005). Hampton (2005) notes many LDC tourism departments are still primarily concerned with top-down planning for traditional international tourism to recruit and keep quality (prosperous) tourists who stay in four- or five-star lodgings. As previously said, this reflects a focus on capturing significant economic gains, with little interest in small-scale firms. The governments of Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa are notable exceptions since they have acknowledged the significance of this industry for local economies (Government of Australia, 1995; Richards and Wilson, 2004).

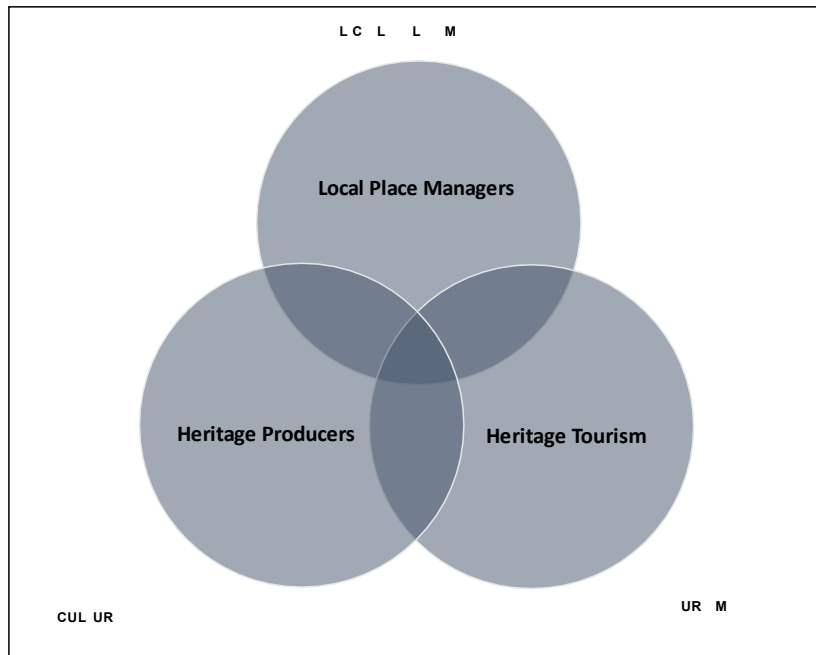


Figure 2.7: The Three Heritage Tourism Partners (Adapted from Ashworth, 2000).

According to Ashworth (2000), there is a connection between three distinct phenomena: heritage, tourism, and the context of places. Culture is represented via artefacts, buildings, memories, and experiences from the past, and local development is driven by local place managers (Figure 2.7). The prominent representatives of each of the three groups involved can be said to be satisfied by cultural heritage tourism (Ashworth, 2000). According to this "windfall gain model," heritage resources exist for other purposes. They are exploited to create products for sale in new tourism markets with favourable local effects, creating a win-win scenario. There are three noteworthy perspectives on this triangle interaction that almost all overlap in time (Ashworth, 2000).

More worries about heritage sustainability are surfacing as tourism incorporates tangible and intangible heritage more and more. Following a meta-analysis of the literature, Loulanski and Loulanski (2011) highlighted 15 elements necessary for the sustainable integration of heritage and tourism. These elements included local participation, education and training, authenticity and interpretation, sustainability-centred tourist management, and integrated planning. The local community's involvement drives positive heritage tourism in the local context. Its willingness to accept visitors and the degree to which it permits heritage use not only as the foundation of a regional identity but also as a tourist attraction determine the positive economic effects of local heritage tourism (Ballesteros and Ramirez, 2007). The amount and kind of multiplier effects are influenced by the local community's attitude toward history, awareness

of its value and economic potential, and financial resources (Murzyn-Kupisz, 2012). For example, the local community could benefit from job opportunities produced by heritage in the hotel industry (Figure 2.9). However, if it requires more training and funding to launch heritage-focused tourism enterprises, a large portion of the revenues will go to producers and owners of hospitality institutions with an external base (Castellani and Sala, 2009). Additionally, different issues occur, and forms of public participation are needed based on the specificity, quality, and quantity of a particular tourism destination's heritage as well as its stage of development (Murzyn-Kupisz, 2012).

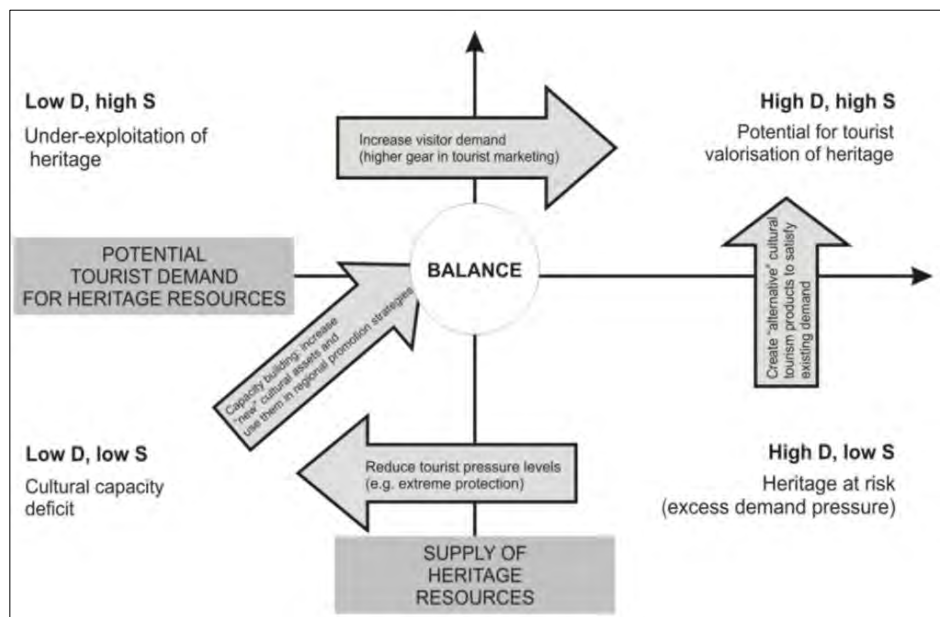


Figure 2.8: Illustration of heritage tourism policies catering to varying demand and supply contexts (Murzyn-Kupisz, 2012:126).

Eversole (2006) recognises that not every endeavour will result in culturally integrated impacts by differentiating between three categories of heritage utilization to build tourism and integrated culture with a particular location. The 'weaving and integrated use of heritage' (Table 2.1) represents a good understanding of a site's cultural specificity and uniqueness. It includes integrating intangible cultural assets and the aims of heritage usage. In this instance, they are not limited to local income creation but include enhancing unique skills and abilities (Eversole, 2006). The level of community involvement lies within the power of the local community. The "Big Things and Staged Stories - Isolated Use of Heritage" permits isolated features of a place to be picked and advertised to visitors; yet, because it has been removed from the larger context, it may no longer be relevant today. As a result, they have lost their symbolic significance to the local populace, and efforts to promote them are not associated with other facets of the local culture. The local population may feel a little pride in these

"manufactured authenticity" settings created for the sake of tourists, but it does not identify with them. In addition, the goals and outcomes are typically particular. Finally, the "Imaginary Region - Inventing Heritage" recommends strategies that respond to externally determined demands and expectations without considering local capabilities or the need for local involvement, emphasising invention rather than finding local heritage.

Table 2.2: Heritage Usage and Level of Integration (Adapted from Murzyn-Kupisz, 2012).

Usage of Heritage	Level of Integration
The Weaving	Integrated Use of Heritage
Big Things and Staged Stories	Isolated Use of Heritage
The Imaginary Region	Inventing Heritage

Any cultural heritage tourism product must be founded on the local and regional culture, integrated with the community and intangible components, and generate local income and enhance the local culture (Murzyn-Kupisz, 2012). Tourism research and management require that it be viewed as a vast field of relationships that are difficult to categorize into distinct and exclusively opposed categories (Geertz, 1997).

2.6.2 Cultural Heritage Tourism: A Tool for Local Economic Development

According to Zaaier and Sara (1993), Local Economic Development (LED) is a strategy in which local stakeholders and government collaborate to plan, combine resources, and include other appropriate partners (such as the private sector) to increase economic activity, which would result in creating jobs in a community. It encourages contextualized local development by utilizing local skills and resources per the South African government's mandate for social and economic development advancement (Irvine et al., 2016). There is no single definition of LED, and It is described in various ways, but there are certain common traits (Rogerson & Nel, 2016). Heritage sites have grown into significant revenue sources for local economies.

The connection between heritage and the economy is the foundation for tackling significant socioeconomic challenges such as a lack of human and physical capital, a lack of credit, and the domination of metropolitan players (Kausar and Nishikawa, 2010). This linkage has also proved helpful in tackling income disparities and the unemployment crisis, which are primarily prominent in developing nations (Kausar and Nishikawa, 2010). As a result, local economic development is viewed as a realistic option for alleviating poverty, unemployment, and

inequality in emerging nations such as South Africa (Rogerson, 2006). Although heritage sites cannot eradicate poverty, they can be leveraged to accrue economic benefits.

Tourism in South Africa is significantly more diverse, with a mix of wildlife, scenic, and beach tourism locations. With a record of 10 million tourists in 2016, the South African region receives the most international tourist visits within Sub-Saharan Africa (Government of South Africa, 2017). Organisations such as the United Nations World Tourism Organisation have designated South Africa as one of Africa's most outstanding tourism destinations (Allen and Brennan, 2004). However, South Africa suffers from over-tourism because the tourism load is concentrated on crucial tourism hotspots such as Table Mountain, Robben Island, Cape Point, and the Kruger National Park at specific times of the year (Maningi, 2019). Human/wildlife conflicts, a decreased visitor experience, and harm to cultural heritage are all consequences of this phenomenon.

The Midlands Meander in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, is the country's first heritage tourism route, focusing on local arts and crafts. Accommodation and indigenous food account for approximately 56% of its revenue. The attraction's annual revenue is anticipated to be R359 million, resulting in around 2100 job opportunities for locals (Snowball & Courtney, 2010). Developing countries with heritage resources such as museums, pilgrimages, and architecture have a significant opportunity to attract domestic and foreign tourists interested in cultural exploration (Gumede, 2019).

2.7 Geographic Perspective of Cultural Heritage Management

To achieve effective and proper management through national laws and sustainable policies, cultural heritage management (CHM) must be the guiding process ensuring the cooperation and supervision necessary for the protection and utilisation balance among all involved parties and local administrations (Gültekn, 2011). Literature on cultural heritage and urban conservation in South African geography has been focused on cultural heritage tourism (van der Merwe, 2013); van der Merwe & Rogerson, 2013; Rogerson & van der Merwe, 2016; van der Merwe & Rogerson, 2018; Mohale et al., 2020) and urban heritage (Donaldson, 2001; Donaldson et al., 2013; Buchanan & Donaldson, 2021; Kruger & Donaldson, 2021). Donaldson (2005) identified three significant challenges when dealing with built heritage in South Africa. Notably, there is a lack of accountability and awareness at all levels of government, issues of governance to assure the NHRA's efficacy, and collective participation from stakeholders in both the public and private sectors. This section presents lessons on CHM focused mainly on

urban heritage in South African geography literature through an analysis of case studies from the Bo-Kaap (Cape Town), Clydesdale (Pretoria) and Stellenbosch (Western Cape).

2.7.1 Cultural Heritage Tourism

Cultural heritage tourism scholarship in South Africa has been focused mainly on utilising heritage tourism as a tool for local economic development and assessing the successes and failures of this approach locally. This recognition extends across the various tiers of government; however, significant challenges threaten the success of cultural heritage tourism. Existing studies mainly focus on experiences and impacts of heritage tourism and how they limit heritage tourism, tourist, and tour guide perceptions of heritage tourism (Masilo & van der Merwe, 2016; van der Merwe, 2016), development impacts on heritage (van der Merwe & Rogerson, 2018), success of cultural heritage tourism for development and understanding the nature of cultural tourism in South African cities. In the South African context, while heritage tourism is acknowledged in policy and legislation as a tool for development, it is often hampered by capacity shortcomings, limited tourism marketing, lack of leadership and limited strategic planning for tourism. Examples of sites where these challenges have hampered the success of heritage tourism include Kimberley (van der Merwe & Rogerson, 2013), Polokwane (Mohale et al., 2020), Cullinan (Rogerson & van der Merwe, 2016), and Constitution Hill (van der Merwe, 2013; Ivanovic, 2014). In Kimberley and Cullinan, it was found heritage tourism was underperforming due to poor budgeting, lack of leadership, limited local tourism marketing and poor strategic planning for tourism (van der Merwe & Rogerson, 2013 and van der Merwe & Rogerson, 2018). In Polokwane, subsidy issues, poor assistance from the state, lack of support for cultural institutions and poor working environments were highlighted as some of the critical factors affecting heritage tourism (Mohale et al., 2020). The Cradle of Humankind was found to have been oversold, leading to high expectations with the potential for LED unreached with a dominance of business over tourism as such inclusive growth has been elusive due to these poor contributions (Rogerson & van der Merwe, 2016). Like the Cradle of Humankind, Constitution Hill is also failing to attract local visitors or tourists due to its position within the decaying inner city, exposing visitors to crime and vandalism, alienation of local residents, weak management and poor cooperation between stakeholders (van der Merwe, 2013). Despite these shortcomings in the Constitution Hill site, Ivanovic (2014) reveals that the tourist experience at the Constitution Hill was highly authentic for most tourists (domestic and international). The results show that most tourists perceive the place as authentic and derive an authentic experience from the visit. Therefore, cultural heritage sites are essential for tourists and generate a sense of place and authentic tourist experience (Ivanovic, 2014).

The abovementioned issues, while localised, illustrate similar issues in the success of cultural heritage tourism in South Africa.

2.7.2 Urban Heritage Management: Case Studies

Outside of a few studies looking at the Bo-Kaap, Stellenbosch, and Clydesdale, geographic literature on urban heritage and its conservation has been limited in South Africa (Donaldson, 2001; Donaldson et al., 2013; Buchanan & Donaldson, 2021; Kruger & Donaldson, 2021). This section focuses on the Bo-Kaap, Clydesdale and Stellenbosch case studies to investigate critical issues in urban heritage conservation and how they threaten local heritage.

2.7.1.1 Bo-Kaap

The Bo-Kaap, once known as the Malay Quarter, has a distinctive townscape comprised of Cape Dutch and Edwardian buildings (Seepie et al., 2001). It is also essential to the establishment of Islamism in the Cape. However, gentrification threatens the suburb's cultural identity and heritage because of interest from foreign visitors, corporations, and developers and the city's goal of becoming a world-class city (Seepie et al., 2022). Nearly all the neighbourhoods in its vicinity have been gentrified, increasing its appeal and becoming a sought-after location in Cape Town. While gentrification threatens the physical, the most significant loss to the region's historical value would be losing the local community, contributing to the intangible (Donaldson et al., 2013).

Donaldson et al. (2013) note that neoliberal approaches to Cape Town's urban growth have set the scene for urban development processes that have significantly affected the Bo-Kaap. These processes include the effects of neoliberal approaches in the city centre, gentrification and how these affect local culture and heritage (Donaldson et al., 2013). Donaldson et al. (2013) found that two divergent approaches to saving the suburb occur: securing the intangible ethnic identity and the tangible physical environment of the suburb. Furthermore, several complications arise in managing, administering, and complying development projects with a heritage component. These have resulted in the alienation and underrepresentation of the local community in the decision-making process.

According to Donaldson et al. (2013), gentrification, rising rates, and taxes have economically uprooted longtime community members, forcing the next generation to travel rather than settle in their Bo-Kaap. These rising property price rates and taxes have affected heritage conservation. The Bo-Kaap has been more attracted to new and foreign capital investment through tangible heritage than by safeguarding the socio-cultural history of its society. This

raises concerns about who will benefit from the city's approach to economic growth and urban renewal and the extent to which all stakeholders are included in the decision-making processes (Donaldson et al., 2013). Donaldson et al. (2013) argue that neoliberal policy pressures and local resistance challenge the developing of an integrated approach merging culture and heritage in the broader urban context. As such, Donaldson et al. (2013) argue the abovementioned challenges that threaten this once-indigenous community's coherence and call for new strategies for heritage management.

2.8.1.2 Clydesdale

As early as 1990, alterations to the urban fabric put the ancient Clydesdale neighbourhood in Pretoria's Old East region in danger (Donaldson, 2001). The historical character of the suburb is attributed to the rich architectural history linked to most of the houses assumed to be older than 50 years. The difficulties for urban conservation in Clydesdale were examined in research by Donaldson (2001). Urban development improvements that received criticism from the local community included planning initiatives, poor structural plan implementation in the 1990s, inner-city degradation and its influence on the suburb, and a projected multi-land use development at the Minolta Loftus Stadium (Donaldson, 2001). Due to concerns over the loss of the low-density residential area's historical importance, which distinguishes it from the nearby high-density suburbs, the local community rejected these modifications.

Donaldson (2001) found that new developments and urban restructuring, the influx of business activities, the proliferation of legal and illegal commercial activities and the use of the suburb as a thoroughfare contributed to eroding the historical character of the suburb. Furthermore, although policies and spatial plans have been created, many have not yet been enacted and enforced by by-laws (Donaldson, 2001).

The Clydesdale Resident's Association residential regeneration initiative balanced gentrification and urban growth by focusing on heritage conservation, safety and security, and urban tourism, with residents limiting public mobility in public locations to control visibility from the outside. These only address a portion of the issue, making the effectiveness of this approach debatable because additional regeneration phases might not be reached (Donaldson, 2001).

2.8.1.3 Stellenbosch

As a result of the ineffective implementation of policy, market urbanism, and the necessity for student housing due to the increase in student enrolment, Stellenbosch has undergone

significant densification through ad hoc developments. The historical suburb of Die Weides in Stellenbosch, which saw considerable densification between 2000 and 2016, is particularly impacted by the trend toward densification. This was partly caused by a zoning regulation change and a real estate boom, which resulted in significant neighbourhood densification. The draft densification strategy, which directed and controlled development, was the most significant of several proposed policies by Stellenbosch Municipality to handle densification (Kruger and Donaldson, 2020). By preserving the central block's single residential nature and encouraging densification of the clearly defined outer margins, the policy sought to address the threat to the historic character. Although the proximity to the main campus of Stellenbosch University and transportation lines was the justification for the designation of the area, the sentiment of the locals was disregarded. While a few historic homes have been absorbed through infill into the densified area, the suburb's urban fabric has significantly changed. This resulted in a surge in students and increased building activities threatening long-term inhabitants. These procedures have rendered the terrain's historical qualities obsolete and resulted in a sterile, fragmented student urban landscape. According to Donaldson & Kruger (2020), the municipality's former student policy must be revised because it failed to address studentification adequately. Makhanda, like Stellenbosch, has also seen these densification challenges driven by studentification, threatening local built heritage. This research seeks to investigate this in more detail as it relates to heritage and urban planning.

The Stellenbosch Municipality commissioned a team of consultants 2015 to produce a built environment historical inventory, measure its significance, and map it (Buchanan & Donaldson, 2020). This inventory would inform conservation management and ensure compliance with the NHRA. Buchanan and Donaldson (2020) found gaps within this inventory adversely affecting local urban heritage conservation, focusing on the city's two oldest suburbs (Mostertdrift and Dennesig). Findings indicated the following issues within the heritage conservation space in Stellenbosch, including the limited attention given to historic conservation area as it was never amended accordingly, the exclusion of proposed townscape areas in the inventory had not been included in the urban conservation overlay zone, the municipality has no conservation policy or by-laws for heritage conservation and the inflexibility of the Stellenbosch Municipality despite their limited capacity in addressing the threat of development may lead to the destruction of remaining heritage suburbs. Furthermore, issues within the inventory itself threaten Stellenbosch heritage suburbs due to challenges in expanding the urban conservation overlay zone, exclusion, objections to the exclusion of Mostertdrift and Dennesig, which highlighted several other properties omitted, and non-verification of the heritage assessment sheets that have not been verified by the public (Buchanan & Donaldson, 2020). As such, Buchanan and Donaldson (2020) propose a

movement towards a more inclusive heritage landscape approach, prioritization of community buildings as opposed to individual buildings and better enforcement of regulations.

The above case studies have provided insight into the challenges in heritage management in the urban environment. These include poor management and enforcement of policy, exclusion of the public in the decision-making process, lack of inclusion, marginalization of local communities through new development, lack of conservation policies, and disconnect in heritage and urban planning policies. These examples, like Makhanda, illustrate the many struggles of heritage management in the urban environment.

2.8 Application of GIS and remote sensing

Burrough and McDonnell (1998) define Geographic Information Systems (GIS) as a group of computer-based technologies used for gathering, storing, modifying, analysing, and presenting geographically referenced data. To aid in decision-making, these technologies may convert data and convey knowledge in various ways (Bunch et al., 2012). For heritage managers, conservators, restorers, architects, and other specialists involved with heritage management, GIS has developed into a crucial tool in recent years. Cultural resource managers and planners may catalogue and evaluate heritage assets' organisational and structural possibilities and further define sustainable tourism and urban development using an integrated remote sensing and GIS methodology (Stubbs & McKee, n.d). Furthermore, as a spatial toolbox, it applies to mapping, recording, heritage inventory, documentation, predictive tools, and cultural resource management (Yogapriya & Ramapuram, 2018). These allow users to investigate and question information to comprehend patterns and connections. This process can be seen in Figure 2.9.

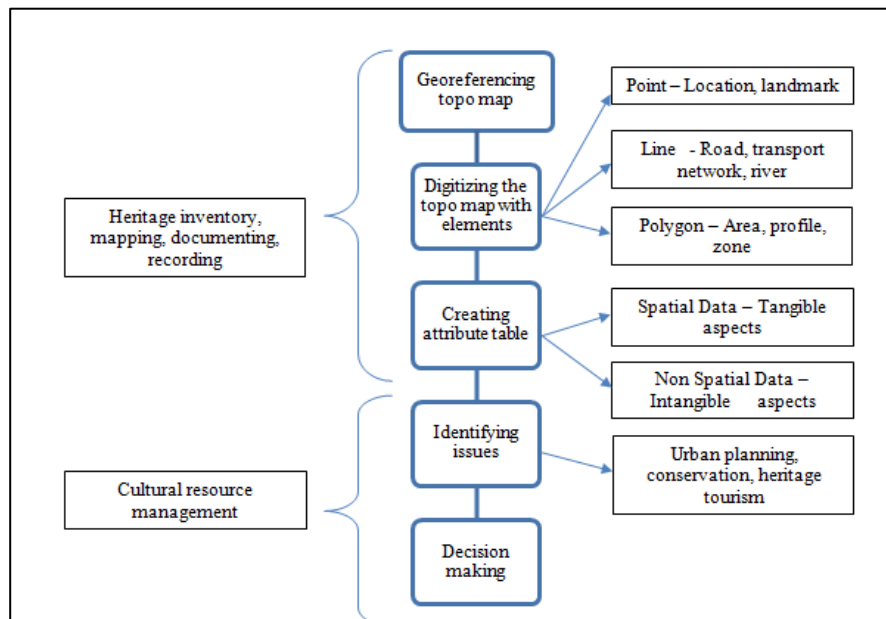


Figure 2.9: GIS application in cultural heritage management as a spatial analysis tool (Yogapriya & Kumar, 2011).

Creating intricate and integrated information systems with GIS as a critical infrastructure component is becoming more important for national and municipal authorities managing cultural resources (Petrescu, 2007). In addition to the well-known pioneering example in Italy, more and more nations (including the United Kingdom, Australia, Romania, and South Africa) are beginning to embrace GIS as a crucial infrastructure component in maintaining culture (Petrescu, 2007). As seen in Table 2.2, there are many ways that GIS may be used to improve the management of cultural heritage resources both domestically and abroad. Notably, the image was modified from a 2007 study, and changes to heritage management have been made.

According to literature, the use of GIS in cultural heritage has been growing. Studies on GIS applications for surveying and inventory (Capra et al., 2002), assessment and evaluation, analysis and research, strategy creation (Callegari, 2003), implementation, monitoring and evaluating and hazard prevention are some examples of these applications (Comer, 2014 and Lanza, 2003). Tourism geography has developed a tourism area life cycle model by researching tourism-related patterns and flow, tourism, and development, and evaluating the implications of climate sensitivity and tourism (Butler, 1980). Hall et al. (2009) examined GIS's role in the tourism industry. They concluded that there was a significant opportunity for GIS application to tourism and cultural management because spatial information provided a limited resource for tourist activity while spatial technologies provided micro-level impacts at sites.

GIS applications include mapping tour routes and interpretative sites, studying site density and distribution, documenting illegal activity to identify spatial dispersion, and creating management zones that link cultural heritage sites and tourists (Hall et al., 2009).

In the past few decades, GIS and remote sensing technologies have significantly advanced the discipline. As a crucial tool for safeguarding and avoiding harm to monuments and sites, remote sensing technologies, on the other hand, have demonstrated significant promise (Agapiou et al., 2014). Several CH applications have effectively utilized ground, aerial, and space technology advancement during the past 20 years (Casana et al., 2014; Agapiou et al., 2014). Higher spatial resolution and hyperspectral data, among other space technology advancements, present new prospects for managing cultural heritage resources and conducting future archaeological research (Giacomo et al., 2011).

Table 2.2: Review of some of the applications of GIS in some countries (Adapted from Petrescu, 2007)

	Level of Implementation	Accessibility	Applications	Data Model
Australia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regional • Local 	Available for internal use (not yet public)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aboriginal communities 	No data model was reported.
Romania	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regional • Local 	Available for internal and public use.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Archaeology • Historic Monuments 	Data model not available.
South Africa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National • Regional • Local 	Available for internal and public use.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Moveable and Immovable Heritage • Living Heritage 	No data model is available.
United Kingdom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National • Regional • Local 	Available for internal and public use.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Archaeology • Historic Monuments 	Data models are not available.

Conclusion

This chapter's two main objectives were to contextualise the research using previous research and identify gaps to highlight the need for a different perspective. The first primary objective was establishing a framework and context for the investigation. This has been accomplished by examining the findings and research techniques used in previous studies on the phenomena of heritage management in the global and regional context, transformation in the South African heritage management legislation and practices, investigation of the role of place and identity as it pertains to heritage management and development. Lastly, it investigated the role of cultural tourism in promoting development and understanding the role of spatial analysis and technologies in aiding the protection of heritage resources. Examining the tensions, dynamics, and management possibilities has also shown numerous gaps in understanding the disconnects between heritage practice in the local context, which the case study of Makhanda will address.

Second, a need for a different research strategy was discovered considering the deficit in the study into the challenges faced by small cities in specified contexts in heritage management. The conservation of tangible heritage has been at the centre of South African heritage policy and administration from the Bushmen Relics Protection Act of 1911 to the National Monuments Act of 1969, focusing on preserving and promoting colonial and apartheid heritage. Unfortunately, while post-apartheid heritage legislation protected has transformed significantly, it has not fully acknowledged the varied cultural heritage of South Africa. Therefore, all management strategies must acknowledge this history, its effects on heritage contestations, and the need for transformation in the heritage management space. International examples have provided best practice scenarios, but all local approaches must be community-driven and enriched with a localised context to benefit all communities. While legislative reform has been beneficial, a disconnect persists between policy and practice.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter discusses each research objective and the methodology adopted in tackling them. It will present the research design and methods used in conducting this research. The sections following this will detail the research philosophy and approach, methodological choice and research strategy. The data collection and analysis will highlight how data was collected and analysed to fulfil the research objectives. This chapter ends with discussing the ethical considerations that need to be acknowledged through carrying out this research.

The research aim and objectives are based on the literature presented in the previous chapter and the gaps presented. As such, the research aims to investigate the challenges and opportunities for managing built-environment heritage resources in Makhanda. Therefore, this research was guided by the following research questions:

- What are the existing proclaimed built-environment heritage resources of Makhanda?
- What are the challenges in the management of built-environment heritage resources in Makhanda?
- What are the potential opportunities for the management of built-environment heritage resources in Makhanda?

3.1 Research Methodology

Research methodology refers to the inquiry strategy, which comprises research design and data collecting procedures' core techniques (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). The methodology is the framework used to develop knowledge, whereas the research method refers to the inquiry strategy (Goundar, 2012). The Research Onion Model (Figure 4.1), designed by Saunders et al. (2019), illustrates the various stages in developing a research strategy and further outlines the step-by-step procedure for developing a research methodology. It is employed because it can be adjusted to almost any research methodology and used in various contexts (Saunders et al., 2019). The model is a structural tool to understand this study's research design and methodology.

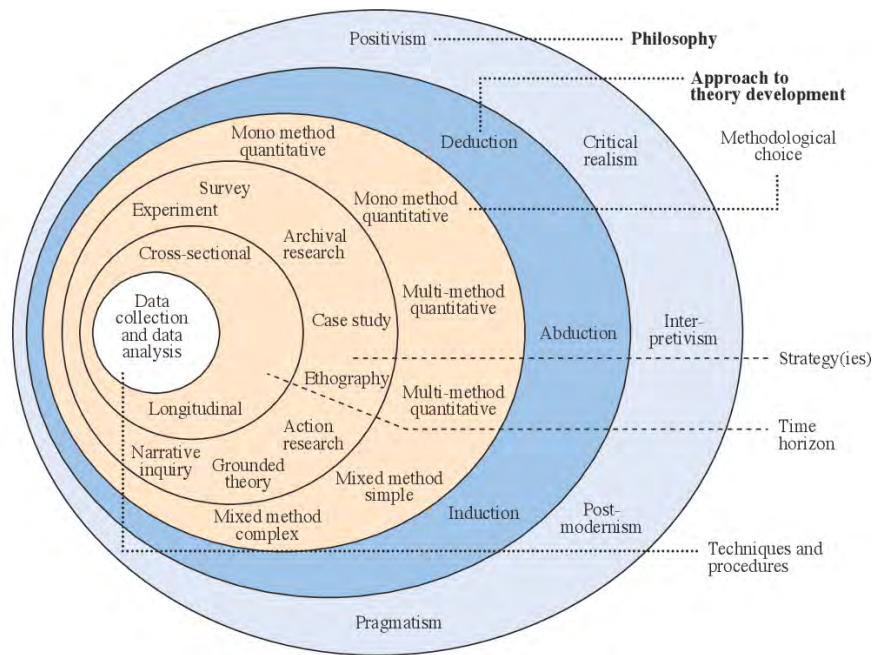


Figure 3.1: Research Onion Model (Saunders et al., 2019).

3.2 Research Philosophy

Saunders et al. (2019) define research philosophy as assumptions and ideas about knowledge development. It is the outermost layer of the onion. The study investigates the disconnect between policy and practice in heritage resource management. As a result, critical realism is used to examine the research topic to understand further what is happening in practice with heritage management in Makhanda, given the various dynamics and tensions.

Critical realism is used in this study to delve into the underlying mechanisms and structures of social relationships to comprehend the fundamental elements of reality (Kitchin & Tate, 2000). More specifically, this research context aims to understand the practicalities of local heritage management given the complex dynamics and tensions. Critical realism identifies how something happens (causal processes) and the magnitude of the occurrence (empirical regularity). Realism acknowledges that the 'real' cannot be seen and is unaffected by human perceptions, theories, or creations and the world as we know and interpret it is made up of our viewpoints and experiences and what can be seen (Kitchin & Tate, 2000). Critical realists' most significant philosophical subject is reality, and an ordered and multi-layered ontology is crucial (Saunders et al., 2019). Critical realists contend that although reality is independent and external, it is not instantly perceptible through observation or knowledge. Therefore, research philosophy is guided by assumptions that aid in developing research topics, selecting

relevant techniques, and interpreting results within research, as seen in Figure 3.2 (Saunders et al., 2019). This study's research philosophy is built around these assumptions and is detailed below:

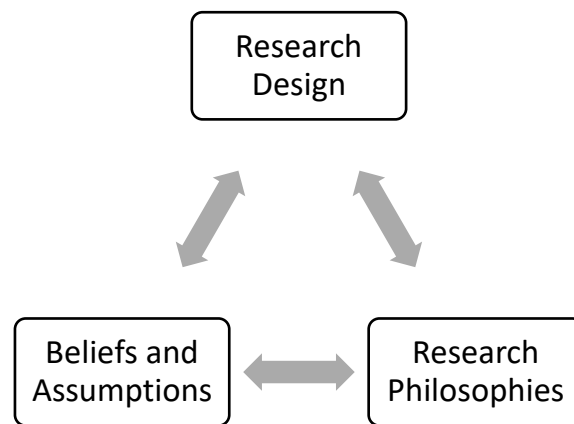


Figure 3.2: Research philosophy development process (Adapted from Saunders et al., 2019).

3.2.1 Ontological Assumptions of Critical Realism

Ontology is defined by Saunders et al. (2019) as the assumptions about the nature of reality and that reality is multifaceted as perceived via different perspectives, as seen in Figure 3.3. It deals with assumptions regarding the reality under examination, what reality is, and how a researcher might understand existence.

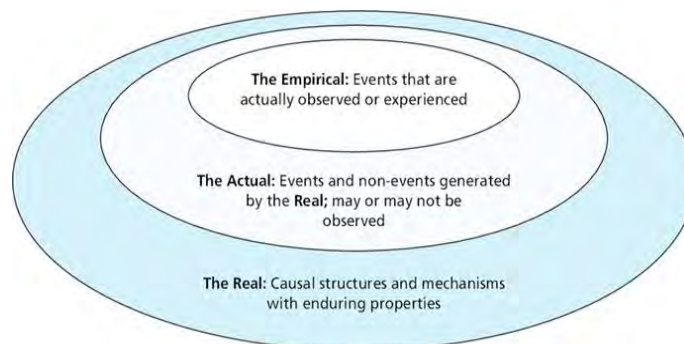


Figure 3.3: Critical realist ontology (Saunders et al., 2019)

Consequently, this allows the researcher to comprehend the context of conservation and preservation of built environment heritage resources in Makhanda by asking the following ontological questions:

- What are the existing built environment heritage resources?
- What are the existing conservation efforts of built environment heritage?

- What are the challenges in the management of these resources?
- What role do the various agencies play in the conservation, maintenance, and conservation of heritage resources in Makhanda?

3.2.2 Epistemological Assumptions of Critical Realism

Epistemological assumptions are made regarding human knowledge, including whether the information is real, whether it can be learnt, and how it is acquired and disseminated by researchers (Saunders et al., 2019). This research recognises that knowledge has a historical background and that social facts are collectively created by people rather than existing on their own (Saunders et al., 2019). As such, we have the following epistemological questions we considered:

- How can we know what we know?
- What constitutes good quality data?
- What kind of contribution to knowledge can be made?
- What is considered adequate knowledge?

3.2.3 Axiological Assumptions of Critical Realism

These are assumptions about what is significant and valuable in the study or how much the researcher's values influence the research process. The axiological approach of critical realism admits that social conditioning affects how we interpret reality and that social actors are necessary for understanding reality (Saunders et al., 2019). The following axiological queries were answered:

- What part do the researcher's values play in the research?
- How should we approach study participants' values?

3.2.3 Methodological Assumptions of Critical Realism

The methodological assumptions are preconceptions about the procedures utilized in qualitative research (Creswell 2003). Using an inductive technique, raw textual material is reduced into a summary style. The study objectives and the summary conclusions produced from raw data are linked. Finally, the raw data is used to build a framework for the underlying structure of experiences or activities (Creswell, 2003).

Critical realists tend to employ mixed methods approaches, as in the present research. Mixed methods research includes qualitative and quantitative research procedures to broaden and

deepen understanding and corroboration (Johnson et al., 2007). This research utilized this approach to establish what built environment heritage resources in Makhanda are available and their condition and investigate the challenges and opportunities to their management in Makhanda. This approach allows for greater flexibility as both research techniques were utilized collectively and integrated in the analysis stage.

3.3 Research Approach

The next layer of the Research Onion is the research approach, which is an overall plan and procedure for the investigation. As a result, the research approach may be classified into three categories: deductive, inductive, and abductive techniques (Saunders et al., 2019). The inductive approach was employed in this research, moving from specific observations to broad generalizations. It provides a method for drawing inferences or conclusions.

This approach was utilized as it allows for an adaptable approach to research. It allows the researcher to be adaptable, attend closely to context and support new theory generations. This is specifically important for this study as heritage is a cross-cutting field that is often studied from a range of disciplines therefore, any approach to heritage management research needs to acknowledge and adapt to the various perspectives that may arise.

3.4 Methodological Choice and Research Strategy

The third layer of the Research Onion is the methodological choice, which entails deciding on and implementing a quantitative, qualitative, or mixed methodologies research design. As stated previously, a mixed-method approach was utilized for this study. Through this approach, qualitative and quantitative procedures or methodologies were used and allowed for the collection and analysis of data. Additionally, integrating the findings allowed for conclusions to be drawn to fully understand the research questions (Tashakkori & Creswell, 2007). The mixed-methods approach allows for the use of diverse methods and also offsets the limitations of exclusively using qualitative and quantitative research. Furthermore, it allows for a complementary approach that maximizes the strengths of each data type. Through the integration process, both data types can be used efficiently to survey the proclaimed heritage resources, challenges associated with their management and opportunities to improve local heritage management.

Quantitative techniques were used to conduct a field survey and perform spatial analyses of the built environment heritage resources with an empirical-analytical approach. Spatial software is used to map and analyse quantified data sets to portray experienced facts. The field survey findings were analysed using spatial software to perform a spatial analysis.

Qualitative techniques were used to investigate the challenges and opportunities to improve the management of Makhanda's built environment heritage resources using a critical realist methodological framework for qualitative approaches. These included semi-structured interviews with key informants and homeowners to study their perceptions of the challenges and opportunities for local heritage management.

3.5 Research Strategy

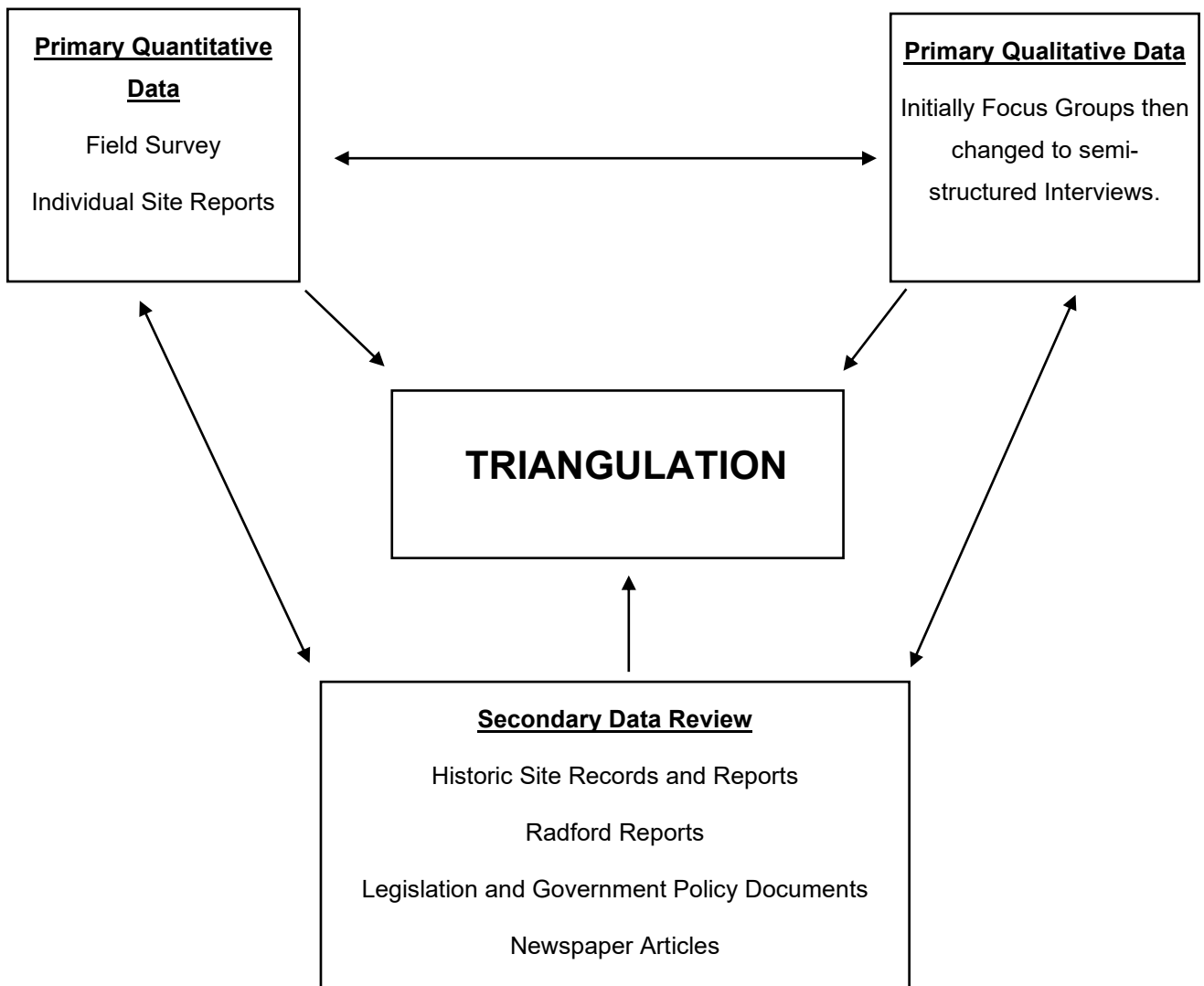
The research strategy describes the researcher's plans for carrying out the project (Saunders et al., 2019). Some research approaches include designing experiments, surveys, archival research, case studies, ethnographies, action research, grounded theory, and narrative inquiry (Saunders et al., 2019). The following research methods apply to this study:

A case study is an empirical analysis of a particular social unit. The goal of this research method is to provide answers to the "how" and "why" questions (Saunders et al., 2019). The present research used a case study as it is assumed that the dynamics in Makhanda result from an interplay between national dynamics and local context. Makhanda, therefore, provides a perfect laboratory for a case study as the various tensions and dynamics severely affect the potential and practice of heritage management.

3.6 Data Collection and Analysis

The Research Onion's innermost layer comprises strategies relating to the more delicate data collection and analysis intricacies. Triangulation combines various research methodologies to analyse the same topic in quantitative (validation) and qualitative (inquiry) studies. It's a method-appropriate way to boost the trustworthiness of qualitative research. By combining a variety of observers, theories, procedures, and empirical materials, researchers may attempt to overcome the limitations or inherent biases that result from using a single approach, one observer, and one theory in their studies.

This study employs two types of triangulation: data triangulation and methodological triangulation. Data triangulation gathers information from many sources, including numerous times, locations, and individuals. Several techniques are used in methodological triangulation, including within-method and between-method tactics. The data collection process is summarised (Figures 3.4 and 3.5), and the analysis of this study is detailed in the following section.



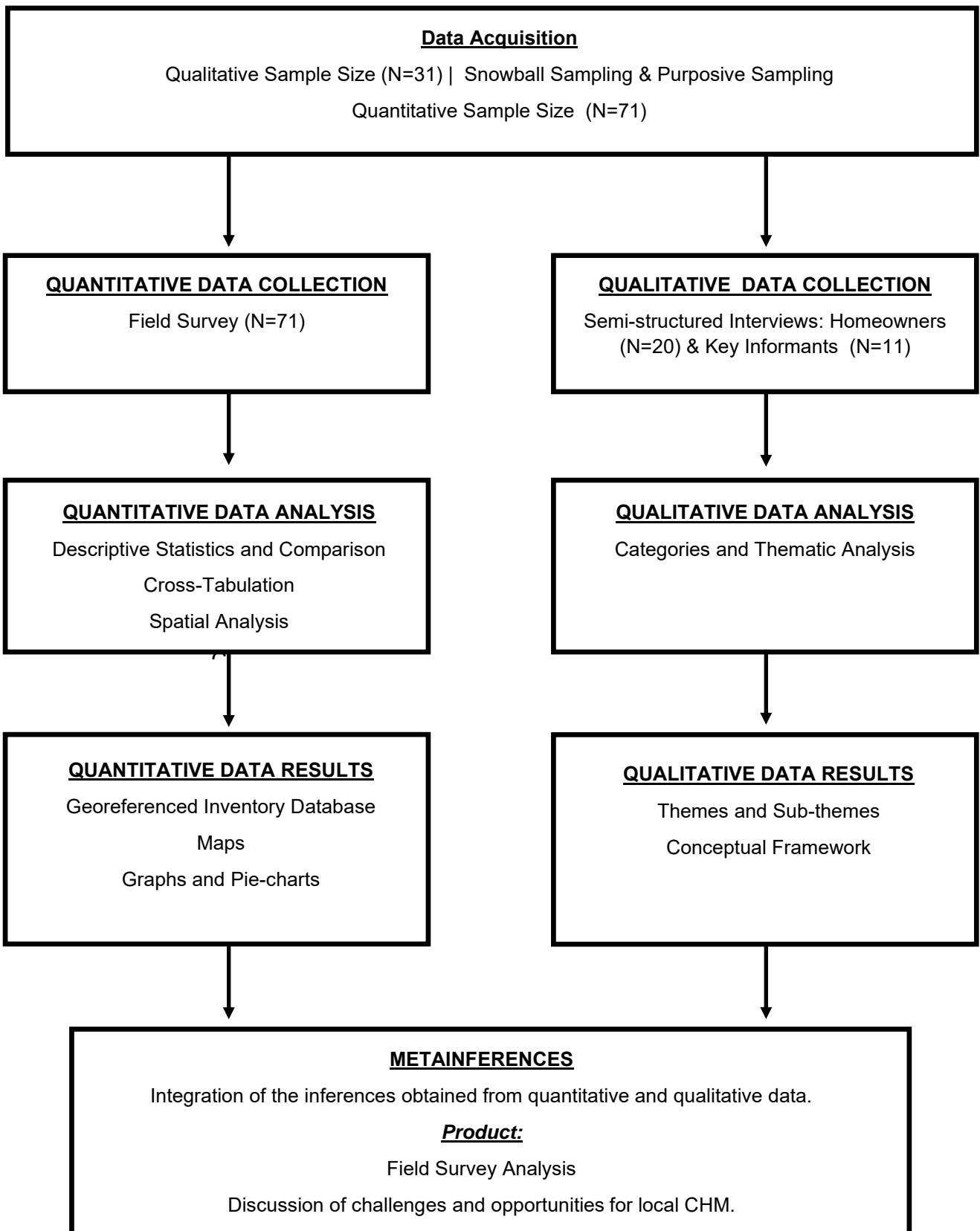


Figure 3.5: Data collection and analysis summary for this study.

3.6.1 Data Collection

As previously stated in earlier sections, this study adopted a mixed-method approach. This section discusses the various data collection techniques.

3.6.1.1 Quantitative Data

A quantitative approach was adopted to create an inventory and database of built environment resources using SAHRA heritage survey guidelines. Primary data were collected through a field survey of the built environment heritage resources in Makhanda. Heritage surveys aim to identify and grade all heritage objects and sites within a geographical region. The survey procedures used to designate heritage locations were Sections 30(5) and (6) of the NHRA and Section 31. This was aimed at first establishing the assets in the city where this knowledge could be applied to investigate their condition and history. This was the first step in understanding the challenges and opportunities in heritage management in the city in line with the research objectives. This field survey adapted aspects of SAHRA's heritage survey guidelines for built environment heritage resources. These guidelines were updated to accommodate the challenges associated with the accessibility of the heritage resources and, as a result, could only be focused on surveying the facades of these heritage resources.

Firstly, the researcher established the proclaimed heritage resources in the city utilising the South African Heritage Resources Integrated System (SAHRIS), the nationwide inventory containing all the South African heritage resources identified (Figure 3.6). This information was then input into Microsoft Excel to create a spreadsheet of Makhanda's built environment heritage resources (Figure 3.7). This spreadsheet had the following broad categories for each heritage resource: site name, location, gazette date, address, and grading. These were critical in adapting the SAHRA guidelines to fit within the local context and limitations of the study. This could only be achieved once a preliminary dataset was established to direct the field survey to follow.

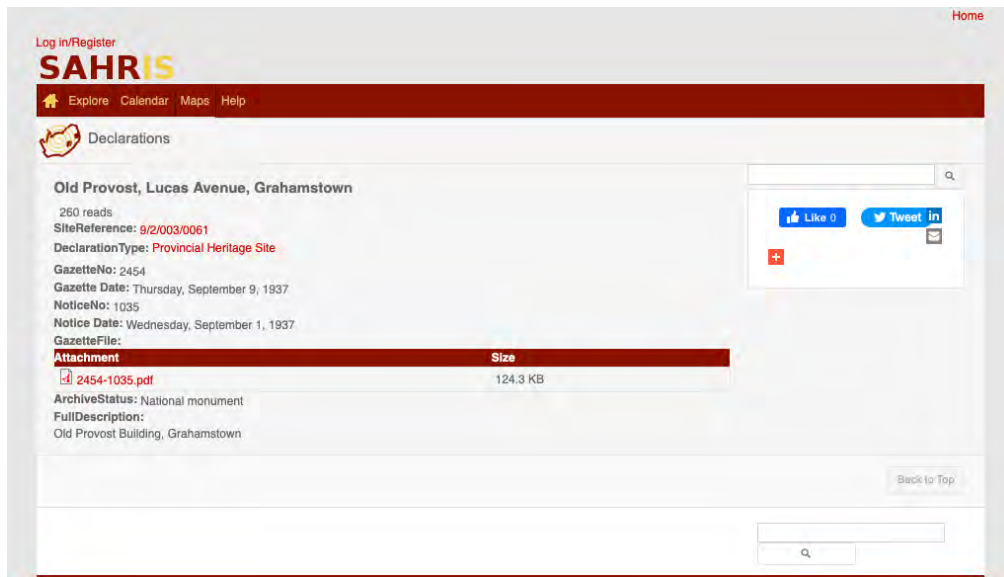


Figure 3.6: SAHRIS search result example for each heritage resource.

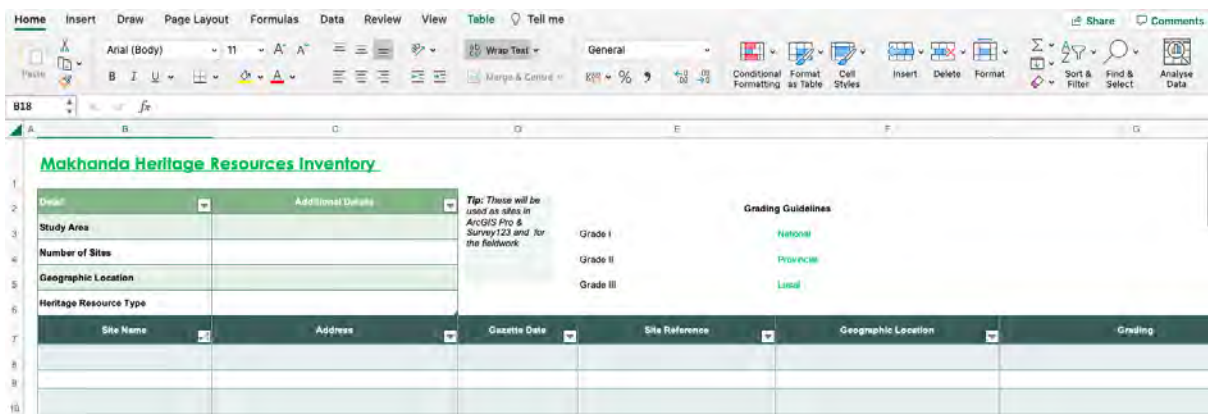


Figure 3.7: Heritage resource pre-fieldwork format.

Once all built environment heritage resources recorded from SAHRIS were input into the spreadsheet (Figure 3.7), a survey template was developed in ArcGIS Survey123. This application allows for effective survey data design, distribution, and evaluation. The service allows for online and offline data collection, utilising both web and mobile services. This data is then safely submitted online and is transferrable into the ArcGIS service (ESRI, 2021). The end-to-end concept of the product is shown by the numbers 1-2-3 in the product name (ESRI, 2021). Survey123's workflow allows the user to develop surveys, get responses, and evaluate findings is provided by Survey123.

The criterion used for this survey form utilised SAHRA guidelines for visual inspection with a specific focus on the façade to collect site data on built environment heritage resources based

on several categories, including the following:

- geographic location
- gazette date
- site reference
- site history
- grading in terms of the body responsible for the site
- condition
- original use, and current use

Due to limited access to the properties, as most are private property, this study limited the visual inspection of the façade of these heritage resources. All the heritage resources identified were visited to collect data that provided information on the condition of the heritage resources at the façade level. Data gathered during the site visits supplemented the information already gathered in the inventory spreadsheet. This data was then analysed using ArcGIS Pro and statistical analysis in Microsoft Excel. The field survey process is multi-layered, and various critical assessment criteria were applied. SAHRA has an established classification system that guides the determination of the various grades of heritage resources. According to SAHRA's heritage assessment and grading as per section 7 of the NHRA grading systems should distinguish between at least the following categories: erf number, street address, type of building, date built, style/architecture, architectural period, alterations, present NHRA protection, name of the building, description, history, social history, and photographs. Architectural descriptions were excluded in this study as the researcher's knowledge within this field is limited, and most buildings share a combination of architectural features, making it challenging to decide on the architectural period.

This completed form was used in Survey123 primarily to record various site data, including the history of the place, site description, illustration, site plans, current use, and sources of information. Once this data was collected, it was added to ArcGIS, allowing it to be utilized for the spatial analysis. The template (Figure 3.8) to detail the recording process is detailed below:

Site Report Form Template	
History of the Place	Give a brief history of the location. When was the first time it was utilized or valued?
Description	Give the location a topographic description. Determine the key physical characteristics and dimensions. Include the surrounding area as well.
Illustration	Show the location using images and diagrams. You may also use pictures from other places. Recognize and confirm that you own the copyright.
Site Plans	Sketch plans and maps help illustrate the location and display some physical characteristics and terrain.
Current Use	If applicable, describe the present use, including any intangible components such as ceremonies. Outline any earlier usage as well. Look for maintenance records.
Sources of Information	Are there any interviews, oral histories, or other materials, and where are they kept? Indicate all the information's sources.
Inspected by:	Date:
Condition: Describe the conditions in terms of: poor, fair, good, and damaged. Are there any dilapidated items or structures etc.?	Maintenance: Describe how the place has been maintained in terms of poor, fair, good, or not applicable
Who is using the place: (Unknown, not applicable, unoccupied, semi-occupied, occupied)	What are the observable apparent threats or impacts? Yes/No.
Is there any fauna or flora associated with the place?	Are there any physical geographic features associated with the place (e.g., caves, boulders etc.?)
Do the Public and Visitors have access?	Is there any Interpretive signage?
Current Use:	

Figure 3.8: Field survey template for site visits.

3.6.1.2 Qualitative Data Collection

A qualitative approach was adopted to enable a more thorough investigation of the various challenges and potential areas for growth in managing built environment heritage resources in Makhanda. Qualitative data was deemed suitable for this research project as it offers a multifaceted research method that enables researchers to develop a holistic picture of the studied phenomena (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011). The descriptive nature of quantitative research allowed for the descriptive responses on participant experiences, which either sustained or confronted the theoretical assumptions on which the study is based (Wodak & Meyer, 2015). Furthermore, it enables the reader to understand the meanings attached to the experience the nature and impact of the problem.

Interviews were used as they offered the researcher the opportunity to interact with the participants and to observe non-verbal cues during the interview process. Semi-structured interviews were chosen as the preferred interview style as it allows the researcher to

understand the various complexities of the phenomena without imposing any prior categorisation (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011). The first phase of semi-structured interviews was conducted with various key informants from Makana Municipality, academic scholars, community organisations, heritage bodies and heritage foundations. These interviews were used to acquire access to various professional knowledge and ensure that participants had enough background information to provide insightful answers to interview questions. The second phase of interviews was conducted with local homeowners to get their perceptions and insights into the challenges of owning a historic property and provide areas for improvements. In this phase, various interview formats were adopted, namely, focus groups and semi-structured interviews were utilised for data collection. The first interview set was conducted as a focus group with 7 participants. However, due to scheduling challenges and limited availability of participants at set times, the researchers had to pivot and adopt semi-structured interviews to complete the rest of the data collection. The second set of interviews was conducted as semi-structured interviews with 14 participants. These semi-structured interviews were utilized primarily due to their capacity to combine some degree of reproducibility and structure, allowing the flexibility for interviewees to use their language and develop their thoughts (Denscombe, 2010; Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). These interviews investigated the challenges (Objective 2) and opportunities for improvement (Objective 3) in managing built environment heritage resources. At the same time, local homeowner interviews were used to acquire on-the-ground knowledge, perceptions, challenges, and growth areas regarding historic home ownership.

This study used snowballing and purposive sampling to identify research participants. The foundation of snowball sampling is networking and suggestion. Typically, the researchers start with a small group of initial contacts (seeds) invited to join because they match the criteria (Parker et al., 2019). The willing participants are then asked to recommend more connections that fit the research requirements and could be willing participants; these new connections then suggest potential participants, and so on (Parker et al., 2019). To create reliable results, ten key informants and thirty homeowners were targeted and approached to participate in the study. Eleven key informants were subsequently questioned for the final interviews, and nineteen homeowners participated in the semi-structured interviews. Therefore, thirty participants participated in both phases of the semi-structured interviews.

Secondary data refers to data gathered by someone else for a different primary purpose. Researchers with constrained time and resources have an excellent alternative to using this existing data. Secondary data analysis is an empirical activity that adheres to the same core research principles as studies employing primary data and has identical methods to be

followed for any research technique (Johnston, 2014). Secondary data sources such as government reports and policies, newspapers, and other media were also consulted to understand the challenges better. For this research, secondary data were collected from the following:

- The Radford Reports and previous research projects in Makhanda's history and heritage.
- Government Policy Documents and Legislation
- Newspaper Articles

3.6.2 Data Analysis

3.6.2.1 Quantitative Data

Field data were then used to generate a spatially referenced database of Makhanda's built environment heritage resources. ArcGIS Pro and Survey123 created a geo-referenced database with geographic locational data and an attribute table comprising the fields from the field survey. This descriptive information was utilised to construct maps that examined these cultural objects' spatial context, density analysis and conditional analysis. Spatial analyses were done using ArcGIS Pro software. The spatial distribution and density analysis of built environment heritage resources were mapped to understand the current state of local conservation. Detailed analyses are presented in Chapters 5 and 6.

Secondly, results from the field survey will be adapted into an MS Excel database detailing results from the heritage survey with an individual record of the site or object. This database formed part of a primary description of the heritage landscape. The resultant database is the first basic inventory and document of heritage resources to identify, interpret, and physically preserve cultural heritage resources.

The rationale for documentation varies depending on the object or site. It might be to gain knowledge that will help us better comprehend the legacy, history, and values. It might also focus on encouraging a broader community's interest and engagement. Documentation, much like at the national level, aids in making informed decisions about cultural resource management and protection. More specialised interventions or physical changes to the heritage are intended to ensure its preservation.

3.6.2.2 Qualitative Data

Qualitative data analysis employs inductive reasoning, where the researcher makes numerous observations and identifies a pattern moving from the specific to the general (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010; Bradford, 2017). Raw data were captured and transcribed from the 11 semi-structured interviews with key informants and 19 homeowners. After the qualitative interviews were complete (verbatim) transcription, in-depth data analyses were conducted. After that, the data underwent three steps of thematic coding. Categorizing the data into themes in keeping with the research objectives was not carried out until the fieldwork was finished, even though various themes were examined before and throughout the interview process. After completing the transcription, the first step was to insert codes adjacent to the pertinent parts in the transcript text to help identify potential new themes. This first categorization approach helped create additional data categories for further extensive theme analysis. The inductive nature of the second pass coding was mainly used to group related themes and implicit allusions to themes into umbrella themes. Finally, third-pass coding reviewed each topic to find any overarching or intersecting themes across the data. Attached (Appendix 2) is a copy of the interview schedule from the semi-structured interviews and focus groups (Appendix 1).

Data gathered through semi-structured interviews with key informants and homeowners were analysed using the above thematic analysis technique. This analysis was presented as recommendations in a written discussion on improving local heritage management. Specific themes from interviews were then analysed to identify key themes to produce a conceptual framework that provided insight into the localised context of Makhanda's heritage-built environment heritage. This aimed to highlight the dynamics, tensions, and potential for managing heritage and expanding on what is happening in practice.

These findings were then presented as a discussion of the opportunities for better practices, the problems facing Makhanda residents, and ideas for better practice alternatives.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

Rhodes University Faculty Ethics Committee (2019-0228-912) acquired ethical clearance and approved this research involving human beings and sensitive data collecting. The following considerations were made per the committee's guidelines:

- Informed consent
- Privacy, confidentiality, and anonymity

- Voluntary participation

3.7.1 Informed Consent

Informed consent is one of the critical tenets of research ethics. Human participants in research are supposed to be free to participate after being fully informed of what is involved and providing their consent before the study begins (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). All participants gave their informed permission. The goal of the research and the participants' participation in it were explained to them. Both verbal and written consent was obtained.

3.7.2 Privacy, Confidentiality, and Anonymity

Confidentiality and anonymity are ethical practices to protect the privacy of human subjects when gathering, analysing, and reporting data. "Confidentiality" is removing or altering any personally identifying data that participants have provided from the data. On the other hand, anonymity describes the acquisition of data without obtaining personally identifying information. In most situations, confidentiality is employed in qualitative studies, but anonymity is typically used in quantitative research (Cresswell & Cresswell, 2018). Participants in both situations provide the researcher with data, which becomes the information for analysis. By stripping out all personally identifiable information and giving each participant's response a code, the participants' privacy, secrecy, and anonymity were maintained. For this reason, pseudonyms were used to identify the various research participants and their affiliations in the direct quotations provided in the research findings.

3.7.3 Voluntary Participation

Voluntary participation involves the individuals answering the questions who have voluntarily decided to take part in the data collection process (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). They shouldn't be forced in any manner to take part. People must always be able to stop the questions or withdraw from participation. The study's participants were informed that their participation was voluntary and that they might discontinue at any moment.

Conclusion

Saunders et al. (2019) Research Onion Model was used to understand the present research. The various stages of developing the research strategy were discussed through each model's layers. Critical realism is a research philosophy to examine the research topic and understand what is happening in practice in heritage management in Makhanda, given the various dynamics and tensions. The next layer of the Research Onion is the research approach for this study, an inductive approach moving from specific observations to broad generalizations. The third layer of the model is the methodological choice. This study used a mixed-methods approach that includes qualitative and quantitative research procedures to broaden and deepen understanding and corroboration. Qualitative and quantitative data were collected to address the research objectives specified in this case study. Appropriate precautions were taken to assure the reliability and validity of this mixed-methods study's findings. The next layer of the model looks at the research strategy. A case study approach was used as it is assumed that the dynamics in Makhanda result from an interplay between national dynamics and local context. The innermost layer of the Research Onion details the data collection and analysis for the study. This study will employ two types of triangulation: data triangulation and methodological triangulation. Quantitative data were analysed statistically and spatially, and qualitative data were analysed thematically by identifying key themes.

CHAPTER 4: MAKHANDA

Introduction

Transformation processes in the country have driven the need for new approaches to managing heritage to represent the shared collective narrative of democratic South Africa, as they are highly valued for various objectives, including nation-building and socioeconomic advancement (Steenkamp, 2021). This chapter provides background information on the study area, providing a historical background of Makhanda, profiling Makana Municipality and discussing local heritage management.

This section presents an introductory discussion on the geographic context of the study. Makhanda is a town in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa with around 70,000 people. It is located roughly 130 kilometres (80 miles) southwest of East London and 110 kilometres (70 miles) northeast of Gqeberha (formally Port Elizabeth). Makhanda is the largest town and administrative centre of the Makana Local Municipality (Figure 4.1). The major economic sectors within Makana Local Municipality are government financial services, trade business services, industry, agriculture, communication and transport, and construction.

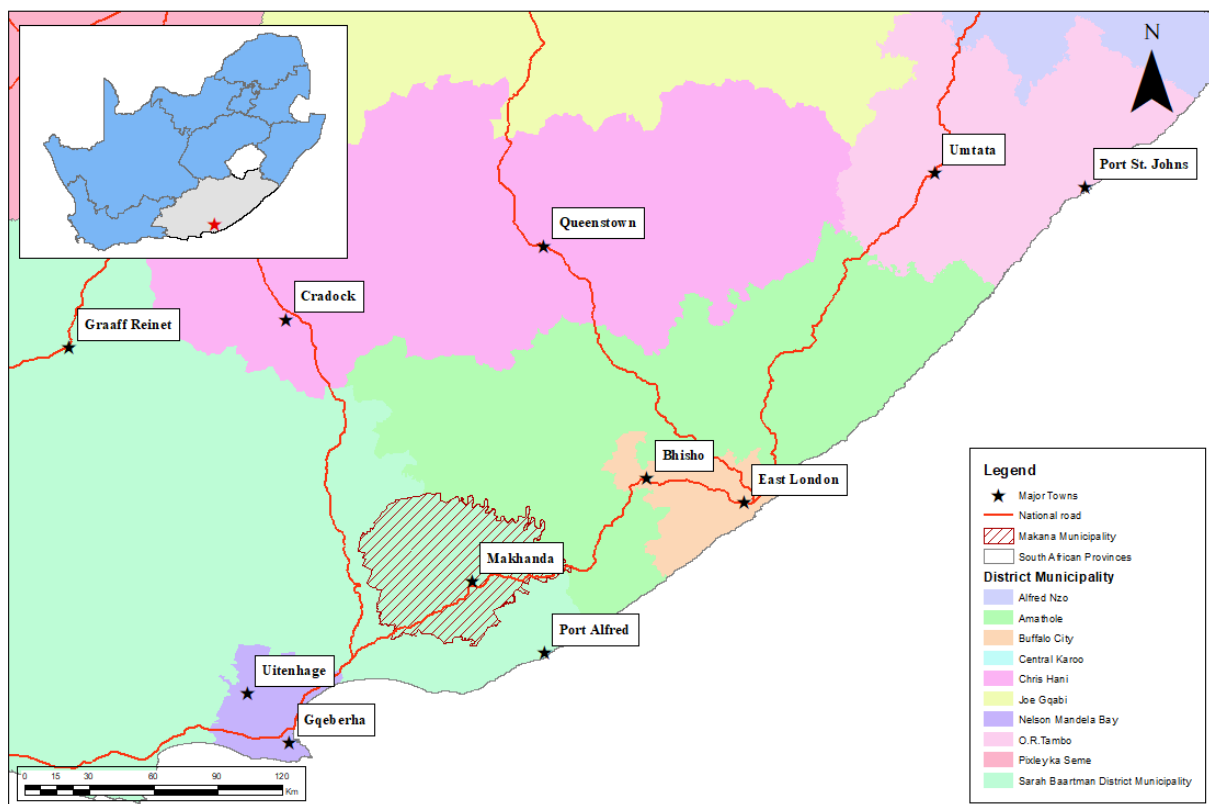


Figure 4.1: Location of Makhanda and Makana Municipality in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa.

4.1 Historical Background of Makhanda

This section discusses and provides a historical background of Makhanda. It looks at various periods that have contributed significantly to local heritage and how these have been tied with the evolution of the city's urban development over time. To fully appreciate Makhanda's heritage, it is necessary to understand the history that shaped it into what we see today. Two significant historical periods shaped the city's current urban landscape: the colonial period which established the city and divided it into two parts (the colonial city and Fingo township) and the apartheid era, which led to the restructuring of the town (Erasmus, 2014). Two significant historical periods shaped the towns' current urban landscape: the colonial period, which divided the town into two parts (the colonial city and Fingo township) and the apartheid era, entrenched further segregation in the city (Erasmus, 2014). In the post-apartheid era, it is evident that while the divide may no longer be racial, it has become one based on economy and class.

4.1.1 Establishment of Makhanda

Makhanda's origins can be traced back to the city's function as a strategic frontier between European settlers and the Xhosa people (Daniel, 1974). In 1811, Colonel John Graham was tasked with driving the Xhosa over the Fish River (established as the boundary of the Cape Colony in 1780) to develop military headquarters for the Frontier (Daniel, 1974). The town was proclaimed in the same year primarily due to the available water resources within the area, ensuring a consistent water supply for the growing population. In 1815, the first erven were sold through a public auction, and the military moved to Fort England to allow settler development in the areas (Watts, 1957).

In 1820, British settlers arrived in Algoa Bay (currently Gqeberha). Some of these were allocated land in the Albany District to establish Makhanda as both the military and civil headquarters for the Albany headquarters (Daniel, 1974). By the 1830s, the town had grown to become the largest Eastern Cape in the eastern region of the Cape Colony and second in importance in the colony to Cape Town. The town was known for its economic, political dominance, and cultural, administrative, judicial, financial, and strategic force in the frontier (Daniel, 1974).

4.1.2 Colonial Development and Spatial Layout

Makhanda was established on Die Rietfontein, an abandoned farm and became the focal point in settlement plans for the town (Daniel, 1974). Surveyor J. Knobel originally planned (Figure 4.2) the village and the first buildings, including the prison, the Drostdy (residence or office of the local magistrate) and the court messenger's house (Reynolds and Reynolds, 1974). After the building of these first buildings, Makhanda developed rapidly.

While significantly developed Makhanda's current urban settlement layout maintains key features linked to its establishment. It is evident when comparing earlier town plans (Figures 4.2 to 4.4) below between 1814 and 1824, illustrating typical colonial development. Figure 4.2 shows the stands along the strict frontage to create space for the growing population and town. Overall growth continued around the diagonal offset of the town square. By 1824, the city's development continued, with the High Street the focal point for further growth and expansion, as seen in Figure 4.3.

When the town was founded in the 19th century as a military stronghold, indigenous clans like the Xhosa and Khoi immigrants proliferated (Manona, 1987). Following the 1834–1835 conflict, these numbers sharply expanded, with the majority of these being the Mfengu ("Fingos") who had migrated in search of safety from Shaka's battles (Manona, 1987). Governor D'Urban moved about 17,000 Mfengu to boost the colonists' access to labour in Peddie. Many Mfengu who had been relocated returned to the area in search of prospects for rehabilitation (Manona, 1987). The Municipal Commissioners for Makhanda appointed a supervisor for the Khoi site in 1848 to designate areas for black African habitation. These locations were created to distribute title documents. Those unable to squat in open spaces as they previously had the opportunity to purchase these sites for one pound each (Manona, 1987). These lots, known as Fingo Village, are still there today (Figure 4.5).

Henry Somerset drafted the town regulations, while Major G.F. Fraser was responsible for selecting suitable sites for the jail, court messenger's residence, and the district courthouse (Erasmus, 2014). After the Frontier Wars (1846–1853), the Fingo people were granted land ownership as compensation. The Fingo people received land to the east of the city, while additional black townships were built in locations to the north (Erasmus, 2014). This prepared the ground for the deliberate division of the "native" and the "civil." Due to its periphery, this independent development has contributed to Makhanda's current urban shape (Erasmus, 2014). Around the 1850s, the town's military and economic importance had decreased significantly upon discovering diamonds and gold in Kimberly and Johannesburg (Daniel, 1985).

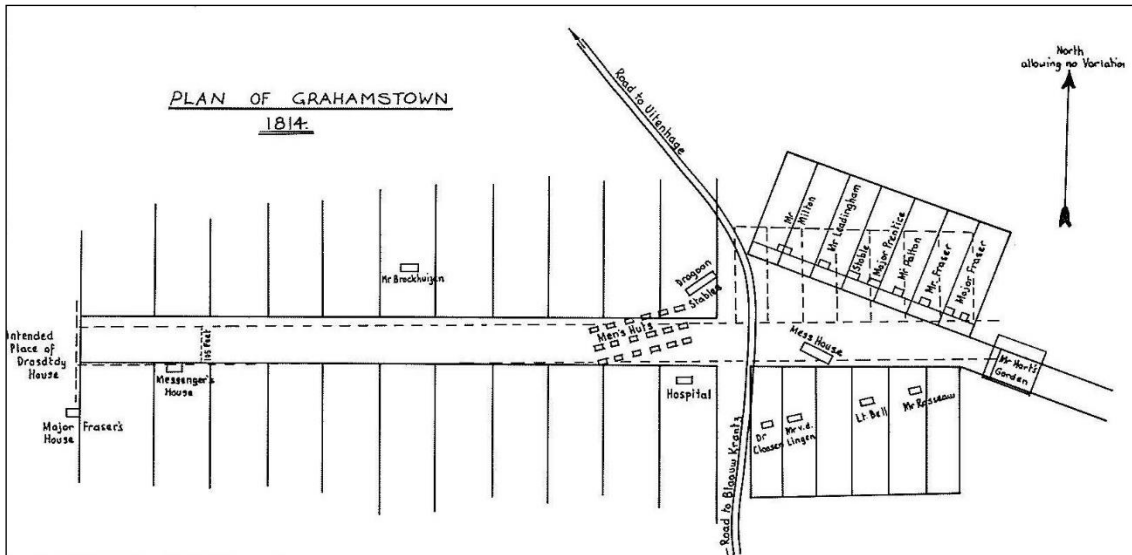


Figure 4.2: 1814 plan of Makhanda (Gledhill et al., 1975).

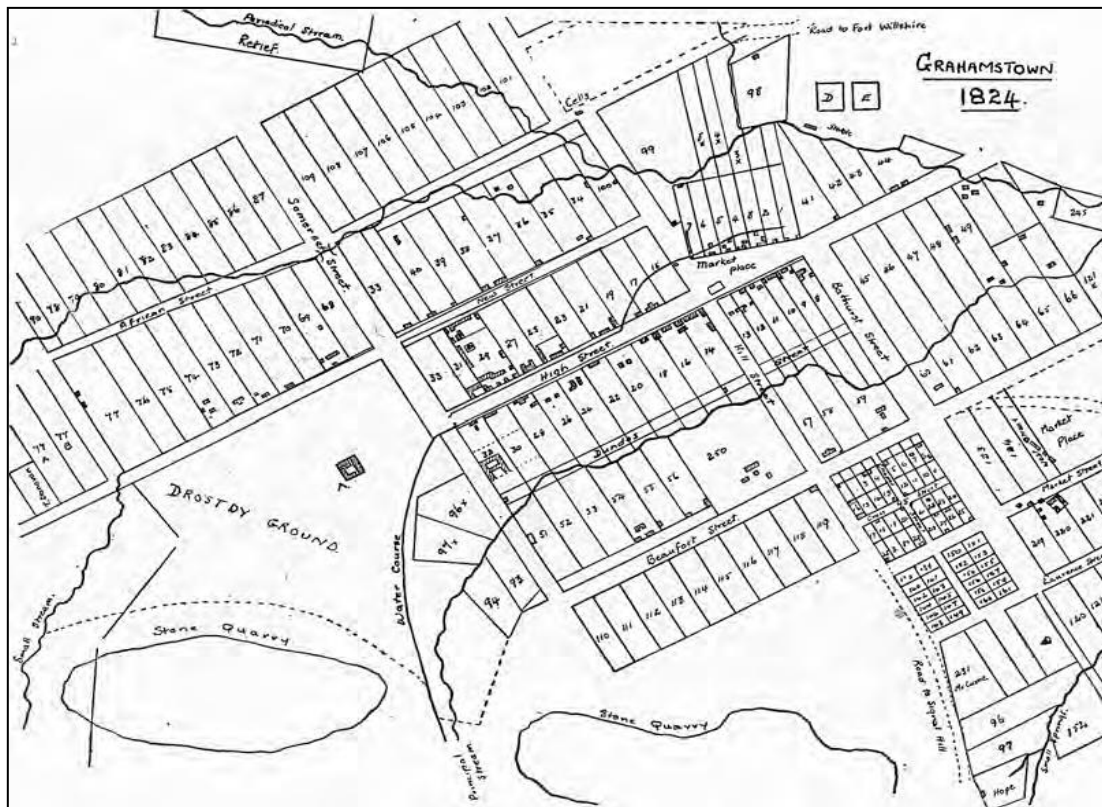


Figure 4.3: Plan of Makhanda, 1824 (Daniel 1974).

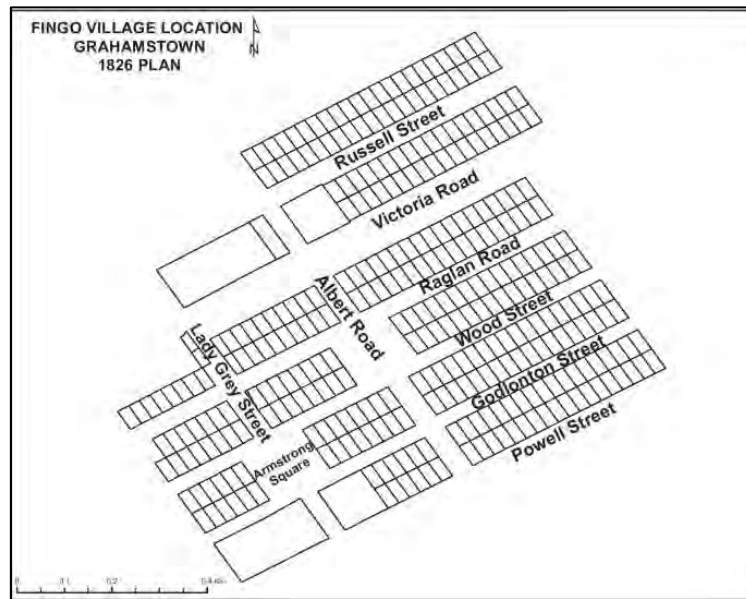


Figure 4.4: Fingo Village Original Plan (Irvine et al. 2021).

4.1.3 Group Areas Act and the Apartheid City

As the "cornerstone" of Apartheid policy, the Group Areas Act (GAA) was created to eliminate mixed-race neighbourhoods in favour of ethnically distinct ones, enabling South Africans to thrive independently (South African Institute for Race Relations, 1950). Through the generation of a partitioned development system, this act sent South Africans of various ethnic groupings on their paths. In addition to establishing reserves, the GAA institutionalized segregation across the Union of South Africa by regulating land, immovable property (property that cannot be moved without suffering considerable harm or destruction, such as a house), and occupancy rights. As a result, only persons of the same race could buy the land (South African Institute for Race Relations, 1950). Until the full group zones or total residential segregation was created, many of the Act's requirements were only temporary (Kirkwood, 1951). The National Party was able to uphold white supremacy and keep control over the African labour force necessary for fast industrial expansion thanks to its strategy of separate development (Baldwin, 1975). The Act's impact on the settlement solidified segregation throughout the apartheid period, although its implementation was not straightforward (Irvine, 2021).

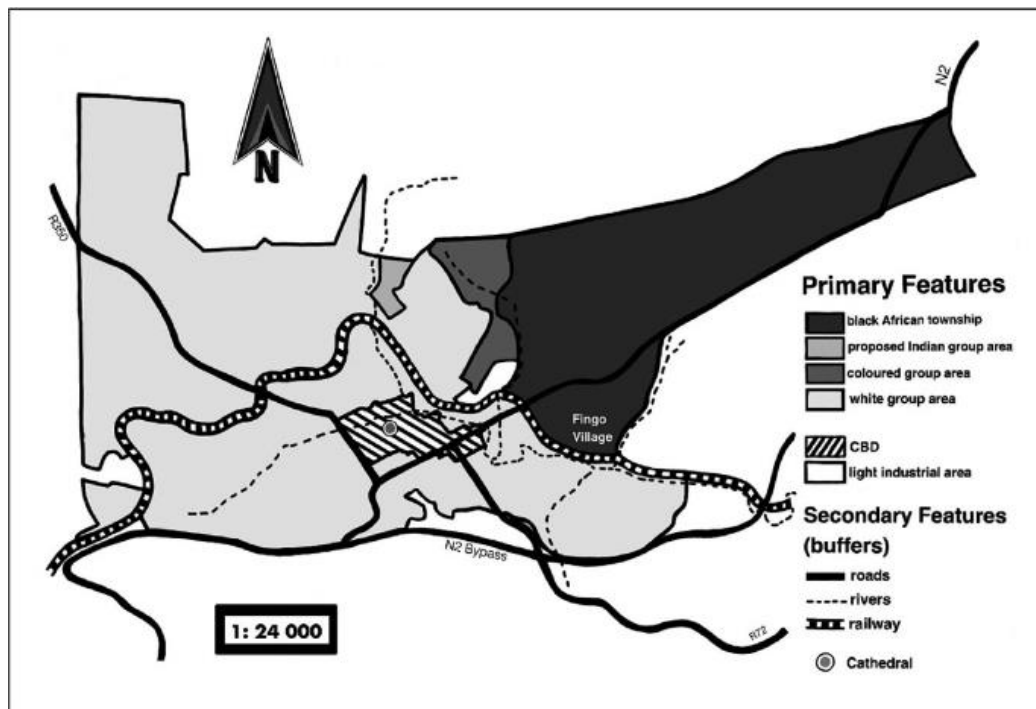


Figure 4.5: Racial segregation in Makhanda in the 1980s (Irvine, 2021).

In 1950, the GAA and the Separate Amenities Act of 1953 were passed. The GAA introduced public areas and bus segregation. Its adoption had a remarkable impact on how the urban landscape of the country was shaped (Mabin, 1992). In Makhanda, the implementation of the Group Areas Act was not simple in part due to opposition from the Grahamstown Municipal Council and residents for the proposed zoning of group areas and due to the existence of freehold rights in Fingo Village (Irvine, 2021). Despite this opposition, the Group Areas Board in 1970 introduced the first zoning of group areas, which had little effect on the existing spatial layout of the town (Figure 4.6). However, a few exceptions considerably increased the act's geographic entrenchment in the town. These include the proposed zoning modifications for Fingo Village and establishing a buffer zone between the white and coloured group zones (Grocott's Mail 1970).

Fingo village was initially unaffected by the GAA, but later declarations designated it as a coloured area (Erasmus, 2014). This was mainly because Fingo Village was one of the four areas excluded in the Natives (Urban Communities) Act of 1945 in the entire nation and one of the remaining black African urban freehold areas (Irvine, 2021). Even though it was protected, its location was unattractive because of how close it was to the White Group Area and the CBD. As a result, several legislative initiatives attempted to eliminate these freehold titles, prompting suggestions for destroying a portion of the territory to make room for a buffer zone (Irvine, 2021). It was publicly declared in 1980 that the government wanted to de-proclaim Fingo village as a coloured area because of the numerous challenges involved in

uprooting whole populations and finding replacement housing (Erasmus, 2014). The GAA was disbanded in 1991, but Fingo and the rest of Makhanda were socially and politically restructured as a result (Erasmus, 2014). An understanding of the history of both parts of the town is vital to fully understanding the nuances of the town's history and how these dynamics influence heritage management strategies.

4.1.4 Urban Densification

Understanding how urban management and development in Makhanda have changed over time is essential. These are critical in understanding how these affect local changes in the urban space and their effects on local heritage. In Makhanda, this urban development is through twin processes of urban sprawl (primarily Makhanda East and industrial area) and urban densification (mainly Makhanda West), which will be discussed below.

According to Irvine (2021), Makhanda's urban densification has resulted from urban infill, backyard dwellings, and the construction of high-density apartment complexes in and around the city centre. The municipality has encouraged further urban infill to encourage cohesion between dispersed community areas, which would assist in combatting urban sprawl (Irvine, 2021). In its 2013 SDF, Makana Municipality (2013) has new proposals for more urban infill developments that might endanger the already vulnerable Makhanda historic sites. While the latter has contributed to some of the local urban densification, most has occurred through the development of high-density apartment buildings within and surrounding the city centre (Irvine, 2021). These developments have accommodated the ever-growing demand locally for student accommodation (Irvine, 2021). These have been aimed at Rhodes University students who have been acknowledged by developers and property owners (Irvine, 2021). However, this has not been without consequences for limiting housing stock and threatening heritage resources.

4.2 Makana Municipality: A Municipality in Crisis

This section profiles Makana Municipality (MM) and illustrates the dysfunctionality that plagues the city by highlighting how governance, corruption and service delivery failures have threatened this city. This discussion expands on work previously done on highlighting the failures of MM. It will also look back at how the amalgamation of South African municipalities post-apartheid led to increased jurisdiction, which has increased pressure on the provision of services.

The amalgamation of the country's 1262 local government bodies into 843 local authorities in 1996 marked a significant shift in local governance structures (Dube, 2021). Several issues plaguing municipalities today may be linked to this amalgamation of local government bodies (Dube, 2021). Before this amalgamation, the local municipalities of Grahamstown and Rhini made up what is now Makhanda. However, once municipal boundaries were redetermined after 1994, Makana Municipality was formed, which now constitutes Makhanda, Rhini, Alicedale, Riebeek East and Seven Fountains. This marked significant challenges for this new municipality as this new patchwork family had their own established management practices, and it would be geographically challenging to ensure all constituent's needs were met. As a result, adopting these other jurisdictions into the local government body led to the inheriting of these towns' localized problems.

Makana municipality is plagued by several issues that stem from poor governance and poor service delivery. News24 (2021) assigned the Makana Municipality a score of 43% in its Out of Order index, which subsequently represents a dysfunctional municipality. According to the News24 (2021) Out of Order Index, 43 additional municipalities are close to collapsing, with Makana Municipality as one of these. Each of the more than 200 local governments and eight metro areas receives a score from the index, with 0 representing failure and 100 representing flawless performance, on a scale from 0 to 100 (News24, 2021). Critical indicators include financial management, debt reduction, infrastructure maintenance, voting for ethical councillors, staff skills and being good for business. The index was created over two months using data from the National Treasury budget to determine budget allocations to municipalities, reports from the Auditor-General, and Statistics South Africa. It also tracks the provision of basic services to homes and assesses unemployment and poverty. Of Makana's R471.5 million operational budget (Figure 4.6), R78.7 million has been marked as "money not used effectively".

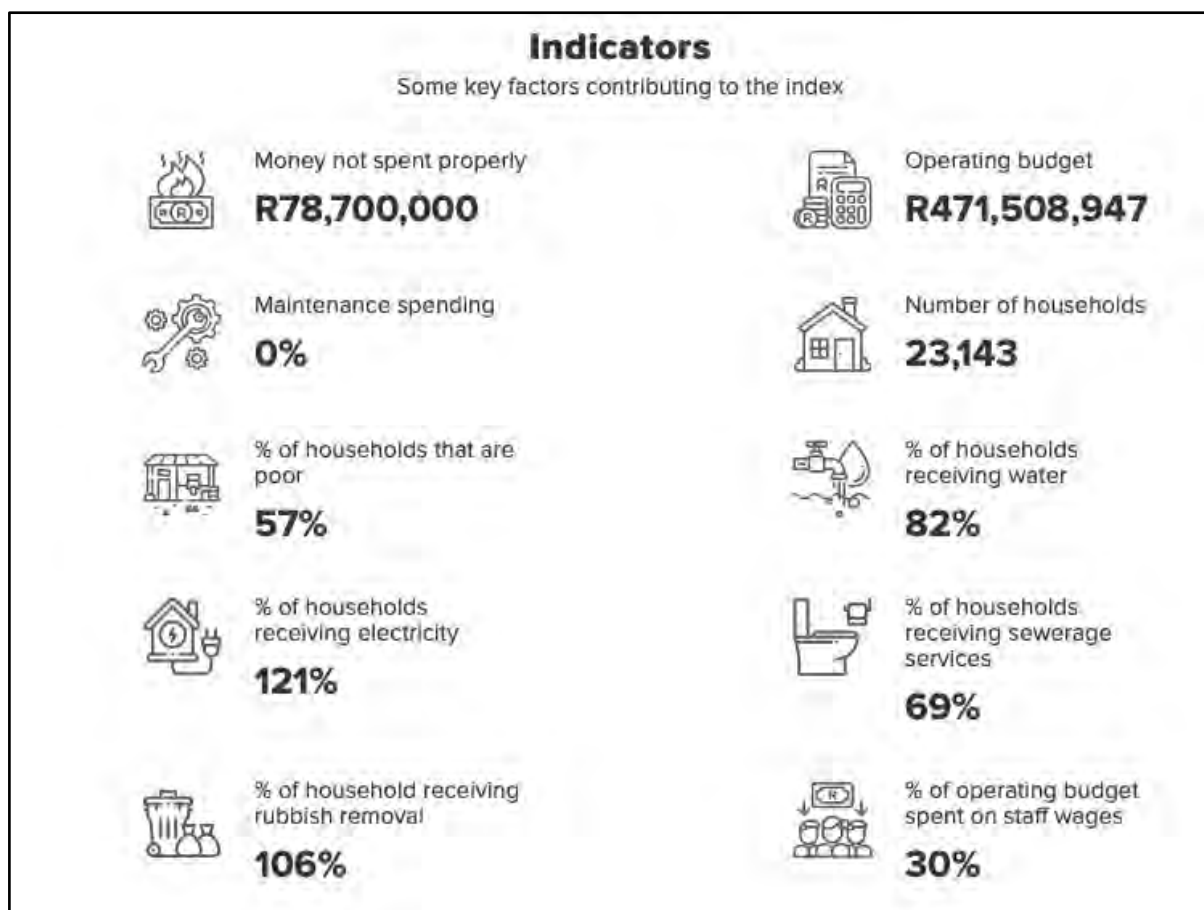


Figure 4.6: Key Indicators Contributing to the Out of Order Index (News24, 2021).

Makhanda has long struggled with debt and will not be able to start any major capital projects without significant assistance from the government. It is stated to be in a precarious financial situation in the 2019–2020 Auditor–general report because it lacked the revenue to meet its expenses. It has a track record of disputed audits (News24, 2021). Makana is receiving an intervention package since it is on the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs' list of dysfunctional municipalities for 2021 (News24, 2021).

Makana residents took to court the municipality to have the council disbanded for poor service delivery and neglect of the city's infrastructure. This action was prompted by the municipality's failure despite numerous interventions to implement a Financial Recovery Plan (FRP) and remained in a state of collapse (Local Government Bulletin, 2020). In 2015, the Eastern Cape Provincial government imposed the FRP, which was set to last till 2017 to secure the municipality's ability to meet its financial and service delivery commitments (Local Government Bulletin, 2020). The municipality has encountered and still faces several administrative, financial management, and service delivery difficulties. The yearly audit reports of the Auditor General frequently emphasized these difficulties. The administrative, financial, and managerial collapse of Makana has persisted. One such instance is Makana Municipality

using Eskom-owed money for salary payments (Local Government Bulletin, 2020). The Unemployed Peoples' Movement (UPM) filed a petition with the Makhanda High Court, and in 2020, in a historic decision, the court immediately dissolved the Makana Local Municipality Council (NewFrame, 2020). For the first time in South Africa, a court dissolved a municipal council for violating its obligation to offer services to locals under the constitution (NewFrame, 2020). While governance and service delivery issues are common in the country, Makhanda has displayed how civil society can hold local government accountable.

The city of Makhanda has been in the news for several years due to its poor infrastructure, the disappearance of municipal funds, malfunctioning sewage system, frequent sewage spills into the streets, and a water shortage that at one point required the non-governmental humanitarian organisation Gift of the Givers to drill boreholes to provide water. (NewFrame, 2020).

The municipality was described as a dysfunctional and toxic setting, a significant contributor to Makana's string of audit disclaimers in the COGTA's damning report following its oversight visit. Some issues indicated in the report include irregular expenditure, inconsistencies in audit opinions, concerns over overtime expenditure, which had resulted in unaffordable salary payments, and the FRP not permeating the whole institution with Provincial treasury's recommendations not being adhered to. The municipality also has severe internal technical capacity deficiencies, which have led to a heavy reliance on external service providers. COGTA's report further emphasized the repeated findings against the municipality indicate a need for serious intervention as the consequences substantially harm local citizens (Grocott's Mail, 2022). The report also established that the municipality's water, sanitation, roads, and infrastructure issues were unlikely to be resolved without sufficient funds.

As a result of the community's diminished confidence in the local government, some citizens have stopped paying their rates and taxes, which makes it harder for them to maintain their infrastructure and offer services (Hoefnagels et al., 2022). The poor participation of the community in developing the IDP development process and the low voter turnout of 44,18% in Makana for the 2021 Local Municipal Elections are undoubtedly examples of this lack of confidence and collaboration (Hoefnagels et al., 2022).

However, no leadership and governance tone were set from the top in a municipality with a history of instability within its administrative and political leadership. Concerns now arise on whether these funds should they be given would be utilized appropriately (Grocott's Mail 2022). The committee subsequently recommended that amongst other institutional improvements to the concerns raised, the Member of the Executive Council responsible

should consider launching an investigation into Makana in Section 106 of the Municipal Systems Act of 2000 (Grocott's Mail 2022).

4.3 Heritage Conservation and Local Policy

4.3.1 Historic Conservation Efforts

Makhanda has a rich resource base of heritage resources, with more than 70 of these recognised at the provincial level for their significance to the province. The city had a big focus on the conservation of structures that held aesthetic and architectural importance. This was seen through the setting up the aesthetics committee, which acted as the approval committee for local development at the aesthetics of façade level. The Aesthetics Committee is responsible for approving changes to the façade. According to national legislation, any further adjustments are permitted or disapproved per the National Heritage Resources Act and reported to ECPHRA (Grocott's Mail 2018).

Secondly, heritage conservation was prioritised through the development of local by-laws for outdoor advertising, and signage effectively regulated the signage and outdoor advertising in the city. The by-law regulated the applications, charges, general considerations for approval, amendments and conditions for approval, and considerations for specific signs, control areas, and commercially sponsored signs that must be submitted (Makana Municipality, 2007). This was pivotal for heritage conservation, specifically at the façade level, as the by-law provided strict conditions in areas of control, including urban conservation areas, declared heritage sites and other elements within urban, rural, and natural areas, to name a few. Additionally, the Aesthetics Committee ensures adherence to the conservation by-laws, legislation, guidelines, and reviews applications for developments or new signage within the conservation area.

Thirdly, the designation and development of a conservation area (Figure 4.7) were done in 1982. The Makhanda conservation area is the historical centre the Makana Local Economic Directorate designated. Development in this region is also subject to clearance by the Eastern Cape Provincial Heritage Resources Authority (ECPHRA). Structures within the conservation area are required to apply for approval from the Makana Municipality Aesthetics Committee, which would then refer the matter to the Eastern Cape (ECPHRA) and decide whether to approve or disapprove the application.

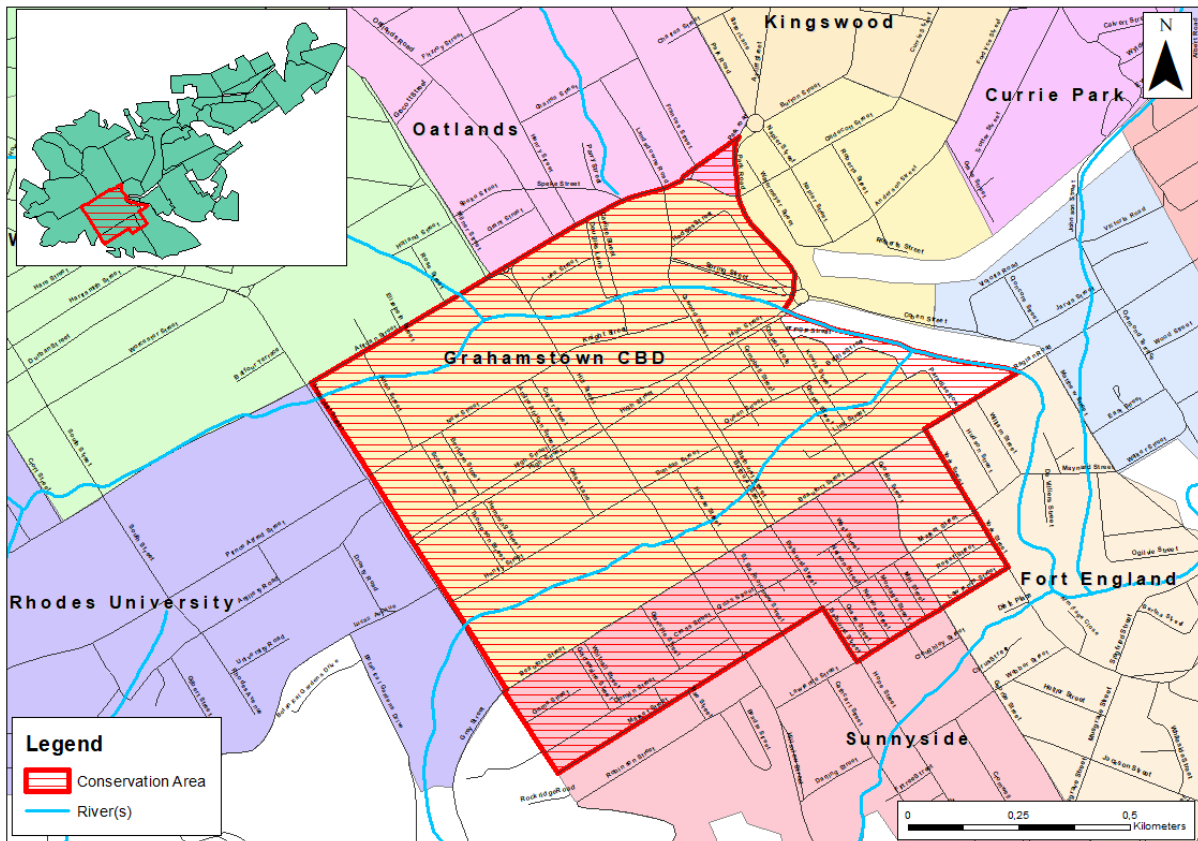


Figure 4.7: Makhanda conservation area and surrounding peripheral areas. (Author's Own)

Finally, Makhanda was the site of significant heritage research, pivotal in aiding the municipality to address concerns about threats to local heritage. One of these critical pieces of published research in local conservation utilized even today by the municipality was the development of the Radford reports, which intended to highlight the major factors influencing the origin and subsequent growth of Makhanda. The City Council of Grahamstown hired Professor Dennis Radford to do this research, which he did in 1990. Dennis Radford had put together a case study into the *Eastern Star* in 1986, which was exceptionally strong and comprehensive. The results of this fieldwork were presented in four subsequent reports: A townscape study and three interim reports on the CBD, conservation area and the surrounds. At the time of the study, there were 50 declared sites, with several restorations having been carried out. According to Radford (1990), at the time, the public had become more aware of and appreciative of the advantages of conservation. Additional research by Dr. Eily Gledhill (founder of Historic Grahamstown) and Professor Keith Hunt also contributed to local research in history and conservation in Makhanda. Published works from these researchers have expanded knowledge in heritage research and are utilized today as tools for advocacy.

These demonstrate the local municipality's active efforts in local heritage conservation and how collaborative efforts with the local municipality's active efforts in local heritage

conservation, researchers, and the public promoted local heritage conservation. It further provided tools used today by researchers, the government, and the community in urban and heritage management.

4.5.2 Current Heritage Strategies

As previously established in earlier chapters, SAHRA is the statutory body that establishes norms and maintains essential national standards for the administration of heritage resources in the Republic and conserves national heritage resources. In collaboration with provincial bodies the agency ensures the sustainable management of the country’s heritage resources. SAHRA uses a three-tiered system to differentiate between heritage resources. Section 7 of the National Heritage Resources Act, Act number 25 of 1999, distinguishes between a three-tier system of managing heritage resources as such:

Grade I – Resources with exceptional qualities of special national significance – administered by SAHRA.

Grade II – Resources significant within the context of a province – administered by the relevant Provincial Heritage Authority (PHRA)

Grade III – The relevant local municipality administers resources significant to a particular community.

HERITAGE BODY	SOUTH AFRICAN HERITAGE RESOURCES AGENCY(SAHRA)	PROVINCIAL HERITAGE RESOURCES AGENCIES (PHRAS)	LOCAL AUTHORITIES (LOCAL MUNICIPALITIES)
RESPONSIBILITY	GRADE I HERITAGE RESOURCES	GRADE II HERITAGE RESOURCES	GRADE III HERITAGE RESOURCES
LEGISLATIVE SCOPE	NATIONAL HERITAGE RESOURCES INVENTORY OF NATIONAL ESTATE (SAHRIS)	PROVINCIAL HERITAGE SITES ARCHAEOLOGY & PALAEOLOGY PROVINCIAL HERITAGE RESOURCES REGISTER 60 YEARS CLAUSE (SECTION 38 OF NHRA)	HERITAGE AREAS
MAKHANDA CONTEXT (BODY RESPONSIBLE)	South African Heritage Resources Agency	Eastern Cape Provincial Heritage Resources Agency (72 Listed Provincial Heritage Resources)	Makana Municipality (Preservation Of Local Heritage And Enforcement Of Regulations)

Figure 4.8: South African Heritage Resources Framework (Author's Own Interpretation)

Based on this grading system, the declared heritage resources in Makhanda constitute Grade II heritage resources (Figure 4.8). However, Makana Municipality has failed to enforce the NHRA, so valuable heritage resources are threatened. As a result, some developers and homeowners have taken advantage of local issues, impeding the adherence to legislation stemming from issues in communication, capacity issues and procedural problems when dealing with the municipality (Irvine, 2021). Maclellan (2018) emphasizes that there have been several cases where the necessary applications and Heritage Impact Assessments (HIA) were circumvented by developers in furthering their interests in profit generation. This has been concerning because Makhanda has a rich heritage resource base and was renowned for its conservation efforts. These have motivated this research and highlight how these social issues impact heritage management and how there is a disconnect between policy and practice.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented a historical background of Makhanda, highlighting the various periods contributing to the city's history. It then highlighted Makana Municipality and the various issues the municipality has been plagued with as a distressed municipality. Due to its rich legacy and varied history, Makhanda was selected as a pertinent site for this research. It also exhibits many traits and challenges that heritage management in South African urban settlements faces and many of the traditional signs of a city in crisis. Makhanda, therefore, provides a perfect laboratory for this case study as the various tensions and dynamics severely affect the potential and practice of heritage management. It provides the perfect context for comprehending regional and local heritage management difficulties in a city with debilitating municipal problems and poor government. As a result, it merits consideration in a case study that serves as a microcosm of national dynamics.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH FINDINGS

Introduction

Built environment heritage resources, as derived from the National Heritage Resources Act of 1999 (NHRA), are heritage resources that are culturally significant or are of value to present and future generations (Republic of South Africa, 1999). The complex connections between people, geography, and identity are closely related to cultural heritage. These materials are a tangible record of our cultural progress and our created legacy. We can understand our past and present thanks to the built heritage. It enables preserving historical connections while creating a sense of place and identity for urban and rural inhabitants. Therefore, a comprehensive approach to heritage resource conservation and usage is needed.

This chapter presents the findings of this research. It is organized into three sections, each addressing one of the research objectives: creating an accurate and detailed inventory of the PBEHRs and investigating the challenges and opportunities for the better management of PBEHRs in Makhanda.

5.1 Inventory Analysis of the Built Environment Heritage Resources of Makhanda

This section presents the results from the field survey of PBEHRs of Makhanda using SAHRA's heritage survey guidelines. This survey used visual inspection of sites to analyse PBEHRs based on several categories: geographic location, type of site, building use, date built, gazette date, building condition, building maintenance, building accessibility and occupancy and cultural significance. The data collected are summarized in Appendix 1. This was aligned with objective one of creating an accurate and detailed inventory of Makhanda's PBEHRs. The following discussion presents these results in maps, graphs, and charts.

Figure 5.1 shows the distribution of the gazette and proclaimed PBEHRs of Makhanda. There are seventy-one PBEHRs located in Makhanda, with these PBEHRs mainly situated within the central business district, suburbs in the west and Rhodes University. What is clear from this distribution is that while Makhanda is separated into two parts, i.e., Makhanda East and West, all the proclaimed sites are in Makhanda West, with only a memorial (Egazini Memorial located in Fingo Village) located in Makhanda East. This memorial is in remembrance of the events relating to the Battle of Makhanda (1891) and was opened in 2001 by the Eastern Cape Department of Sport, Recreation, Arts and Culture.

Figure 5.1 also illustrates the conservation area, which is the historic centre of the town and has a high concentration of PBEHRs. It is of particular concern because it has strict guidelines

to follow. This area extends from the northeast to the southeast (down Anderson Street towards Market Street), southeast to the southwest (along Lawrence Street towards Market Street), southwest to the northwest (along Somerset Street) and northwest to the northeast (along African Street towards Burton Street). Results from the field survey demonstrate that within the conservation area are fifty-three PBEHRs, whilst only eighteen are located outside of this area. Interestingly, of the sites located outside the conservation area, twelve (67%) are sites within the Rhodes University campus and have military significance.

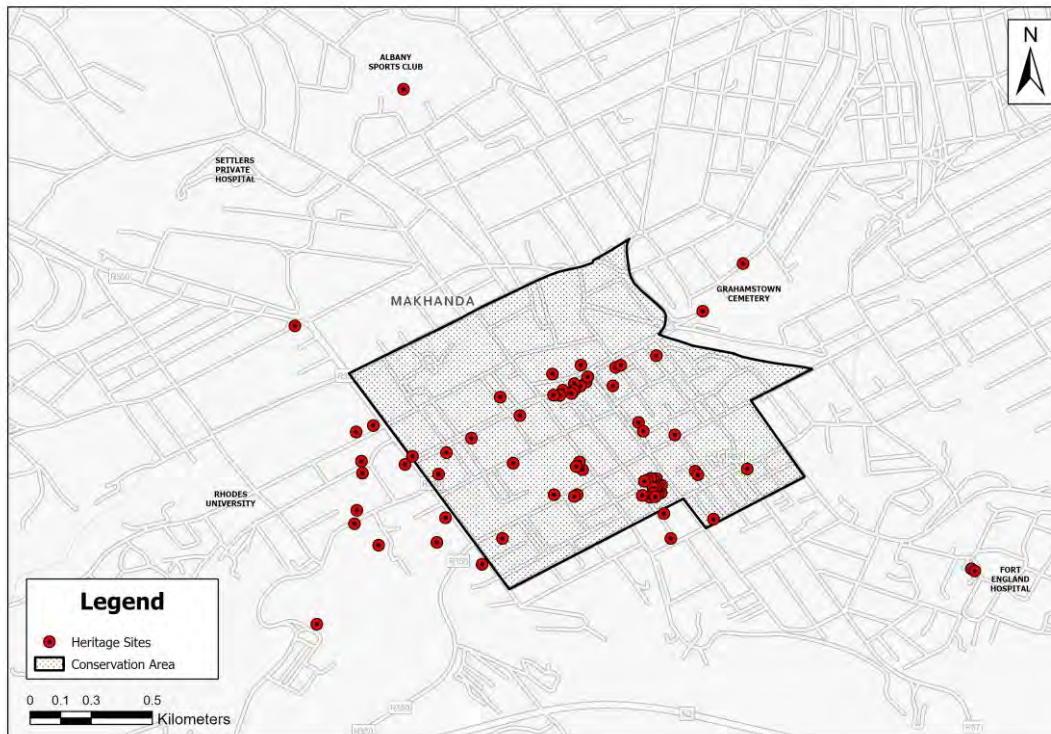


Figure 5.1: Distribution of PBEHRs and conservation area of Makhanda.

Figure 5.2 illustrates density analysis results showing the concentration of the PBEHRs. From this spatial analysis, two cluster groups are prevalent within the conservation area: Cluster A, located in Church Square within the CBD, and Cluster B, situated in Artificers Square, within the suburb of Sunnyside. These areas should be considered areas of particular concern given the concentration of PBEHRs. Moving away from the central business district and the western side suburb of Sunnyside, the overall concentration of PBEHRs becomes sparse and further away from these cluster groups. These clusters were singled out in the Radford reports, and recommended they become areas of particular concern. Church Square was considered the most significant civic space in town and should be acknowledged as the most sensitive area of the city (Figure 5.3). The Anglican cathedral at the centre is considered the prominent landmark, triangular, double-storey Victorian buildings with shopfronts and covered walkways,

trees and statues in the square. Artificer's Square (Figure 5.4) was considered a mini conservation area with its unique sense of place. This cluster has an octagonal intersection, small settler cottages, single and double-storey, Georgian style, no trees, cobblestone gutters, and wagon stones.

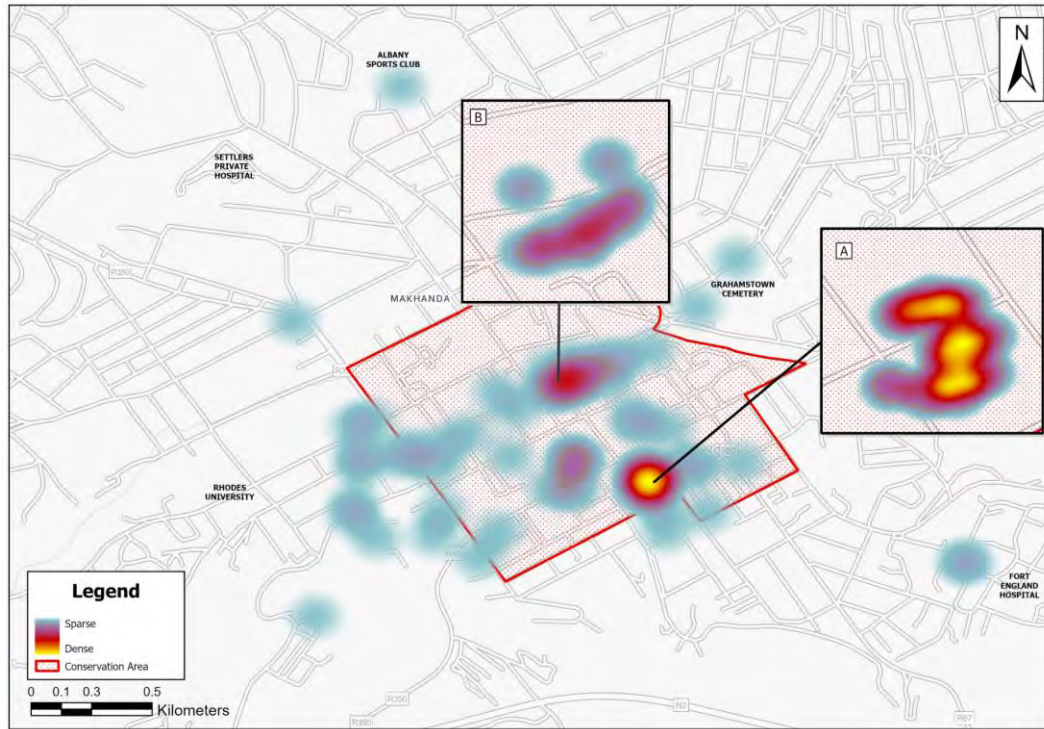


Figure 5.2: Distributional analysis of Makhanda PBEHRs.



Figure 5.3: Church Square Streetscape.



Figure 5.4: Artificers Square Streetscape.

Table 5.1 and Figure 5.5 show the various types of sites in Makhanda categorized into the following groups: Albany Museum/business, business, educational, institutional, transport services, postal services, public, religious, and residential buildings. Sites categorized as Albany Museum/business are either a museum or a business handled or owned by the Albany Museum. Residential buildings ranging from houses to cottages make up 33% of the overall sites of Makhanda. Closely followed by businesses at 24%, educational buildings at 14% and religious buildings at 12%. The following types of sites contribute marginally to the composition of PBEHRs in Makhanda: public buildings (6%), institutional (4%), Albany Museum/business (3%), postal services (3%) and transport services (1%). The residential buildings are primarily concentrated in the suburbs with clusters in Artificers' square vicinity and surrounds. Businesses are focused mainly on the CBD and are surrounded by educational and religious sites throughout the town.

Table 5.1: Type of sites.

Type of Site	Count	Percentage
Domestic House	39	54.17%
Religious	10	13.89%
Military	3	4.17%
Garden	1	1.39%
Commercial Building	14	19.44%
Other	5	6.94%

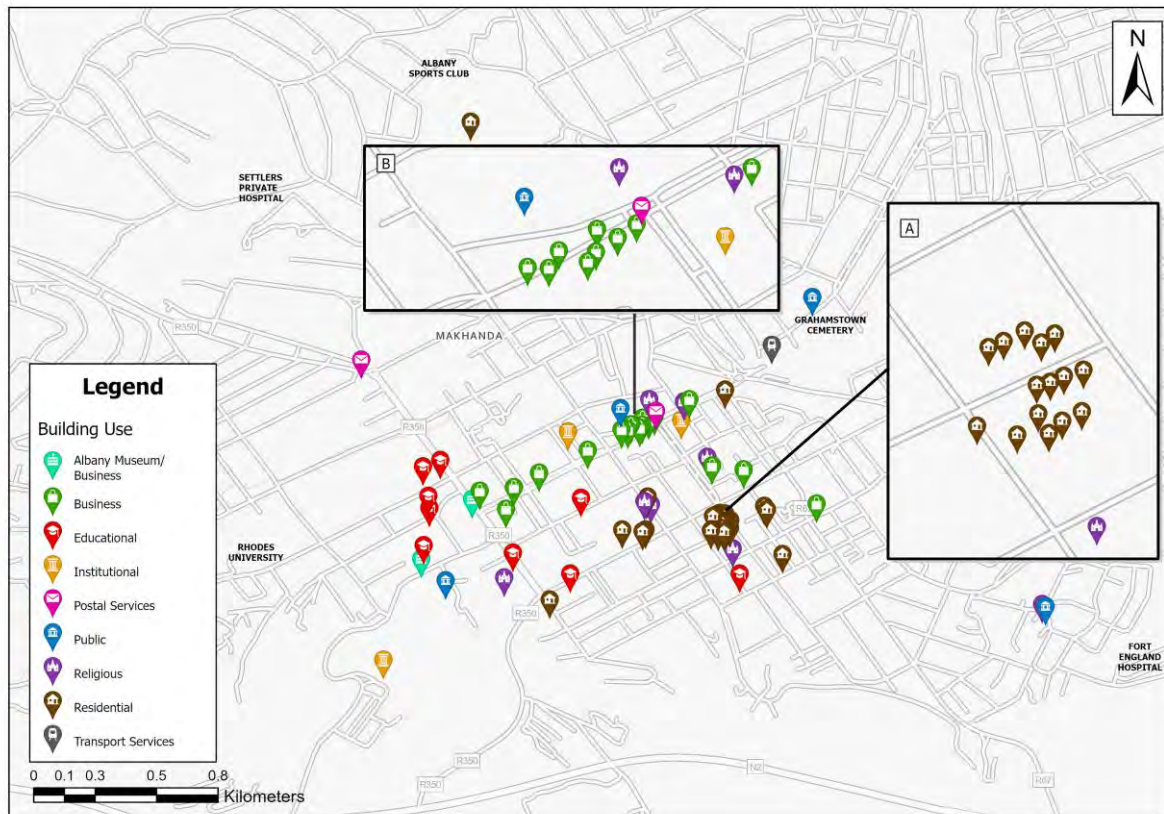


Figure 5.5: Makhanda PBEHRs building use.

Figure 5.6 and 5.8 illustrates the dates when the various PBEHRs were built in Makhanda's history. There are three distinct periods (Figure 5.7) relating to the building of these sites: (i) the Settler/Georgian Era (the early 1800s till 1837), (ii) the Victorian Era (1837 till 1901) and (iii) the Edwardian Era (1901 till 1914). In Makhanda, the earliest proclaimed building dates to 1813 the yellow house which was the basis for Makhanda's spatial layout. The latest PBEHRs are the Chapel of Saint Mary and All the Angels, located on the Rhodes University campus, built in 1915. Throughout the PBEHRs of Makhanda, 11% of the original building dates remain unknown. These are the following buildings: 36 High Street, 46-48 High Street, 50 High Street, 58-60 High Street, 56 Beaufort Street, 58 Beaufort Street, Beaumont and Rice Building and Drostdy Lodge. Correlations exist between the city's historical development and the dating of the PBEHRs seen by the gradual growth in the early 1800s, rapid growth between the 1820s and the 1860s and stagnation after the late 1860s.

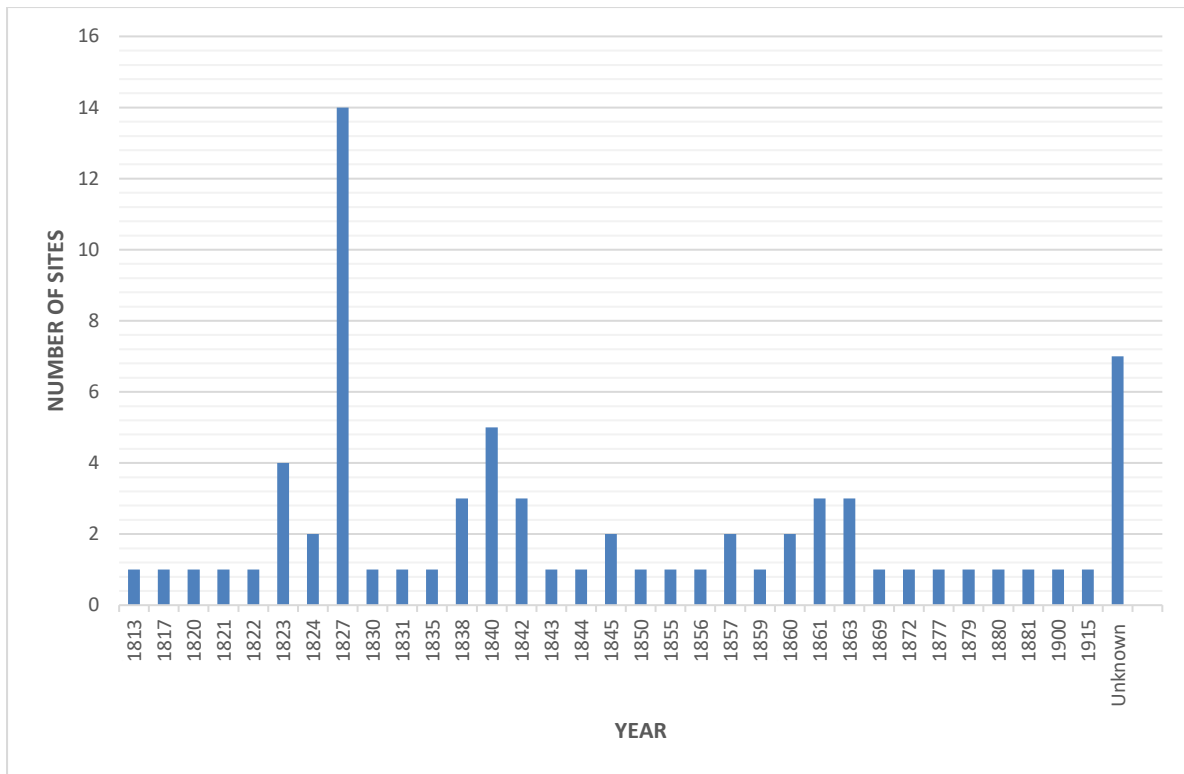


Figure 5.6: Building establishment dates of Makhanda's PBEHRs.







ARCHITECTURAL STYLE	SKETCH EXAMPLE	IMAGE EXAMPLE
SETTLER/GEORGIAN		
VICTORIAN		
EDWARDIAN		

Figure 5.7: Building architectural styles.

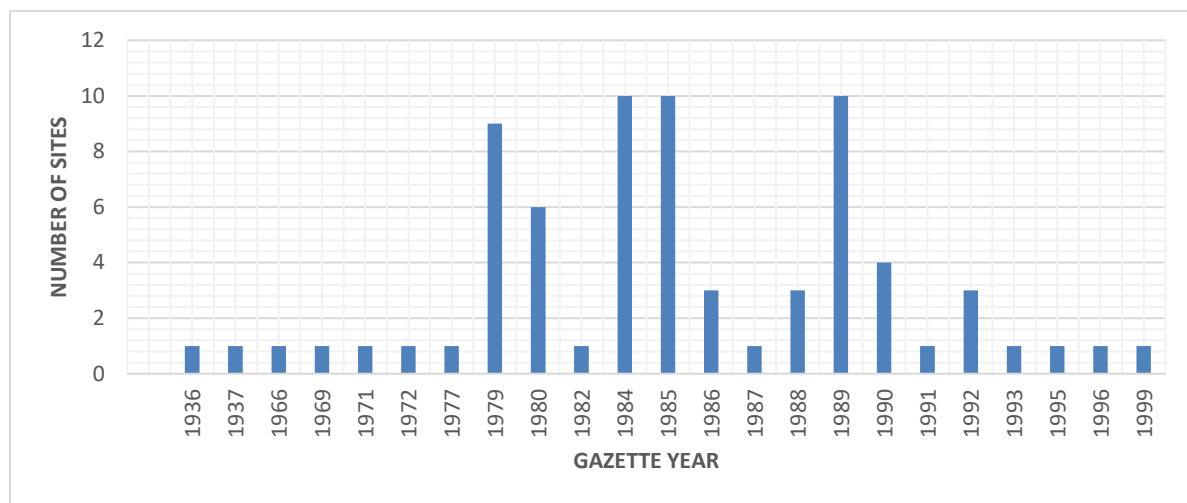


Figure 5.8: Makhanda PBEHRs gazette dates.

Figure 5.8 illustrates the official gazettement of Makhanda’s PBEHRs given by SAHRA on their digital catalogue SAHRIS. The figure shows that Fort Selwyn was the earliest gazetted heritage resource, declared in 1936. Sites were gradually declared over the following years, well into the late 1970s, when there was a rapid increase in the number of places declared. It is clear from Figure 5.8 that a period of rapid proclamation of sites between the late 1970s and the early 1990s, with the decline of site declaration, the last proclaimed site being 8 Bartholomew Street declared in 1999. No newly declared sites have been since this date except for memorials such as the eGazini memorial in Fingo Village.

The municipality in 1987 tasked Prof Radford of Wits with delineating zones for conservation, listing buildings and establishing a database for officials, aesthetics committee and council to help with development applications. Buildings were divided into three categories according to importance in this study, completed in 1990. Buildings in category A are those with exceptional architectural value and are unreplaceable. Category B buildings have some architectural merit, and Category C structures add to the city's character. At the end of the study, there were 760 buildings listed, 49 of which were designated as National Monuments, 57 of which fell under Category A, 319 under Category B, and 335 under Category C. There has not been an update to this study to determine changes in the classification of buildings since the fieldwork was carried out. As per Figure 5.8, there have been 22 more national monuments that have been declared.

Table 5.2 illustrates the condition and maintenance of the PBEHRs in Makhanda. An observation determined the condition of buildings at the façade level by assessing whether they are in a poor, fair, good, or damaged state and whether there are dilapidated items or

structures. Makhanda sites are generally in good condition (68%), and some are in fair condition (48-50 Bathurst Street and the post box at the railway station). The railway station is in poor condition, inactive, and primarily damaged due to neglect and vandalism. Overall, from the results of the field survey, Makhanda sites are well maintained (87%), some reasonably maintained (10%) and a few poorly maintained (3%).

Table 5.2: Summary of condition analysis.

BUILDING CONDITION			BUILDING MAINTENANCE			BUILDING ACCESSIBILITY			BUILDING OCCUPANCY		
Good	69	95.83%	Good	63	87.50%	Yes	51	70.83%	Occupied	66	91.67%
Fair	2	2.78%	Fair	6	8.33%	No	21	29.17%	Unoccupied	2	2.78%
Poor	1	1.39%	Poor	3	4.17%	Other	0	0%	Other	4	5.55%

Results from the field survey (Table 5.2) showed that PBEHRs in Makhanda are mainly accessible to the public because most sites (72%) are businesses, commercial, public, or institutional buildings. Those inaccessible are primarily private residences (29%) and, as a result, cannot be accessed by the public. Makhanda's PBEHRs are mainly occupied (92%) unoccupied (3%), and other (5%), only contributing marginally. The unoccupied sites are (a) the old post box and (b) the railway station. Those under the category of other reference sites are inherently not meant for occupation: the pillar box, post-box at the railway station, cemeteries, and botanical gardens. The unoccupied or other sites are primarily public access sites and are not restricted.

5.2 Threats to the Built Environment Heritage Resources of Makhanda

This section presents the results from interviews with key informants and homeowners in understanding the various threats to PBEHRs in Makhanda. This was aligned with objective two of identifying the multiple threats to the PBEHRs of Makhanda. The following sections include data from key informants (11) from Makana Municipality, academic scholars, community organisations, heritage bodies and heritage foundations, and homeowners (20).

This data is presented using numbered symbols in the place of names, with KI for key informants and HO for homeowners.

5.2.1 Negotiating History and Representation Within Urban Space and Heritage Resources

This section will look at how Makhanda's contested history and representation affect heritage management locally.

5.2.1.1 History and Contestation

Interviews with key informants demonstrated that any approach to heritage management needs to accept the nuances in the history of Makhanda. Respondents noted there needs to be a way to share the collective history of Makhanda without alienating alternative narratives of the town's history. When asked about best practices from heritage management and conservation in Makhanda, respondents highlighted the following when discussing history: history is contested, nuanced, relevant at varying scopes or types, and polarizing.

These interviews highlighted that Makhanda has a contested history dating back to its establishment as a military garrison, the battle of Makhanda, and the colonial and apartheid era. Some respondents noted that the biggest contestation came from views on the battle of Makhanda and colonial rule. KI1, the head of the Isikhumbuzo Applied History Unit at Rhodes University, highlights it is now time to find a far more mature and balanced understanding of history to overcome the emotions of both extreme views. The Isikhumbuzo Applied History Unit aims to make historical information available to the public through forms, including discussions and debates, using the creative arts to fill in the gaps of untold stories and stimulate new research. She noted that approaches to history are polarizing and one-sided, with new strategies required to acknowledge all histories actively.

For me, maybe a good starting point is that we're living in such a completely polarized world that sees that if you're sort of a descendant of English 1820 settlers, you think anything about you is holy and sacred, wonderful, and good, which is so very exaggerated, not nuanced history at all, very one-sided. The other side of the history is that everything brought by Europeans messed up Africa and things, get back the land, get out of here and go away.... now my argument is for a more nuanced kind of history to say, can we talk about the nitty gritty? Can we sort of knuckle under and talk about both things? (#KI1)

KI1 further noted that the search for a more balanced history must be based on truth. There are many issues on which a new narrative could be established. She stated this new form of

history might also lead to a different style of commemoration. We could achieve a better equilibrium if we completely internalized the interconnectedness of Europeans and Africans. Part of this process of truth is being honest about how these cultures historically were intermingled because isolating one culture from the other results in the polarization of history that is seen today. To break away from this view and have a balanced understanding of history where all histories are appreciated. Furthermore, emphasizing the need for a balanced understanding means both sides of the story are told.

So, part of the point is to say you must be very honest about the bad history, but then you also must be honest about the history of how the cultures have intermingled with each other. Because to say it's all a white world or a black world is just completely unrealistic. At this point, 20 years later, the amalgamation of the cultures is far down the road. My entry point is to say that I feel that if we had a more balanced understanding from both sides, then we could see both sides appreciating the things that are symbolic of the heritage of the other side..... I still think, you know, if people who live in an extreme privilege understood where that privilege came from, they would want to help bring it to your balance and do something. I can't imagine a whole bunch of 1820 Settler descendants saying, let us make sure that eGazini Memorial thrives. Because it is history.... we can appreciate that that side of the story needs to be told. (#K11)

Further concerns beyond colonial history were the legacy of apartheid history and the role it played in spatially segregating the city. This was demonstrated in interviews by key informants in that the development of township history is lacking and is not representative in providing a complete picture of history. K11 notes that to attain balance in the view of history, it is vital township history and black history are actively told.

So, I think it's finding a balance between telling both sides of the story now if we're saying we've got the 1820s history. Let's possibly establish the township's history in the black person's history. (#K11)

5.2.1.2 Representation

This section links to the above section, expanding on issues in approaches to history and overall representation of all aspects of history in Makhanda. When asked about representation in heritage management, several issues were mentioned in the heritage space of Makhanda. The first issue of representation mentioned was linked to contestations of history and how the current PBEHRS in Makhanda did not adequately represent the landscape of post-apartheid

South Africa. Concerns highlighted that within the built environment heritage space of Makhanda, colonial history had been predominantly preserved with limited African history. KI2 of the Makana Business Forum and Real Estate Agent noted that colonial history in South Africa means different things for different people and that maybe the breakaway focuses more on the human story.

If one looks at our colonial past, it is painful for some and a huge means of pride for others. And I wouldn't focus on those stories. What I'd focus on is the human story. (#KI2)

KI3 of the Lobengula Foundation argued that the biggest issue when promoting African history was significant challenges because African history is not well documented while colonial history is. Therefore, when applications are made to declare sites in the township, due process requires clear history documentation, which is problematic.

How do you prove that a version of history is an established history and was not speculation? I think that's the biggest issue in post-apartheid South Africa. In the period now, we've lost most of history. Colonial history is well documented, but African history is not. (#KI3)

KI4 added that some meaningful stories or histories weren't told which wasn't limited to black accounts that went even as far as coloured history. So, while the tangible heritage was a way to demonstrate this history it wasn't compelling enough for those displaced historically. He proposed that a more effective way to narrate history is by mingling the tangible and intangible history. Primarily because in the historical space, the intangible heritage is highly undervalued.

5.2.2 Legislation and Policy Challenges

This section will examine the challenges associated with legislation and policy and how they affect local heritage management. Discussions with key informants and homeowners on the role of legislation and policy in conserving and preserving PBEHRS highlighted several concerns. Firstly, there were concerns about the efficacy of national and local legislation. While it may be recognised internationally, concerns arose from a lack of localized context, and it inherited several elements of its apartheid predecessors, specifically in a country with a diverse and contested history, such as South Africa. Secondly, as previously established (previous chapters), Makana Municipality lacks local by-laws relating to heritage management. As such, these need to be developed. Furthermore, interviewees acknowledged that the local legislation and policies do not address issues of contestation and enforcement.

KI1 argues that the legislation itself is UNESCO-based with a one-size-fits-all approach and lacks a localized context that accounts for the history of our country. This resulted in issues of representation and diversity as not all histories are represented in a country, coupled with enforcement and governance issues, which significantly impact its effectiveness. KI2 suggested building on the legislation by enhancing its role at local levels and creating a localized context. Another concern is that the current legislation does not address the various issues of contestation in post-apartheid South Africa, necessitating context-based legislation and by-laws. She also noted significant shifts needed in the localization of legislation in progressing the heritage space while accepting societal changes.

This is a UNESCO plan. I think we could say lip service is given to all your intangible things. But ultimately, we're still under UNESCO. So, we still haven't gotten it to a local context. Maybe if we adapt the branches from this tree.....But now, I mean, there's some hope that we're entering a stage of this talk about a knowledge economy. Some people understand that we still must undo all those old-fashioned ways of doing things. And there might be ways to spread the information, spread the ideas, and get it to get information out. (#KI1)

While not all respondents felt the legislation was lacking, they did mention that enforcement and repercussions were lacking, presented in the next section. KI5 from Rhodes University's Anthropology Department acknowledged that while many feel the legislation is lacking, it overall is helpful in heritage management. However, there needs to be active enforcement.

We have great legislation all around. It's just not backed up. You can have awesome legislation. It doesn't get its wings without putting some muscle behind that legislation. But the fact that it's there is great because you've got something right. (#KI5)

Homeowners further raised these concerns as to the governance and enforcement of this legislation. It was highlighted that significant strides needed to be made to ensure the enforcement and protection of these heritage resources.

As far as the municipality is concerned, it probably doesn't even exist, except for repair rates and taxes. They should have a visual record of what the original design was, according to their record and according to the previous owner, so they can essentially oppose anything or enforce guidelines. So, what would they oppose when they don't have an idea? How can't they handle that kind of amount of administration? (#HO1)

If you look at the ones that have gone to ruin, because there are plenty that have gone to ruin, because the areas in which they are, have just not looked after. The properties around them have been allowed to go to ruin with things done that just aren't attractive. So, this property that needs to get governance going on just with these properties. (#HO2)

The lack of enforcement was at multiple levels from SAHRA, ECPHRA, aesthetics committee and municipal level. Without adequate enforcement of the legislation, it results in some challenges in trade-offs that need to be made relating to the conservation-development dilemma. Makana Municipality also supported this in their 2021 IDP, highlighting the development and implementation of an aesthetic and heritage management by-law.

5.2.3 Governance and Management

This section examines the effects of governance and management from government authorities on heritage management locally.

5.2.3.1 Poor Management

The findings from this study acknowledge that due to the interplay between the various government structures, heritage management and governance are the responsibility of all agencies. At the provincial level, the PHRAs oversee the protection of Grade II heritage resources and ensure adherence to legislation to the sixty-year rule, the informal name (Section 34 of NHRA). The excerpts below highlight the PHRAs mandate sourced from the ECPHRA website (2022):

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

ECPHRA has an obligation to create an enabling environment for research, thereby facilitating research in different heritage disciplines by issuing research permits to individual researchers from across the globe and nationally. ECPHRA is also responsible for product development, identifying potential heritage resources for development as heritage tourism destinations.

A review of secondary sources reveals several shortcomings in the Eastern Cape's management of its provincial heritage treasures. This is based on several issues that first surfaced in 2010, which show the dysfunctional nature of the provincial body. Due to severe backlogs in processing permit allocations, financial problems, poor communication, internal strife, staffing issues, and improper expenditure, there has been persistent concern regarding the relationship between DSRAC and ECPHRA.

As a result, the provincial body's inaction, and lack of innovation in heritage protection are seriously jeopardized. Although local governments must help provincial institutions, this can be challenging when both the municipality and the provincial organisation are inefficient, as has been found in this study with the dysfunctionality of the PHRA and Makana Municipality's failing efforts in heritage conservation. DSRAC (2021) noted in their 2020–2021 Annual Report that the PHRA had challenges and had stopped allocating funding to advance accountability and efficiency. This has caused a significant backlog in applications for building restoration or development. In prior years, PHRA members have refuted this backlog and stated that it is only a perception among experts and developers. Council members and employees laid the blame for budget issues from as far back as the creation of the provincial body with funding that has never been consistent with the provincial body's legal mandate (Weekend Post, 2018).

These backlogs are among a litany of indicators of deep-seated issues in the organisation with a tiny staff (three staff members and one vacant post), which is nowhere near enough to cover the geographic scope of the province (168 966 km²). According to the Daily Dispatch (2021), an internal report by the organisation's outgoing council noted that little to no work was being carried out in line with this mandate. Surprisingly, despite this, the organisation's budget was bumped from the initial R2 million to R4 million. The ECPHRA was forced to close its King William's Town offices in 2013 and move to temporary premises outside the Department of Public Works in East London (TheHeritagePortal 2013). The ECPHRA is the only PHRA that has endeavoured to handle the entire scope of responsibilities while having only a few personnel. Accessing shared resources, including finances, human resources, security, monitoring and evaluation, IT, transportation, and property management, has proven difficult for the ECPHRA. Because the working environment does not encourage the retention of gained skills, the ECPHRA risks becoming another failing heritage authority.

At the municipal level, discussions on the functioning of the municipality in heritage management with various key informants demonstrated multi-level government failure in Makhanda. KI6 of the Makhanda Resident's Association (MRA) expanded in detail on some issues relating to managing and preserving heritage resources in the excerpt below. She detailed the massive role played by the local government in driving heritage management;

however, due to poor municipal oversight and a functional municipal council, very little can be done to ensure sustainability and continuity in work in the heritage landscape of Makhanda. While the individual's role is vital for preserving and improving the local scene, it boils down to local government departments doing what they are tasked with at all government levels.

Well, it comes down to priorities, all these things with local government, and I've learned this. I think more recently, with the recent election, the fundamental role of your council is an oversight. Then there are all these functions. Aesthetics is handled within the council. The local aesthetics is handled within the council. They have rules that come under LED. So, it comes down to having a functional Council. Ultimately, you, as individuals, can take on individual projects. We can take on a glory project we can take on, we can paint something, we can fix something, we can pick up the rubbish, but ultimately, for sustainability and continuity. It comes down to the current environment. It comes down to those government departments doing their work. (#KI6)

Furthermore, KI6 noted the massive role played by local initiatives. While some things have been achieved and huge strides made to better the local landscape, those in power still need to be held accountable. Local government members are paid to ensure these services are provided, so the community must hold them responsible for any failure to perform. Unfortunately, KI6 noted that complacency within the local community to these failures has resulted in these local government members failing to do their jobs. This drives the MRA's need to educate the local community and create awareness to equip them with skills and knowledge to hold local government accountable.

And I think the fact is, the public will chip in and help. But the big problem is too big right now for people to say, okay, let's fix it. I mean, some things have been done. We must hold these people accountable. They get good salaries, the councillors, the officials, all getting paid very good salaries, and we're not holding them accountable enough as a town. Our community is not loud enough, not noisy enough, and we don't make it matter enough. And that is our job, really, is to try and make people more aware that it doesn't have to be this way. It doesn't have to be this way. You might have just gotten accustomed to the dysfunctionality that it's become like a sense of normalcy. Yeah, it is. That's exactly right. It all becomes normal. You can't expect people to want to go into something that you look at the facade and go, oh my god, that's so uninviting and so revolting, dirty, filthy, horrible. Why would I want to go in there? What can be inside that could be interesting? So, I think it's just a complete failure of

the city, the residents, and us. We're all guilty of letting it slide and going...that's what we expect, ultimately. (#KI6)

Interviews further demonstrated recurring issues relating to poor governance and management of heritage resources at multiple government levels. Key informants and Makana Municipality mentioned the lack of an accurate and up-to-date inventory as one of the biggest challenges in addressing issues with heritage management. This was also one of the critical areas of weakness highlighted by Makana Municipality's IDP (2021: 235):

A Heritage Resources Management Plan and Inventory has not been prepared by the Municipality, and maintenance of heritage resources is lacking in general. The provisions of the National Heritage Resources are not complied with.

Other vital issues relating to heritage development at the municipal level are capacity issues, specifically in lumping multiple portfolios into one. Makana Municipality Tourism and SMME Coordinator KI7 highlighted that under the Local Economic Development Directorate, SMME, Trade, and Investment were one portfolio and Tourism and Heritage Development another. However, they were recently a single portfolio under the directorate. They successfully made managing all fields within this broadened portfolio highly challenging. Additionally, lumping these varied fields widens the scope of responsibilities, with personnel having limited skills given the widened scope.

One of the critical challenges we have is that a clear role needs to be developed for both the LED office and portfolio for heritage development and management....because, presently, the scope of the portfolio is too vast and results in capacity issues. (#KI7)

Among these capacity issues were problems ranging from employees working in silos and information was not disseminated effectively within municipal departments. This results in both a lack of continuity in the event of employee changes and poor handover due to a widespread cooperation issue.

Discussions with KI7 highlighted limited research or knowledge on findings from local research that was fed back to the municipality despite them being aware of the various projects. These include projects investigating heritage, tourism, SMME and urban development. These include heritage publications such as the Radford reports, local research publications and historic publications accessible through Cory Library or the local museums. She acknowledges that while much research is carried out on Makhanda, much is locked away and not fed back to the relevant role-players to effect change.

At the key informant and homeowner level, several respondents noted high levels of municipal dysfunction ranging from failing to provide essential services, lack of enforcement, poor public works, employee attitude, housing services, and building and signage enforcement. Figure 5.8 illustrates the respondents' interactions with the municipality, and responses were a mix of positive and negative interactions. Those with positive interactions note the incredible work done by specific individuals within the organisation. Positive interactions were associated with the following actions: willingness to help within and outside the scope of work, effective communication, proactiveness, and knowledge in the field. Negative interactions were linked to poor employee attitude, corruption, lack of innovation, stagnation, failure to provide services, and failure to enforce regulations as some of the critical actions.

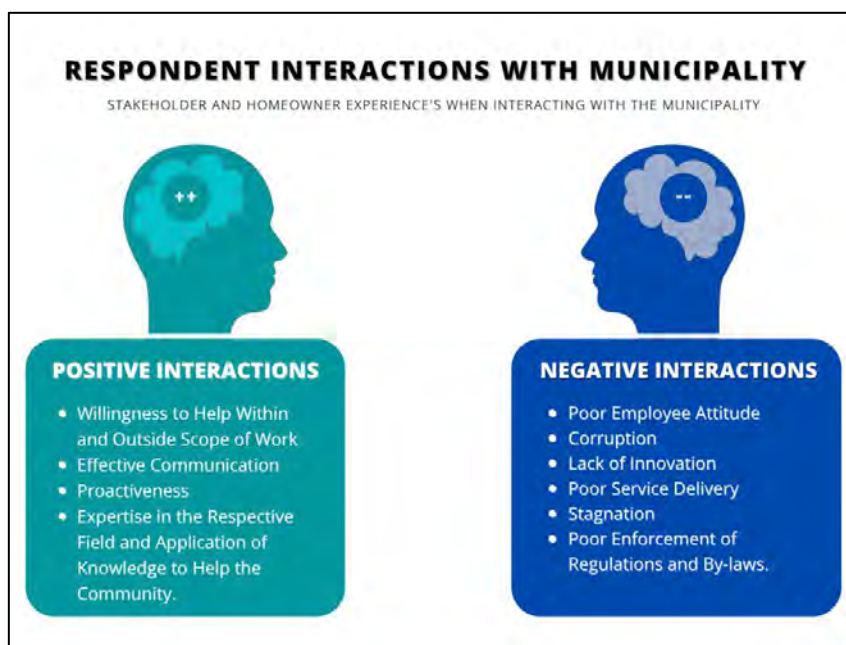


Figure 5.9: Respondent interactions with the local municipality (Responses from KI and HO).

Homeowners have had general dissatisfaction when dealing with the municipality when trying to find details on their properties. The dissatisfaction arises from unclear guidelines, lost property plans, and poor assistance in helping homeowners handle functional issues.

It's hard to keep track of, and if you've been able to access older plans, I haven't, and I think very few people can because the municipality doesn't keep the records up to date. So that's quite difficult because then you could track the decision-making and understand how the house was built. Would it help with maintenance? (#HO3)

However, there are still elements, I think, within these organisations at a local level, a municipal level, and a provincial level who don't care. They don't care, and they're comfortable. (#K15)

K18, a former Makana Municipality Engineering & Town Planning Technologist, stated that personnel within the municipality lacked skill and work ethic and included uninformed, disinterested, and uninspired personnel. While this was not of the whole organisation, it was clear that often, any interaction would be met with some negativity. Furthermore, interviews at the homeowner and key informant levels noted that communication with the community was primarily poor at the various levels within the municipality. Due to a lack of trust, community members have been discouraged from engaging in discussions.

The building control officer is the one who's in charge of the office, she should know that she deals with the public and with people like us to put in plans. The first thing I've told her is that you need to be in control. That's why your called Building Control, you should be controlling some asset, which is the first thing that needs to happen when a plan comes in, which she's not doing. There is a standard form for Master sheets. I've made this up, and I gave it to her. This still isn't used and causes so many delays. (#K18)

K12 adds that while the municipality has functional aspects, other dysfunctional departments often diminish its efforts.

When one must look at the municipality, it is a complex organisation of 800-plus people. The town planning department, which falls under the Local Economic Development Department, has a competent team of town planners and other professionals within that directorate. It would be unfair to say that that directorate is dysfunctional. However, I think they might often have to rely on other dysfunctional directorates. The only dysfunctional part about the thing is that they are geographically split. (#K12)

5.2.3.2 Aesthetics Committee

The Grahamstown Council recognised the need to establish the Aesthetics Committee in 1980 to guide the aesthetic, functional, architectural, or historical aspects of existing buildings or proposed buildings in the Grahamstown Conservation Area (Makana Municipality, n.d). They also recommend general appearance, architectural design, style, colours, and buildings' facing material to the Grahamstown City Council.

Respondents noted failures within the aesthetics committee and poor enforcement of regulations when asked to provide examples of cases where this municipal failure could be seen. KI9, a former draftsman for the municipality, noted significant issues with signage in Makhanda relating to the lack of enforcement of signage guidelines with businesses doing whatever they pleased because the building inspector is not carrying out their role. The example given was the newly erected Hollywood Bets sign (Figure 5.9) on New Street, which contravenes regulations regarding the building colour scheme and the signage size.

The biggest issue we had those days, which I had, was that the signage companies in Makhanda knew if any sign was erected without prior approval of the aesthetics committee. I would get it to them within 24 to 48 hours. No signage was allowed to be erected without the council's prior approval. That wasn't just on signage but also on colour schemes where the aesthetics committee recommended all our colours. It had to be earthy colours..... the municipality is not looking at the guidelines as they should. Over and above the 15% area for signage, the most important aspect is size lettering, which cannot exceed 600mm in height. Secondly, no signage can be erected above any building with a canopy. Thirdly, the guidelines also use to state that all buildings are painted in earthy colours. Does the blue conform? That is a decision the Aesthetics Committee must decide upon. (#KI9)



Figure 5.10: Hollywoodbets sign on New Street (Grahamstown Eye, 2022).

Due process for the erection of any signage that may exceed guidelines must be sent to the aesthetics committee by the relevant municipal board. This committee is appointed as an advisory committee of the Council and comprises city councillors, officials, and community

members, including businesses. This committee came up a lot in discussions with key informants regarding fulfilling their roles.

In discussions on the aesthetics committee, key informants gave mixed reactions. While some recognised the role of specific individuals in ensuring the abiding of guidelines, there were still areas of concern. One such problem mentioned by KI8 was the infrequency of meetings by the committee, which went from meeting at least once a month discussing ten to fourteen items to now only meeting when deemed necessary. This is problematic as this affects both the enforcement capacity of the committee and causes delays for local developers and homeowners seeking the committee's approval for applications. This also causes delays in sending applications to the PHRA for approval.

For instance, the aesthetics committee meetings used to be once a month or every month, with about 10 to 14 items monthly. Now, they meet only when necessary, once every three to six months, which is the scenario now.... that's a sad state of affairs. (#KI8)

Secondly, the committee was not representative demographically and in skill level. Finally, the biggest concern was that the committee needed members genuinely interested in aesthetics, not seat fillers, to fill a quota.

So, the first thing to look at is the Heritage Resources Act, which states that any building older than 60 years is listed in the sense that it has historical value.

SAHRA in the Eastern Cape is somewhat challenged geographically, and they've got a large base to go, and there are many infringements they don't get to deal with. In my view, the aesthetics committee is dysfunctional in Makana Municipality, so it's not well-resourced. It's a body with no teeth.

So, you've got passionate people, like Fleur Way-Jones, an expert, but then you've also got excluded people, like advocate Jock McConnachie, who has done a lot of heritage work. (#KI2)

At the homeowner level, residents were unaware of the committee's role and due process when addressing conservation issues. Some of these sentiments are shared below on respondents' opinions on the aesthetics committee, which noted that local town planning services are unavailable and inaccessible to the community. Several key informants pointed out that the aesthetics committee saw the committee as an obstacle and could functionally be improved.

I think town planning services should be available and accessible to all. So, sort of, you know Yeah, I would say I don't see them as an obstacle. I see the

aesthetics committee as an obstacle because it could work much better. And I think that they could have more youth. (#KI2)

5.2.3.3 Crime and Vandalism

Another reported threat to PBEHRS in Makhanda is the issue of crime and vandalism. Several respondents noted that lawlessness and contempt for resources have allowed criminal activity and vandalism to thrive. Some common examples include the eGazini memorial in Fingo Village, several monuments in the CBD and the Makhanda railway station. Figures 5.12 and 5.13 illustrate the current state of these PBEHRS that have suffered due to crime and vandalism. Most recently, there has been a significant spike in the theft of heritage monument plaques in various areas of the city. While the reason is unclear behind the theft, it is speculated that these plaques are being sold at scrap metal dealers.

Figure 5.13 illustrates the state of disrepair of the railway station. On the historic platform of the railroad station, the east side's roofing, wooden fittings, doors, windows, floors, and cabling were vandalized. Holes in the stone walls were used to remove the iron supports underneath the hardwood flooring, and the extended light poles were cut (TheHeritagePortal, 2017). The wall safe, the historical post-box, the National Monument and SAHRA plaques, and the stone goods shed were all taken down.

KI6 highlighted these issues with crime and vandalism when she walked through some sites with ECPHRA representatives, where they saw the disrepair and horrible state of sites like eGazini. Figures 5.13 and 5.14 are examples of the current state of some of the memorials in town destroyed by crime and vandalism. Because it is not maintained, the site is in poor condition and has been vandalized by the local community. Most of the granite tiles have been damaged or removed. The inscriptions that were inscribed on some of the tiles have faded, and because of the removal of the pavement where the tiles were laid, some weeds have grown inside the memorial. The pictures made from mosaics are also in disrepair, and the environment in which they are housed is also in disrepair. Due to the theft of the fence surrounding the area, the heritage site is no longer enclosed.

We took the SAHRA guy to the other monument in Fingo eGazini. He was horrified that it's been completely destroyed. It's basically a drunk spot. You know, all the nice marbles have been ripped out, again, beautiful spots with stunning views that could be world-class tourism. So, there is not a single piece of evidence that I can think of, certainly within Eastern Cape management of Grahamstown, where there's any sign that anybody is taking responsibility. (#KI6)

SAHRA's site inspection (2017) of the eGazini memorial found that the site the memorial site is in disrepair. It is not maintained, and Makana Municipality has stated that it will not support any heritage sites because its budget will be used for service delivery issues. As a result, the local community is vandalizing the sites. KI6 adds that the societal issues residents face has furthered desperation and fuelled criminality in local communities as there is no enforcement or benefits from these sites.

.....We went and asked the people living next door who took the fence. Oh, it was the people who used to live here. They just got a new house, and they needed a fence. Nobody had happened. And that's what happened. They got a new house and just took the fence. (#KI6)



Figure 5.11: Egazini memorial and the Elizabeth Salt monument (Fox, 2019; Grocott's Mail, 2012; 2022).

5.2.3.4 Makhanda's forgotten Railway Station: Case for Conservation

Many South African railway lines have been closed, and their heritage assets have deteriorated. The decline of railway line networks interests the heritage community (TheHeritagePortal, 2015). Heritage sites are essential to our history because they teach us who we are. Unfortunately, sites like this risk being lost due to neglect or intentional destruction. In 2017, the Heritage Monitoring Project (HMP) and the Heritage Association of South Africa identified and publicized a list of endangered sites.

The Grahamstown Railway Station and platform, completed in 1879, was one of these. The last line was closed in 2009, leaving the station to deteriorate and be vandalized (TheHeritagePortal, 2017). The Grahamstown Railway Station is currently a provincial heritage site per the NHRA Act 25 of 1999. The railway station, platform, and post box were declared national monuments by the National Monuments Council in 1989. Unfortunately, not much has changed eight years later, and the station's potential remains unrealized.

In 2010, an opinion piece in his capacity, Ismail Mahomed (the former Director of the National Arts Festival), presented a call for action advocating for the reuse of the heritage site. This opinion piece published by Grocott's Mail (2010) highlighted the potential use of the Railway Station as a link to the revitalisation of Makhanda's inner city. Providing examples he noted international trends where cities reclaim historic sites and find innovative methods to develop them to boost local economies. Local examples include the V&A Waterfront, the Bat Centre in Durban, built using formerly abandoned harbour structures and Uitenhage, which has turned their historic railway station into a museum. He concluded by emphasising ways to save the railway station that could be found and turn it into a vibrant urban space. This could be achieved by transforming the space into a safe, clean, and well-serviced visitor centre and bus terminal, indicating that this city cares about its many tourists. Additionally, it would demonstrate good faith that this city cares equally about its thriving arts sector, which helps keep its economy on track (Grocott's Mail 2010).

In 2012, plans were to turn the Makhanda railway station into a bus terminus, driven by an agreement between municipal officials and stakeholders. This followed crime incidents and a lack of ablution facilities in the informal stop on Bathurst Street opposite the Frontier Hotel (Grocott's Mail 2012). The hotel's ablution facilities and the veranda are used as a waiting area. Makana Municipality's spokesperson at the time noted funds had been allocated (unconfirmed amount) to the station's renovation (Grocott's Mail 2012). The proposed plan involved various municipal departments and pledges from major bus companies. Sadly,

despite these promises, nothing has changed, and the unofficial bus stop on Bathurst Street continues to operate while the railroad station is unutilised.

A successful campaign to convince Transnet to reopen the Makhanda Railway Station was started in 2014 by the Grahamstown Residents Association (GRA). A petition with over 3000 signatories received backing from local officials and substantial media coverage. Many people who remember the station, including locals, history buffs, and hundreds of others, felt this was the first step toward adaptive reuse. The building had been vandalized at the time of the campaign, with the old oak floors ripped up, the roof ripped off, and metal stolen for scrap. The campaign helped to stabilize and protect the site. In 2017, despite this campaign, it remained endangered and could not be utilised with extensive rehabilitation and sensitive sustainable usage. The site was later reported in the list of the top ten most endangered cultural heritage sites in South Africa following a public awareness programme by the HMP (TheHeritagePortal, 2017). Railway stations and related structures have been categorized as one of the top ten by the judges for the 2017 Endangered Heritage Sites Campaign, including the Makhanda Railway Station. Findings from this study further highlight the site remains in poor condition and endangered due to a lack of enforcement of regulations at various government levels, vandalism, and security issues.



Figure 5.11: Makhanda railway station's current state (Grahamstown Eye, 2018; Mann, 2019).

5.2.4 Social Service Demands and Heritage

This section examines how demands for social services and service delivery impact and threaten local heritage management. Responses from key informants and homeowners demonstrated that the heritage development and preservation field in Makhanda comes at the expense of more pressing societal issues. Compared to more critical challenges like infrastructure development, basic service delivery, poverty reduction, or job creation, preserving urban heritage may be a lower priority. KI7 highlighted that often, the funding and advancement of the portfolio of heritage development came at the detriment of ongoing social services and that, due to capacity issues, the portfolio was hard to advance. KI6 of the MRA further detailed the constraints local organisations face when allocating their resources and efforts to heritage development in Makhanda:

The role of a Resident Association is to try and uplift the town, get active citizens involved, and encourage people to take a little responsibility for their town. But mostly, in our case, we are involved and engaged in trying to make the municipality responsible for what should be done. So, we're currently engaged in service delivery issues, specifically around water, rubbish, and just the basic things they're failing to deliver on. So that's taking a lot of our time. (#KI6)

KI2 highlighted that from an investment standpoint, available essential services, safety, and a clean environment are prerequisites for engaging in any discussion or propelling of heritage development.

So, I think the reality is, if we're looking at it from an investment point of view, people want it to be clean, safe, and basic services to work. If you've got those things, you are, and you are in a good place. (#KI2)

KI6 further noted how the advancement of tourism and heritage development hinges on functional social services. She highlighted that while building owners and private initiatives have driven maintenance of local buildings at the government service delivery level, something needed to be done. This is an effort to create functional spaces for both residents and visitors.

I mean, some things have been done. If you look at that, the Clicks area and some buildings have been painted beautifully. The Grocott's building has been painted beautifully. So, there are private initiatives, and people who own those buildings take some pride. It becomes difficult when we welcome tourists because you know if your pavements are not good, your roads are terrible, and

you can't rely on water. You can't rely on clean drinking water for someone in the guest house. Yeah. Everything else hinges on that. What is there to offer them regarding tourism when these are not being provided? (#K16)

K13 noted that his heritage foundation was also consumed in the eastern side of town with efforts to deal with challenges in social services in the township by submitting several proposals to the municipality and including the community in clean-up campaigns for the Lobengula grave sites and surrounds. He advocates preserving heritage sites like the three Lobengula graves in Fingo Village. He hopes to pique local interest, strengthen community bonds, and attract cultural tourists to Makhanda. He noted that until the site and surroundings were clean, very few people were willing to come to the area in a filthy condition. The foundation's waste management campaign, the "Heritage Resources Regeneration Clean Up" programme, deals with the clean-up and beautification of heritage sites and surroundings.

I decided that instead of complaining, maybe we should do something. So, I started the cleaning process. Right now, I have even submitted a proposal to the municipality to take care of the rubbish, dump sites, and all those things for this year and do the impossible. The museum was so dirty, and we started cleaning to focus on beautifying the site. (#K13)

Additionally, some respondents noted that while tourism may be a way to promote heritage, its role is exaggerated and oversold, given the state of the town aesthetically and functionally. K12 noted that while the potential use of heritage for tourism is essential, we need to acknowledge there are also many other ways to make this happen. To establish Makhanda as a tourist-centric city, significant changes are necessary to become functional and aesthetically pleasing.

The one thing that would help them appreciate it is if it was attracting lots of tourists and creating jobs. I think that in the world of heritage, it's probably been somewhat exaggerated that what tourism is doesn't mean it doesn't count and doesn't matter. Or it could just be other things. (#K12)

5.2.5 Urban Development Versus Heritage

This section examines urban development challenges and how they affect heritage management. Prevailing themes in interviews with many key informants in the built-environment field highlighted complex challenges in developing the town's urban fabric whilst adhering to and maintaining critical pieces of the town's history. In what they termed the conservation-development dilemma, challenges arose in balancing the current by-laws and

regulations, requirements of the NHRA, and urban development. KI2 acknowledged that in the development space, they were dealt with firmly if they did not follow regulations; however, there were still cases where this enforcement was not uniformly applied, which is problematic. The growing concern was that while the legislation and regulations protected heritage resources, they did not acknowledge the need for investment and development, especially in Makhanda.

So, in the development or property owner spaces, we are dealt with harshly regarding heritage issues. And so, if one takes the blockhouse as an example....Once that restoration was done, was it with a permit? My answer would be probably not.... maybe restoring or enforcing the by-laws as it has been difficult, and we often find ourselves with these things or obstacles. I also think from a heritage point of view, so many buildings are no longer fit for purpose. So, if you look at our town plan regulations, you must provide parking if you have a business. If you want to rezone, you've got a problem because how do you do that in the Heritage Centre? Do you knock buildings down? Do you knock historic walls down? What do you do to make it happen? So, I think.....what is the pragmatic way of doing it and what is worth preserving and not preserving? Is a house in Fingo less historically important than one on the High Street? (#KI2)

KI10, a local drafting professional, noted the challenges associated with developing historic properties to meet increasing housing demands and the stringent guidelines that needed to be followed as some of the barriers to local development. He added that all decisions in the development space need to be weighed on the financial viability of projects instead of maintaining the historic integrity of properties. In discussions, he noted the example of student accommodation “ h e Grand Res” in High Street, which initially had sash windows. Due to the high cost of maintaining these windows, property owners needed to find ways to have building ventilation as many of these windows in the property were no longer fully functional. This posed a challenge for the owner because they now had to fit all new windows or rooms with aircon. He noted that if they chose the latter, this would subsequently increase rental prices and become too expensive for the targeted student demographic looking primarily for low-cost student housing. Other examples include the house on the corner of African and Somerset Street, which was proposed to be demolished for development into an apartment complex. These addressed the need for student housing due to increasing student numbers at local educational institutions. As the property was located within the conservation area, the proposed development and demolition needed to be referred to the Makana Municipality Aesthetics Committee and the ECPHRA to receive permission to demolish. The Historical

Society made several objections; unfortunately, the house was torn down before the necessary procedures could occur (Grocott's Mail 2009). The dual zoning of the property is a General Residential zone, and it is in the conservation area. So, while its demolition was permissible through its General Residential zoning, it needed further approval because of its location in the conservation zone (Grocott's Mail 2009). The destruction of this property marked the first of many publicised cases of failures in Makhanda in the protection of Makhanda heritage.

The second case is that of the Super Spar development on African Street. The store development was the source of a contentious legal battle between that municipality and developers that lasted several years. The owners of a posh apartment building behind the land have objected to the rezoning application. The proposal also calls for relocating the Tops bottle shop to the area next to the current Spar (on Rose Street), where a heritage cottage is situated (Grocott's Mail 2012). In addition to requesting special zoning for this purpose the developer asked the municipality for permission to combine the new Rose Street property with the current Spar and posh land (Grocott's Mail 2012). If the local government approved the plan, the ancient cottage might become a liquor outlet. The developer sued the municipality in June 2014, accusing it of negligence and incompetence for delaying projects worth at least R50 million (DispatchLIVE, 2015). As discussed above, provincial delays hamper energy projects in processing permits and EIA applications at the provincial level. Makana Municipality was required by the Grahamstown High Court to decide about 21 pending building plans and applications submitted by Beer Properties (DispatchLIVE, 2015). After receiving approval from the Makana city council to rezone the adjoining strip of land he owns from special commercial and general residential to a special zone that allowed a variety of land uses, Beer Properties emerged victorious in 2015 on plans to develop land for a Super Spar (DispatchLIVE, 2015). The historic cottage on the adjacent property was developed as a liquor outlet, with the façade left as close to the original. Still, the interior was altered to fit business needs. Due to urban management challenges and murky guidelines, municipal failures and infighting concerns could have led to a significant financial investment loss.

Finally, the property located at 28 Somerset Street (Said to be one of the oldest properties in Makhanda) in 2018 sparked debate in local news concerns over the collapse of an old stone wall during the construction of a new business centre (Grocott's Mail 2018). This centre currently houses several businesses, including a clothing store, coffee shop, restaurant, and beauty salon. This stone wall is speculated to have been built anywhere between 1837 and the 1900s, with the wall now demolished dating the wall is now tricky (Grocott's Mail 2018). The owner, Friedshelf 1612, rebuilt the wall using the original stone necessitated by it being in a bad state of repair and held by the rough hedge. The removal of this hedge then resulted

in parts of the wall collapsing. Makana Municipality stood firm in that procedures were not followed as mandated by the NHRA due to the property owner not applying for approval from the aesthetics committee (Grocott's Mail 2018). Grocott's Mail (2018) further highlighted that the municipality prompted the owner to restore the wall for them to be granted a certificate of ownership.

So, I think even with the case of the Grand Res.... suppose you're trying to build low-cost rental housing for students, the minute you put in an aircon, the rental price goes up. So, you stop being now low cost. So, take out the windows and make them affordable. The big challenge now is that it is all the red tape. At the end of the day, people are like, even if you're trying to add to the local economy, how can we do that? Because now you've essentially stopped us by putting all these hurdles in front of us. (#KI10)

Some key informants explained that because of the multitude of municipal issues and failure to enforce regulations, there had been instances where developers have been allowed to carry out whatever development they had without following guidelines. Therefore, setting precedence for the following property developer to carry out their plans without applying and adhering to regulations.

The point I was trying to make early on is that if the municipality, let's say this developer, gets approval, apart from all the complaints you will get, the problem now is that they've set a precedent. This means Tom can come from afar and say okay, I also want this property, and I want to do what can't be done. And you said yesterday they could do it. What changed? (#KI9)

The general issue regarding the conservation-development dilemma, as highlighted by several respondents, is who decides what elements of the history are worth preserving, what makes them valuable and at what cost does this come in terms of propelling economic development growth in Makhanda. Due to a lack of municipal oversight, there was limited building development enforcement. One respondent mentioned that while these buildings were culturally valuable, how valuable could they be if so many contractors in town were unclear on fixing features as simple as sash windows, which are integral parts of the façade of many a building? He noted the financial implications of improving historic home features given the limited expertise in town and what this meant for his clients who merely wanted to make their properties functional. Interviews with homeowners also corroborated this. When asked, several homeowners highlighted the challenges they have had to deal with when trying to maintain and develop their properties, ranging from a lack of expertise to financial implications and functionality issues.

..... and then the builders don't know about sash windows. Oh, geez. Sash windows. Oh, they're gorgeous and so authentic, but they are a pain. You need to know how the mechanisms work. But, you know, when they do renovations, they paint them shiny and then sand them down or take the whole thing out, but it's still crucial. (#HO4)

When asked about the skill level of local builders and tradespeople, most homeowners noted the lack of skill in the city. One homeowner indicated that in the last fifty years, tradespeople and owners had lost touch with maintaining the historical integrity of historic buildings. As a result, new current techniques are not aligned with historic home building standards. This makes it challenging to find those skilled in working with historic homes and affordable enough to where it makes financial sense to developers and homeowners.

What's happened is, in the last 50 years, many tradesmen and owners have lost touch with what is required to keep the integrity of historic properties.... You know, the old building methods have not been necessarily in sync with the type of methods and construction needed to keep up to date... they're not compatible.

5.2.6 Homeowner Perceived Threats and Experiences with PBHERs

Considering the abovementioned issues, the following section delves into historic homeowners' experiences. Further highlighting the challenges these homeowners face when dealing with their properties and how this contributes to local challenges in built-environment heritage resource management.

This section examines and presents the experiences of homeowners in owning a historic home and how local issues affect home maintenance. Discussions with homeowners highlighted several challenges when dealing with historic homes, ranging from high maintenance costs, tedious process of getting approval, poor skills in preservation at the contractor level and issues with by-laws. Interviewees noted several problems when dealing with local contractors when looking to maintain properties or deal with house issues. They were often quoted with exorbitant fees, or the contractor knew nothing about approaching older buildings. As discussed above, current approaches to historic homes differ significantly from techniques previously used for historic buildings. Therefore, proposed solutions have consistently been to rip these features up and update them to more modern standards, which are quicker and easier to complete. This undermines the primary reasons why property owners would have purchased the home for its architectural and aesthetic value. One homeowner highlighted that dealing with historic homes was similar to opening a can of worms where

solving one problem uncovered the next, making maintenance and renovation expensive for homeowners.

So, when it rains and because the houses are not using current foundation technology, a lot of moisture becomes retained in them. Anyways, when we want to try painting this house or this room, there needs to be chipping off or plaster to rebuild the wall before you can paint. They are going to be cracked. It has become quite expensive to do every room and thing in my house, for instance. (#HO5)

HO5 further adds that they have subsequently had to spend excessive amounts of money they had to spend on tools to take home improvements themselves due to a lack of skill in understanding historic building processes and guidelines.

I have spent a ridiculous amount on investing tools for the past two years because none of the contractors I could source has been able to do the work properly. I've sought everybody from those associated with the Master Builders Association up to the guy knocking on my door asking for a job, trying to figure out who's the best person. Most of them follow modern techniques and processes, which is fine. But unfortunately, you need to have an understanding of older properties. As you said, you need to understand these types of houses. (#HO5)

The problem of expertise adds to the money needed to maintain these homes. Contractor charges are exceedingly exorbitant and ultimately unsustainable due to the lack of knowledge in the preservation industry. Given the town's size and the scarcity of contractors, assistance is frequently unavailable. Many respondents chose, as a result, to either acquire knowledge in other locations, remove outdated features, wait it out till they could source skilled individuals or make the difficult decision to educate themselves so they could make the changes on their own.

Most homeowners were unsure what changes they could make to historic homes when asked whether they understood what was expected of them regarding legislation and by-laws. This was primarily due to a lack of awareness from poor knowledge dissemination from the various government bodies. Even though several homeowners acknowledged that they were aware there were limits, they were unsure of the specifics of what was permitted and forbidden for the type of property they were considering. Interviewees responded in various ways when asked if the different role players had been helpful. While some people mentioned they had to ask about people they knew might be able to help, they were often merely confronted with a shortage of information. When presented with the conservation guidelines created by Prof

Dennis Radford, most were unaware of their existence and the techniques suggested in the guidelines. They noted that information on the age of their homes, conservation guidelines, historical reports, and house plans were not readily available. Many emphasized that the function of estate agents should be to disseminate this information when buying these historic homes. If they had been made aware of their obligations, it would have been advantageous for them to proceed with the general upkeep of these homes. When shown the guidelines, a homeowner responded that it would have been informative and helpful if they had been shown during the home-buying process.

But I suppose that is the information you expect to find in a book like this, and if somebody when I purchased my house, or before I assigned them mine, gave me this to say, here are some things to consider, you know, that would have been very informative. I was forewarned about what to expect versus having a real estate agent laying down my neck to sign the document and push the sale through without a real understanding of how to maintain and go about all that stuff. (#HO6)

5.3 Opportunities for Conservation and Use of Built-Environment Heritage Resources of Makhanda.

Six major themes emerged from the analysis of the interviews performed to identify prospects for the use of PBEHRS in Makhanda. These themes include decentralization of the conservation area, tourism, institutional development and skills development, knowledge dissemination, integration of all heritage types and community education. All these themes must be combined to manage heritage successfully not separately. A homeowner's description of the interconnectedness of the heritage space with other features of the community as an ecosystem echoed this viewpoint.

....your economy, history, aesthetics, or tourist wise.....it's an ecosystem. And it is hard to separate some aspects of the urban fabric from others. So, the economy is hard to isolate from the social dynamics in the architecture and the built environment. (#HO2)

5.3.1 Institutional and Skills Development

When discussing the potential use of PBEHRS to benefit the community, there were several suggestions on how institutions could be developed to enhance their functionality and better service delivery. The first recommendation was to create an accurate inventory of the PBEHRS before creating a bylaw for history and aesthetics. This would enable managing these resources more effectively and streamline the localized understanding of the due procedure. The improved maintenance of PBEHRS will also depend on increasing support from the different role-players, which is essential from the homeowner's viewpoint. The following enhancements were suggested: transparency from real estate agents when selling properties, educating buyers on the criteria and rules to follow when purchasing historic properties, and improved community outreach by the municipality. As a result of the limited dissemination of knowledge from the various role-players (municipality and estate agents), it was noted that it is vital that all knowledge-sharing interventions come from estate agents and the municipality to equip homeowners with knowledge of guidelines. The dissemination of information would educate homeowners and developers on expectations, allow them to make informed decisions, and create awareness of heritage space issues.

Another suggestion from KI1 was to utilize CWP and EPWP employees to help with heritage management issues. The Community Work Programme (CWP) is a government initiative to offer qualified residents of target communities a minimum number of regular days of work each month as a safety net for employment (South African Government, 2016). The EPWP is another initiative to generate employment opportunities in the infrastructure, non-state, environment, and social and cultural sectors (South African Government, 2018). These employees could be used as the "boots on the ground" to solve many heritage challenges. This course of action would use funds already allocated and would not require acquiring more financing by using what is already in the system. KI1 noted the example of the Steve Biko Museum, which hired CWP and EPWP employees through private and government funding to handle the administration and maintenance of the museum.

The Steve Biko Museum was an excellent model of using government job creation funds to hire people. They hired 50 local people to work with their museum to do some building, grounds, and maintenance and all that community work programme with the government paying their salaries. Yeah, they had to tell them what to do and supervise them. Then I think they hired another 20 people for more professional administering and managing it. How did they get funding? I think a lot of it was private, EPWP or CWP employees who were doing community work already. (#KI1)

A similar strategy was used after the peak of the Covid-19 pandemic, where unemployed graduates were employed as heritage trackers. One of the positive consequences of the pandemic was the government's investment in a youth employment program, which included hiring recent graduates to work as heritage field trackers and adding to the database of heritage sites. The primary objective was to visit, photograph, describe, and add to the heritage database, which is part of creating records of all available heritage resources. It could also be applied to those who had not completed additional education to ensure that all acquired knowledge was quickly shared with the community.

I mean, one of the positive outcomes of the pandemic was an investment by the government into a kind of youth employment program, which included, you know, hiring recent graduates to work as kind of heritage field trackers to add to the database of heritage sites. (#KI5)

When discussing possible strategies and all previous projects, it was noted that funders highlighted the importance of sustainability whenever the funding is applied due to the need for continued administration and payment of staff. KI1 indicated that for projects to appeal to funders, they need clear objectives and some layer of government willing to accept overall responsibility. KI11, the former director of Makana Tourism (2021), highlighted the issue of project sustainability when detailing previous projects run by Makana Tourism. She stressed that there was limited funding for initiatives because there were poor investments by the various role players and communities to ensure project sustainability.

I mean, the official thing that grounded that project was the funders said, the plans that you have for this project or not, are not showing it as sustainable.....who's going to pay for the staff to keep the place functioning and that is very important. And basically, it comes back to unless some layer of government is willing to accept the responsibility. It will not happen, and I'll just keep knocking on doors to get crowdfunding. (#KI1)

Several key informants noted that the various institutions responsible for protecting local history must mobilize heritage assets to address socio-economic challenges. The strategies to address these issues must be enriched by the community, not imposed. Community members felt forced and alienated due to the failure to advance these goals inside the community. Due to municipal failure, this can be accomplished locally by building relationships with the district, enhancing communication, making information freely accessible, and being open to suggestions for future courses of action. Several key informants noted that the local

community's involvement in heritage planning would aid in maintaining ongoing communication between the government and society, allowing for implementing a coordinated/integrated strategy and resolving conflicts. It also aids in creating a network where training and awareness-raising may occur and make the most effective use of resources. Community participation would propel more minor issues that local government may not know of due to focus on other pressing issues. KI8 mentioned for this to occur successfully, municipal staff, from the building inspector to the aesthetics committee, needed to be proactive and interested in enforcing compliance and driving community participation.

First of all, your municipal staff need to be on top of the game. The municipal building control officers and building inspectors need to be interested in what they're doing. That's the first thing. You've also got to have the architectural people interested in heritage, not because they want to look after our old building, but because they want to comply with things. (KI8)

It was suggested by homeowners and key informants that estate agents must provide guidelines and assistance for dealing with historic homes, which is particularly crucial at the stakeholder and homeowner levels. A homeowner suggested disseminating information through an information pack to tackle poor information dissemination. Another suggestion was the establishment within the municipality of a point person who would be tasked with consulting and providing community members with information on buildings in Makhanda. This would make it easier for homeowners and prospective buyers to find out what the guidelines are, the history of various buildings and the engagement of homeowners with the different role players.

I think the first step would be just information. I guess from the municipality's point of view, maybe the first step is to engage with estate agents because, for the most part, they're the ones selling the houses. So, if they sell a house of a certain age, and it's on that list of ABC, then they could have an information pack that goes along with that house.... and make sure that people understand the history of that house. I don't know if that would undermine or improve sales, but I think it could improve sales because people looking at all the houses often look for that kind of historical change. So, I think that would be to their benefit as well.... If there was a person at the municipality who would be like a point person, you could go to that person and say, "This is what I'm thinking of doing. Can you advise?" or just someone to be a consulting sort of person who can

also facilitate discussions between the municipality, homeowners and maybe estate agents? (#HO3)

There were also numerous recommendations for forming a centralized database or list of qualified contractors that would be useful for homeowners looking to change their homes. This database would list local contractors, consultants, guidelines, and tradespeople dealing with historic homes or buildings. Homeowners could then contact those specializing in specific elements in historic home maintenance and renovations, making the process easier for homeowners to find skilled personnel.

5.3.2 Conservation Areas

When discussing the conservation area and its limitations on the further development of buildings and urban space. It was suggested that because of the sheer size of the current conservation area, it would be beneficial to decentralize it and instead create numerous conservation areas across the town. This would allow regions outside of these areas to be developed. According to those who were interviewed, this strategy would enable additional investment for the community.

KI2 further explained that trade-offs for development would be crucial; however, the approach would need enforcement to ensure that architectural elements of importance are not destroyed. Figure 5.14 provides one example of developers modernizing properties in a way that would add to the local economy: The Pick n Pay store on Bathurst Street. However, this development was not without controversy, with Makana Municipality's town planners and the provincial heritage authority claiming they are resolved to put more robust processes in place to balance the competing values of preservation and development (Grocott's Mail 2018). This came about when worried locals questioned the legitimacy of the construction projects. Since the structure predates 60 years, it is protected by the NHRA and may be found on the Makhanda map from 1824. The building's developer emphasized that all legal procedures had been followed with approval from the PHRA and that the exterior façade would be preserved even while the rest of the structure was changed (Grocott's Mail 2018). While the process had many worries initially, the developer has tried to maintain the façade of the original building. The other example illustrated in Figure 5.15 was 38 Somerset Street, which is currently the location of Major Fraser's and the Barista. KI2 noted the mural outside this location is the most photographed location in Makhanda. It proves how historic buildings could be modernized to appeal to various community members.

It further detailed that this would be considered a transgression in the eyes of a purist. However, allowing trade-offs for modernising historic buildings sympathetically could also propel local tourism and impetus to maintain historic buildings. While murals on historic buildings are discouraged, murals like those at 38 Somerset Street could be utilized to revive the overall streetscapes, thus increasing engagement with these spaces.

So, I would also say, you know, something that's fascinated me, if you look at Major Fraser's and The Barista, there's that mural on the wall. Now, I think that the mural is probably one of the most photographed spots in Makhanda. A purist would say, how can you paint this on the wall? You know, there should be heritage behind why. But I think if we modernize it a lot.... You know, using technology and saying, you know, take a picture outside here, et cetera, et cetera, grows, and that will develop tourism and drive the rationale for the upkeep of these buildings. (#KI2)



Figure 5.13: Pick n Pay in Bathurst Street before and after construction (Grahamstown Eye, 2019).



Figure 5.14: Opposite the arch mural at the corner of Somerset and High Street. (The Barista, 2020).

5.3.3 Tourism

Some respondents from both key informants and homeowners emphasized that the other opportunity to propel PBEHRs would be appealing to a range of customers. These PBEHRs could then be leveraged for regional tourism. For tourism approaches to be representative of and attractive to all target markets, they were suggested to incorporate the township for them to be fully realized. KI11 stated that several previous projects failed because they were heavily focused on the western side of town, with very few aimed toward the township.

Another proposed idea by KI1 was that tourist strategies must include tangible and intangible heritage. In this approach, the intangible would not merely exist as empty spaces but also give life to the physical.

We need to diversify all people's history in the city and integrate the intangible because a lot of knowledge has been lost and is continuously lost over time. A lot of heritage has been lost over generations, and there needs to be the intermingling of both the tangible and intangible because so many other offerings are not highlighted. We need to enhance the sharing of traditions through literature and knowledge sharing. (#KI11)

KI11 stated that there is a shortage of qualified tour guides and that local tour guides' skills must be developed. KI7 also addressed that although ECParks provided tour guides with training, moving ahead, tour guides must be provided with context-specific training.

Any form of tourism must also be creative and open to a wide range of demographic groups. The problem of heritage talent transfer is a crucial component of a strong heritage conservation plan that nurtures and safeguards both tangible and intangible assets. Many ways were suggested that skills transfer can happen, such as apprenticeships, where young people can learn the trade from an experienced artisan.

A successful heritage conservation strategy should support overarching development objectives like lowering poverty and generating money, which can be achieved through tourism. KI2 noted the generation of a multifaceted heritage route, festival or events centred around heritage would lead to the production of jobs. These jobs could go directly through the heritage program (for instance, through construction or archaeological digs) or indirectly through support services (for example, in shops, restaurants, hotels for visitors, etc.).

So, the statistical definition of a tourist is anyone outside the normal residence for more than 24 hours. So, every student from the outside and scholar from the outside is, in fact, a tourist. We are not tourist-centric. So, if you walk around Graaff Reinet, it's beautiful and clean that they preserve the heritage, and the owners preserve their heritage. But I think a heritage tour and a heritage route would be useful. And it's just a matter of going and having a look at it. (#KI2)

5.3.4 Community Education

Most key informants talked about the importance of educating the local population so that they may comprehend their own historical cultures, how their cultural heritage has changed over time, and the importance of preserving heritage and increasing awareness. Students would learn about heritage resources since they connect the past to the present, which is crucial in citizen education. In conversations, KI3 brought up the necessity of education, particularly in the township, to raise community members' understanding of tradition and their value in understanding history. KI7 agreed that community members need to be educated on the importance of heritage to comprehend the function of heritage projects.

Education is one of the important things that need to be done, you know, people need to be educated. There needs to be more of these cultural events, storytelling and performances.... people can see and hear the message of the story behind their history and culture....in Makhanda, there is a lack of education in the community. (#KI3)

KI1 highlighted that there is hope that community education will happen as significant societal shifts toward a knowledge economy have occurred. She noted that there still needed to be a transformation in approaches to history, but there is hope that things are changing.

I mean, there's, for me, there's some hope that we're entering a stage of this talk about a knowledge economy. There are people who understand that we still have to undo all of those old-fashioned ways of doing things. And there might be ways to spread the information, spread the ideas, and get it to get information out. (#KI1)

KI1 highlighted the significance of knowledge sharing from the youth to the old, which could propel community education. She noted the role that events within these heritage spaces had the potential to disseminate and share knowledge that would not have been readily available to a range of demographic groups. In conversation, she addressed the role of the Makana Freedom Festival, where cannons were fired, simulated battles were re-enacted, and traditional singing and dancing occurred in honour of the memories and contributions of the local struggle hero Makhanda ka-Nxele, popularly known as Makana. Surprisingly, when she later went to local schools and asked about elements of local history, students answered readily, informing her these were all lessons they had learnt at this festival.

..... On Freedom Day, a big event was held on the field with a marquee up. They invited me, the community, and traditional leaders...they would reenact the Battle of Grahamstown. At another stage, they got the 6th South African Infantry Battalion involved to come and have this little sort of reconciliation between the British and the Xhosa. There would be performances and food, and it was a big event, the Makhanda Freedom Festival. Anyway, after that, I had a satisfactory experience once going to talk to a bunch of school kids, and I asked them something like, you know: "You know what Rhini stands for?". All the hands went up, and I asked them how they knew everything. They responded that they knew all this was because they went to the Freedom Festival. So, to have that gratifying moment to see that, knowing that public education made an impact, it worked. (#KI1)

5.3.5 Inclusive Heritage Approach

Another theme that emerged in interviews was the need for an inclusive approach to heritage that addressed both historical contestation and representation issues. One proposed way was intermingling intangible heritage with the tangible, where oral histories and traditions, storytelling, traditional skills, social habits, and rituals brought life into the immovable heritage.

KI5 proposed that instead of having “stuck spaces” which she referred to as spaces that lacked vibrancy and were merely places of preservation, these spaces could be opened to collectives like ILAM to bring life back to these sites. KI4 echoed this by using the example of Amazwi South Africa Museum of Literature, which moved in 2016 from its previous location in Beaufort Street, a listed PBEHRS and new premises in Worcester Street. This space is mandated for collecting literary artefacts relating to South African languages. Spaces like Amazwi have been excellent in adapting the intangible.

We have these incredible buildings, and some of them, like the Albany Museum, in particular, strike me as incredibly stagnant, yet there are these energy hubs. I didn't mention it in my last thing, but also spaces like the Black Power Station on the west side of town, you know, Black Power Station, a building takeover for a month. You know, there are so many ways that the stuck places can be brought to life again, not through working with what's already there because that's dead but by opening the doors for what is alive, moving through the city.
(#KI5)

Secondly, when discussing the inclusivity of current standards in heritage management of PBEHRS in Makhanda, it was highlighted that for approaches to be successful, they needed to integrate the township and harness their local history for it to be representative. KI3 noted this in discussions in that the township is overlooked, and there is a huge opportunity given how much the east contributes to the population of Makhanda. He noted that there needed to be a mix of heritage approaches that would appeal to various age groups. Furthermore, an inclusive approach also includes increasing buy-in from the community, as their interest in the community is seen in the railway station example that shows that many people in the local community care. Also, the homeowners interviewed chose to live in older houses because they loved them, were interested in their history, and loved the aesthetics, indicating a latent appreciation of historical buildings.

Conclusion

This chapter aimed to understand the local context of heritage resource management in Makhanda. This was fulfilled through three objectives: developing an accurate and detailed inventory of built environment heritage resources, investigating the challenges to the management of heritage resources and the opportunity for better heritage management in Makhanda. This provided insight into how local dynamics and tensions affect local heritage management in Makhanda and further highlighted the efficacy of policy in achieving this.

The spatial analysis established the spatial distribution of PBEHRs, types of PBEHRs, concentration and distribution of PBEHRs in the conservation. Spatial analysis revealed two distinct clusters of heritage resource types in the CBD and Artificer's Square. Field survey analyses were conducted to better understand building dates, gazette dates, maintenance status, building use, occupancy, and significance. This analysis found that the last site declared was in the late 1990s, and there has been a sharp reduction in the number of sites declared.

In the localised context, findings illustrated several challenges affecting local heritage management, centring mainly on the balance between heritage resource management and urban management. While the legislation and policy are there, findings showed that the enforcement of this legislation by the various role-players is poor and puts these resources at risk. The results further highlighted that the links between legislation and policy and governance and management are broken, resulting in an imbalance within the local context. This imbalance resulted in some of the threats key informants and homeowners highlighted. The identified challenges were a poor acknowledgement of the nuances in local history, the effectiveness of legislation, governance and management issues, conflicting demands for social services and urban development, and building maintenance.

The opportunities for better management of PBEHRS in Makhanda were examined in interviews. Various opportunities and improvements were recommended to improve local heritage management applicable to government agencies and the local community. One of the most important recommendations was to leverage these locations as catalysts for tourism, but this needed to be done in an imaginative and empathetic way. Information sharing among the community and different role players, community education, institutional development through skill development, the incorporation of intangible heritage, and the township were some further proposals. All strategies must be localized and community-enriched to improve these resources for better heritage management.

The use of regional heritage resources to foster sentiments of pride and belonging is a crucial factor in a community's well-being. This must be promoted by targeted activity that meets the community's social, environmental, and economic needs. To meet these objectives, heritage conservation measures should be developed, making it a crucial component of the area's growth (for example, job creation, education, income generation, etc.). These findings will be discussed and contextualised in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Introduction

In South Africa, built environment heritage conservation in the urban context has received little attention in the form of geographic literature that focuses on a local scale. This study has filled this gap by identifying the threats and opportunities in conserving built environment heritage resources in the small city of Makhanda. This chapter discusses the findings of these studies within the local geographic context and the context of existing academic literature.

The project is framed within the interplay between heritage resource management and broader urban management in post-colonial and post-apartheid South Africa's heritage sector. The arguments presented in this chapter will demonstrate how effective heritage resource conservation not only aids in preserving and safeguarding built environment heritage resources but also in revitalizing local economies, instilling a sense of identity, pride, and belonging in residents. It will argue for the vital role of effective governance in successfully managing heritage resources.

To better contextualise the following discussion, a conceptual model (Figure 6.1) is proposed to understand the local context of heritage resource management in Makhanda. This model summarises the key findings in line with the study's objectives and establishes one of the significant issues within Makhanda's heritage space in the relationship between Urban Management (UM) and Heritage Resource Management (HRM). Figure 6.1 highlights the critical role players, legislation and policy, and the role of governance and management in managing heritage resources in the localised context of heritage in Makhanda. The following subsections will address each of the objectives. Section 6.1 discusses the results of the field survey and spatial analysis. Section 6.2 and 6.3 discusses the outcomes of the findings on the challenges and opportunities to better heritage management, with more detail in further subsections. This will provide insight into what is happening in practice through understanding the local context, dynamics, tensions, and potentials in Makhanda's heritage management, which will be contextualised using the conceptual model (Figure 6.1).

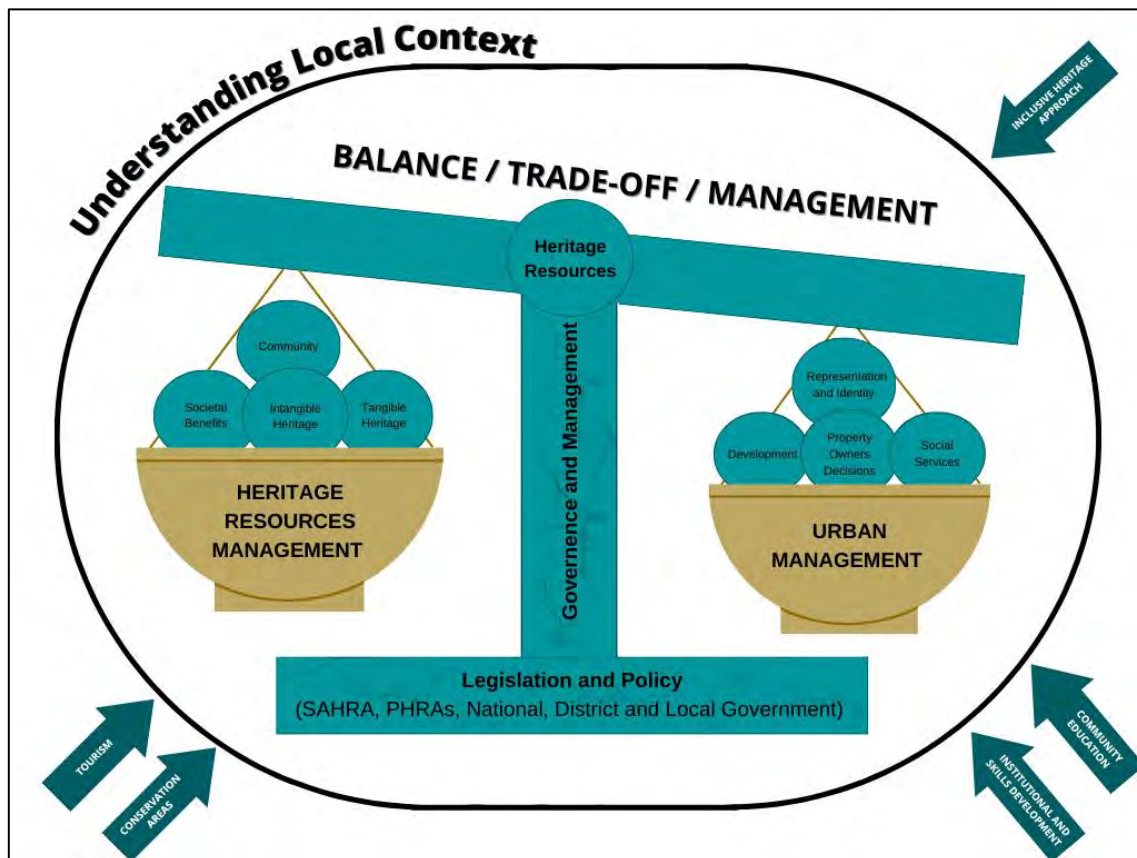


Figure 6.1: Conceptual model for understanding the local context of heritage resource management in Makhanda.

The base of the conceptual model holds the balance scale in place and is the foundation of the functioning of the scale. It represents legislation and policy supporting managing and conserving national, provincial, and local heritage resources. The primary purpose of this legislation and policy is to support effective management of the national heritage to empower and inspire communities to protect and nurture their cultural heritage for the benefit of coming generations. The base further highlights the various agencies' role in enforcing this legislation at multiple levels.

The fulcrum is at the top of the mechanism. This allows the horizontal bar to lean to the side of the scale with more weight representing the relationship between the items in the scale pans. Just as the fulcrum allows the balance to be shifted, successful urban management enables the opportunity for successful heritage resource management. Without balance in the local context, trade-offs between the two must be to achieve balance. The heritage resources that are being managed are represented by the fulcrum. Urban management allows for the sustained responsibility for actions to achieve objectives regarding urban areas, which are the locale for complex networks of activities essential to basic human living and working. In contrast, heritage resource management aims to ensure the viability, identification,

documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, and revitalization of heritage resources. These could be conceptualised as part of a whole urban management system but will be seen as separate for the sake of the illustrated point.

The balance of the scale is determined by the weight placed in each scale pan. The weights represent each contributor to management processes in Makhanda. Each contributor determines the balance style with contributors associated with a sustainable and successful management strategy. Contributors to heritage resource management in the context of Makhanda include the integration of both tangible and intangible heritage, establishing the role of the community and how heritage resources can be utilised for societal benefits. Contributions to urban management in this context include understanding the role of development, decision-making processes at the property owner level, representation and identity and the provision of social services.

Finally, various opportunities represented as arrows exist in using or managing heritage resources that can generate balance within this localised system. These opportunities include sustainable tourism, decentralisation of the conservation area, increased community education to foster informed decision-making and involvement, an inclusive heritage approach and institutional and skills development at various levels.

6.1 Inventory of Makhanda's Built-Environment Heritage

This section provides a critical discussion of the findings and initial analysis when set against the existing literature, as discussed in Chapter 2. This research aimed to examine the conservation and management of Makhanda's built environment heritage resources by establishing an inventory of these resources, the various threats to their conservation, and potential opportunities for their use locally.

As noted in Chapter 2, a vast body of literature already exists that demonstrates the power of inventories and their role as tools for successful heritage resource management. Scholars such as Buchanan and Donaldson (2020), Agapiou et al. (2014), Comer (2004), Callegari (2003), and Capra et al. (2002) have demonstrated that heritage inventories could take various forms. Several international accords and recommendations reference the importance of heritage inventories (Meyers, 2016). Even though they may not be utilised in the same format globally, they have tremendous power to influence the heritage management process. This view is shared locally in Makana Municipality's IDP (2021), highlighting the municipality's obligation to adhere to the NHRA and make heritage considerations at the provincial and local

levels. Particularly significant is the municipality's requirement to prepare a comprehensive heritage inventory per Section 30(5) of the National Heritage Resources Act, 1999 (Act 25 of 1999).

Makana Municipality has not maintained such an inventory, and it is also worth noting that the municipality's heritage resource includes not only built environment heritage resources and urban precincts but also intangible heritage resources (Makana Municipality, 2021). Fundamentally, knowledge of existing resources is crucial to their cultural heritage management. This knowledge fosters a better understanding of the nature and scope of resources, allowing for better management.

Despite Prof Dennis Radford having carried out a conservation study commissioned by the Grahamstown City Council in 1987, there has not been an update to this study to determine changes in the classification of buildings since the fieldwork was carried out. Unfortunately, MM failed to use these reports effectively in enforcing and monitoring local heritage despite having access to them and using them when handling applications requiring their approval or recommendation to the PHRA. Myers (2016) highlights that short-term investment can be beneficial in conducting heritage surveys or creating a heritage inventory. This research contends that no matter how well-resourced an inventory may be, these projects must be sustained long-term to ensure they do not become obsolete. As established in Chapter 2, spatial technologies have proven to be instrumental as a critical infrastructure component that is becoming more important for national and municipal authorities in charge of managing cultural resources (Petrescu, 2007). In addition to the well-known pioneering example in Italy, more and more nations (including the United Kingdom, Australia, Romania, and South Africa) are beginning to embrace GIS as a crucial infrastructure component in maintaining culture (Petrescu, 2007). While South Africa has an established database (SAHRIS) of these heritage resources, there has been poor uptake of the integrated system by PHRAs and has resulted in the seemingly limited impact of the system on South African heritage management (Smuts et al., 2016)

Building on the foundation of previous research, field survey findings correlated with the interview findings to allow for a better understanding of the local context. The quantitative illustrated several features of the heritage resources of Makhanda. Results established 72 PBHER sites in Makhanda, with 75% found within the conservation area and 25% outside of this area. This is particularly important as many sites outside this area have been neglected, except those on Rhodes University Campus. Within Makhanda's urban footprint, the Rhodes University Campus has the most significant single ownership footprint. However, it does not

fall under the conservation area despite 17% of PBEHRs being located here. While their Grade II rating protects them, these are at risk. As such, the municipality needs to consider updating the current demarcation of the conservation area or developing, like in many municipalities of the Western Cape, a heritage protection overlay zone (Buchanan & Donaldson, 2020). This links urban planning and heritage management effectively, allowing for more synchronous heritage management within urban contexts. In developing this heritage overlay zone, inventories like the one developed in this research are effectively used to take stock of existing resources and develop appropriate management tools and by-laws.

Makhanda's place identity is currently being eroded by the various threats provided in Chapter 5. This, therefore, threatens the two significant clusters (Church Square, Artificer's Square and Sunnyside regions) established from the density analysis. The centrality of these clusters and proximity within the historic centre is linked with the historical spatial development of the city. Those within the Church Square region are made up mainly of various businesses (24%) and institutional buildings (4%), and those in the Artificers Square are primarily residential buildings (33%). Regarding valuable properties, most surveyed properties were mainly found to be of architectural and historical significance. Research findings showed that the majority of Makhanda's built environment heritage resources are residential buildings (33%) and businesses (24%), followed by educational buildings (14%) and religious buildings (12%), with marginal contribution from public buildings (6%), institutional (4%), Albany Museum/business (3%), postal services (3%) and transport services (1%). Findings elucidated that the two clusters (Church Square and Artificers Square) identified relate to specific building types of a significant period in the city's history.

Given that a large portion of the PBEHERs is in the conservation area, Makana Municipality could identify the features that significantly contribute to the character of a heritage conservation area or the historic streetscapes exhibiting a reasonable level of integrity and date from a significant development period. The density analysis could potentially be used to identify these contributing structures. As a result, Church Square and Artificers Square's architectural, cultural, and contextual value adds to Makhanda's townscape. These townscapes could be developed using the Radford reports (1990) to develop various townscapes that contribute to the local sense of place. Townscapes, streetscapes, and all other components that influence and shape consumers' entire experiences are becoming more and more important (Veldpaus et al., 2013).

Townscape or streetscape development is instrumental in urban planning, cultural heritage tourism development and heritage development (Veldpaus et al., 2013). Therefore,

Makhanda's conservation management plan should consider townscape renovation projects regarding the pedestrian area, streetscape condition, and, primarily, the state of the historic buildings. The physical alteration to the ambience of the streets may inspire the neighbouring areas to improve the façade and outdoor gathering areas, bringing in additional tourists. From tourism development and place-making perspectives, this scenario aids in urban growth. It is a component of the success ascribed to enhancing the city's image, public perception of outdoor areas, and sense of place (Said & Ahmad Hamzah, 2020). However, these townscapes (locally and nationally) are under threat because of pressure from the property market and the development sector's impact, as they are directly linked with locations where conservation occurs. Thus, decisions are always influenced by various stakeholders and interests (Lesh, 2020). In the findings presented, this has been a recurring theme with competing directions and interests. Lesh (2020) contends it can be challenging to balance the whims of place within the confines of a property, especially when conflicting demands for a location's future are being made.

At the façade level, sites are generally in good (87%) and fair condition (10%), with a few exceptions in poor condition. One particular concern is the railway station in a state of ruin. The case of the railway station previously discussed in the findings demonstrates local resilience and local citizens' role in advocating for the city, ranging from water issues, service delivery and even protection of local heritage. Strategies like the one proposed in Mahomed (Grocott's Mail 2010) and Makana Municipality's findings for adaptive reuse of cultural heritage are instrumental in extending the life of cultural heritage resources. However, this can only be done successfully with proper heritage management and knowledge of conservation policies/approaches. Findings from the study support the literature insofar as there is a strong positive link between the adaptive reuse of heritage sites and the sustainability of heritage resources (Langston & Shen, 2007; Misirlisoy & Günce, 2016; Gravagnuolo et al., 2017; Lynch, 2022). This can be seen in various sites throughout the city that have been repurposed from original use. The study includes Old Provost (currently a coffee shop) Grocott's Mail Building (now a pharmacy, health, and beauty retailer), and several sites of military importance presently used for educational purposes at Rhodes University. However, it is also worth noting that adaptive reuse strategies can be beneficial for ensuring the sustainability of cultural heritage if this reuse is not contextualised within the local context and follows conservation guidelines. As previous literature notes, removing intrinsic heritage values that contribute to a sense of place and local identity with adaptive reuse schemes potentially endangers the city's historic fabric. (Lee & Chhabra, 2015; Murphy et al., 2011). Using these local examples, adaptive reuse initiatives could be vital in reviving endangered sites like the Railway station, even more so when 24% of heritage resources in the city are businesses. Still, any initiatives

need to be community-enriched, sustained long-term, fully committed by the various agencies, and driven by a private-public collaboration.

In many cases in South Africa, public-private collaborations have been instrumental in revitalizing and conserving heritage sites in cities such as Stellenbosch (Buchanan & Donaldson, 2020). Internationally, the United Kingdom has provided excellent examples of the power of these collaborative efforts in driving the conservation of heritage sites. Adaptive reuse of cultural heritage has been used in Makhanda as a restorative, regenerative, and sustainable conservation method. This has increased the lifespan of local heritage, fostered civic pride and responsibility, and protected cultural values for future generations. Cultural assets and landscapes may be reused in adaptive ways to meet the needs of social, economic, and cultural sustainability while also improving our quality of life. From a cultural standpoint, it preserves crucial facets of our cultural legacy and identity, reveals obscure or perhaps lost portions of our complex past, and contributes to scholarly inquiry.

This remains exclusionary, mainly regarding the distribution of these sites and whether they represent all citizens' collective heritage. Apart from the eGazini Memorial in Makhanda East (proclaimed in 2001), all the heritage resources are primarily located in Makhanda West (the former White group area) and have a colonial history. This correlates with the critical issues that SAHRA faces in trying to redress the neglect and disregard for the many facets of the heritage associated with non-white communities (Scheermeyer, 2005). Findings from the spatial analysis illustrate this skew towards colonial history as 100% of the built environment heritage resources are found in Makhanda West. One of the more alarming issues in the city is that there has been no proclamation of built environment heritage resources since the early 2000s. This indicates an alarming scenario with the municipality's failure to propose sites of provincial importance to the PHRA per its mandate. Further failure from the municipality to proclaim new sites or even update the Category A sites to heritage resources established in the Radford reports will severely destroy significant sites.

6.2 An Investigation of the Threats to Heritage Management in Makhanda

There are numerous obstacles that the various authorities need to overcome to safeguard heritage or exert any control over them successfully. Significant differences exist in the management of the built environment in Makhanda within the various agencies. This section

outlines the threats to built environment heritage in Makhanda, based on those in authority for their conservation. It is followed by a specific discussion of the conceptual model (Figure 6.1).

6.2.1 South Africa's Heritage Management Framework: A Three-Tiered System

This study in the preceding chapters has established the role of the various agencies responsible for cultural heritage management throughout the world and in South Africa. The various agencies' roles were established and analysed in this study's context. Furthermore, it established the various role players within the Makhanda context by analysing South Africa's three-tiered heritage management framework (Chapters 2 and 4). The discussion addresses the role of each heritage body responsible and relates this to the threats established in the findings of this study.

6.2.1.1 National Government: The South African Heritage Resources and the Role of Legislation

Many nations worldwide, including South Africa, have legislation and regulatory frameworks to ensure historical preservation. Legislation formalizes institutional structures, establishes a regulatory framework, and specifies the obligations of various departments and agencies, with the primary goal being to safeguard heritage resources from various threats.

One concern emerged within the research findings regarding the effectiveness of legislation ensuring the preservation of the built environment heritage resources of Makhanda. Much like the literature, there has been a vast body of knowledge acknowledging this concern in the literature on the effectiveness of heritage legislation in South Africa (Ndlovu, 2011; Strecker & Taboada, 1999). Literature and research findings highlight that heritage legislation alone cannot guarantee heritage preservation. Still, effective action from the various agencies and proper governance structure with legislation can lead to the overall success of heritage management.

Results from this study further supported the literature in highlighting that legislation lays the foundation for heritage preservation. Several challenges may put heritage resources at risk. However, Donaldson (2005) argues that the tenets of legislation's success are its strength and the amount of political backing for heritage management. Amongst the challenges noted locally were communication issues between the various bodies, lack of funding, staff shortages and lack of community support. Furthermore, this acknowledges that while legislation may be a driver for heritage preservation, any legislation's effectiveness results from those responsible for its enforcement. The second issue compounding the enforcement

of South African legislation is the legacy of the legislation itself, which is post-colonial but rooted in colonial times. Ndlovu (2011) further notes that cultural heritage managers' top-down strategy has not led to sufficient success in heritage preservation. Findings from this study highlighted that the legislation needs to be transformative, updated to fit the current landscape, and based on the local. These were due to concern that the legislation is based on global standards and lacked understanding of the country's tumultuous history.

The primary function of SAHRA is to guide on issues relating to the built environment, cultural landscapes, and cultural places of heritage significance to the Provincial Heritage Resources Authorities (PHRA) and Local Authorities (municipalities). In line with this mandate, SAHRA or the public can nominate sites of heritage significance. Whether this lack of update to the proclamation of sites is due to a lack of nomination from the public or SAHRA is unclear. This study found that SAHRA representatives have visited Makhanda and provided insight into sites through various reports and visits. There has still been limited involvement of the national body in Makhanda. One key informant noted that there had been a promise to proclaim a site in Makhanda East to date, but this is yet to be seen. It is, therefore, vital for SAHRA to ensure it oversees regulation enforcement, especially at the local level, provides guidance to PHRAs and local authorities and enables communication between the various agencies and the public.

6.2.1.2 Provincial Government: Provincial Heritage Resources Authority

This research acknowledges that each national, provincial, and local authority faces numerous obstacles that prevent them from adequately protecting history or exercising any control over it.

The research findings have shown that ECPHRA heritage conservation in Makhanda and the Eastern Cape is failing with a PHRA that is ineffectively handling permit and development applications process promptly and failing to declare new heritage sites per its mandate. It has not conducted heritage assessments, grading, or competence evaluations, which are crucial for holding local authorities accountable for heritage conservation policies. Additionally, the absence of a thorough register of all permits issued by the permit committee hindered appeals and legal actions brought against the authority. This failure is not limited to the organisation's relationships with external structures, but there are also several issues with the staff who are grappling with several internal issues. These issues range from poor management, infighting, miscommunication, mismanagement of funds and capacity issues given the scope of work. Similar issues are seen in Clydesdale, Bo-Kaap and Stellenbosch (Donaldson, 2001; Donaldson et al., 2013; Buchanan & Donaldson, 2021; Kruger & Donaldson, 2021).

The above issues have contributed to the PHRA's inability to declare new sites in the province, which can be seen in the study in that there has been a limited declaration of heritage resources since 2000 in Makhanda. This was the case in Makhanda East and West, where the last proclaimed heritage resource was the eGazini memorial. organisation

The ECPHRA's enforcement of its heritage protection policies is lacking within the Eastern Cape. During the data collection process, no one from ECPHRA could be reached despite several attempts to acquire their perspective on those working within the PHRA to identify internal and systemic concerns. Secondary sources and discussions with key informants provided insight into the failures of the PHRA Makhanda. The conclusions presented are based on secondary sources and key informant encounters with the PHRA and secondary sources that regularly deal with the PHRA. The timelines for application clearance processes for developing and restoring built-environment heritage resources have recently been scrutinised. There was a persistent concern that the waiting times were excessively long and that it would cost too much money to go from Makhanda to the Eastern Cape office to check the status of applications, considering the distance between the two locations. Where municipalities do not function or are competent in heritage conservation, interactions with the property owner or developers are complicated financially and logistically. This illustrates that interactions with property owners or developers are highly challenging financially and logistically, where municipalities are neither functional nor competent in heritage conservation. While these issues occur at the provincial level, their effects are far-reaching. This has resulted in stalled development, inaccurate approval, and poor management of Grade II heritage resources. Some examples locally include the railway station, 2A Somerset Street, 38 Somerset Street and 68 Bathurst Street, discussed in previous sections. A lack of intervention from the various agencies and stakeholders could threaten provincial heritage.

This study found a link between the PHRA's standards for municipalities and the current condition of local government activities for built heritage conservation. The NHRA and the PHRA stipulate that a competent municipality either already has a conservation area or has proposed one. A conservation area or multiple conservation areas have the advantage of developing within a defined area and protecting heritage resources. Multiple conservation areas may also include additional laws and regulations to encourage heritage and its conservation. When a municipality creates these conservation areas or heritage landscapes, there is a chance that it will eventually grow or incorporate other regions, creating numerous precincts. However, within MM, the conservation area has not been utilised effectively to aid local enforcement, policy development and management of urban development.

Steenkamp (2021) highlights some of the difficulties the provinces have in terms of people, skills, facilities, finance, and governance that have a bearing on the issues with the

decentralization of CHRM to the local level. Corsane (2004) and Benson and Prinsloo (2013) note other challenges, including the difficulty in creating integrated approaches that are inclusive and community-oriented and ensuring that there is good governance between it and local and provincial bodies. Other difficulties are noted by Corsane (2004) and Benson and Prinsloo (2013), such as how difficult it is to develop integrated strategies that are inclusive and community-oriented and how important it is to ensure effective governance between local and provincial bodies. This requires surpassing Eurocentric Western techniques and challenging conventional beliefs and managerial approaches. Consequently, due to any failures of the provincial body, ECPHRA needs to start decentralizing its current heritage conservation and management operations, allowing for a transfer of authority to local municipalities. However, this can only happen with municipalities that demonstrate competency in managing heritage resources for this authority to be given. In the case of municipalities like Makhanda, with a history of systematic failure in management and service delivery, the PHRA must have some autonomy for approval.

6.2.1.3 Local Authorities: The Role of Municipalities

Although this study has established Makana municipality does not currently have any by-laws or strategies targeting heritage protection, their IDP (2021) and SDF (2013) documents refer to heritage conservation and resource use. Steenkamp (2021) highlights municipalities need to be aware of the pertinent, firmly established legal rights and functions in this area if they are local to participate in CHRM actively. The NHRA provides a set of principles as its fundamental tenet to encourage and direct heritage authorities in carrying out their responsibility to safeguard cultural heritage resources. These are not utilised or unclear at the local municipality level. This means towns must follow the guidelines outlined in the NHRA when performing their duties. Beyond the difficulties faced by municipalities, it is stated that some of the difficulties encountered by PHRAs in accrediting local authorities may be related to the SAHRA and PHRA's inadequate application of Sections 8 and 23 of the NHRA (TheHeritagePortal, 2016). By utilising their firmly established legal authority under the Constitution, the Local Government: Municipal Systems Act (the Systems Act), and the NHRA, municipalities must protect cultural heritage treasures legally.

Historically, in Makhanda, heritage conservation priorities in the city and municipality have declined significantly in the last two decades. This decline has been linked to capacity issues, lack of skills in the staff, poor prioritisation of heritage and poor enforcement of policies coupled with municipal dysfunctionality. There is also little to no inclusion of any intangible heritage. As a result, it encourages the formation of policies within a standardized framework. It would

be wise for municipalities like Makana to formalize drafting or updating policy regarding heritage conservation at the local level, inclusive of all heritage. Challenges are also seen throughout the country in Clydesdale, Bo-Kaap and Stellenbosch (Donaldson, 2001; Donaldson et al., 2013; Buchanan & Donaldson, 2021; Kruger & Donaldson, 2021). It is integral that these policies utilise the local municipality's legal authority by the three mentioned tenets and further promote consultative processes with communities that are the direct shareholders in these shared resources. The NHRA mandates that the protection and administration of heritage resources be carried out at the lowest level of government. In this way, local governments are tasked with being catalysts for change. Additionally, the formation of spherical relationships between local governments and communities, including organisations, groups, and corporations, is advocated for by local municipalities.

Significantly, many people who care about heritage work in different parts of Makhanda. Given the difficulties, these people should form a group or organisation to promote reform in the local heritage sector. Although community organisations like the MRA and GBF have played a crucial role in promoting and advancing heritage programs, the focus is broad. As a result, societal concerns precede numerous serious risks to heritage protection and management change. Where such collaborations and avenues of communication between organisations exist, all parties benefit.

By doing this, local governments should create open lines of communication with community members and stakeholders, involving them in decisions affecting their shared cultural resources. Furthermore, solid relationships allow local governments to benefit from community assets like finance, volunteerism, or expertise. The restoration and stabilization of the Makhanda railway station 2014 demonstrated the significance of neighbourhood civic culture in driving cultural preservation and holding the government accountable. As a result, they play a crucial role in gathering information for heritage inventories, rating inventories, and offering expertise and information for places.

Our society is actively involved in achieving competing policy imperatives like health, housing, and education (Roodt, 2006). As a result, this prioritisation of other policy imperatives is seen in the conceptual model of the local context (Figure 6.1). The prioritisation of societal issues, service delivery, and development in the context of urban management has created an imbalance and has put heritage resources at risk. As such, Makana Municipality needs to address mismanagement and dysfunction in urban and heritage management. Without change at the top, civil organisations have no impetus to continue their work in maintaining the local sense of place.

6.2.2 Urban Management

Uncontrolled urban growth and its risks to cultural heritage have become a rising worry. Uncontrolled urban growth because of unsustainable land use brought on by population increase has given rise to complex spatial development issues that present opportunities and difficulties for decision-makers. Cultural heritage threats may worsen into permanent and irreparable harm due to variables like uncontrolled urban growth and poor governance. Much of which has threatened the local heritage management scene in Makhanda. This section presents these challenges related to urban management and how they pose a significant threat to managing Makhanda's cultural heritage.

6.2.2.1 Urban Development Challenges

South Africa is seeing a significant shift in the role of cities and alternative pathways for urban development in addressing societal issues such as poverty, unemployment, and sustainable development. The Integrated Urban Development Framework (2017) projects that by 2030, almost 71.3% will live in urban areas. It is, therefore, imperative that heritage resource management be integrated into urban management policies and practices. However, failures and dysfunction in the local municipality have failed to plan and maintain the urban fabric. According to (Hoefnagels et al., 2022), the city's fabric, which includes its historic architecture and infrastructure, creates a unique sense of place that the dysfunctional local government is unquestionably destroying. The municipality, as such, has effectively failed to manage urban spaces to safeguard Makhanda's sense of place and heritage resources. While the role of policy, legislation and development planning is acknowledged in government, there is a disconnect between the legislation and policy mandate and what is happening in the local context (Figure 6.1). Urban growth has been acknowledged as an accelerator of growth and regional development. The local government, local dynamics and tensions hamper urban and heritage management.

Coherent development strategies depend on integrated urban planning, which fosters a more logical layout and usage of urban areas directs investment decisions. It promotes the prudent use of land, cultural heritage conservation, and natural resources to create sustainable communities. Results from this study have illustrated fundamental failures because of flaws in government policies and programs and the country's spatial legacy. Prospects for South Africa's high unemployment rate to shift toward a more equitable and labour-absorptive economy will depend on how well metropolitan economies operate (Integrated Urban Development Framework, 2017).

This research contends that to undo the detrimental spatial, social, economic, and political effects of the apartheid city, South African authorities have reportedly been battling land management challenges since 1994 (Ovens et al., 2007). Some of the fundamental visions of the post-apartheid city were through the development of the work done by the National Housing Forum and then through various urban policy frameworks, legislation, and policies. These policies include the Development Facilitation Act, Housing White Paper, White Paper on Local Government, and the Reconstruction and Development Programme (Ovens et al., 2007).

At the municipal level, several policies, frameworks, and regulations exist regulating local urban planning and management. The overarching legislation and policy guidelines applied to land use management. Above and beyond these, the municipality is also responsible for undertaking non-negotiable core values identified in the Eastern Cape Provincial SDF to inform spatial planning and development.

Several cases have illustrated heritage resource management challenges in the city in balancing development and heritage conservation. Highlighting urban development, municipal issues and poor governance have led to significant issues in CHRM. These cases include the destruction of the house located at 2A Somerset Street in March of 2009, the development of the Super Spar in African Street and the broken High Street wall.

The cases provided above have highlighted the complex issues that threaten Makhanda's local development, which also, in many ways, pose significant threats to local heritage. Most of the developments proposed fall within the conservation area. This highlights the significant relationship between urban management and cultural heritage management processes that must be adhered to ensure CH's sustainability and the urban environment. These processes work with societal and urban management issues, shifting the focus from CHM.

6.2.2.2 Heritage Conservation: A Property Owners' Perspective

In literature, there is limited mention or acknowledgement of the property owner's perspective and the challenges they face to preserve their properties' historical significance. Limited research exploring how CHM policies and regulations affect property owners in the drive to maintain and improve their properties. Research findings have established many issues plaguing homeowners that hamper their ability to create liveable spaces. These include structural issues (foundation and roofing issues), property features that no longer comply with changed city by-laws and a lack of contractor skills when dealing with historic properties. These issues are further compounded by a lack of information on housing plans due to poor

recordkeeping from the municipality, inaccessible conservation guidelines and a municipality unwilling to readily help homeowners with information about property challenges.

Findings demonstrated the necessity for a thorough user guide or guidelines for recommendations for older homes, which must be the foundation for any integrated homeowner. While guidelines are available, they are not disseminated to homeowners. The availability of information on guidelines and policies allows homeowners to make informed decisions and be active participants in heritage management. There also needs to be sensitive craftsmanship, for which a good architect/builder relationship is usually essential. This would not only aid property owners in saving money due to the costs associated with repeated jobs due to a lack of skills from previous contractors, but it would also help with information sharing of the various guidelines through reputable channels.

Property owners' lack of information pertains to regulations and policies associated with their properties. While they were aware of the 60-year property rule, many were unclear on the processes and channels to go through when renovating. While they understood certain limits applied, they had little awareness of how to approach the various authorities. The only help they received was often from local architects and drafting technicians. As discussed above, in multiple cases, this dissatisfaction with municipal interactions went as far as local developers. They noted dissatisfaction with the municipal structure holding up projects that would boost the local economy.

Homeowners recommended that when developed, an inventory of local heritage should be shared publicly and accessible to all. To build trust between the municipality and residents, it was also recommended that information with guidelines relevant to conservation and maintenance be shared and not kept locked up and inaccessible to residents. It was also suggested that there needs to be a centralised database that details contractor specialisation and contact details due to local contractor skills issues. This way, homeowners could easily access contractors with the correct skills for their home issues.

6.3 Revival of Makhanda's Heritage and Potential for Development

Opportunities to advance Makhanda's heritage strategy in the direction of competency are presented considering the study's findings, highlighting the challenges faced within Makhanda. Given their unique conditions, cities with a rich cultural legacy, like Makhanda, need appropriate mechanisms to obtain control over their respective local heritage resources. While government agencies and numerous local organisations participating in heritage

management are the focus of the recommendations proposed in this section, they are not exclusive to these organisations.

Identifying connections between people and organisations today is getting more accessible but understanding how one organisation influences another still presents a particularly challenging issue. The ecosystem model is one approach that might be used to comprehend the risks, management issues, and community issues that affect the preservation of cultural heritage in metropolitan areas. This makes it possible to examine the actors and organisations that support cultural heritage management. Analysis of the impacts on various urban management aspects is also possible.

Cultural heritage management can be considered an ecosystem where cultural heritage resources are species and interact with other species (i.e., urban management and governmental processes). Although they may compete, they coexist in a setting with shared resources and policies. To succeed rather than fail is the overriding objective of cultural heritage management. Adopting the ecosystem model helps comprehend the context that mainly influences success and failure.

6.3.1 Inclusive Heritage Approach

This study has found that local authorities in Makhanda have not fully acknowledged the symbiotic relationship between community-enriched heritage management strategies built on cooperation between the municipalities and local communities. Understanding this inclusive management strategy balances citizen-led initiatives and official municipal activities. This is established in the growing concerns raised in this study by local community groups and activists, highlighting that projects they have previously undertaken have brought awareness to heritage conservation in Makhanda. However, these initiatives have been unsustainable because of a lack of community buy-in and limited involvement from local authorities. This lack of community buy-in is linked to general dissatisfaction with the municipality. Not only has the municipality failed to acknowledge the role played by civic organisations, but it also has not acknowledged that the community can help extend capacity.

Makana Municipality has experienced problems with governance, infrastructure, and service delivery over the previous ten years, according to Irvine (2020). This results from inefficient municipal government, which includes financial mismanagement, a lack of skill capacity, an overworked workforce, and a failure to maintain existing infrastructure. Additionally, Irvine (2020) reports a 2015 investigation of the municipality detailed in the Kabuso Report revealed several concerns, including misconduct, financial irregularities, and dubious employment practices. This further illustrates that these challenges that have resulted in the local

community are not limited to the heritage management space but reach all government services. Until such a time, heritage is utilised as a tool for regional development (Snowball & Courtney, 2010) and addressing socioeconomic issues, and there will be a low attachment from local communities. The findings demonstrated that although the community was aware of the heritage resource's economic, aesthetic, historical, symbolic, and informational values, they lacked sentimental attachment. Their restricted ability to actively engage and foster change in the government's heritage resource management and their limited ability to directly profit financially from the heritage resources to improve socioeconomic issues were the leading causes of their low attachment.

Therefore, it is imperative that in developing a socially sustainable cultural heritage management strategy, a balance is struck between the local authorities and communities associated with the cultural heritage. This involvement fosters a sense of ownership and participation within the community and might informally assign responsibility for conservation and preservation while allowing for sustainable development. The research found that success will be limited when homeowners invest in heritage without various authorities' support.

Secondly, the issue of heritage skill transfer is crucial to a successful heritage conservation strategy as it is central to promoting the nurturing and protection of both tangible and intangible assets. There are many ways that skill transfer can happen. These include, for instance, apprenticeship programs where local youth can learn the skills under the supervision of expert craftsmen, as well as academic research, scholarships, and other local learning and doing opportunities. In a country like South Africa, with high levels of unemployment, these skills transfer initiatives could be instrumental in driving job creation, safeguarding heritage resources and heritage skill transfer. These would play a significant role in supporting the local economy and protecting cultural resources. This skills transfer is achievable through collaborative efforts between government and local community groups. These skills transfers can happen in various formats and are not limited to built environment heritage. To be sustainable, these initiatives will need formalisation through local authorities in collaboration with skilled professionals.

Thirdly, an inclusive strategy also involves gaining community support, as evidenced by the example of the railway station, which demonstrates that many members of the community care. According to Donaldson (2005), there are a lot of small towns with informed residents who put in the time to change how municipalities think about conservation. Breedlove (2002) also suggests the creation of municipal advisory groups made up of community members who are engaged in historic conservation. While a local review panel (the aesthetics committee) has been established locally, it needs individuals knowledgeable about local heritage and interested in preserving historical values.

Finally, any cultural heritage management strategies in Makhanda must collectively prioritise tangible and intangible heritage resources. Notably, acknowledgements have been made in Makana Municipality documents (SDF and IDP) that all heritage management in Makhanda includes tangible and intangible heritage resources. This study found that alternatives to create this inclusivity in Makhanda would be to utilise intangible resources to bring back life into the built environment heritage resources. This would help shed light on the often-forgotten intangible heritage while revitalising the built environment heritage. Furthermore, inclusive heritage management strategies in Makhanda must include both Makhanda West and East elements of history. The different histories must be shared equally, and approaches should share all parts of the city's history without neglecting the other.

6.3.2 Sustainable Tourism

Tourism for local economic development is not a new concept and is instrumental in developing and harnessing heritage resources for financial gain (Ashworth, 2000; Hampton, 2005; Murzyn-Kupisz, 2012). This study found that cultural heritage tourism provides additional options for visitors entering a region and promotes interest in heritage in a city as culturally and historically diverse as Makhanda. Murzyn-Kupisz (2012) highlights that heritage may be utilized for local economic growth and sustainable tourism and as a resource for social cohesion. In Makhanda, cultural heritage tourism strategies would favour local economies and enhance overall socioeconomic conditions if properly developed and maintained. Not only would this be beneficial for LED, but it would also result in multiplier effects beneficial for a range of spaces in Makhanda. As a result, local economic development is viewed as a realistic option for alleviating poverty, unemployment, and inequality in emerging nations such as South Africa (Rogerson, 2006). Although heritage sites cannot eradicate poverty, they can be leveraged to accrue economic benefits.

However, based on the work of Loulanski and Loulanski (2011), several key factors are necessary for the sustainable integration of heritage and tourism. Firstly, there needs to be community involvement for them to understand the benefits of driving positive heritage tourism locally. Other necessary components include intensive education and training for local authorities and tourism personnel, ensuring authenticity and accurate interpretation of local history. To ensure that history tour guides are updated with global and regional trends, such as incorporating information and communication technologies in their interactions with tourists, skill development and training are also required. van der Merwe (2016) observed that a critical barrier to the growth of heritage tourism in South Africa was cited as the inadequate

training of tour guides. Similar findings were found in this study, and questions concerning the qualifications of the city's few accessible tour guides were raised.

The current training given to tourist guides is provided at a provincial level. However, it lacked a context-specific focus, which would benefit local tourism. This was acknowledged by Makana Tourism representatives in that the skills of local tourist guides were lacking, and guides had autonomy over the stories told during tours. Findings noted that all guides should be trained locally to improve their capabilities. Future cultural heritage tourism strategies must be sustainability-centred and integrated into heritage and tourism field planning. This requires more than mention (as has been in the SDF and IDPs) in policy documents but also detailing the frameworks and timelines to be used to achieve.

The above proposals come from observations that heritage and culture contribute significantly to people's economic empowerment and skill development, fostering social cohesion and national identity. Heritage tourism has been viewed as a crucial marketing tactic to draw tourists looking for adventure and wanting to experience the city's culture, history, and arts to end this unsustainable situation. With meaningful interaction with locals and their cultures, tourists increasingly seek authentic and distinctive experiences. Therefore, cultural tourism should offer tourists and local populations a unique chance to participate in tourism-related events and initiatives. Although tourists have an intense yearning for history and cultural products, it is evident that this cultural diversity is underrepresented and underperforming within the tourism business. To address this issue, there needs to be a greater interest in cultural tourism, emphasising the histories, customs, traditions, and a wide range of tangible and intangible heritage resources unique to the local area.

The effectiveness of a heritage conservation strategy's connections to the local economy is a crucial factor in determining its effectiveness. The viability of the legacy program and the asset itself over the long term, particularly in developing nations, will depend on this connection. A successful heritage conservation strategy should support overarching development objectives like lowering poverty and generating money. The production of jobs is a crucial objective, whether such jobs are created directly through the heritage program (for instance, through construction or archaeological digs) or indirectly through support services (for example, in shops, restaurants, hotels for visitors, etc.). Jobs associated with tourism can be created in hospitality, transportation, and other sectors, as well as in the production and selling of handicrafts.

Despite all these potential gains for developing and preserving heritage resources through tourism, all tourism initiatives need to consider the potential impacts of over-tourism. The fact that tourism can attract large numbers of people and frequently profoundly alters the meaning

of a site for local people, who may find their connections to a place have been erased, is also essential to acknowledge. Tourism can cause enormous destruction because of the many people it can attract. This is true even though many historical places have been conserved to boost tourism. It is also crucial that these tourism strategies acknowledge the need for nuanced heritage offerings. Cultural heritage tourism in Makhanda faces not only these dangers but also the effects of a failing municipality (lack of ablution facilities near the city centre, potholes, uncontrolled livestock, and lack of water), which all cripple any prospects for local tourism as these appear as the physical manifestation of a city in dire conditions.

Therefore, strategies for cultural heritage tourism, particularly in Makhanda, must embrace variety and consider the complex, multi-layered nature and nuanced history of the city and its inhabitants. It must foster positive interactions between tourists and locals that provide genuine insights and experiences while preserving local cultural heritage resources. There also needs to be collaborative efforts between policymakers, local organisations, and city residents where strategies are put forward to enhance the local tourism product, which could improve heritage awareness and honour tradition. Integrating technology into heritage tourism would also benefit us as we move towards a digital world, especially after the COVID-19 pandemic. It is, therefore, essential to diversify the tools used for heritage tourism by using suitable devices, methods, and technology to communicate. This can be through various formats, including online self-guided tours, which could be achieved using free spatial software such as ESRI's story maps platform. Makhanda heritage tourism practice also needs to eradicate the legacy of unequal distribution of resources and tourist destinations, such as museums and interpretive centres. This can also be achieved successfully using the chance to provide suitable interpretive interventions in locations where the city lacks these, specifically in a city like Makhanda, where the spatial legacy of the Apartheid city persists even post-Apartheid.

6.3.3 Movement Towards a Heritage Landscape

The body of knowledge on cultural heritage preservation shows a shift favouring a more inclusive landscape strategy. Townscapes, streetscapes, and all other components that influence and shape the overall experience for users are receiving more attention when it comes to the built environment. Heritage conservation is likely to take a landscape-based strategy in the future, as proposed by Veldpaus et al. (2013). This is seen in policies on all government levels.

In Makhanda, one of the biggest threats to heritage resources is the conservation-development dilemma, which manifests challenges in striking a balance between heritage

resource management and urban management. The existing conservation area spans from the northeast to the southeast (down Anderson Street towards Market Street), southeast to the southwest (along Lawrence Street towards Market Street), southwest to the northwest (along Somerset Street) and northwest to the northeast (along African Street towards Burton Street). This area is vast and is highly restrictive towards urban development, as regulations are strict in this historic centre. This becomes difficult for developers and businesses to develop their properties given the strictness in this area towards development. At the same time, municipal issues have led to problems where transgressions of these regulations have occurred due to poor enforcement from both the municipality and aesthetics committee.

Findings from this study highlighted that within a municipality as dysfunctional as Makana, there may exist a need to decentralize the geographic extent of the conservation area. This could be achieved through the creation of multiple conservation areas or heritage precincts, as is the case in Stellenbosch. In Stellenbosch, these have been pivotal in allowing urban space development while fostering heritage conservation practices (Buchanan & Donaldson, 2020). Utilizing the density analysis discussed above, three conservation areas can be developed using the spatial distribution of the heritage resources. These could be in the Rhodes University lower campus vicinity (currently outside of the conservation area), the High Street area, and the Artificers Square region.

This acknowledges trends in the literature (Hajarnis & Raval, 2016) highlighting the devastating effects of a rapidly urbanizing world and the pressures that result from this. A lack of flexibility within Makana Municipality to allow sustained development within the conservation area under strict regulations could prove detrimental from a development and investment standpoint. In a city plagued with unemployment, high social welfare dependence, and municipal dysfunction, financial investment through development is critical in sustaining the city's economy. This approach must be adopted cautiously to avoid the same demise as some historic buildings in Stellenbosch's heritage precincts (Buchanan & Donaldson, 2020). Hajarnis and Raval (2016) add there is not a general guideline or approach for managing urban centres' heritage districts. However, options must be developed based on the precinct's location, significance, political will, financial sources, and other relevant effects.

6.3.4 Institutional Development and Capacity Building

This analysis found a need for more specialised employees and a need to increase the current team's capacity-building efforts. Numerous existing training programs for employees, tour guides, the aesthetics committee, and other participants in the heritage protection space need improvement. The interaction between the national and site levels needs to be improved by

stakeholders. It must also make sure site managers receive training and information. It is crucial to involve all parties as early as possible and continuously. Emphasis on knowledge and experience sharing in cooperation with other SAHRA and the PHRA in compliance with the NHRA has increased.

Firstly, there needs to be a significant shift in strengthening the role of individuals with direct responsibilities for managing and conserving cultural heritage. Makana Municipality should enhance staff knowledge, abilities, skills, and behaviour to ensure sustainable and successful heritage management. A dynamic interaction between heritage and its context is introduced when these institutional structures and procedures are improved by empowering decision-makers and policymakers. This, in turn, creates higher reciprocal benefits through a more inclusive approach. This has been a growing concern in the Aesthetics Committee due to infrequent meetings and overall latency in ensuring the city's aesthetics.

Locally, various tactics can be used to support the development of management capacity for cultural heritage. These include progress in science, business, leadership, education, and safety and security (van Lakerfeld et al., 2017). First, science and technology provide the knowledge and methods for advancing cultural asset preservation, repair, and rebuilding. Due to the rapid advancement of science and technology, it is necessary to constantly discuss and investigate new opportunities for cutting-edge environmental conservation and protection methods. Heritage has value both economically and culturally. It will be necessary to synthesize and make these two sides work for each other. This will necessitate strategic planning with critical parties (beneficiaries, businesses, sponsors, authorities, citizens, and research organisations). The creation of suitable, creative economic models for the utilisation of heritage sites is a second prerequisite. To enable workers to see beyond the confines of their disciplines and seek synergy with other disciplines and fields of work, multidisciplinary training is required. Promoting heritage through education and lifelong learning is necessary, as is training workers to deliver educational and interpretive services. The workforce working in heritage sites must reflect society for audiences to connect with heritage. Before this goal is achieved, the industry still has a long way to go regarding age and ethnicity. This is mainly seen in Makhanda leadership structures lacking diversity, especially heritage management.

The heritage sector must also create new professional capabilities to innovate management methods, draw in new audiences, and negotiate with the individuals and organisations involved in preserving cultural heritage resources. This can be achieved using new technology more effectively to preserve history and improve the visitor experience in heritage sites and museums; new skills and competencies are also required.

6.3.5 Community Education

Community engagement is one of the best ways to involve owners and stakeholders in conserving heritage. As previously mentioned, this has the advantages of advancing historical teaching, improving the relevance of archaeology to contemporary societies, and bridging the gap between fieldwork, local communities, and lecture halls. While the method has many potentials, Chirikure and Pwiti (2008) point out that archaeologists have struggled to understand and address the contentious interactions between archaeology and local populations. Even though specific issues seem to apply to everyone, they all require context-specific answers.

An excellent historical conservation strategy must involve active participation from the neighbourhood community in its development and execution, not only because of the various economic benefits associated with heritage but also because it is tied to local identity and sense of place. This ownership not only promotes pride in these resources but also drives interest in protecting these resources. Governments and development organisations recognise that people should be involved in planning, implementing, and managing heritage assets. For a long time, proponents of citizen engagement have argued that doing so indicates that the government and the people are willing to take on obligations and carry out tasks. Additionally, it suggests that the worth of each group's contribution is recognised, valued, and utilized. Successful citizen involvement depends on community representatives being treated honestly as "partners" in decision-making.

A two-strand approach to heritage education that van Lakerveld et al. (2017) suggest may be crucial for educating the neighbourhood community about heritage. One of the critical goals is to educate and engage audiences to help them understand and appreciate their heritage. The second strand focuses on heritage as a backdrop for learning that supports the growth and acquisition of competence in a broader sense. For example, in acquiring skills for lifelong learning, legacy is seen in these programs as a meaningful and rich context for competence acquisition (van Lakerveld et al., 2017). Despite being nominally separate, the strands frequently take on mixed forms. Findings from the study corroborated this in that homeowners were interested in understanding the guidelines and learning the processes. Should the information be readily available, they noted this would provide them with an arsenal to tackle the challenges of historic home ownership and advocating for local heritage. To raise youth awareness and education, another step would be enhanced integration in regional school curricula.

Therefore, the local community's effective and thorough involvement in Makhanda heritage planning and implementation will aid in maintaining ongoing communication between the

government and community, allowing for implementing a coordinated/integrated strategy and resolving conflicts. Furthermore, it recommended that community education be used in creating a network where training and awareness-raising may occur and make the most significant use of resources. Community involvement can address micro problems, which frequently suffer from a lack of focus and site-specific alternatives.

Conclusion

To better contextualise the discussion, a conceptual model (Figure 6.1) was proposed to understand the local context of heritage resource management in Makhanda. This model summarised the key findings in line with the study's objectives and established one of the significant issues within Makhanda's heritage space in the relationship between urban management and heritage resource management. Figure 6.1 highlights the critical role players, legislation and policy, and the role of governance and management in the localised CHRM context in Makhanda. This discussion illustrated that the various role players in HM in Makhanda are ECPHRA and Makana Municipality, as all sites in Makhanda are grade 2 sites with management mandated through NHRA. Within Makhanda, both the ECPHRA and Makana Municipality are failing in heritage management due to capacity issues, poor management, and legislation enforcement, delaying development permits and misappropriation of funds. Makhanda once had a reputation for its "conservation ethic" through rigorous efforts to preserve its historical and architectural legacy. This analysis demonstrates how this has degraded and how quickly it has done so. Our local town planning scheme no longer formally includes conservation measures. As a result, decisions are being made without the Aesthetics Committee's input, which is still present but not entirely operational. Coupled with issues within national, provincial, and local government structures, they failed to fulfil their mandates as per legislation.

This discussion highlighted the opportunities for the improved conservation and use of heritage, including moving towards an inclusive approach, sustainable tourism, rethinking and adjusting the conservation area, institutional and capacity building, and community education and development.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

Introduction

This chapter presents the conclusion made in this research in understanding Makhanda's local context as it relates to heritage management. The sections following this discuss the local context, recommendations, research limitations and suggested areas for future study.

7.1 Understanding Makhanda's Local Context

Cultural heritage is acknowledged globally as essential for national identity, social cohesion, development, and education (Chirikure, 2013). The field of cultural heritage management has progressed significantly from focusing solely on monuments to understanding other forms of cultural heritage (Penna, 2018). UNESCO and ICOMOS acknowledge cultural heritage as beliefs, knowledge and values reached today in line with the need for sustainable development heritage are mentioned in SDG goal 11.4 (UNESCO, 2013). These organisations take point in developing and initiating intellectual debate and standard terms adapted at national levels.

Nationally, legislative transformative processes in cultural heritage management have been catalysts for change in challenging colonial and apartheid narratives towards a more inclusive heritage approach (Corsane, 2004). The three-tier heritage management system in South Africa was introduced through the NHRA of 1999, which established SAHRA, PHRAs and local authorities as the authorities responsible for heritage management at the various levels. However, despite the development of the legislation and roles and mandates for the various authorities, several teething issues persist and hamper South African heritage management. Therefore, these threats and opportunities must be investigated to improve cultural heritage management.

Makhanda boasts over 70 proclaimed provincial heritage sites which give insight into the city's rich history. However, due to the eventful history from its establishment in 1812, British settlers and Xhosa conflicts and the dominance of the 1820s settler narrative have significantly impacted local conservation and heritage management, much like the nuances in South Africa's history. Additionally the city faces several challenges with local governance infrastructure maintenance, and service delivery difficulties due to ineffective local government, which has failed to fully engage intangible heritage and enforce the NHRA (Irvine, 2021). This research aimed to address gaps in the literature regarding how policy and legislation enforcement plays out in small cities and local contexts. This aim has been operationalised into three objectives. Each objective will be discussed concerning the results of the data analysis.

The first objective was to create an inventory or database of Makhanda's built environment heritage resources. This objective updated and expanded the existing but out-of-date and limited inventory of existing PBEHRs in the city. The results of this inventory proved the importance of establishing all the city's heritage assets. Without extensive knowledge of existing stock, there is limited capacity to safeguard these resources effectively. This is critical not only for establishing existing stock and determining the success of their management but also as a tool to drive good governance and the safeguarding of local heritage. Measures to preserve cultural heritage effectively and successfully are needed to document them. Preliminary field surveys such as the one provided in this research are essential for developing an integrated heritage inventory and management information system. The applications are far-reaching and have the potential to positively impact various sectors such as tourism, LED, urban planning, and policy development. As previously stated, MM has stated the need to establish an inventory of these resources. However, the aim for this has focussed only on utilising it for tourism and not the other potential applications it may be used for.

The second objective was to investigate the various challenges to managing Makhanda's built environment heritage resources. Findings highlighted the following challenges: difficulty in approaching Makhanda's nuanced history legislation and policy challenges poor governance and management, demand for social services, urban development challenges and property owner challenges. Firstly, there is a need to holistically acknowledge and represent the collective history of all Makhanda residents. Currently, the inventory of heritage resources in Makhanda does not represent all residents (predominantly colonial heritage) and the various types of heritage (mainly tangible heritage). Secondly, municipal dysfunction threatens heritage management, place identity, and local tourism. Fundamentally, these failures result in challenges in enforcing legislation, policy, and providing basic services. This failure has also manifested in the lack of gazetting of new sites. Lastly, the interplay of these issues has also led to significant challenges from an urban development and property owner perspective. Failures at the provincial and municipal levels have led to the destruction of valuable heritage, loss of investment and permit application delays.

The third objective investigated and explored opportunities to better manage Makhanda's built environment heritage resources. These opportunities included improving local governance and enforcement, special consideration to sustainability and application of new conservation methods, increased community involvement in decision-making, promotion of participatory management, community education and an inclusive heritage approach. There needs to be a significant shift in strengthening the role of individuals with direct responsibilities for managing and conserving cultural heritage at the provincial and municipal levels. MM has not fully acknowledged the symbiotic relationship between community-enriched heritage management

strategies built on cooperation between the municipalities and local communities. Community engagement is one of the best ways to involve owners and stakeholders in conserving heritage. As previously mentioned, this has the advantages of advancing historical teaching, improving the relevance of archaeology to contemporary societies, and bridging the gap between fieldwork, local communities, and lecture halls. The local community's involvement in Makhanda heritage planning and implementation will aid in maintaining ongoing communication between the government and community, allowing for implementing a coordinated/integrated strategy and resolving conflicts. More importantly, a balance must be struck between local heritage resource management and urban management to ensure lasting success within the local context.

7.2 Recommendations

This section proposes various recommendations for resolving the ongoing heritage management issues of Makhanda. Several recommendations for local heritage management can be made after exploring the heritage landscape of Makhanda, the challenges the city faces in this regard and the opportunities that exist.

First, the dysfunctionality within the local municipality needs to be tackled. This is the foundational issue at play within the local context. A functional local government that fulfils its mandated responsibilities is critical to functioning and flourishing locally, not just in heritage management but also urban management. For instance, there is a need to improve the enforcement of urban planning and heritage by-laws and to foster relationships with local heritage practitioners, stakeholders, and the community.

Second, an inventory of local heritage resources is vital as a decision-making tool for management processes, and, therefore, it needs to be kept up to date and disseminated widely. Grassroots involvement in developing this inventory by local individuals or organisations whose care and knowledge can offer the required starting basis is pivotal in establishing a local heritage inventory or integrated web system.

Third, this research found that heritage management processes cannot exist separately from urban planning and management processes. It is, therefore, imperative that heritage resource management be integrated into urban management policies and practices. Urban planning needs to take a more proactive role in exploring the extent to which urban development and conservation may coexist. Trade-offs may need to be made to allow urban development processes by considering a change to the constitution of the conservation area.

Fourth, local heritage management needs to be inclusive in its representation of the local urban heritage of diverse communities and its acknowledgement of both tangible and intangible heritage types. Fifth, the local community needs to be involved in management processes to support the government, hold the government to account, and ensure their interests are represented. Sixth, local heritage management must go beyond protecting historical artefacts to promoting tourism, encouraging widespread community engagement and involvement, and improving feelings of representation, belonging and well-being. In terms of well-being, local heritage has the potential to be mobilized to create chances for poverty reduction, employment, and sustainable local economic development that address local socioeconomic challenges.

7.3 Limitations

This study has many limitations, four of which are discussed here. Accessing these institutions was extremely difficult, especially with engagement with government organisations and personnel in the research, such as the ECPHRA and the Makana Municipality. The researcher had to adapt and utilize secondary sources to grasp management difficulties better. Secondly, there were limitations in focusing on the type of heritage for this research. The researcher acknowledges that while there is value in both tangible and intangible heritage in heritage management, the lack of an inventory of intangible heritage and limited given the large number of Category A sites from the Radford reports in the local municipality, the research could only focus on the available proclaimed built environment heritage resources. Thirdly, due to a lack of architectural knowledge, access to skilled professionals in the architectural field, and limited access to resources as they are primarily private property, the field survey was based solely on the façade level to ensure reliability. Finally, the researcher could not source and interview local builders, developers, and contractors due to time constraints to provide their challenges with heritage resources and historic homes.

7.4 Suggested Areas of Future Study

At the national level, there needs to be more research into the conservation of urban heritage in the country, as there is a gap in South African literature on the topic. Research in this field is limited to only a few scholarly articles. Additionally, research is needed from the property owner's perspective as the literature is limited to stakeholder insights and professionals. As such, due to the lack of literature and interesting findings of this study, there is potential for an alternative perspective on the direct impacts of heritage management and related policies.

Locally, there is a need for action research that links tourism and LED strategies with heritage. Secondly, there is a need to update the previous study by Dr. Dennis Radford to develop a conservation strategy. Thirdly, research on place-making and branding for tourism investigates how heritage can be used to achieve this. Fourthly, based on the findings of this study, there also needs to be research on representation within urban heritage in Makhanda, investigating how people of colour view the urban fabric of the colonial era and how this links to the sense of place. Finally, due to the lack of a heritage inventory in the township, the research could drive the development of such an inventory.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Schedule (Stakeholders)

Section A: (Threats to Heritage Management)

1. What are the challenges affecting local heritage management?
2. What role do you think the local government has in contributing to these issues?
3. How do you think these heritage resources could potentially be used to better the socio-economic conditions of the local community?
4. What changes do you think could be made to ensure to better manage these resources?
5. Do you think that these heritage resources could be used as a tourism offering?
6. What kind of tourism offering could possibly be offered?
7. What is going right concerning the nature in which built-environment heritage resources are managed and conserved?
8. Of the available heritage resources which are of interest to you?
9. What policies and/or organizations are in place that ensure the management of heritage resource management?
10. How involved are you in the conservation and maintenance of heritage resources?
11. How involved do you think the community as a whole is committed to the preservation and conservation of built-environment heritage resources?
12. Do you think there is support from national and local organization aiding the conservation of heritage resources?

Section B: Opportunities and Threats

13. What potential do you think these heritage resources have?
14. How do you think they can potentially be used to address socio-economic issues?
15. What could these resources be used for?
16. What changes would address the issues mentioned above

Appendix B: Interview Schedule (Property Owners)

General Introduction

1. Do you have any existing knowledge or interest in heritage monuments or the preservation of old buildings? Can you identify any of specific interest to you?
2. Do you have any specific experiences with living in an old property?
3. Why have you chosen to live in an older property? What features or details contributed to this decision?
4. Have you experienced any specific issues relating to any upgrades or development of older properties?
5. Do you have any knowledge of the specific history of your house?

Legislation and SAHRA

6. Are you aware of the existing legislation that underpins the preservation of heritage resources in South Africa?
7. Have you had any encounters or interactions with the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA)?
8. Do you think the legislation and various agencies are effective in enforcing and preserving heritage monuments?
9. What do you think about the management and conservation of heritage resource management by the government?
10. What changes do you think could be made to ensure to better manage these resources?

Heritage Resources as Resource Base for Economic Development

11. How do you think these heritage resources could potentially be used to better the socio-economic conditions of the local community?
12. Do you think that these heritage resources could be used as a tourism offering?
13. What kind of tourism offering could possibly be offered?
14. Of the available heritage resources which are of interest to you?
15. How involved are you as a community member in the conservation and maintenance of heritage resources?
16. How Involved do you think the community as whole in conserving heritage?
17. Do you think there is support from the national, provincial, and local government in heritage management?
18. What is going right in the management of heritage resources in Makhanda?

Appendix C: Field Survey Data

Obj ectl D	SAHRA Reference Number	Site Name	Type of Site	Type of Site	Condi tion	Mainte nance	Who is using the place?	Thre ats?	Physi cal Geog raphi c Featu res	Fauna /Flora	Sig nag e	Acces sibility	Current Use:	Significa nce	Grade	Com ments	Gazett e Date	Date Built	x	y	Obj ectl D
53	9/2/003/ 0074	1 Cross Street	Ritual_		Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	No	House	Historical Archite ctural	Provi ncial		01/04 /1980	182 7	26.530 90997	- 33.313 25999	53
51	9/2/003/ 0072	1 Sheblon Lane	Ritual_		Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	No	House	Historical	Provi ncial		23/03 /1979	182 7	26.531 0892	- 33.313 77477	51
62	9/2/003/ 0083	10 Cross Street	Ritual_		Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	No	House	Historical Archite ctural	Provi ncial		23/03 /1979	182 7	26.530 8	- 33.313 79002	62
50	9/2/003/ 0040	19 West Street	Ritual_		Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	No	House	Historical	Provi ncial		05/02 /1988	184 0	26.532 34001	- 33.312 97999	50
54	9/2/003/ 0075	2 Cross Street	Ritual_		Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	No	House	Historical Archite ctural	Provi ncial		08/10 /1979	182 7	26.531 09999	- 33.313 5	54
52	9/2/003/ 0072	2 Sheblon Lane	Ritual_		Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	No	House	Historical	Provi ncial		23/04 /1979	182 7	26.530 95911	- 33.313 83798	52
66	9/2/003/ 0088	21 West Street	Ritual_		Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	No	House	Historical Archite ctural	Provi ncial		17/07 /1987	184 0	26.532 44	- 33.313 10999	66
55	9/2/003/ 0076	3 Cross Street	Ritual_		Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	No	House	Historical Archite ctural	Provi ncial		01/04 /1980	182 7	26.530 82003	- 33.313 32	55
16	9/2/003/ 0043	32/34 High St	Building		Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	No	No	Yes	Comm ercial - Shops	Historical Archite ctural	Provi ncial		15/03 /1984	187 2	26.528 33002	- 33.309 71	16
17	9/2/003/ 0048	36 High Street	Building		Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	No	No	Yes	Comm ercial - Shops	historical Archite ctural	Provi ncial		26/07 /1984	Unk now n	26.528 11997	- 33.309 85999	17

12	9/2/003/0049	38 Somers et Street	Ritual_	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	The Barista & Major Fraser's	Historical	Provincial	06/07/1995	1817	26.52194057	-33.31243133	12
56	9/2/003/0077	4 Cross Street	Ritual_	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	No	House	Historical Architectural	Provincial	23/03/1979	1827	26.53096998	-33.31353998	56
18	9/2/003/0050	40 High Street	Building	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	No	No	Yes	Commercial Shops	Historical Architectural	Provincial	15/03/1984	1869	26.52789202	-33.30976913	18
21	9/2/003/0051	46 - 48 High Street	Building	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	No	No	Yes	Commercial - Shops	Historical Architectural	Provincial	26/07/1984	Unknown	26.52778997	-33.31013002	21
34	9/2/003/0087	48/50 Bathurst St	Building	Fair	Fair	Occupied	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Commercial - Shops	Historical	Provincial	22/08/1986	1830	26.53043034	-33.31151143	34
57	9/2/003/0078	5 Cross Street	Ritual_	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	House	Historical Architectural	Provincial	01/04/1980	1827	26.53070998	-33.31324	57
22	9/2/003/0051	50 High Street	Building	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	No	No	Yes	Commercial - Shops	Historical Architectural	Provincial	15/03/1984	Unknown	26.52747032	-33.31000758	22
23	9/2/003/0051	54 - 56 High Street	Building	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	No	No	Yes	Commercial - Shops	Historical Architectural	Provincial	15/03/1984	1860	26.52735998	-33.31020001	23
40	9/2/003/0013	56 Beaufort Street	Ritual_	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	No	Domestic House	Historical Architectural	Provincial	26/03/1971	Unknown	26.52800273	-33.313844	40
24	9/2/003/0051	58 - 60 High Street	Building	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	No	No	Yes	Commercial - Shops	Historical Architectural	Provincial	15/03/1984	Unknown	26.5271241	-33.31018972	24
45	9/2/003/0119-003	58 Beaufort St	Ritual_	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	No	House	Historical	Provincial	16/03/1984	Unknown	26.52789627	-33.31390695	45
58	9/2/003/0079	6 Cross Street	Ritual_	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	No	House	Historical Architectural	Provincial	23/03/1979	1827	26.53087996	-33.31358001	58

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59	9/2/003/0080	7 Cross Street	Ritual_	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	House	Historical Architectural	Provincial	01/04/1980	1827	26.53057	-33.31330998	59
64	9/2/003/0115	8 Bartholomew Street	Ritual_	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	No	House	Historical Architectural	Provincial	02/05/1999	1827	26.53066002	-33.31392999	64
60	9/2/003/0081	8 Cross Street	Ritual_	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	House	Historical Architectural	Provincial	23/03/1979	1827	26.53079002	-33.3136	60
65	9/2/003/0084	8A Bartholomew Street	Ritual_	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	No	House	Historical Architectural	Provincial	23/03/1979	1827	26.53086999	-33.31392002	65
61	9/2/003/0082	9 Cross Street	Ritual_	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	House	Historical Architectural	Provincial	01/04/1980	1827	26.530747	-33.31335001	61
67	9/2/003/0089	Alm's House	Ritual_	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	No	House	Historical Architectural	Provincial	02/10/1989	1863	26.53300997	-33.31473998	67
33	9/2/003/0030	Baptist Mother Church	Historic_Building	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	No	No	Yes	Church	Historical Architectural	Provincial	22/03/1991	1843	26.5302555	-33.31119325	33
15	9/2/003/0043	Beaumont & Rice Building	Ritual_	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	No	No	Yes	Panda's Asian Kitchen	Historical Architectural	Provincial	26/05/1988	Unk now n	26.52410998	-33.31177002	15
4	9/2/003/0005	Botanical Gardens	Rock_Art	Good	Fair	Unoccupied	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Botanical Gardens	Historical Aesthetic	Provincial	07/12/1984	1842	26.52069478	-33.31569905	4
72	9/2/003/0028	Cemetries	Ritual_	Good	Good	Not_Aplicable	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Cemetery	Historical Architectural	Provincial	12/07/1996	1900	26.5341	-33.30536	72
71	9/2/003/0028	Chapel House	Ritual_	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	No	House	Historical Architectural	Provincial	16/09/1977	1823	26.53039343	-33.31387134	71
7	9/2/003/0085	Chapel of Saint Mary	Cultural_Site	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Church	Historical	Provincial	03/07/1980	1915	26.52283712	-33.31559371	7

													Spritua l							
28	9/2/003/0065	and all the Angel's City Hall	Building	Good	Fair	Occupied	No	No	No	No	Yes	City Hall	Historical Architectural	Provincial	04/12/1989	1877	26.52708785	-33.3094153	28	
49	9/2/003/0040	Cock House	Ritual_	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Cock House Guest House and Restaurant	Historical Architectural	Provincial	17/07/1992	1835	26.53425378	-33.31290002	49	
29	9/2/003/0017	Commemoration Church	Historic_Building	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	No	No	Yes	Church	Historical Architectural	Provincial	26/12/1985	1845	26.52813698	-33.30908976	29	
5	9/2/003/0020	Drostdy Barracks	Archaeological	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Rhodes University Linguistics Department	Historical	Provincial	08/10/1990	1838	26.52010097	-33.31305144	5	
8	9/2/003/0009	Drostdy Gateway	Archaeological	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	No	No	Yes	Drostdy Arch & Shops	Historical Architectural	Provincial	Bellis no longer on the top of the arch but is located in the yard of the Albany Museum.	30/10/1992	1842	26.52166607	-33.31273452	8

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6	9/2/003/0021	Drostdy Lodge	Ritual_	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Rhodes University Department of Mathematics	Historical	Provincial		08/10/1990	Unknown	26.520 06389	- 33.312 61464	6	
30	9/2/003/0008	Eastern Star Museum	Building	Good	Fair	Occupied	other	No	No	No	Yes	Museum	Historical	Provincial	The structure has been restored.	12/09/1988	186 1	26.525 16789	- 33.310 26249	30	
42	9/2/003/0016	Former National English Literary Museum	Ritual_	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No		House	Historical	Provincial		06/04/1982	185 6	26.527 14985	- 33.313 84356	42	
1	9/2/003/0068	Fort Selwyn	Historic_Building	Good	Good	Unoccupied	No	No	No	No	Yes	Fort	Historical	Provincial	The overall site is in good condition.	08/11/1936	184 2	26.518 42018	- 33.318 59679	1	
31	9/2/003/0039	Grahamstown Railway Station	other	Railway Station	Damaged	Poor	Unoccupied	Yes	No	No	No	No	Inactive Railway Station	Technological Historical	Provincial		17/03/1989	187 9	26.532 61723	- 33.307 1075	31
19	9/2/003/0015	Hayton's Building	Building	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	No	No	Yes	Commercial - Business	Historical Architectural	Provincial		15/03/1984	186 0	26.525 88996	- 33.310 94	19	
35	9/2/003/0007	Huntley Street School, Good Shepherd School	other	School	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Public School	Historical	Provincial		03/11/1966	184 4	26.525 64342	- 33.312 68877	35
20	9/2/003/0026	Muirhead & Gowie	Building	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	No	No	Yes	Commercial - Shops	Historical Architectural	Provincial		11/09/1985	188 0	26.527 88	- 33.310 02	20	

43	9/2/003/0018	Oatlands House	Ritual_	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	No	House	Historical	Provincial	15/12/1989	1823	26.52161	-33.29896	43
25	9/2/003/0045	Observatory Museum	Building	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	No	No	Yes	Museum	Historical Architectural	Provincial	08/04/1992	1850	26.52931003	-33.30985002	25
14	9/2/003/0006	Old Gaol Somerset Street	Ritual_	Good	Fair	Occupied	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Coffee Shop and Offices	Historical	Provincial	26/12/1985	1823	26.52289997	-33.31309	14
3	9/2/003/0019	Old Military Hospital	Archaeological	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Rhodes University Botany Department	Historical	Provincial	08/10/1990	1845	26.5198919	-33.31441704	3
2	9/2/003/0061	Old Provost	Historic_Building	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	La Cafe - Old Provost	Historical Architectural	Provincial	08/09/1937	1838	26.51980597	-33.31491033	2
10	9/2/003/0023	Old Royal Engineer's Building	Ritual_	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Rhodes department of Ichthyology and Fisheries Science	Historical	Provincial	08/10/1990	1823	26.51986859	-33.31154047	10
73	9/2/003/0025-002	Old School Hall	Ritual_	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	No	House	Historical	Provincial	17/03/1989	1861	26.54262484	-33.31664563	73
68	9/2/003/0090	Old St Bartholomew Church School	Ritual_	Good	Good	Occupied	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	School	Historical Architectural	Provincial	17/03/1989	1863	26.53144302	-33.31545145	68
44	9/2/003/0025-001	Old Wesleyan Chapel	Cultural_Site	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	No	Chapel	Historical Spiritual	Provincial	02/10/1989	1861	26.54249848	-33.31656576	44

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69	9/2/003/0091	Pillar Box	other	Post Box	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	No	No	Yes	Post Box	Historical Architectural	Provincial	17/03/1989	1863	26.51761376	-33.30764623	69
32	9/2/003/0039-001	Post Box, Grahamstown Railway Station	other	Post Box	Fair	Poor	other	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Inactive Post Box	Historical	Provincial	17/03/1989	1857	26.52838427	-33.30951456	32
46	9/2/003/0033	Remains of Shaw Chapel	Ritual_		Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	No	No	No	House	Historical	Provincial	23/07/1993	1822	26.53090997	-33.30874	46
27	9/2/003/0027	Shaw Hall	Building		Good	Fair	Occupied	other	No	Yes	No	Yes	Offices	Historical	Provincial	26/12/1985	1831	26.52960328	-33.30909074	27
26	9/2/003/0071	Sole Memorial Church	Historic_Building		Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	No	No	Yes	Church	Historical Architectural	Provincial	26/12/1985	1838	26.52941003	-33.30917	26
41	9/2/003/0014	St Bartholomew's Church	Historic_Building		Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Church	Historical Spiritual Architectural	Provincial	02/10/1989	1857	26.53118835	-33.31453643	41
47	9/2/003/0038	Temlett House	Ritual_		Poor	Poor	Occupied	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Commercial - Shops	Historical	Provincial	18/07/1969	1820	26.53158999	-33.31164999	47
9		The Retreat	Ritual_		Good	Good	Occupied	other	No	Yes	No	Yes	Rhodes University Humanities Department	Historical Architectural	Provincial	11/10/1979	1821	26.52049994	-33.31130653	9
36	9/2/003/0086/003	Trinity Church	Historic_Building		Good	Good	Occupied		No	Yes	No	Yes	Church	Historical Architectural	Provincial	26/12/1985	1840	26.52819864	-33.31292443	36
39	9/2/003/0086	Trinity Church Complex	Historic_Building		Good	Good	Occupied	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Church Complex	Historical	Provincial	27/12/1985	1840	26.5279626	-33.31280922	39

38	9/2/003/ 0086/00 1	Trinity Church Cottage	Ritual_		Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	No	No	Yes	Church Cottage	Historical	Provincial	27/12 /1985	184 0	26.528 08011	- 33.312 64354	38
37	9/2/003/ 0086/00 2	Trinity Church Hall	other	Church Hall	Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	No	No	Yes	Church Hall	Historical	Provincial	27/12 /1985	185 9	26.528 04039	- 33.312 76529	37
48	9/2/003/ 0069	Truro House	Ritual_		Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	John Carinus Art Centre	Historical	Provincial	27/12 /1985	185 5	26.525 25001	- 33.315 45001	48
11	9/2/003/ 0094	Tryall Cottage	Ritual_		Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Profes sional Develo pment Centre - Facult y of Educat ion	Historical	Provincial	27/06 /1986	182 4	26.523 15532	- 33.314 68892	11
70	9/2/003/ 0094	Tryall Cottage	Ritual_		Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	House	Historical Archite ctural	Provincial	27/06 /1986	182 4	26.524 49999	- 33.316 40002	70
13	9/2/003/ 0063	Yellowh ouse Old Gaol	Ritual_		Good	Good	Occupied	No	No	No	No	Yes	Move Studio	Historical	Provincial	27/07 /1972	181 3	26.523 18999	- 33.312 30001	13

Appendix C: Site Report Example

Makhanda's Built-environment Heritage

Submitted Time: April 12, 2022 8:10 AM

Date: April 12, 2022

1. **Name of Recorder:** Zandile dlongolo
2. **SAHRA Reference Number:** 9/2/003/0061
3. **Site Name:** Old Provost
4. **Gazette Date:** September 9, 1937
5. **Year Built:** 1838
6. **Type of Site:** Jail
7. **Resource Location:**



Source: Esri, Maxar, Earthstar Geographics, and the GIS User C... Powered by Esri

8. **Condition:** Good
9. **Maintenance:** Good
10. **Who is using the place?:** Occupied
11. **Are there any observable apparent threats/impacts?:** No
12. **Are there any physical geographic features associated with the place (e.g. caves boulders etc?):** No
13. **Is there any fauna or flora associated with the place?:** Yes

14. **Is there any interpretive signage?:** No
15. **Does the public and visitors have access?:** Yes
16. **Current Use:** La Cafe - Old Provost
17. **Significance:** Architectural and Historical
18. **Grade:** Provincial
19. **Photo(s):**



Appendix D: Ethics Approval Letter



Human Ethics subcommittee
Rhodes University Ethical Standards Committee
PO Box 94, Grahamstown, 6140, South Africa
t: +27 (0) 46 603 8055
f: +27 (0) 46 603 8822
e: ethics-committee@ru.ac.za

www.ru.ac.za/research/research/ethics
NHREC Registration no. REC-241114-045

16 September 2019

Miss Philippa Irvine

Review Reference: 2019-0228-912

Email: p.irvine@ru.ac.za

Dear Miss Philippa Irvine

Re: Conserving and Promoting Cultural Heritage in Grahamstown

Principal Investigator: Miss Philippa Irvine

Collaborators: Miss Zandile Dlongolo

This letter confirms that the above research proposal has been reviewed by the Rhodes University Ethical Standards Committee (RUESC) – Human Ethics (HE) subcommittee and **PROVISIONALLY APPROVED PENDING GATEKEEPER PERMISSION**.

Gatekeeper permission is required from:

- a) Makana Municipality - Tourism
- b) Albany Museum
- c) Eastern Cape Provincial Heritage Resources Agency (ECPHRA)

Once the Gatekeeper permission letter/s have been received please forward to the Ethics Coordinator, (s.manqele@ru.ac.za) in order to finalize your ethics approval.

Sincerely

Prof Joanna Dames

Chair: Human Ethics sub-committee, RUESC- HE



RHODES UNIVERSITY

Where leaders learn

Rhodes University Human Research Ethics Committee

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<https://www.ru.ac.za/researchgateway/ethics/>

8 December 2022

Ms Zandile Dlongolo
Department of Geography
Rhodes University

Dear Ms Dlongolo,

Re: 2019 Conserving and Promoting Cultural Heritage in Grahamstown

This letter confirms that the RU-HREC has reviewed the proposed changes to your research protocol. Your request to change exclude Makana Municipality's Tourism and Development Manager and representatives from the ECPHRA from your participant groups has been granted.

This means that you will not be required to submit a Gatekeeper permission letter and full approval will be granted.

Approval has been granted for 1 year. An annual progress report will be required to renew approval for an additional period. You will receive an email notifying you when your annual report is due.

Approval number: 2019-0228-912

Sincerely,

Dr Janet Hayward
Chair of Rhodes University Human Research Ethics Committee