THE ROLE OF TOURISM IN LOCAL DEBATES ON CONTESTED HERITAGE: A CASE STUDY OF DURBAN, KWAZULU-NATAL, SOUTH AFRICA

by

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PREFACE

This study was inspired by the uniqueness of the politics of heritage in South Africa that was outlined in a paper by Sibongiseni Mkhize aptly titled "*Walking a Minefield: Museums and Representations of Contemporary Political Conflict in KwaZulu-Natal*". Although focusing on the political violence in KwaZulu-Natal and suggesting that researching this space is tantamount to 'walking a minefield', I believe the whole of the South African heritage landscape is a minefield…

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ABSTRACT

From the advent of democracy in South Africa, colonial and apartheid-era heritage has been a source of on-going robust debates as this nation state grapples with the question of national identity and collective remembrance. In line with the Constitution's aspiration for a South African society that is "united in diversity", the democratic government has been adamant that the question of national identity must be tackled within the ambit of "reconciliation", "social cohesion" and "nation-building". Drawing on the case study of Durban in the KwaZulu-Natal province of South Africa, this investigation highlights the evolution of the meaning of contested heritage from the colonial period, through the apartheid era, up until the democratic dispensation. This investigation likewise looks at the post-1994 politics of heritage transformation, with a particular focus on the correlation between the public's demands and aspirations for heritage transformation, particularly among the formerly marginalised, and the pace and direction that government (and institutional bodies alike) seems to be taking in this regard. The study likewise contends with the extent to which tourism becomes a factor in the policy discussions around contested heritage management, interpretation and conservation in a democratic South Africa.

Key words: heritage transformation; social cohesion; nation-building; transformation; "tourismscape"; South Africa.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
COGTA	Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs
CTO	Community Tourism Organisations
DA	Democratic Alliance
DAC	Department of Arts and Culture
DACST	Department of Arts, Culture, Science, and Technology
DEAT	Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism
DPME	Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation
DSAC	Department of Sport, Arts, and Culture
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
FF+	Freedom Front Plus
FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football Association
GCIS	Government Communication Information System
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
KZN DAC	KwaZulu-Natal Department of Arts and Culture
KZN DEDTEA	KwaZulu-Natal Department of Economic Development and Environmental Affairs
LHRA	Local Heritage Resources Authority
MPR	Municipal Planning Region
MTSF	Medium Terms Strategic Framework
NDP	National Development Plan
NGP	National Growth Path
NHC	National Heritage Council
NTSS	National Tourism Sector Strategy
PHRA	Provincial Heritage Resources Authorities

RLHR	Resistance and Liberation Heritage Route
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAHRA	South African Heritage Resource Agency
TGCSA	Tourism Grading Council of South Africa
TKZN	Tourism KwaZulu-Natal
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UCT	University of Cape Town
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WTO	World Tourism Organisation

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CHAPTER 1: CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

In 2015, South Africa experienced nation-wide protests against the remaining contested heritage constructs and narratives in public spaces (Pitso *et al.*, 2015; Smith, 2015; Dore, 2015; Marschall, 2017, 2019). At the core of these protests were a general call that such contested heritage must be removed from public spaces and put in museums or "specialised parks", or even downright dismantled. (Smith, 2015; Dore, 2015; Marschall, 2017, 2019). Although these protests subsided after a period of about five months, the debates on what should happen to South Africa's contested heritage are relentlessly continuing in popular media, academic spaces, the broader heritage sector, tourism platforms and other related virtual and online spaces to date (see Mann, 2016; Morken, 2016; Manetsi, 2017; Aslet, 2017; Marschall, 2017; 2019).

The dawn of democracy in 1994 ushered in a renewed sense of hope, especially for the black majority of South Africa who had endured over 300 years of racial discrimination where, in this context, their heritage and identity were targeted for deliberate destruction (Winter, 2007; Ndlovu, 2011). During this time, a new segregated identity based on a specific set of heritage, that was in line with the then colonial, and later apartheid racial principles, was imposed (Ndlovu, 2011). The 1994 transition to the democratic era, characterised by a political promise for reconciliation, reparation, redress, and transformation provided a promise to break free of the colonial and apartheid "pasts" into a "new" society that will be significantly different in shape and form from its erstwhile past. Thus, a substantial metamorphosis in democratic South Africa's national identity, outlook and collective remembrance in terms of public history and subsequently tourism. However, in this milleu and on closer inspection it appears that the country's post-colonial and post-apartheid "national identity" and "national narrative", including the amount of physical transformation that has actually taken place in the holistic heritage landscape, has become fiercely contested.

Colonial and apartheid-era heritage sites have raised public controversies about their meaning and role in a democratic South African society (Marschall, 2019). Since the advent of democracy, it appears the negative memories of colonial and apartheid

rule have played a part, and influenced, how the previously marginalised races perceive this form of heritage and there is a general perception and consensus that not enough has been done to transform the heritage landscape physically and symbolically at a national level (Marschall, 2019). Regardless of this, colonial and apartheid-era heritage sites still form part of the broader heritage landscape of South Africa even at present. In some cases, these contested sites are still presented as key tourism attractions all over South Africa, with their economic value through tourism appearing to be colliding with the incessant call for transformation and redress by the previously marginalised races (Marschall, 2019). However, although contested heritage appears to play some role in tourism, research is still lacking on the possible role of tourism in the debates around contested heritage (Van Zyl, 2005). This study, therefore, contextualises the meaning and debates around contested heritage in light of the aforementioned contradictions and dynamics. For the purpose of this investigation it should, however, also be noted that although focussing on Durban as a case study, this exploration contributes broadly to the research discourse and scholarship lacuna on contested heritage in South Africa and tourism's subsequent role therein. [1]

1.2) Context of the study

Durban is part of eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality in the KwaZulu-Natal province of South Africa (Figure 1). Durban was founded in 1824 as a settlement of traders (Koopman, 2004). It was then known to European Settlers as Port Natal (Swanson, 1984). It was only in 1835 that the British missionary, Captain Allen F. Gardiner (1794 – 1851) presided over a meeting with 15 European settlers which resolved to layout a trading town and govern it with a council (Swanson, 1984; Bennet *et al.*, 1987). The town was to be named after the British Cape Colony's Governor, Benjamin D'Urban (1777 – 1849) (Swanson, 1984; Bennet *et al.*, 1987; Morrissey, 2015). In 1843, Natal was proclaimed a British Colony, and the earnest construction of Durban ensued based on a plan that was designed by George Christopher Cato (1814 – 1893) who would later become the first mayor of Durban (Swanson, 1984; Morrissey, 2015; eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality, 2011). The plan was of a town with three main streets, each about 30 metres apart to allow a wagon that was drawn

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[1] In memory of Professor Sabine Marschall who contributed immensely in the formative stages of this study, and whose contribution in tourism and heritage studies is incomparable.

by 16 oxen to turn – which remains the core of Durban design even today (eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality, 2011; Koopman, 2004).

Figure 1: Location of eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality in the KwaZulu-Natal province
Source: KZN COGTA, 2017

It is important to note that Durban was founded for its anticipated economic benefits due to it being a natural lagoon that allowed for the docking of merchant ships which allowed for the trade in ivory, hippo tusks, buffalo hides, cattle and maize with the black majority inland (Bennet *et al.*, 1987; Koopman; 2004). It appears that the economic appeal of Durban quickly attracted ethnically and racially diverse people (Gokool, 1994). In 1847, about one hundred and eighty-five German settlers arrived in Durban intending to set up a cotton factory and settled about 15 km inland from the city of Durban, in what is now known as New Germany (Kruger, 1994). Also, in 1860, Durban experienced the arrival of indentured Indian labourers who were brought from India to work the cane fields (Gokool, 1994; Mkhize, 2015). This

coexistence of ethnically and racially diverse peoples in Durban contributed immensely to its diversity of culture and heritage at present.

The boundary area of what is today referred to as Durban has become rather blurred through the city's expansion over the years. The first expansion took place in 1855 when Durban expanded from the bay area inland, incorporating what was called the "Town Land of Durban" (Institute for Social Research, 1968). However, the first major expansion of Durban took place in 1932 when several satellite suburbs around the immediate then Durban area were incorporated into the town (Institute for Social Research, 1968). In 1935, Durban was granted city status by the then colonial government (Institute for Social Research, 1968; COGTA, 2020). Subsequently, Durban continued to expand until the advent of democratic South Africa. Figure 2 below indicates the gradual expansion of Durban over the years, and further illustrates the development discourse of Durban from an informal settlement to a metropolitan hub by way of town and regional planning.
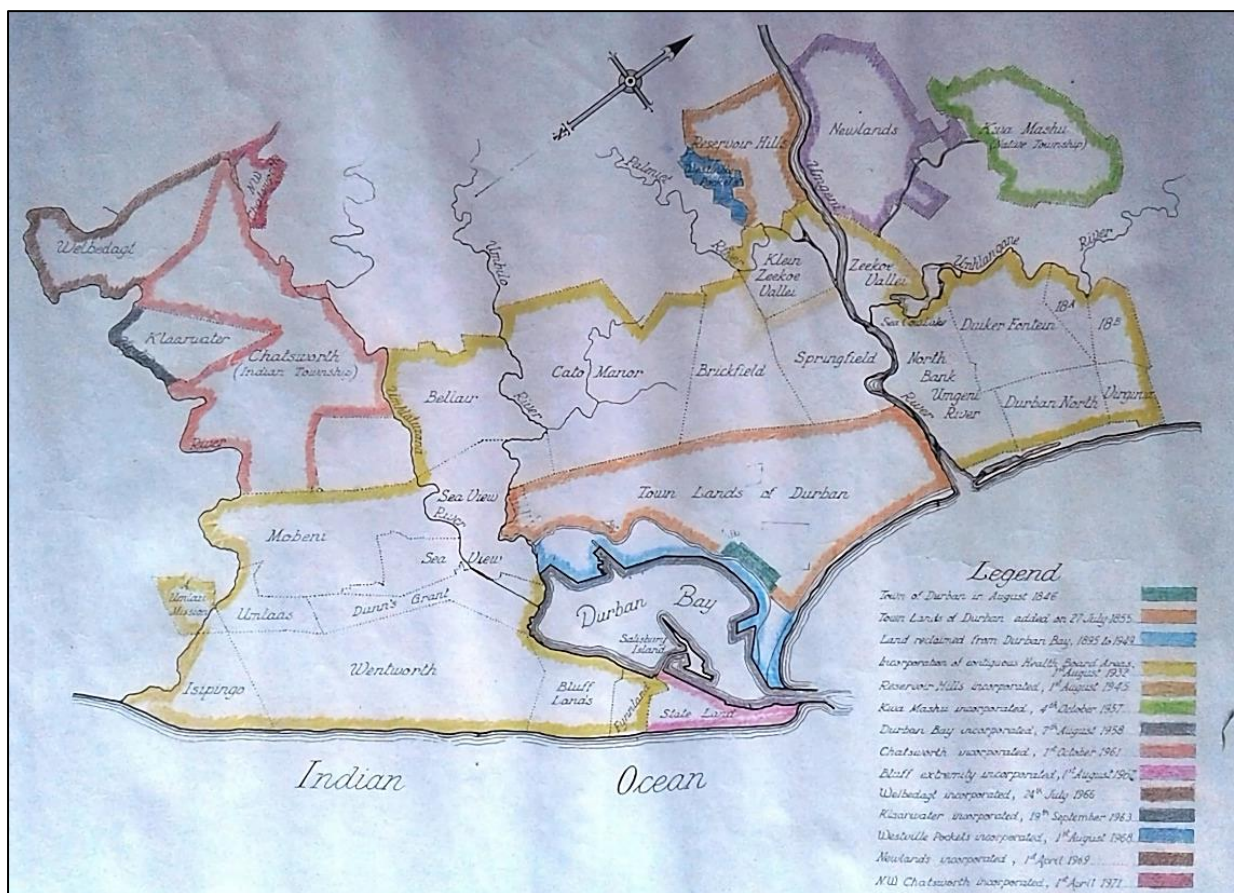
Figure 2: The map showing the expansion of Durban over the years
Source: Gammage, 2021

Two years after the first democratic election in 1994, Durban was further expanded to become the Durban Metropolitan Region, or Durban Metro, by incorporating large areas, mainly townships and rural areas, on the north, south, and west of the city (COGTA, 2020; Koopman, 2004). Four years later, in 2000, a further expansion took place and this led to the 'inclusive' Durban "Unicity", which was then named eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality (COGTA, 2020). It is said that eThekwini is derived from the Zulu word *itheku* which means a bay or lagoon (Koopman, 2004; Averweg, 2017; COGTA, 2020). Some today use the word eThekwini and Durban interchangeable (Koopman, 2004). In reality, Durban is part of eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality which covers an area of 2 556.9 square kilometers and has a diverse population of 3 702 231 people – 74% of which are Black African; 17.7% Asian/Indian; 6.2% White; and 2.1% are Coloured (Statistics South Africa, 2018; KZN DEDTEA, 2021). eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality is further divided into five functional Municipal Planning Regions (MPRs) namely, the North, Central, South, Inner West and Outer West (Figure 3) (COGTA, 2020).

Figure 3: The map of eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality indicating the five MPRs
Source: COGTA, 2020

Durban falls under the Central MPR which is the urban core of the Metropolitan space and the specific focus area of this study. This is where the major economic sectors and hubs such as industrial logistics, warehousing, business, commercial, retail, financial services, and tourism are concentrated (COGTA, 2020; KZN DEDTEA, 2021). Throughout the metro, the tourism sector is primarily concentrated along the coastal area which stretches from Umgababa in the South MPR to Umdloti in the North MPR (KZN DEDTEA, 2021). Indeed, tourism is one of the most important industries in Durban, and the approach to its development and marketing is primarily based on the *Durban Tourism Visitor Marketing Strategy* (Durban Tourism, 2013; eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality, 2017). This Strategy is geared towards positioning Durban as a global tourism destination, by driving high-impact marketing initiatives that facilitate growth in international and domestic visitor numbers. The aforementioned Strategy is grounded on:

- Culture, history, and heritage;
- Events;
- Beach destinations;
- Meetings, incentives and conferences (Durban Tourism, 2013, eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality, 2017).

According to an advertisement by Durban Tourism (2020), Durban is a vibrant city where the blend of local cultures – African, Asian, and European – are reflected in a montage of architectural styles and through various commemorative sites (Durban Tourism, 2014; 2020). However, the reality on the ground and in practice is rather different from this advertised "tourism ideals". The heritage landscape of Durban is mainly dominated by European iconography, while there is a tiny amount of Indian-inspired architecture as well.

The dominance of European iconography appears to have been a sore point for the Municipality since the late 1990s (Mkhize, 2001; Grobler, 2008; Marschall, 2004; 2010). Commenting about this issue in Mkhize (2001), Thembinkosi Ngcobo, the then Executive Director of the Municipality's Parks, Recreation and Culture Unit underlined that, "tourists do not come here [Durban] to see a mini-London but an African city and how its people live. We need to Africanise the city" (Mkhize, 2001). In 2004, Marschall (2004) quoted Ngcobo as having underlined that, "When highlighting the cost of erecting new monuments, one must also consider the cost of not doing the exercise. Monuments create a sense of belonging, which *de facto* many people currently don't enjoy – especially in urban centres strutting with colonial and apartheid-era monuments" (Marschall, 2004). In this milieu, it appears Durban has had to deal with the need to preserve an "authentic" city to the tourist, while also taking cognisance of the needs, including psychological and symbolic, of the diverse societal stakeholders in Durban, especially those that were previously marginalised within the ambit and a goal of creating a city that is socially cohesive and has unity in diversity (Marschall, 2010).

1.3 Terminology

The terms that are consistently used in this study are tourism and contested heritage. Noting that these words are fairly broad and context-specific, they are therefore briefly defined below so as to ensure that their usage in this research falls within a relevant context. However, various secondary concepts are also used throughout this study that directly relates to the investigation at hand. These additional terms to be conceptualised and contextualised are transformation, as well as reconciliation. It should also be stated that many of the defined concepts below remain problematic in the tourism sphere and heritage epistemology. However, for the purpose of this investigation these terms utlised ought to be understood and considered in the context that they are expounded upon and applied within, based on the cited literature.

1.3.1 Tourism

The World Tourism Organisation (WTO) (2008), defines tourism as a social, cultural, and economic phenomenon that entails the movement of people to countries or places outside their usual environment for personal or professional purposes (WTO, 2008). Indeed, the scholarship in tourism is generally in agreement that tourism involves the temporary movement of people to destinations outside their usual environment (Mathieson & Wall, 1982, 2006; Jamal & Robinson, 2009; Keyser, 2009). This is ordinarily for leisure, business, or any other subjective resolve, other than those activities in which the traveler will be remunerated for within the area visited (Mathieson & Wall, 1982, 2006; Jamal & Robinson, 2009; Keyser, 2009). In this context, there are a variety of factors that act as the main drivers of this temporary movement of people. These include the availability of natural, cultural, historical and heritage attractions, as well as tourism infrastructure (e.g. accessible roads and accommodation) and entertainment in the destination (Mathieson & Wall, 1982, 2006; Jamal & Robinson, 2009; Keyser, 2009).

In defining tourism, some scholars have gone to great lengths to demonstrate that although tourism is an activity that is generally embarked upon for enjoyment, it must also be understood as an activity that wields some form of power (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006). In this regard, tourism is said to have the power to substantially

impact the economic, political, environmental, cultural and social affairs of hosts (Mathieson & Wall, 2006; Jamal & Robinson, 2009; Grant & Butler-Adam, 2003; Cheong & Miller, 2000). Nevertheless, economically, tourism is perceived as the largest export earner in the world and an important provider of foreign exchange and employment (Khan *et al.,* 2020). This even despite the onslaught of the global COVID-19 pandemic.

On the psychological front for tourists, tourism is argued to contribute to the well-being of tourists by giving them restorative holidays that fulfil many human needs and wants (Tlili & Amara, 2016). Tourism is also applauded for its contribution to the preservation of cultures at a time when globalisation is arguably a force for cultural homogenisation (Van Zyl, 2005). Furthermore, the growth in interest in ecotourism has demonstrated that tourism can be an important force for the restoration, preservation, protection or conservation of environments (Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Richardson, 1993). Lastly, and perhaps the most important work with which tourism is credited, it is a force promoting peace and understanding between peoples and distinct groupings (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006; Sharma *et al.*, 2018).

In light of the above there is a general consensus amongst authors, scholars and practitioners of travel, that tourism is more than a mere industry, but rather should be considered an influential socio-economic force that can foster cross-cultural understanding, facilitate learning, contribute to environmental protection, and support local governmental programs (Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Richardson, 1993; Van Zyl, 2005; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006; Tlili & Amara, 2016). What is clear from this school of thought is that tourism is a force that can directly influence the legislative and policy dynamics of a particular place (Van Zyl, 2005). Thus, tourism can detect a need for investment in infrastructures in specific localised travel settings, to further prescribe the policy environment, so that it may flourish and benefit the local people and subsequently their communities (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006). This research, therefore, follows the paradigm of tourism as a socio-economic force that has some form of power to influence legislative and regulatory frameworks.

1.3.2 Heritage

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (2003), defines heritage as all the values, customs, beliefs, and artefacts that a society inherits from past generations (UNESCO, 2003). Heritage is generally accepted as having two main categories namely: tangible and intangible (UNESCO, 2003; Graham & Howard, 2008). On one hand, tangible heritage includes, among others monuments, groups of buildings, heritage sites, natural features, geological and physiographical formations, cultural routes, cultural landscapes, and commemorative sites (Harrison, 2013). On the other hand, intangible heritage includes, among others, "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage" (UNESCO, 2003; Harrison, 2013). However, the scholarship on this subject has indicated that the concept of heritage has shifted from a forthrightly monotonous meaning as "the legacy of the past", and an outdated understanding of it as merely "cultural product', to an understanding of heritage as a rather intricate "social process" that is actively omnipresent in the socio-political dynamics of societies (Smith 2006; Dolff-Bonekämper 2008).

This constructionist perspective that is advanced by the scholars such as Ashworth and Graham (2005); Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996); Graham *et al.* (2000); Graham and Howard (2008); McDowell (2008) and Lee (2019) pitches heritage as the conscious careful use of memory to address current societal dynamics (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Graham *et al.*, 2000; Ashworth & Graham, 2005; Graham & Howard, 2008; McDowell 2008; Lee, 2019). This "social process" involves the careful selection of values, myths and any other applicable heritage sources to address the needs of contemporary societies and/or make a case for a particular outlook for a collective community (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Graham *et al.*, 2000; Lee, 2019).

1.3.3 Contested heritage

The phrase 'contested heritage' is ordinarily used to describe heritage that evokes polarising views and carries contentious meaning for different people or groups

(Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996; Graham, 2002; Uzzell & Ballantyne 1998; Tunbridge *et al.*, 1996; Shaw & Jones 1997; Winter 2007). According to Silverman (2011), heritage contestation emanates from the power dynamics that are inherent in the social production of heritage, and its interpretation (Silverman, 2011). While the scholarship on heritage is generally in agreement that heritage is the subject of actual or potential conflict and is thus intrinsically contested, the term "contested heritage" is ordinarily associated with the quest to find heritage that represents the identity of a country in a post-colonial setting (Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996; Graham, 2002; Uzzell & Ballantyne 1998). The root of this contestation emanates from the politics of deciding what should constitute heritage, and in turn define a national identity and a country's collective memory (Lee, 2019). What eventually qualifies as "heritage" amid this fierce contestation reflects these societal power dynamics, with the heritage that does not "qualify" frequently targeted for deliberate obliteration (Winter, 2007; Lee, 2019).

South Africa is grappling with its own contested heritage that it inherited from the colonial and apartheid-eras the country endured (Hart & Winter, 2001; Marschall, 2010). The contestation of this type of heritage emanates from its role and meaning in democratic South Africa (Marschall, 2010). At the core of this contestation is the fact that this heritage is still largely perceived as reinforcing the notion of racial exclusivity, white supremacy and a dominant superior 'white culture' (Hart & Winter, 2001). In democratic South Africa, contested heritage seems to be unable to fit into the post-1994 perceptions and definition of heritage which points to a cultural product that is perceived by the majority as both good and necessary, and should be celebrated, venerated, conserved, and promoted for its ability to represent diverse social and cultural identities (Coombes, 2004).

Youn (2014), argues that when it comes to the consideration for heritage as a symbol of national identity in a post-colonial environment, emphasis should be placed on the overarching constructive aspects of that cultural heritage which will lead to the construction of a positive shared identity (Youn, 2014). However, in the post-apartheid South African context, contested heritage appears to be somewhat antithesis to the "national identity" itself which is contested. In this regard, contested heritage standing in present-day public spaces is seen as troublesome and presents

several complex challenges that will be highlighted in this study in terms of national identity construction for South Africans more broadly (Coombes, 2004; Corsane, 2004; Marschall, 2010). Additionally, in some cases, contested heritage seems to be providing memories that people in democratic South Africa would rather prefer not to maintain (Coombes, 2004; Corsane, 2004; Marschall, 2010).

Considering the above, colonial and apartheid-era heritage for this investigation is therefore perceived as contested heritage insofar as the eras it 'represents' are regarded as troublesome and inhumane periods in South African history. Thus these negative effect of these eras appear to automatically rub onto contested heritage which is perceived to be an extension of the 'troublesome', and 'inhumane' South African past (Coombes, 2004; Corsane, 2004; Marschall, 2010; Lytle, 2011). It must be noted that referring to colonial and apartheid-era heritage as contested heritage in this study does not in any way indicate that the contestation phenomenon is the preserve of this colonial and apartheid-era heritage domain. However, this inquiry uses this term in acknowledgment that there is no consensus on the meaning of colonial and apartheid-era heritage in democratic South Africa as shall be seen in this critical analysis.

1.3.4 Transformation

Transformation is generally understood to mean a profound, fundamental, radical, irreversible and sustainable change (Brown *et al.*, 2013). Brown *et al.*, (2013) concede that 'transformation' is a problematic term in the discipline of social sciences as its understanding is diverse, fragmented and contested (Brown *et al.*, 2013). To demonstrate this view, Brown *et al.*, (2013) advanced several definitions of transformation from different domains of social sciences, notwithstanding that there may not be uniformity in applying this definition across the domain in question (Figure 4).

Domain[1]	Definition
Environmental social sciences	A process of altering the fundamental attributes of a system, including structures and institutions, infrastructures, regulatory systems, financial regimes, as well as attitudes and practices, lifestyles, policies and power relations (Hackmann and St. Clair, 2012).
Anthropology	Reforming the basis on which we think about the world. A dynamic process that emerges from many small individual actions that manage to grow (Nelson, 2009).
Economics	Economic transformation has fundamental impacts on human life, with important changes to values, norms, beliefs and customs. Adjustments in society and institutions may be seen as a "controlled revolution" (Breisinger, Clemens and Diao, 2008).
Education	Transformative learning is the process of effecting change in a frame of reference, meaning the structures of assumptions through which experiences are understood. It has cognitive, affective and conative dimensions, and enables a more inclusive, discriminating, permeable and integrative perspective and process of decision-making (Mezirow, 1997).
Leadership studies	Transformational leaders are those who stimulate and inspire followers to both achieve extraordinary outcomes and, in the process, develop their own leadership capacity (Bass and Riggio, 2005).
Geography	Fundamental change in systems (cultural, political, economic and so on) involving multiple actors across interlinked levels; operate at the level of epistemology, which is concerned with deep shifts in values, behaviour and rights (Pelling, 2010).
Natural resource management	A discrete process that fundamentally (but not necessarily irreversibly) results in change in the biophysical, social or economic components of a system from one form, function or location (state) to another (Park et al., 2012).
Business	Organisational transformation means substantially changing an organisation's structure and practices, often consisting of multiple and interrelated changes across the whole system; the creation of new organisations; the reconfiguration of power relations; and a new culture, ideology and organisational meaning (Ashburner, Ferlie and Fitzgerald, 1996).

Figure 4: Definitions of transformation from different domains in social sciences
Source: Brown *et al.,* 2013

Notwithstanding the contestation around the meaning and application of the term 'transformation' in each particular domain, it appears that scholars in this subject are generally in agreement that transformation is essentially a process of change that involves the alteration of fundamental attributes of a system (Ashburner *et al.*, 1996; Mezirow, 1997; Bass & Riggio, 2005; Breisinger *et al.*, 2008; Nelson, 2009; Pelling, 2010; Hackmann & Clair, 2012; Park *et al.*, 2012; Brown *et al.*, 2013). In the South African context, transformation implies a fundamental reframing of the South African society, thus replacing an "old system" that was inherited from the country's colonial and apartheid pasts, which tended to be racially framed, with a new one that is buttressed on democratic principles and constitutional values (Andreoni *et al.*, 2021). This is essentially done through different legislations, regulations and policies that are geared towards improving the lives of the previously marginalised (Andreoni *et al.*, 2021).

In terms of tourism, before 1994, tourism was designed specifically to cater to the travel requirements of the minority white racial group, which resulted in many previously disadvantaged groups being excluded from participating (Mogale and Odeku, 2018). In 1996, the *White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa* was published and it sought to transform the tourism

landscape by focusing on the inclusivity of previously marginalised groups in terms of tourism business ownership, the outlook of the attractions offered, and the active participation of the black majority in tourism management and as tourists (domestic and international) (Grant & Butler-Adam, 2003). The extent to which the democratic government has progressively achieved this form of transformation, however, remains contentious.

On the heritage front, the *Heritage Transformation Charter* acknowledged in 2014 that the heritage landscape of South Africa is rich and diverse, however, the landscape is dominated by Eurocentric themes and motifs (Marschall, 2019; NHC, 2014). This observation was followed by the 2015 protests against colonial and apartheid-era heritage in public spaces across South Africa as eluded to above. This was despite over two decades of the implementation of purported transformative heritage-related policies such as the 1996 *White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage*, and the *National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999* (Coombes, 2004; Corsane, 2004; Marschall, 2010; Lytle; 2011) In this regard, the Charter makes a call to "achieve equity between African heritage and other forms of heritage, especially that of European origin which continues to dominate the public [spheres]" (Heritage Transformation Charter, 2014). The Charter goes on to indicate that the significant gaps concerning African heritage that exist in the South African heritage landscape and the sector must be redressed toward an inclusive and transformative heritage landscape and sector (Heritage Transformation Charter, 2014).

Writing about heritage transformation in South Africa, Marschall (2019), boldly argued that the democratic government has made substantial investments in a bid to transform the heritage landscape (Marschall, 2019). These substantial investments have, on the one hand, led to the development of legislative and regulatory apparatuses that are geared towards enabling transformation, nationally. On the other hand, the investments have enabled the construction of new commemorative markers and public history institutions that are geared towards "levelling" the heritage landscape by ensuring the cultural representation of "other" racial groups. (Marschall, 2019) However, it appears the government's approach to heritage transformation has failed to quell the incessant and growing calls for the 'radical' transformation of the heritage landscape (Marschall, 2019). In light of this context,

this study grapples with the extent to which tourism becomes a factor in these debates and the public policy about reframing the heritage landscape of not only the case study at hand but also the nation as a whole.

1.3.5 Reconciliation

Brounéus (2003) defines reconciliation as a "societal process that involves mutual acknowledgment of past suffering and the changing of destructive attitudes and behaviour into constructive relationships toward sustainable peace" (Brounéus, 2003: 51). The concept of reconciliation is seen as particularly crucial for democratic South Africa considering the suffering and attendant psychological, emotional and physical scars that are carried by the majority as a result of ruthless colonial and apartheid regimes (Shea, 2000; Yadav, 2007). The concept of reconciliation has proven somewhat problematic in democratic South Africa with some feeling the concept appears non-applicable in the democratic South African context. According to this school of thought, the concept of reconciliation is typically applicable and about restoring peaceful relations between and among communities that have had a history of mutual "conflict" or hostility to each other (Shea, 2000; Bloomfield, 2006). As a result, the concept has been perceived as rather disingenuous in the South African context by some who argue that, in as far as reconciliation refers to restoring peaceful relations between reciprocally conflicting communities, the colonial and apartheid regimes were unilaterally hostile to the black majority and other minority races, and thus the concept of reconciliation appears misguided (Shea, 2000).

However, it appears the concept of reconciliation landed in the post-apartheid political lexicon as somewhat of a call for peaceful coexistence among the diverse South African groups, and not so much on the specifics of the past relations of these groups (Bloomfield, 2006; Staub, 2006; Van der Merwe 1999). This is despite many arguing that reconciliation will remain a pipedream as long as equal rights and dignity for everybody are not upheld and respected (Brock-Utne, 2006). In the current heritage milieu in South Africa, Marschall (2019) indicates that the post-apartheid approach to heritage transformation in South Africa is influenced largely by the late President Nelson Mandela's (1918 – 2013) approach to reconciliation and national unity. Marschall (2019), further argues that "colonial and apartheid-era statues and memorials [have] largely remained in place because the Mandela-led

first democratic administration tacitly understood reconciliation as not upsetting the white minority and winning their support for a black majority government" (Marschall, 2019:4). This study will seek to determine the extent to which, within this context of reconciliation, tourism is a factor in public policy about contested heritage conservation and transformation.

1.4 Chapter outline

Chapter 1: *Context of the study*

This chapter provides an introductory overview for the investigation to follow. It provides an overview of the research problem, the purpose of conducting the study, the motivation for the research, as well as the terminology that is used throughout this investigation.

Chapter 2: *Literature review and methodology*

The literature review is guided by the set forth research objectives of the study. This chapter indicates that there is an established relationship between heritage and tourism and that tourism is indeed a force that can influence heritage preservation, conservation, and policies in tourist destinations. This study deployed a qualitative methodology accompanied by a case study research design.

Chapter 3: *Theoretical framework*

This chapter outlines the theoretical approach that was deployed throughout the investigation, as well as stating the reasons for choosing this specific theoretical approach. The evolution of the meaning of 'heritage' in South Africa, through colonial, apartheid, and democratic epochs are likewise covered in this chapter.

Chapter 4: *Contested heritage and tourism in practice*

This chapter presents the current public perceptions on contested heritage through social media in South Africa. These perceptions will be juxtaposed with the views of the decision-makers and/or professionals in the tourism and heritage industries insofar as contested heritage is concerned. The goal is to understand what the public, through social media, seems to be advocating for contested heritage, and if

this correlates with the direction that government seems to be taking in dealing with the matter.

Chapter 5: *Heritage practices in Durban*

This chapter looks at the dynamics of heritage during the colonial, apartheid and democratic eras in the city of Durban, and how the meaning of what constitutes heritage in the metropole today has progressed over the years. An array of case studies are utilised throughout the chapter to showcase how heritage has played an integral role in shaping Durban's heritage landscape.

Chapter 6: *Durban's "tourismscape"*

This chapter contextualizes the meaning of contested heritage in Durban within the context of tourism, transformation, reconciliation, inclusion, diversification, and social cohesion. The chapter further considers some of the strategies that may be explored in the Durban "tourismscape", to create successful cultural tourism products in contested settings.

Chapter 7: *Application and recommendations*

This chapter focuses on what the research has managed to achieve. This chapter will indicate whether tourism is a factor in policy discussions around contested heritage in South Africa. This chapter also provides practical recommendations to a variety of stakeholders in as far as dealing with contested heritage within the ambit of tourism.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND METHODOLOGY

2.1 Literature review

The scholarship in both heritage and tourism studies is in agreement that there exists a long-standing relationship between travel and public history (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006; Winter, 2007; Silverman, 2011). Indeed, some have even purported that the birth of tourism was a result of humankind's appreciation for heritage (Amarilla & Conti, 2012). Despite this early acknowledgment of the association between tourism and heritage, and the appreciation that heritage, or at least the appreciation of it, may have given birth to tourism, research is still lacking in terms of the role of tourism in policy discussions around heritage management, interpretation and conservation. With a specific focus on problematic public history, in principle, literature and scholarship – this chapter grapples with the role of tourism in policy discussions around contested heritage. This section will likewise consider a wide range of texts about the contestation of heritage in tourism landscapes, and how this finds expression in the South African context.

2.1.1 Relationship between heritage and tourism

Heritage is considered one of the oldest and closest allies of tourism. Most scholars trace the relationship between tourism and heritage to the 17th and 18th century 'Grand Tours of Europe' (Withey, 1997; Amarilla & Conti, 2012). The 'Grand Tours of Europe' were trips undertaken by elite young European men when they had "come of age" (Withey, 1997). These trips were meant to expose the young men to the cultural heritage of classical antiquity and the Renaissance (Withey, 1997). They also provided these young men an opportunity to view specific artwork (Withey, 1997). Amarilla and Conti (2012), argue that the Grand Tours eventually gave birth to a habit where more people, specifically the aristocracy, undertook similar trips to places with a rich heritage to appreciate the relics of classical antiquity (Amarilla & Conti, 2012).

The ripple effect of the Grand Tours was that it gave rise to the need to build infrastructures such as transportation systems and accommodation facilities to meet the needs and requirements of visitors (Amarilla & Conti, 2012). It is a common cause today that such auxiliary services constitute the backbone of modern tourist

facilities. Although such travel was initially executed by the elite, the expansion of railways over the second half of the 19th century facilitated the possibility of the less wealthy to partake (Withey, 1997).

Heritage has the unique capability of providing a tourist destination with a unique identity, or simply distinguishing it from another destination. While investigating the impact of tourism on preserving the original identities of cities as well as historical sites, Zhuang *et al.* (2019), argued that the identity of tourist destinations is in peril as a result of cultural cross-pollination due to globalisation which threatens the locals' culture (Withey, 1997; Zhuang *et al.*, 2019). Heritage is therefore viewed as a vehicle through which a tourist destination can maintain its uniqueness, authenticity, and sense of place (Zhuang *et al.*, 2019).

Heritage has, however, been perceived to be compromised by its contingent relationship to tourism. Lowenthal (1985, 1998) aptly argues that while tourism can be commended for marketing the appreciation of heritage, however, it encourages the production of 'bad' heritage (Lowenthal, 1985; 1998). This is because while the growth of tourism may have direct economic ramifications for heritage preservation and management, the obsession for 'unique' heritage has inadvertently created an economically driven desire to maintain static stereotypical forms of 'culture', and indeed heritage, for tourists' consumption (Lowenthal, 1985; 1998; Rapoo, 2016).

Tomaselli and Wang (2001), Ndlovu (2013) and Rapoo (2016) concur and underline that tourism depends on predetermined definitions of place and people, that are based on stereotypical notions of identity (Tomaselli & Wang, 2001; Ndlovu, 2013; Rapoo, 2016). According to the aforementioned authors, while the locals may be compelled to operate within the realm of 'authenticity' and stage the 'familiar', tourists are also active in selecting the forms of 'heritage' they are interested in consuming (Tomaselli & Wang 2001). Therefore in this regard, heritage becomes immersed in a defining way of life and lifestyle of a population, both in the past and present which is buttressed on stereotypes linked to identity, nationhood, community, belonging and pride (Ndlovu, 2013; Rapoo, 2016).

The relationship between public history and tourism has been credited for fostering the development and preservation of heritage. Amarilla and Conti (2012), argue that

the urge to 'experience' heritage has become an important way in which redundant heritage objects, places, and practices could be rejuvenated and marketed for commercial gain (Amarilla & Conti, 2012; Harrison, 2013). The conservation of cultural heritage, and tourism practices, are closely related since historic monuments and commemorative sites constitute basic resources to attract visitors to specific destinations (Harrison, 2013). It is thus possible to state that the practice of preserving heritage and of cultural travels has always been closely linked (Harrison, 2013).

While tourism has been commended for fostering the development and preservation of heritage, McKercher and Du Cros (2002), found that the relationship between heritage and tourism has failed to trickle down to experts in the two fields (McKercher & Du Cros, 2002). The main stumbling block seems to be the continued operations of tourism and heritage management in parallel rather than in partnership, combined with suspicion of the other's motives (McKercher & Du Cros, 2002). Regardless, research shows that a partnership between heritage management and tourism is both necessary and beneficial (McKercher & Du Cros, 2002).

In South Africa, the apprehensive relationship between heritage and tourism industries is fully laid bare in the 2014 *Heritage Transformation Charter* that the National Heritage Council (NHC) prepared for the then Department of Arts and Culture (DAC). In this Charter, the NHC claimed that "heritage arguably drives tourism in South Africa, and the latter is strengthened by the former but yet economic spin-offs derived from heritage resources only benefit tourism" (NHC, 2014:34). The Charter goes on to claim that the revenue that is derived from or through access to heritage institutions does not get recycled to assist in the development and maintenance of the heritage resources (NHC, 2014). The Charter thus called for a heritage levy that is modelled around the tourism sector to benefit and sustain the heritage sector (NHC, 2014).

This sub-section, therefore, considered all the available arguments, and explored the relationship between tourism and heritage holistically, with a specific focus on the contested heritage landscape. Some of the questions that were asked to experts while conducting fieldwork in the heritage and tourism sectors were whether the tourism sector has been involved in the conversations and debates on what should

be done to contested heritage in South Africa and whether this involvement is in any case important. Evidence in relation to the latter is conceptualised and contextualised in Chapter 4.

2.1.2 Heritage interpretation

There are multiple definitions of heritage interpretation. Gilson (2015) defines heritage interpretation as a communication or education process that seeks to reveal meanings and connect people to places and objects of natural and/or cultural significance (Tilden, 1977; Gilson, 2017). Similarly, Beck & Cable (1998) and Mills (2001) pitch heritage interpretation as a process that entails the various means of communicating heritage to people through various mediums, that are inclusive of, but not limited to live interpretation and using tourist guides. (Beck & Cable, 1998; Mills, 2001; Ross, 2007) This process involves a conscious decision on what to say about heritage, and how, and to whom to say it. Thus, it could be argued that heritage interpretations arise from the human need to make sense of an experience (Mills, 2001; Ross, 2007).

For this study, Benton's (2009; 2011) expansive definition of heritage interpretation is preferred. According to Benton (2009; 2011), heritage interpretation refers to the making of the meaning of either natural or cultural heritage resources with a goal of, among others, connecting people to places and objects of significance, conveying agency missions, fostering behaviour changes, encouraging environmental literacy, fostering protection of historic sites and natural wonders, as well as meeting general tourism objectives (Benton, 2009, 2011). Thus, the aforesaid author links the interpretation of heritage to public participation in historical reflection and collective memory and argues that this process is inherently important to the conservation process of heritage and plays an important role in promoting resource stewardship (Benton, 2009). In this context, heritage interpretation is not a "mute process" that is merely about giving meaning to a heritage resource, but in contrast, it is a very significant and profound process of engaging with a heritage resource (Benton, 2009; 2011).

Machlis and Field (1992) in turn assert that heritage interpretation, or the need for it, has its genesis in the aforementioned increased demand for visitation to heritage

sites by tourists (Machlis & Field, 1992). In this regard, while there was the acknowledgment that heritage is already inspirational in itself, interpretation added to a fuller understanding of its beauty and meaning and further advanced a case for its protection and preservation (Machlis & Field, 1992). And so, signage and information boards were 'plugged' next to heritage sites, and tourist guides were brought on board so that they could 'interpret' heritage for the visiting tourist. (Ross, 2007) However, this approach to consuming heritage, although founded on benevolent intentions, brought along several inadvertent challenges (Middleton & Edwards, 1990). Middleton and Edwards (1990) continue to argue that this approach is limiting. They found that the reliance on external parties to provide interpretation and explanation of the presence of a heritage object blocks any potential for multiple interpretations of the site(s). In this regard, the singular interpretative context has the capability to shape and mislead the understanding of the viewer about the event that is being commemorated and the heritage product itself (Middleton & Edwards, 1990). As a result, this form of selective presentation and interpretation of heritage is mischievously limiting and has the potential to perpetuate a specific narrative over all others and deny the potential of a heritage resource to serve as a source of multiple interpretations (Machlis & Field, 1992; Middleton & Edwards, 1990).

Gilson (2015) appears to concur with the aforesaid scholars and underlines that heritage interpretation is not by any means an impartial process. It is riddled with questions like 'whose view is this?' and 'for whose benefit?' (Gilson, 2015). Gilson (2015), further notes that places where heritage is interpreted such as national parks and museums, carry immense authority in terms of heritage interpretation, and these institutions not only have an enormous potential to inform, but also a considerable power to deceive (Gilson, 2015). Thus, it can be argued that heritage interpretation is a socio-cultural process that relies heavily on an individual's background for reference. (Machlis & Field, 1992; Uzzell, 1998)

The role that is played by the social and cultural dimension in providing meaning to heritage is acknowledged by Uzzell (1998). Uzzell (1998), states that understanding the meaning of heritage sites is a socio-cultural immersive practice that involves selecting only one storyline, or a very few, and usually from one paradigm or one disciplinary position, leading to other possible interpretations being obscured

Predictably, some scholars do not subscribe to this view though. Howard (2003), in turn boldly claims that many interpretations of battlefield heritage sites as an example studiously avoid taking sides, however, the resultant failure to discuss the ethical dilemmas involved can itself become an unethical position (Howard, 2003). In other words, a heritage site may carry a singular narrative, however, the narrative must show how many facets of interpretation there are to a heritage site. The claim for a somewhat objective interpretation of battlefield heritage sites seems to be rather absurd as many scholars, as the next section will reveal, have shown that battlefields are highly contested (Ashworth, 2004; Fyall *et al.*, 2006; Cooper, 2006; Scates, 2006; Winter, 2012).

Login (2014) is of the view that although heritage interpretation is a socio-cultural phenomenon; the effect of time on the interpretation of heritage cannot be underplayed (Login, 2014). In her doctoral investigation '*Set in Stone?: War Memorialisation as a long-term and continuing process in the United Kingdom, France, and the United States of America*', Login states that the meaning of heritage is not fixed and although heritage may be preserved, the society around them changes and so does its interpretation (Login, 2014). The evolving socio-political circumstances around heritage in turn changes its perceived meaning. And to fully understand this, one must employ a longitudinal approach that examines the long-term evolution of the meaning of heritage (Winter, 2012; Login, 2014). Login's (2014) views, however, are largely based on Halbwachs' (1952) assertion that although heritage may be a representation of the past, it is not capable of 'pristine' meaning, as its meaning is inevitably always in line with socio-cultural and possibly political dynamics of the present (Halbwachs, 1952; Login, 2014). "Consequently, those viewing a memorial in the present will interpret the memorial very differently from individuals at the time of its construction [as the interpretation of heritage at every epoch] will be based upon contemporary experiences, which differ significantly from those of the past" (Login, 2014).

The scholarship in heritage studies seems to agree that heritage interpretation is important in strengthening an individual's sense of national identity through belonging to a collective memory framework that is rooted in a singular national past (Lowenthal, 1985; McDowell, 2008; Lee, 2019). In this regard, in remembering the

common historical experiences that are facilitated by heritage, the members of the "nation" gain a common interpretation of events of the past and, therefore, gain a shared view of the past. Consequently, this heightened view of the past contributes to a national collective memory (McDowell, 2008).

Littler and Naidoo (2005) as well as Ross (2007) concur and look at the link between heritage, identity and nationality in Northern Ireland (United Kingdom). Their findings indicate that Northern Ireland's shared identity is both a source and a consequence of collective heritage and the attendant interpretations of it (Littler & Naidoo, 2005). In this sense, citizens understand that they went through common experiences and shared events, and these are part of their shared identity (Ross, 2007). A large part of this has been attained through overemphasising the elements that the citizens share, the impact of an ideology of linked fate, and the tendency to overemphasize the unity of group members. (Littler & Naidoo, 2005; Ross, 2007). Thus, despite the controversies of heritage interpretation, it appears the utmost importance of it, albeit sometimes manipulated, is its fostering of 'social memory' which is framed within a group. In this context, heritage is understood as a resource for nation-building and social cohesion. In South Africa, the post-1994 government has struggled to incorporate the colonial and apartheid-era legacies in its national discourse around social cohesion and nation-building. On the contrary, contestation abounds on the meaning and significance of this heritage in the 'new' South Africa which is hungry for an overarching national identity.

2.1.3 Contested heritage

The scholarship on heritage is generally in agreement that the heritage landscape all over the world is a contested terrain (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). The theme of contested heritage has always been the core of the discourse around heritage studies globally, but more so in the 1980s as part of the inquiry into the dynamics that are associated with the social production of a society/community (Bruner & Gorfain, 1983). Bruner and Gorfain's (1983) research on the Masada site - an ideologically sanctified site of Jewish heroism and resistance against the Romans - revealed the integral contestation around the meaning of the site based on the competing political, legitimacy, and religious interests of different concerned groups (Silverman, 2011; Bruner & Gorfain, 1983). It appears that although this research

sought to simply reveal the intricate dynamics that are involved in the production of the national identity of a society, an unexpected finding was that, much like the production of the identity of a community, the production of the meaning of heritage is equally a very dynamic process that is open to contestation and negotiation as part of a quest for collective memory and identity. (Bruner & Gorfain, 1983).

Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) are generally considered pioneering scholars on the subject of contested heritage. These scholars investigated the conflicts and tensions that arose as a result of the relationship between heritage and its contemporary uses and concluded that all heritage is intrinsically 'dissonant' (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). In their book, *Dissonant heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict,* the authors advanced an argument that dissonance in heritage messages, or rather in the interpretation of heritage, ordinarily occurs as a result of heritage being used as a cultural resource wherein museums play the central role in its interpretation (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). These scholars also identified dissonance in the use of heritage as a political resource for the legitimation of governments and governing ideologies (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Dissonance was also identified in the use of heritage as an economic resource that has to portray 'the familiar' (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) further identified dissonance in heritage as it finds expression in a society that is characterised by diversity in terms of culture, ethnicity, race, religion, language and other social dimensions (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). In this context, heritage dissonance is a result of inevitable contentious or conflicting circumstances in the process of heritage production or interpretation. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996), likewise denote that this process is notoriously characterised by "a lack of agreement and congruence and [is likely to be exacerbated by the] diversity of the parties involved in negotiating the heritage processes" (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996).

However, the notion of "intrinsic dissonance of heritage" has been widely contested for its generalised approach in treating dissonance as an inseparable feature of all heritage (Smith, 2006; Kisić, 2013). Smith (2006) proposed a shift from the notion of 'dissonant heritage' to 'heritage dissonance' as a way of pointing out that any heritage has dissonance as a quality and its meanings are contingent (Smith, 2006). However, not all heritage is dissonant. Smith (2006) and Kisić (2013) also state that

dissonance exists as a latent quality or a passive potential that becomes active only when a new voice is articulated and unlocks the already established discourse related to that particular heritage (Smith, 2006; Kisić, 2013). Regardless of the approach on the notion of intrinsic dissonance of heritage, the article by Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996), undeniably brought to the fore and inspired a subsequent array of inquiries into contested heritage (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Smith, 2006; Kisić, 2013).

Hall and Tucker (2004) in turn point out that one of the root causes of heritage contestation is the affiliation between heritage and the "present", which has both historical and political purchase (Hall & Tucker, 2004). This relationship is further influenced by contestation around memory (Hall & Tucker, 2004; Kisić, 2013). In this respect, the real contestation is largely in the terrain of "truth" around the meaning of a heritage object. Graham *et al.* (2000) concurs and similarly finds that "the view of heritage in any given society will inevitably reflect the memory of the dominant social, religious or ethnic groups" (Graham *et al.*, 2000: 25).

Smith (2006) expands on these findings by underlining that the contestation of heritage is not only a result of the political, economic, and social power of the diverse groups of a particular society but also, in some measure, of "the power of heritage itself as a legitimising discourse to not only validate but also reproduce certain social and cultural values, experiences and memories" (Smith, 2006). In this scenario, the groups whose knowledge has been discounted tend to challenge the dominant or privileged narratives and demand that their memory form part of the collective memory, which leads to contestation (Graham *et al.*, 2000; Smith, 2006; Kisić, 2013).

Silverman (2011) brings forth another dimension and highlights that contestation around heritage is tightly linked with the process of selecting what heritage is (Silverman, 2011). The aforementioned author goes on to argue that the process of selecting what is eventually regarded as public history, or rather heritage, is by no means a neutral one, but rather it is a social process that is influenced by a variety of factors including legitimacy claims or the power dynamics of a society. (Silverman, 2011; Lee, 2019). It is important to note at this stage that what is ultimately referred to as heritage in society is carefully selected from the past for contemporary purposes that include anchoring the collective memory, a certain narrative, r

legitiising a particular status quo (Silverman, 2011). In this context, heritage functions as a witness of the past to influence and support the current configuration or make a case to modify the current arrangement of a society (Ross, 2007; Silverman, 2011).

According to Graham and Howard (2008) as well as Lee (2019), what eventually qualifies as "heritage" in the process of heritage selection for society is carefully "constructed and shaped by the political, economic, and social concerns of the present [and subsequently leads to the] formation of collective memory" (Graham & Howard, 2008:2; Lee, 2019). Contestation then arises because the process of heritage selection is mischievously and inevitably characterised by deliberate omissions and is subject to the dominant collective memory (Graham & Howard, 2008; Lee, 2019).

Research on the topic of contested heritage suffers several limitations. Despite the contention on the notion of salient contestation that is associated with all heritage, studies to date have tended to give weight only to heritage sites associated with armed conflicts (Henderson, 2000; Cooper, 2006; Scates, 2006; Alluri, 2009; Fengqi; 2009; Chronis, 2012; Winter, 2012; Milstein, 2013; Friedrich & Johnston, 2013; Sharpley & Gahigana, 2014). Thus, investigations into contested heritage so often concentrate solely on traumatic and painful historic events such as genocide, massacre, war and slavery. As a result, contested heritage as a subject has become synonymous with terms and notions like among others, 'negative heritage', 'dark heritage', 'traumatic heritage', painful heritage', 'unwelcome heritage', 'undesirable heritage', 'heritage that hurts' and 'difficult heritage' (Meskell, 2002; Lee, 2019). On the contrary, this investigation moves beyond the misguided understanding of contested heritage as synonymous with conflict heritage to reveal the dynamics of the post-1994 South African nation which consists of a diverse populace that is seeking differing claims of identity from its past. An overview of selected cases where contested heritage has been likened to painful historic events will be detailed first.

Meskell's (2002) article on the 11 September 2001 attack on the World Trade Centre reveals the challenges of transforming such a site into a romantic heritage site of collective nostalgia (Meskell, 2002). The author dubs the site 'negative heritage' – "a conflictual site that becomes the repository of negative memory in the collective

imagination" (Meskell, 2002:558). In her article, the scholar highlights that post the September 11 incident, the World Trade Centre site has the potential of being interpreted as an intermediary between the numerous agendas and interest groups to confront religious, national and cultural differences (Meskell, 2002). However, this interpretation is likely to be contested due to the United States of America's (USA) dominant nationalist dedication to war against terrorism or the 'axis of evil' which tends to be divisive (Meskell, 2002). Meskell (2002) concludes her findings by indicating that, like all contested heritage, the contest over the meaning of the World Trade Centre site is essentially a contest over the meaning of the present and over ways of taking the site forward (Meskell, 2002).

Fengqi (2009) examined the contested and highly politicised process of remembering the Nanjing massacre by the Japanese invasion of China during World War II where about 300 000 Chinese citizens were killed (Fengqi, 2009). Although heinous, the heritage associated with the massacre, which she termed 'difficult heritage', could not find expression in the initial 1950s Chinese government's narrative around national identity (Fengqi, 2009). This is because China was at this point resolute to shake off the 'sick man of East Asia' image, and so the focus was in commemorating resistance and fighting as opposed to bitterness and suffering (Harris, 1998; Fengqi, 2009). As a result, the memories of the Nanjing massacre were suppressed by the government as it refused to associate China's identity with victimisation (Fengqi, 2009). The Chinese 'amnesia' on the massacre seems to have facilitated the narrative in Japan that the massacre did not ever happen (Fengqi, 2009). This seems to have catapulted China into action, and in 1982, the Nanjing Massacre Memorial was constructed and interwoven into the Communist government's resistance narrative of China holistically (Harris, 1998; Fengqi, 2009). In this regard, the memorial became a symbol of China as a rising power against adversities. However, according to Harris (1998) and Fengqi (2009) to the Chinese citizens, the massacre remains a bitter chapter with shameful and painful memories, indicating the disparities between government and people in the decision-making processes in commemorating heritage, an area to which this study is contributing based on the context of South Africa.

In a recent publication Lee (2019), investigates the relationship between cultural heritage and conflict, specifically how heritage and memory of war generate contestation and competing memories (Lee, 2019). Looking at the South Korean response to the Japanese Colonial Occupation Architecture in relation to the formation of national identity as a case study, Lee (2019) observed that this heritage, which she termed 'difficult heritage', generates controversies and conflicts of memory in the formation of public history and identity in the post-colonial (South) Korea (Lee, 2019). In this regard, post-colonial Korea has had to deal with the controversial relationship between problematic pasts and the formation of national identity where Japanese Colonial Occupation Architecture has been selectively destroyed, preserved, or reconstructed to either establish or challenge the cultural identity of places as new political orders are developed (Lee, 2019).

From the examples above, it is evident to see that nationalism, collective memory, and heritage are intimately entwined and have a mutual influence on each other (Lee, 2019). The above three notions are important in the process of constructing national narratives, national pride, and collective memory. However, the examples above seem to suggest that traumatic and painful historic events are the only ones that may disrupt the construction of positive national identity narratives through contestation. And so, while there is validity that painful historic events may lead to contestation in the formation of national identity, heritage contestation far surpasses this simplistic and linear approach.

The research around the politics of heritage in Africa, in a rather dynamic way, supports this observation. Early research on contested heritage on the African continent has arguably been concerned most with subverting Eurocentric approaches to heritage studies and management which tended to ignore indigenous approaches. This subject was thoroughly tackled by Ndoro (2005), in his book '*The Preservation of Great Zimbabwe: Your Monument, our Shrine*'. Ndoro's (2015), trailblazing work reveals how the Eurocentric approach to heritage management of some key heritage sites in Zimbabwe has collided with the interests of the local communities who want to continue using these sites to conduct their rituals (Ndoro, 2015). The reason for heritage contestation was therefore the tendency to give credence to the Eurocentric approach to heritage management in complete

disregard for heritage sites like Great Zimbabwe and Matopo that were regarded as sacred and were thus protected by a series of taboos and restrictions by the locals (Ndoro, 2005). However, once these places were declared national monuments, the rituals that were customarily conducted by the locals in these sites were prohibited (Ndoro, 2005). The seminal work of Ndoro (2005), has since influenced several scholars in Africa whose research is succinctly summarised below. These scholars have explored the contestation that is associated with heritage management in Africa.

Ndlovu (2009a; 2011), and Mokoena (2017), looked at the South African context, whilst Bwasiri (2011) at the Tanzanian context, and Jopela (2010a), in turn at the Mozambican context – with all scholars arguing that the Eurocentric approach to heritage management in Africa as of recent, tends to focus on the preservation of the physical properties, thus the tangible, of the heritage site and neglect the intangible aspects associated with the site (Ndlovu, 2009a, 2011; Jopela, 2010a; Bwasiri, 2011; Mokoena, 2017). Although it can be argued that most of the research on contested heritage from an African perspective (or global South perspective) has focused on the racial transformation of heritage studies as a discipline, including the interpretation of heritage objects, this is by no means the only contested terrain in Africa.

In the book '*The Politics of Heritage in Africa'*, Gavua (2015), explored how the post-colonial Ghanaian government has used heritage to objectify its respective ideals and interests to legitimise and promote itself in the process of gaining and sustaining power (Gavua, 2015). Immediately after gaining independence, the Kwame Nkrumah (1909 – 1972) (first democratic president of Ghana) regime forged a new national identity around the image and philosophy of the president (Gavua, 2015). From the onset, Nkrumah's image replaced the Queen of England's on coins and stamps, a statue of the President was erected in front of the country's first Parliamentary building (at what became known as 'Kwame Nkrumah Circle), a 'Kwame Nkrumah Institute of Economics and Political Science' was established to train civil servants on Pan-Africanism, socialism, and the other ideals of the governing party, and the 'Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology' was commissioned (Gavua, 2015).

However, this new national identity of Ghana was heavily contested by a cross-section of Ghanaians such as the Ewe and the Asante Kingdoms who agitated for self-governance and actively opposed the incorporation of their territory into Ghana (Gavua, 2015). This newly formulated national identity was also contested by opposition political parties who saw the aforesaid measure as a push towards a one-man rule and a Marxist communist dispensation in Ghana (Gavua, 2015). The resultant 1966 *coup d'état* ushered in a new anti-Nkrumah agenda which was catalysed by the destruction of the Kwame Nkrumah statue (Gavua, 2015). A 'new' national identity supported by holistic heritage was immediately pursued as a way of strengthening the "new" government's position and legitimacy to power, amid contestation (Gavua 2015). Nevertheless, post-colonisation heritage has remained contested in Ghana as the definition of national heritage has been the preserve of the political elite, and the nation's citizenry has been controversially expected to align (Gavua 2015).

In South Africa researchers have explored the controversies associated with colonial and apartheid-era heritage in a democratic South Africa, as they correctly point out that this heritage commemorated and reflected the minority view of South Africa's history (Marschall, 2010; Jacob 2014). In her research, Jacobs (2014), observed that:

> "the iconoclasm that has characterised many other societies in a state of flux and change has not materialised in South Africa. Instead, a more rational policy emerged as the desire for redressing the past became inevitable. This policy, where new statues, monuments, memorials or museums functioning as utilitarian monuments, are placed in close proximity or juxtaposed directly in opposition to old heritage sites has, I believe, been a wise one" (Jacobs, 2014:142).

Ironically, in 2015, a year after she finished her research, a countrywide protest against colonial and apartheid heritage transpired in South Africa which reveals that the policy that she branded 'rational', 'wise' and 'satisfactory', may not be rational, wise and satisfactory to everyone. Youn (2014) and Lee (2019), correctly highlights that the exploration of contested heritage and national identity formation is still an under-researched area in heritage studies. Seeing as the explorations on contested heritage have tended to focus on European and Asian countries. The contested

heritage of Africa is by comparison still very much under-represented in academia, especially in South Africa.

Focusing on the heritage related to the history of political violence in KwaZulu-Natal, Mkhize (2002), likened the heritage landscape of KwaZulu-Natal to a "minefield" (Mkhize, 2002). This is a result of this space proving to be susceptible to manipulation by different interests for personal and/or ideological benefits. Silverman (2011), argues that this heritage is contested "because we live in an increasingly fraught world where religious, ethnic, national, political, and other groups manipulate (appropriate, use, misuse, exclude, erase) markers and manifestations of their own and others' cultural heritage as a means for asserting, defending, or denying critical claims to power, land, legitimacy, and so forth" (Silverman, 2011:4).

This investigation will therefore contribute to the exploration of contested heritage, by way of further contributing to the debunking of the view that contested heritage is synonymous with painful historic events. The power dynamics that are involved in the construction of the collective memory and the construction of national identity will likewise be investigated. The efficacy of the policy of pairing 'white heritage' next to 'black heritage' will also be conceptualised and contextualised in a contemporary tourism setting with a key emphasis on the main case study for this investigation, being Durban, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

2.1.4 Contested heritage and tourism landscapes

Knudsen *et al.* (2008) defines a tourism landscape as a type or part of a cultural landscape (Knudsen *et al.*, 2008). These scholars simultaneously underline that a tourism landscape is a combination of natural and cultural elements which, for a variety of reasons, are interesting for a tourist. Moving away from the "Foucauldian notion" of 'tourism as gazing', Knudsen *et al.* (2008) view the tourism landscape as a space for the social construction of meaning – a space with a multiplicity of insider and outsider meanings (Knudsen *et al.*, 2008; Sharpley & Gahigana, 2014). According to the aforementioned scholars, tourism by definition takes place in a "tourism landscape" (Knudsen et al., 2008; Sharpley & Gahigana, 2014). Thus, this "tourism landscape is the result of a process of social construction that has played out [over a long period]. [In this context it is also important to note that] the tourism

landscape may or may not be highly contested and it may or may not have been wilfully constructed by a state that wishes to foreground certain attributes and background others" (Knudsen *et al.*, 2008). This scholarship, therefore, indicates that there are power dynamics that are inherent and play out in the tourism landscape and some of these involve the power relations around the contested question of identity and representation (Knudsen *et al.*, 2008; Aitchison *et al.*, 2002; 2014).

The aforementioned incessant association of contested heritage with painful historic events has had a ripple effect on the understanding of the contestation around heritage within the tourism landscape. Likewise, authors have developed a wide range of concepts and heuristic labels to make sense of the contested moral and memorial terrain in the tourism landscape (Alluri, 2009; Friedrich & Johnston, 2013; Sharpley & Gahigana, 2014). Some of these terms include 'dark tourism', 'thanatourism', 'battlefield tourism', 'post-war tourism', 'post-conflict tourism', and 'atrocity heritage' (Ashworth, 2004; Fyall *et al.*, 2006). According to Ashworth and Hartmann (2005), although violence and death may depict humankind's depressing history for its association to conflict, oppression, and general disregard for human rights, they can still have appeal as tourism products and historical features (Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005; Hartmann, 2005; Alluri, 2009; Friedrich & Johnston, 2013; Sharpley & Gahigana, 2014).

The inquiry into the presentation of contested heritage in the tourism landscape can be traced back to 1996 when Foley and Lennon (1996) as well as Seaton (1996), explored the dynamics of travel associated with death, atrocity, or disaster (Foley & Lennon 1996; Seaton, 1996). This they termed "thanatourism" or "dark tourism" and is comprised of visits to battlefields, murder and atrocity sites, renowned people's graveyards and internment sites, memorials, as well as events and exhibitions involving relics and death reconstructions (Seaton, 2000a; Moeller, 2005). In the recent past, colonial heritage has been included (Winter, 2007). All these, are what the scholarship on heritage studies termed contested heritage. The consumption of contested heritage has raised ethical issues over the interpretation of heritage, the appropriate political and managerial influence, and the nature of the experience as perceived by visitors, victims, and/or residents in the tourism landscape. Research has shown that tourism plays an important part in the interpretation and

management of heritage (Seaton, 2000a). However, scholars such as Bendix (2002) have bemoaned the perceived inherent subjective nature of heritage interpretation for tourism purposes.

Bendix (2002) on the one hand, argues that the process of heritage interpretation in tourism is not so much for narrating the event as it happened but it allows for its communicative restaging and mental savouring (Bendix, 2002). In this regard, it is meant to "seduce" the audience and narrator into believing touristic memories that never were, whilst advancing a well-crafted story that can transform the most humiliating, abhorrent, or terrifying experiences into an "experience" of interpretation success (Bendix, 2002). Boym (2001) on the other hand, agrees and argues that the possibilities for exploitation of a 'dark' event are even higher due to economic, political, and other social considerations. Boym (2001), also emphasises the ideological influence of tourism in the brokerage of memory and its power to utilise narratives that direct audiences towards certain attitudes and moral judgments.

Boym (2001) along with Pitchford (2008) likewise found that the interpretive power of tourism in inventing, adapting, and obliterating dissonant national historiographies is widespread in post-war scenarios where myths and nostalgic references to more remote, and hence less problematic pasts, are frequently reinvigorated (Boym, 2001; Pitchford, 2008). According to Foley and Lennon (2000), "the interpretation and re-telling of events surrounding […] death have shaped perceptions of reality. In projecting visitors into the past, reality has been replaced with omnipresent simulation and commodification" (Foley & Lennon, 2000:78). In this regard, by understanding visitor motivations, curators and site administrators provide visitors with what they consider "attractive". However, this may be problematic to the hosts or survivors within the tourism landscape as will be explained below (Sharpley & Gahigana, 2014).

Yuill (2003) in turn, reasons that the tourism landscape may experience heritage dissonance between survivors and touristic activities, and this may lead to several possible ramifications (Yuill, 2003). Firstly, there may be a conflict between the functions of education and entertainment where heritage is "sanitized", rarely focusing on the controversial, uncomfortable, or mundane aspects of the hosts, but celebrating their notable and distinctive elements instead (Yuill, 2003; Sharpley &

Gahigana, 2014). In this case, the line between education and spectacle may easily be crossed. Secondly, host sites may be missing opportunities to tell their stories. As a result, tourists are left uninformed about the real meaning of a heritage site (Yuill, 2003). Thirdly, dissonance may arise due to tourism that may be forcing the hosts to "relive" and "confront" the past they would rather forget. In the latter instance, there could be little desire to commemorate what could be perceived as a painful past, and thus remembrance could be greeted with silence (Kong, 2001; Yuill, 2003).

However, according to Yuill (2003), the subjective nature of tourism on contested heritage may not be a "bad thing". This is because the funding of such places tends to be contested as well. Thus, the attractive interpretation of such sites leads to sustainable tourism and in turn, visitors have the opportunity to financially contribute to historic preservation and the sustainability of these cultural sites. Thus, without tourism and proper tourism management, some of these sites may deteriorate and simply fade away (Yuill, 2003).

Kong (2001) goes on to note that the management of heritage purely for tourism consumption with no consideration to the fact that these sites may be other people's sacred places is one of the principal causes of heritage contestation in the tourism landscape. Yuill (2003), blames this on the post-modern approach to "dark tourism" where everything is now feasible as a leisure activity. As a consequence, all forms of leisure have become equal and all events and sites have become potential tourism destinations. As an example, Kong (2001), points out that in the United Kingdom, cemeteries that were historically sacred spaces that people could privately visit and engage with, are now being promoted as outdoor museums by the National Federation of Cemetery Friends, which inevitably causes conflict with the local communities (Kong, 2001).

The research into how memory and heritage are contested in the tourism landscape has been widely explored in Europe, North America, and Asia. Some of the case studies that have come from such inquiry have included, among others, tourism associated with the American Civil War (Chronis, 2012); tourism associated with the First and Second World Wars (Cooper, 2006; Scates, 2006; Winter, 2012); tourism associated with the Vietnam War (Henderson, 2000); and tourism associated with

Syria's Civil War (Milstein, 2013). However, such research in Africa is still lacking, although tourism associated with the genocide in Rwanda has been extensively explored (Alluri, 2009; Friedrich & Johnston, 2013; Sharpley & Gahigana, 2014).

Sharpley and Gahigana's (2014), research on tourism and the Rwandan genocide sought to debunk the claim that tourists, as outsiders, cannot begin to understand such events or take positive meaning from visiting genocide memorial sites (Sharpley & Gahigana, 2014). This reduced tourists visiting the Rwandan genocide sites to voyeurs. (Alluri, 2009) Sharpley and Gahigana (2014) observed that on the contrary, the evidence suggests unequivocally that tourists undertake their visits with meaningful intent (albeit with trepidation) and that, almost without exception, find 'genocide tourism' as challenging, powerfully emotional yet ultimately, a rewarding experience (Sharpley & Gahigana, 2014). Through this form of tourism, tourists begin to grasp the horror and suffering caused by the genocide and, indeed, leave with the desire to learn more about it.

Worden (2009) explains that in Africa, public monuments, museums, and commemorations of the continent's slave past are more orientated towards the "tourist trade", particularly in African American heritage tourism to West African sites of embarkation (Worden, 2009). This has not been without contestation. At Elmina in Ghana, locals have objected to the privileging of foreign tourism over local economic interests, and visitors' lamentations about the fate of their slave ancestors are not always shared by locals, who compare their present-day circumstances to be worse than those of the African American tourists (Worden, 2009). Nonetheless, UNESCO asserts that the promotion of slave heritage tourism in Africa, despite contestation, has increased the visibility of this topic in several parts of the continent (Worden 2009).

The research on the relationship between contested heritage and the tourism landscape has largely fallen into the trap of defining or likening contestation to conflict. Thus, although this research has indeed revealed valuable insights into the complexity of interpreting and marketing contested heritage throughout the tourism landscape, it has fallen short in expanding the inquiry outside such sites that may not be associated with war and death. With a sharp focus on the heritage sites that are associated with colonialism and apartheid in Durban, this study aims to explore

further the relationships between contested heritage and the tourism landscape, and the general claim that this relationship may contribute to increasing memorial tensions in a post-1994 South Africa.

2.1.5 Contested heritage sites and the tourism ecosystem in South Africa

Tourism is a major industry in South Africa. Tourism experts generally agree that heritage and cultural tourism is probably the fastest-growing field within the tourism ecosystem of South Africa (Grobler, 2008). The heritage that is marketed to tourism in South Africa is closely linked to its intricate past (Marschall, 2011). This past is in many respects turbulent and characterised by intergroup contests for supremacy, military conflict, economic exploitation, and cultural suppression (Grobler, 2008). All these factors have proved to be elements for contestation over heritage in South Africa and have in many cases played out in the tourism landscape of the nation.

Marschall (2011) branded the relics of imperialism in South Africa as contested heritage. This contestation is on the role and meaning of this heritage in democratic South Africa as this public history is seen as an antithesis to the ideals of democratic South Africa (Marschall, 2010; 2011; 2019; Lytle; 2011). In her article, Marschall (2011), continues to argue that the relics of imperialism act as an attractor for tourism to former colonisers who are interested in the activities of their forefathers in the former colonies. This is not a unique phenomenon to South Africa as many countries have preserved the ruins, artefacts, and cultural remnants of their former colonisers as a drawcard to tourists from these countries (Marschall, 2011).

Hlongwane and Ndlovu (2019) concur with these findings and likewise state that imperial heritage tourism has become an expanding tourist market all over the world. Consequently, it can loosely be argued then that it may be for this reason that despite the contestation around its meaning, that contested heritage remains *in situ* in the public spaces in South Africa (Coombes, 2003; Marschall, 2011; 2017; 2020). However, the possibility of tourism facilitating the preservation of imperial heritage in South Africa is explored in this research from a touristic point of view – whereby in this context filling the evident research gap in tourism academia on both matters arising.

Marschall (2008), likewise found that tourism in South Africa reinforces the stereotypical notions of identity. The aforementioned author further notes that heritage is at the core of concerns over identity and authenticity, as these notions usually come to be contested and renegotiated (Marschall, 2008). Marschall (2008), sites the bronze statue of King Shaka in front of the former KwaZulu-Natal Legislative Assembly in Ulundi as an example. The statue is based on the 1836 well-known contested illustration by Nathaniel Isaacs (1808 – 1872) which has been proclaimed the only 'true' likeness of Shaka (Marschall, 2008). However, Wylie (2006), has meticulously analysed Isaac's image and most convincingly deconstructed its claim to authenticity, highlighting that virtually no secure facts exist about Shaka or what he looked like (Wylie, 2006). Marschall (2008), concludes that the stereotypical image is deeply anchored in the public imagination and largely taken for "authentic" and "true" by tourists, and by the same token the tourism industry in South Africa (as much as elsewhere) has been thriving on highly stereotypical representations of local cultural identities. Thus, it is not surprising that the Tourism KwaZulu-Natal Authority has chosen Isaac's iconic colonial image as part of its logo, contributing to its further dissemination nationally, continentally and internationally (Marschall, 2008).

It appears that there is a deliberate push for heritage in post-colonial and post-apartheid South Africa to start detailing the foundation myth and the political ideology of democratic South Africa. South Africa seems to be grappling with its international image by breaking clear from its erstwhile colonial and apartheid pasts. While community-based, township and pro-poor tourism has afforded some South Africans to take control of how they present themselves to tourists, due to contestation around heritage, South Africa as a country is still in search of a foundation myth that will break it "free" from its colonial and subsequently apartheid identities that still flourish especially in tourism spaces at present.

However, the biggest predicament in South Africa seems to be how government, through heritage and culture, wants the world and tourists to view South Africa, versus the reality on the ground. Post-1994, the South African government has invested a great deal in liberation and resistance heritage. However, these have not necessarily generated tourism revenue according to Marschall (2008), and it can be

argued, have not had an impact in conveying the "real" identity of South Africa to the world (Marschall, 2008). Therefore, it is fair to argue that imperial heritage has remained *in situ* in the public spaces of the country, and in fact, these seem to be generating tourism revenue (Marschall, 2008).

Marschall (2008), likewise highlights that the Voortrekker Monument outside Pretoria (Gauteng) and the Afrikaner 'Taalmonument' in Paarl (Western Cape) are popular sites for both domestic and international tourists (Marschall, 2008). In terms of international tourists, these monuments are mainly visited by tourists of Dutch and German extraction who are keen to explore their cultural links with South Africa, now that they are no longer constrained by the stigma of apartheid (Anon, 1999). Perhaps the popularity of these contested heritage sites within the tourism ecosystem of South Africa is the reason why one of the biggest South African hotels, Tsogo Sun, has incessantly advertised this contested heritage as part of key attractions all over South Africa (Tsogo Sun, 2021). Taking the aforementioned into account, this research aims to delve deeper into the analysis of the contested heritage landscape of South Africa as it relates to the tourism ecosystem within the ambit of a case study-based research approach.

2.2 Case study-based research approach

This study involves a qualitative research approach focused on Durban as the primary case study. The core methods for this investigation will be deployed based on this case study-based research approach of archival research, site inspection, interviews with experts and media content analysis. These primary sources include current tourism brochures, websites, and promotional material. Thus, the case study-based research approach is administered along with other research techniques in acknowledgment of the assertion by Noor (2008), that combining this approach with other techniques for eliciting data strengthens the research (Noor, 2008).

Yin's (1984) definition of a case study research method is the generally accepted one in social studies. He defines a case study-based research method "as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used" (Yin, 1984:23). Despite the

agreement on the definition of this methodology, there seems to be no consensus on its approach. Creswell (2008), indicates that some researchers consider the case as an object of study while others consider it to be a process of inquiry (Creswell, 2008). In this research, the case study research method is utilised as a versatile mechanism that can embrace several techniques that facilitate the understanding of a concept by making it more concrete (Thorpe & Holt, 2008).

Henning (2004) in turn, describes a case study as a format that is characterised by the focus on a phenomenon that has identifiable boundaries. However, she cautioned that it will be flawed to think that case studies can be defined only by their boundedness with regards to the unit of analysis of the topic as they can also be defined by their methodology (Henning, 2004). The latter seems to justify the use of this approach in this investigation. Therefore, this approach is based on theories of cultural representation, particularly the constructionist approach to representation, which has been identified as a typical characteristic of a case study-based research methodology (Henning, 2004).

The aim of applying the case study-based approach was also to fulfill one of the objectives of this study which is to inform policy and practice for future research in the area of this study. Cohen and Manion (1989), note that a case study ordinarily serves multiple audiences, and in the case of this research, these would involve stakeholders responsible for policy formulation and promulgation of heritage transformation in South Africa (Cohen & Manion, 1989). The case study-based research approach is, however, generally criticised for its lack of rigour and the tendency for a researcher to have a biased interpretation of the data (Yin, 1984). Also, the grounds for establishing reliability and generality are subjected to scepticism when a small sampling is deployed. As a result, the case study-based research approach is dismissed as useful only as an exploratory tool. However, this is not to say it does not have its advantages.

Nevertheless, there are several advantages to deploying a case study-based research approach. For Yin (1984), this approach allows for the examination of the data within the context of its use or within the ambit in which the activity takes place (Yin, 1984). In this study, in terms of site inspection, the selected sites were periodically visited, documented, and unobtrusively observed to ascertain how

passers-by engage with or behave around the selected monuments. This is in contrast with experiments, for instance, which deliberately isolate a phenomenon from its context, focusing on a limited number of variables (Zaidah, 2003). The versatility of the case study-based research approach is also cited as an advantage. According to Yin (1984), this approach on the one hand allows for both quantitative and qualitative analyses of the data at hand. On the other hand, several studies have also been conducted under this approach through both numerical and categorical responses of individual subjects (Gerring, 2006).

Thus, the case study-based research method is generally commended for providing in-depth exploration and understanding of complex issues. (Cohen & Manion, 1989) In this regard, case study methods enable a researcher to closely examine the data within a specific context which may be a small geographical area or a limited number of individuals as the subjects of study. In this research, this approach is utilised to obtain insights and interpretation rather than merely focusing on hypothesis testing (Merriam, 2009). The investigation will focus on Durban, KwaZulu-Natal, as the main case study, however, five heritage sites have been selected for this research in the city to accommodate the overarching research objectives outlined above for this inquiry into contested heritage and tourism. These include the Botha Gardens, Dick King Statue, the Farewell Square, Congella Battlefield Monument, and the John Ross Statue (See Figure 5). These monumental statues reveal several interventions, or lack thereof, that the current South African government has had to employ in a bid to ensure that the colonial and apartheid heritage is "in-sync" with institutional social cohesion and nation-building programmes.
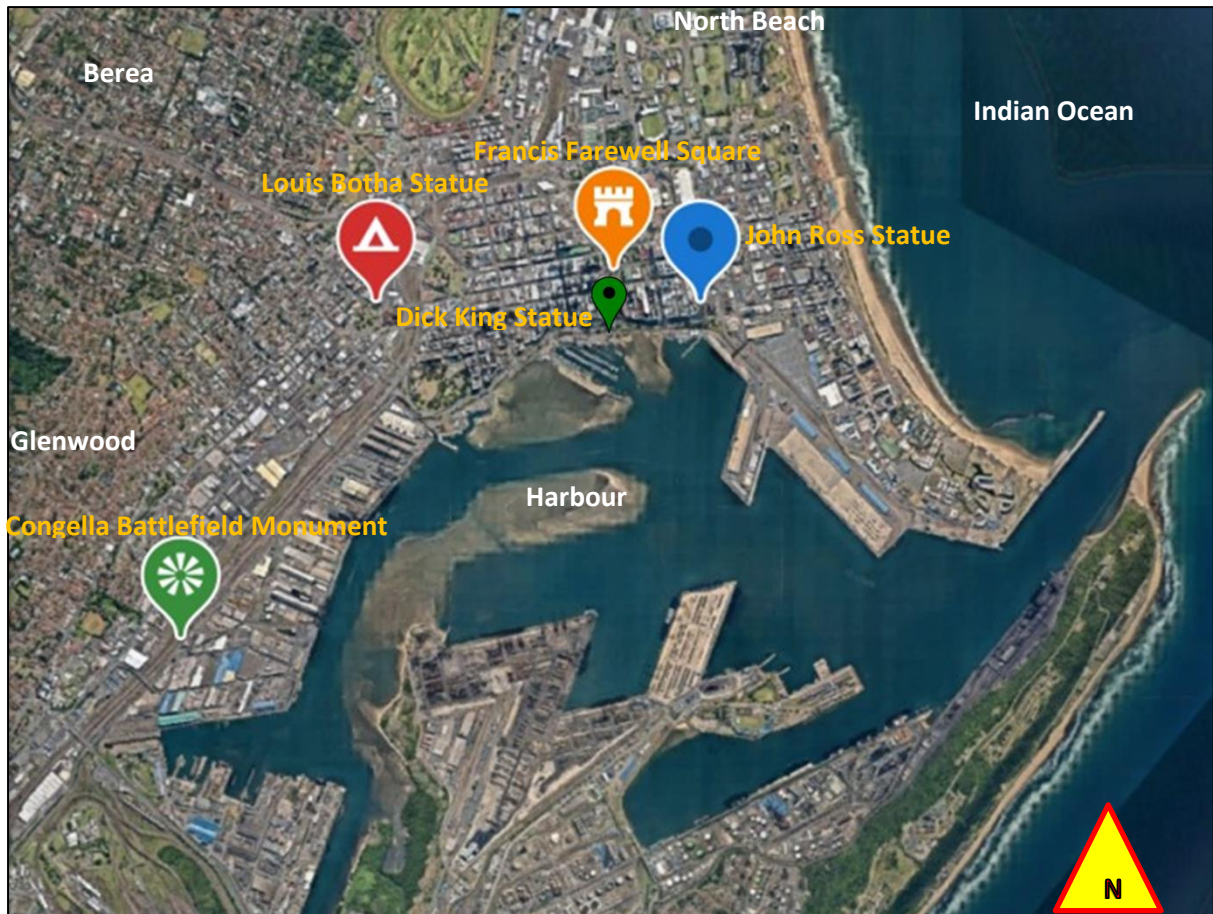
Figure 5: Map of Durban Metropolitan Area showing the location of the five heritage sites
Source: Nkobi, 2021

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

Heritage tourism as a branch of the tourism industry attests to the established relationship between heritage and tourism. In this instance, heritage is considered as one of the enablers and drivers of travel, whilst tourism is a catalyst for social and cultural exchange (Brooks, 2011). In South Africa, both tourism and heritage are important in the national discourse around, among other factors, economic development, transformation, diversification, inclusive economy, and social cohesion. Thus, it is important to emphasise that heritage on the one hand is perceived as particularly important for tourism, and by extension, to the broader economy (Department of Tourism, 2012). On the other hand, tourism is perceived as a "vehicle" through which the world can learn of South Africa's collective identity which is grounded on culture and heritage (Department of Tourism, 2012). This certainly includes the colonial and apartheid-era memorials heritage studied by the dissertation (GCIS, 2019). Despite its contribution to tourism, this heritage remains highly contested.

The economic benefits of contested heritage through tourism are constantly juxtaposed with the transformation agenda of the country, and the need for alignment with the democratic order of the "new" South Africa (Marschall, 2017). This is probably due to the meaning and the role that this contested heritage played in pre-democratic South Africa. This chapter will, therefore, provide an overview of the evolution of the meaning of contested heritage in South Africa from its colonial bearing, until democracy, and the post-apartheid dynamics associated with trying to embrace this heritage into the "new" South African discourse of transformation, social cohesion, and the tourism ecosystem.

3.2 The meaning of heritage during the British colonial rule (1800 – 1910)

McGregor and Schumaker (2006), correctly point out that in southern Africa, the investment in the construction of colonial heritage became prevalent in the 19th and 20th centuries (McGregor & Schumaker 2006). In South Africa, literature seems to broadly place colonial heritage in three categories during this time (Van Riet Lowe, 1941). The first category relates to the initial colonial encroachment and the related

territorial wars of colonial superpowers in the colonies of the time. The result was the construction of military Forts designed for the defence of the then British Empire in the territorial warfares across South Africa. The earliest such structure, although not a fully-fledged Fort, was the King's Blockhouse which was constructed up the slopes of Devil's Peak in the then Cape Colony in the early 1800s (Van Riet Lowe, 1941). Subsequently, more forts such as Fort Hare, Fort Frederick, Fort Selwyn, Fort Beaufort, Fort Armstrong, Fort Brown, Fort Cox, Fort Jackson, Fort Murray, Fort Owen, Fort Warwick, and Fort White were constructed (Van Riet Lowe, 1941). Although the Forts were initially concentrated along the western and eastern frontier, they were eventually littered all over South Africa, and Durban received its own in 1842 as part of a visibility campaign by the then British Empire to prevent the "Boers" from establishing a republic in Natal (Picton-Seymour, 1977).

The second category of British colonial architecture was associated with the rise of Anglicanism in South Africa. Literature suggests that the main aim of promoting the influence of the Anglican Church in South Africa was inextricably entwined with the broader aims and objectives of the British imperial and colonial mission (Pearse, 1929). This resulted in associated Anglican Church architecture, the first of which was built in 1814 in Simonstown, in the Cape Colony (Pearse, 1929). Subsequently, the St George's Cathedral was built in Cape Town in 1834 (Pearse, 1929). However, Bremner (2012) is of the view that the "correct" Anglican architecture in South Africa began in 1847, as a way of fostering the strong visual presence of the Anglican Church in towns and cities (Bremner, 2012). This resulted in gigantic early English Gothic and Victorian Neo-Gothic-style architectural projects as illustrated in examples such as: the St George's Cathedral in Cape Town; the Cathedral of St George and St Michael in the then Grahamstown; the Church of St Mary in Richmond; and the Church of St Paul in Durban (which was built in 1855) (Pearse, 1929).

According to Pearse (1929) and Bremner (2012), the Anglican architecture at the time was understood as markers of "God's will" and was seen as signposts pointing the way from "barbarity" and "ignorance" to the "promise" of a more tempered and spiritual life in the British "way" (Pearse, 1929; Bremner, 2012). Bremner (2012) likewise points out that there was indeed a connection between church architecture

and identity – a connection that was given a heightened significance in the context of the "national mission" to put the Church of England on a firmer and more authoritative footing throughout Britain's expanding territorial empire (Bremner, 2012). This rationale seems to have been the genesis of the colonial and settler state-building exercises and related nationalisms that followed, and which subsequently allowed for the development of ideas about race and division (McGregor & Schumaker, 2006). It can be argued that this is the frame in which the third category of British colonial heritage was birthed.

The third category of the British colonial heritage seems to have been born in the period in which the meaning of colonial heritage was now shifting from mere functionality to it being a vehicle for fostering white nationalist ideologies within a sense of unified white "nationhood" (McGregor & Schumaker, 2006). The scholarship on this subject is clear that this heritage, which is at the core of this study, was closely associated with efforts to develop a sense of colonial national identity and it aimed to nurture a sense of acquired indigeneity for the British (McGregor & Schumaker, 2006). Literature moreover suggests that the investment in building this type of heritage began, as with the rest of Africa, after the Berlin Conference of 1884 to 1885 (Picton-Seymour, 1976). In this conference, the ongoing "scramble for Africa" was intensified and institutionalised by the Europeans, and subsequently, heritage appears to have taken centre stage as a marker of legitimacy and nationalism (Craven, 2015). It can be inferred that from this period onward during the colonial period, building colonial heritage in African colonies became the equivalent of the Nguni concept of "*ukubethela isikhonkwane*", with colonial heritage itself serving as "*isikhonkwane*" (Nxumalo, 2017).

According to Msimang (1975), Cele (2013) as well as Nxumalo (2017), in the Zulu culture, and Nguni cultures more broadly, once a site for constructing a home has been identified, and before the construction begins, the head of the family, with the help of a traditional healer (*inyanga*), ensures that "*isikhonkwane siyabethelwa*" (Msimang, 1975; Cele, 2013; Nxumalo, 2017). In this culture, "*isikhonkwane*" is a sacred and cultural emblem that is launched ("*ukubethela*") for a variety of reasons on a site ("*inxiwa*") that has been identified for constructing a home (Msimang, 1975). Based on this process, two reasons are worth highlighting given the scope of this

investigation. One of the reasons is to "*ukuqinisa umuzi*" (spiritual defense against witchcraft) (Msimang, 1975; Cele, 2013; Nxumalo, 2017). The other important reason is to "link" the new home to "*amadlozi*" (ancestors) of the family that will ultimately be responsible to protect and guide the family against ills (Msimang, 1975; Cele, 2013). The place where "*isikhonkwane*" is launched ("*esikhonkwaneni*") is venerated by the family as this is where "*amathongo*" of the family are situated (Msimang, 1975; Cele, 2013).

With the "scramble for Africa" at its zenith and more institutionalised than ever before, after the Berlin Conference, Britain needed to strengthen and galvanise its grip and mark South Africa as its "own" (Cele, 2013). Using cultural heritage as "*isikhonkwane*", South Africa was consecrated as culturally and ideologically aligned to its erstwhile coloniser (McGregor & Schumaker, 2006). This exercise included branding the nomenclature of streets, towns and buildings in line with the British colonial ideology of the time. In colonial Cape Town for example, the Grand Parade is such a site that developed from mere functionality as a castle garrison to becoming "*esikhonkwaneni*" or venerated sacred site which culturally linked Cape Town to Britain (Van Graan, 2013). The Grand Parade is surrounded by the Castle of Good, the Cape Town station, both in the Victorian architectural style, and the City Hall which was built in 1905 in renaissance architectural style and embellished with a clock in the tower that was modeled on Big Ben located in London, the present-day United Kingdom (Van Graan, 2013). The Grand Parade also houses the imposing statue of King Edward VII, Queen Victoria's eldest son and successor, which was unveiled in 1905 (Van Graan, 2013). As a British cultural nerve in Cape Town, the Grand parade hosted public functions, such as the annual celebration of Queen Victoria's birthday (Van Graan, 2013).

Grahamstown (modern-day Makhanda), named after the British colonist, Colonel John Graham, is also another example of a town that transformed from a military settlement to a symbol of British colonisation with the Victorian style architecture being deployed as "*isikhonkwane*" that linked the town to its British ancestry (Daniel, 1974). The Tower House which was built in 1850 in Victorian architectural style was the most defining symbol of the British rule at the time in this region, along with the 1820 Settlers National Monument and the Elizabeth Salt Monument (Picton-

Seymour, 1976). The latter monument honours a "heroic" British woman, Elizabeth Salt, who during a battle between the Xhosa and British in 1892, walked into the battle carrying weapons and ammunition disguised as an infant to resupply the British who were running low on ammunition (Daniel, 1974). Likewise, the neighbouring East London which was built in a typical Victorian-style town planning around a cultural nerve called Queen's Park was also embellished with strong British cultural links and littered with Victorian-style architecture such as Britannia Arcade which was constructed in 1902 (Picton-Seymour, 1976).

While the use of heritage by the British to link South Africa to the United Kingdom and thereby legitimising its grip on the territory was widespread nationally, it became even more defined in Durban. In Durban, it can be argued that the dynamic of "harnessing heritage" as a way of "*ukubethela*" coupled with the Victorian town planning was employed as a continuation of the aforementioned visibility campaign by the then British Empire to whisk off the "Boers" who were in contention for territorial domination, and already in charge of Pietermaritzburg (Averweg, 2017). One of the chosen sites for this investigation, the Francis Farewell Square (Figure 6), indeed emerged as the British cultural nerve of Durban, a typical example of "*esikhonkwaneni*", where "*isikhonkwane*" is located in Durban (Bennet *et al.*, 1987; Brown, 2006). In essence, above its naming after a British colonist, the Francis Farewell Square was positioned to the "African natives", and certainly to their rivalries, the "Boers", as a marker of the legitimacy of the rule of the British Empire over the port-town of Durban.
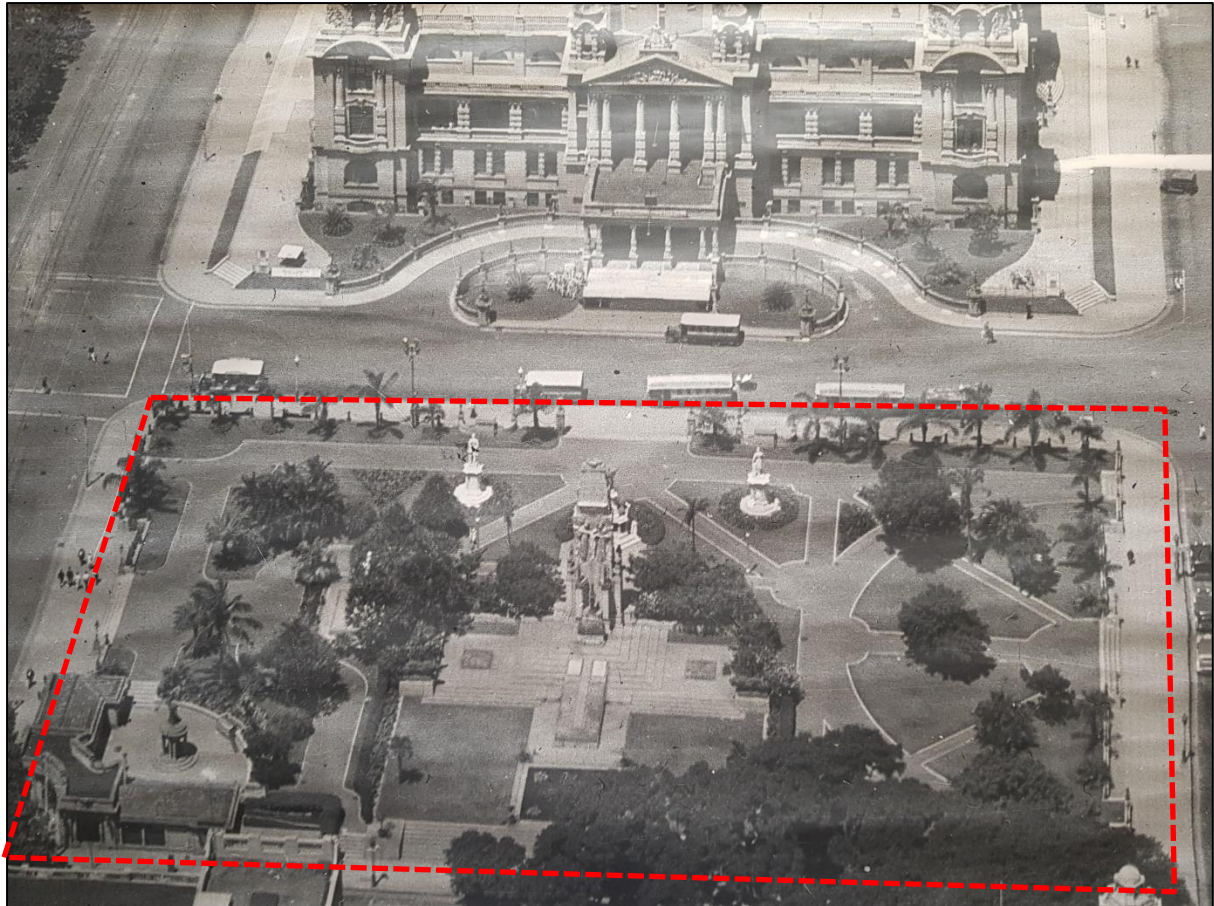
Figure 6: The Francis Farewell Square in 1940
Source: Durban Local History Museums, 2020

As a cultural nerve of Durban and a place of sanctity to the British colonisers, the Francis Farewell Square was accordingly littered with buildings and monuments of cultural significance that, just like "*isikhonkwane*" links a homestead to "*amathongo*"; linked Durban and South Africa to the ancestry of the British Empire. The Francis Farewell Square would later house the first public building in Durban, the Court House which was completed in 1866, and the Durban City Hall which was built in neo-Classical style and was completed in 1910 (Benincampi, 2018). It also consists of the Cenotaph, also known as the "Sacred Acre" that incorporates memorials of the fallen soldiers of World War I and II (Bennet, 1987; Benincampi, 2018). With the city in the hands of the British immigrants and a buoyant building activity dependent on Britain for architectural styles and talents, it was quite natural that the town that would emerge would be Victorian, which in large part still constitutes the experience of downtown Durban even contemporarily (Brown, 2006, eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality, 2020).

The heritage during the British colonial rule represented what Hall (2005), describes as the "material embodiment of the spirit of the British nation, and a collective representation of the British version of the tradition based on the lexicon of English virtues" (Hall, 2005: 21). This heritage, therefore, was an extension of the ideology, norms, and values of the British Empire which sought to legitimise British rule, and link South Africa to the belief systems of its erstwhile coloniser. The meaning and existence of this form of heritage in the public spaces in post-apartheid South Africa have become incredibly contested as this type of public history is generally seen as representing the colonial ideals, and therefore antithesis to the democratic principles of the newly democratic country. The evolving meaning of British heritage over the years as it relates to different epochs of our country despite contestation continues to morph, and shift debates even in a contemporary South African society.

3.3 The meaning of heritage during the apartheid era (1900 – 1990)

Goodrich and Bombardella (2016) locate the investment in Afrikaner heritage and, it could be argued, its pristine meaning, in the project of "uniting" the Afrikaner nation and searching for a "sacred history" of Afrikaner nationalism (Goodrich & Bombardella, 2016). This process was geared towards the production of a united Afrikaner "*volk*" (Shepherd & Murray, 2007; Goodrich & Bombardella, 2016). The phenomenon of a "*volk*" is based on the Afrikaner belief that human beings are primarily divided into "*volke*" (nations, peoples) and that each "*volk*" has its own specific culture, which although not stagnant, always remains authentic to a particular group (Sharp, 1981). This philosophy was mainly at the core of the mission of the Afrikaner which Meskell and Scheermeyer (2008) called a "state in search of a nation" (Meskell and Scheermeyer, 2008). However, in actuality, literature seems to rather suggest peoples in search of unity around an overarching identity.

The drive for unity based on an overarching identity was in response to the fact that hitherto, various European descendent groupings were divided and scattered across the country and its then associated four "provinces" (Meskell & Scheermeyer, 2008). The group of people who were later referred to as Afrikaners had never been a unified group since their arrival in South Africa (Oliver, 2019). According to Oliver (2019), what came to be known as the Afrikaner nation was a mixture of mainly Dutch, German and French people who were scattered all over South Africa (Oliver,

2019). From the seventeenth century up to the nineteenth century, the Afrikaners, then known as the "trekboers", were mostly rural scattered peoples and were connected by way of a subsistence economy (Cillie, 1979; Harrison, 1987; Sparks, 2003). It is said that the lifestyles of the "trekboers" at this point were very similar to that of the indigenous black Africans (Cillie, 1979; Harrison, 1987; Sparks, 2003). Just like black Africans who were at this point seminomadic cattle herders from central Africa, the "trekboers" also preferred pastoralism over an agriculture economy (Cillie, 1979; Harrison, 1987; Sparks, 2003). It was for this reason that this group was branded by some scholars as the "white tribe of Africa" as they tended to live in temporary dwellings similar to those of the black tribes of the then South African society (Cillie, 1979; Harrison, 1987; Sparks, 2003; Oliver, 2019). Indeed, it must be observed that the authors cited in this passage seem to ignore the substantial quantities of land lost by black communities to trekboers. As will be discussed later, this is consistent with the 'foundation myth' of Afrikaner nationalism, which is built on legitimacy and suffering.

The desire to construct an Afrikaner nation is said to have begun in the latter half of the nineteenth century (Oliver, 2019). This involved a conscious resolve to construct an Afrikaner identity centred on homogeneity, unity and predestination (Oliver, 2019). This was motivated mostly by two reasons. The first was that unlike English-speaking European settlers who saw Europe as their home, "trekboers" who spoke the newly developed Afrikaans language and coexisted with indigenous black Africans saw South Africa as their home.. This is despite the constant wars, cultural tensions and power struggles with the indigenous black Africans over the ownership and use of land (Cillie, 1979; Harrison, 1987; Sparks, 2003; Oliver, 2019). Secondly, although South Africa was under British colonial rule at the time, the "Boers" were also fiercely in a contest for the socio-political and economic control of South Africa. It was for these reasons that the "Boers" resolved to create an Afrikaner "*volk*" by unifying a large number of scattered non-English speaking European settlers who shared the Afrikaans language (Oliver, 2019). This was aimed at cultivating a sense of ownership of South Africa, while also creating a sense of belonging (Oliver, 2019). In this respect, a 'foundation myth' became necessary to instil some form of stability, legitimacy, and security in the existence of the Afrikaner in Southern Africa (Shepherd & Murray, 2007; Oliver, 2019).

In this "Afrikaner mission" of trying to unite the Afrikaner "*volk",* heritage immediately took centre stage as a defining tool and key component of Afrikaner cultural and socio-political nationalism (Shepherd & Murray, 2007). In this regard, historical events such as battles and figures were rescued from historical insignificance and given allegorical status to suggest a sense of "predestination" for the Afrikaner (Goodrich & Bombardella, 2016). Thompson (1985) is of the view that the birth of the Afrikaner foundation myth is the "taking of the vow" on 16 December 1838 before the Battle of Blood River. The vow served as the basis of the belief of Afrikaners that they were 'God's Chosen People' (Thompson, 1985). The "taking of the vow" is portrayed on the historical frieze in the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria as well as in a large memorial in Kroonstad in the Free State (Grobler, 2008). This view, however, seems objectively flawed. Most scholars on this subject, nevertheless, are of the view that there are specifically two historical events that are definitive of the genesis of Afrikaner nationalism. This is the quest for "sacred history", and ultimately the "foundation myth" (Grundlingh, 2001; Meskell & Scheermeyer, 2008; Goodrich and Bombardella, 2016; Oliver, 2019).

The first one was the "Great Trek" of 1835 to 1840, where the "Boers" left the Cape Colony and settled in the interior of South Africa. As part of the Afrikaner foundation myth, this historical event was imbued with the mythological status of Afrikaner origin and identified as an indisputable marker of "Afrikanerdom" (Goodrich and Bombardella, 2016). In relation to this, the "Great Trek" was likened to the biblical journey of the Israelites from Egypt to Canaan (Oliver, 2019). The exodus of the Cape Colony was cast as the birth of a united Afrikaner nation and heritage became crucial to properly illustrate the importance of the "Great Trek" as a unifier and a marker of "Afrikanerdom" (Oliver, 2019).

The 1938 celebration of the "Great Trek" "left a trail of monuments scattered across the country and culminated in the laying of the Voortrekker Monument's foundation stone in Pretoria" (Goodrich & Bombardella, 2016). Grobler (2008) underlines that for the Afrikaner people, the outstanding representation of their "foundation myth" is the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria (Grobler, 2008). According to Grundlingh (2001), this monument serves as the "foundational myth" of exclusive Afrikaner power (Grundlingh, 2001). Although Grundlingh (2001) portrays the Voortrekker Monument

in Pretoria as the incarnation of the Afrikaner "foundation myth" based on the "Great Trek", it is not the only memorial that was erected in this regard, and therefore does not in itself serve as a foundation myth (Grundlingh, 2001). Marschall (2010) rightly underlines that the "Great Trek" is the key symbol of the Afrikaner foundation myth, and its significance is reinforced and publicly called to mind through annual ritual observances such as the December 16 'Day of the Vow' as previously alluded to (Marschall, 2010).

The second key event which was also considered to be a defining moment that catalysed the rise of the Afrikanerdom was the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902. The Anglo-Boer War was fought between the British and the "Boers" and was ultimately won by the British. The Anglo-Boer War is important in the foundation myth of an Afrikaner "*volk*" in terms of enacting what was perceived as the gallant deeds of the Afrikaner to form the core of its own identity (Grundlingh, 2001; Grobler, 2008). At the same time, the narrative around the War also dwelt on the oppression, persecution and injustice of the Afrikaners by the British (Grobler, 2008). At the core of this narrative, was the martyrdom of the Afrikaner in their struggle for freedom from the British, and the great suffering of the "non-aggressive" Afrikaner at the hands of the "aggressive" British regime (Grobler, 2008). Heritage during this epoch sought to illustrate this narrative and unite the Afrikaner "*volk*" around the overarching narrative of martyrdom, suffering and struggle for freedom (Grundlingh, 2001).

Both the aforementioned historical events pitch the Afrikaner "foundation myth" around the phenomenon of 'struggle', with the "Great Trek" being the struggle to achieve freedom while the Anglo-Boer War being the struggle to safeguard freedom (Grobler, 2008). The 'martyrs' and 'warriors' of these historical events were subsequently honoured as heroes through memorials, such as the historical frieze in the Voortrekker Monument that portrays women and children being killed by Zulu warriors at Weenen in February 1838, and the National Women's Memorial in Bloemfontein, which pays homage to Afrikaner women and children who died in the Concentration Camps of the British military authorities during the Anglo-Boer War (Grobler, 2008). In this regard, the 'martyrs' are commemorated as heroes who sacrificed their lives for freedom and justice (Grobler, 2008).

In Durban, it appears the Afrikaner heritage came about as part of the "foundation myth" based on the aforementioned historical events, but also as part of the unity negotiations between the Afrikaner and the British that culminated in the Union of South Africa in 1910 (Marschall, 2010). As an example, the Boer War Memorial was erected by the Durban Town Council in 1905 after the Anglo-Boer War, in what could be called a British cultural 'shrine', the Francis Farewell Square. The erection of the Afrikaner monuments in the Francis Farewell Square, and all over the city by the British who were in charge of the Durban Town Council at the time was very necessary to illustrate a commitment to the Union, and thus peaceful coexistence going forward for the two parties.

3.4 Colonial and apartheid-era heritage legislation

The first heritage legislation in South Africa was passed in 1911. This legislation called the *Bushmen Relics Protection Act* 22 *of 1911*, had an exclusive bias towards the protection of the heritage of the Khoi and San people and their immediate descendants (Ndlovu, 2011; Manetsi, 2017). According to Ndlovu (2011), and Manetsi (2017), this was because at this point, archaeologists were concerned with the heritage of the Khoi and San people whom they believed were a "dying nation" (Ndlovu, 2011). The main aim of the *Bushmen Relics Protection Act* thus was to thwart the smuggling of original rock paintings and engravings of these groupings to Europe and the rest of the global North. In the absence of a permit, the removal of this type of heritage became a punishable offence (Ndlovu, 2011; Manetsi, 2017). This legislation, however, made no provision for the protection of any other type of heritage. A new law was passed in 1923 to essentially protect colonial monuments in line with the principles of the colonial regime (Ndlovu, 2011).

The *Natural, Historical, and Monuments Act 6 of 1923* made provision for the appointment of a Commission for the Protection of Natural and Historical Monuments of the Union of South Africa (Harding, 1954). The Commission's duty, amongst other things, was to compile a register of monuments that were deemed worthy of preservation for future generations (Harding, 1954). The list included buildings, game sanctuaries, places of natural beauty and scientific interest, rock paintings, and other remains of archaeological and/or geological importance (Harding, 1954). This law, however, was squarely in line with the ideals of the then colonial government and

made no provision for neither preservation nor conservation and protection of most of the heritage of the African majority of the Republic (Ndlovu, 2011; Manetsi, 2017). However, under the 1923 Act, the Commission had no powers to recommend the proclamation of any building, site, or other relics as a National Monument, and this was subsequently rectified in the 1934 amendment (Ndlovu, 2011; Manetsi, 2017).

In 1934, under the Commission's recommendation, the *Bushmen Relics Protection Act 22 of 1911* and the *Natural, Historical and Monuments Act 6 of 1923* were repealed and the *Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act 4 of 1934* was passed to replace them (Kotze and van Rensburg, 2003). Under this Act, a new commission, the "Commission for the Protection of Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques" was established (Kotze & van Rensburg, 2003). Unlike its predecessor, this commission was empowered to recommend the proclamation of any monument, relic, or antique; prohibit the destruction or alteration of any heritage resources; draft regulations controlling access to proclaimed sites; and control archaeological and palaeontological excavations (Harding, 1954). In 1937, this Act was further amended to give the Commission the powers to recommend the proclamation of groups of objects instead of only single objects (Harding, 1954). Again, this legislation paid no attention to the protection of the heritage of the black majority (Ndlovu, 2011; Manetsi, 2017).

The *Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act of 1937* essentially enabled the Commission to embark on a process which, by 1949, had proclaimed over 300 properties of architectural and historical interest, and 126 sites as historical monuments (Harding, 1954). The Act was, however, repealed during the early years of the apartheid regime in 1969 and was subsequently replaced with the *National Monuments Act 28 of 1969* which, like its predecessor, made it illegal to "destroy, damage, excavate, alter, [or] remove [any heritage resources] from its original site or export [it] from the Republic" (National Monuments Act 28 of 1969; Kotze & van Rensburg, 2003). This Act further provided for the declaration of certain sites to national monuments (National Monuments Act 28 of 1969; Kotze & van Rensburg, 2003).

This promulgation provision in the 1969 Act ultimately ensured that by 1992, 3500 heritage sites and national monuments had been declared with 97% of these directly

related to colonial British and Cape Dutch architecture and historical significance (Goodrich and Bombardella, 2016). Not only did these colonial and apartheid-era laws protect the monuments and heritage sites, but it also entrenched this form of heritage into the socio-political context of the then racist regimes by discriminating against the heritage of the black majority (Ndlovu, 2011; Manetsi, 2017). This ensured that what was essentially declared as "national heritage" directly related to the values and experiences of the white minority.

3.5 Travel regulations and policies during the colonial and apartheid eras

Travel has always been seen as the backbone of socio-economic development in South Africa. Tourism in South Africa emerged as a formal industry as part of the South African Railways. In 1906 the original South African Railways established a publicity and travel department to promote tourism in South Africa (Jonker, 2004). South African Railways remained the official tourism body that was responsible for promoting tourism in South Africa until 1938 when the Tourism Development Corporation was formed and took over the role of promoting tourism in and to South Africa (Jonker, 2004). However, at this point, tourism was the preserve of white people as racial segregation brought on by colonial and apartheid laws during this period reinforced racial discrepancies and hampered the participation of black people in tourism more broadly (Jonker, 2004).

Racial separation, racial exclusion and racial discrimination reached a pinnacle in 1948 when the apartheid government took over. Adinolfi and Ivanovic (2015), correctly state that when the National Party government came into power in South Africa in 1948, it promulgated a series of discriminatory legislation which included the *Group Areas Act of 1950* which segregated people into three racial groups namely Whites, Native Africans, and Coloureds. Furthermore, the attendant the *Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act No. 67 of 1952*, commonly known as the *Pass Law Act of 1952*, also notoriously controlled the entry of black people to the major cities of the time to levels consistent with demands for labour (Adinolfi & Ivanovic, 2015). This law forced the black majority to carry a range of documents, including a photograph, place of birth, employment records, tax payments, and criminal records; and enabled the then apartheid government to

restrict the movement of the black majority and subsequently their travels at a local, provincial and national level (Adinolfi & Ivanovic, 2015).

The segregation and deliberate discriminative policies enshrined in various apartheid laws negatively impacted and stymied the participation of the black majority in tourism (Lubbe, 2003 Mogale & Odeku, 2018). Apartheid legislation additionally also circumscribed the potential of domestic tourism as the majority of the population did not have spatial mobility or access to a range of leisure activities and spaces, or accommodation facilities, which were deemed the exclusive preserve of the white population (Lubbe, 2003; Rogerson & Visser, 2004). The restrictions that apartheid placed on the mobility of most South Africans significantly curtailed the ability of the national tourism system to develop to its full potential with the full participation of all South Africans (Rogerson & Visser, 2004). As a result, the broader tourism system represented a fraction of the national economy and did not hold much government policy prominence in any planning frameworks up until the early 1980s (Rogerson & Visser, 2004; Visser, 2020).

On the international front, the apartheid travel regulations were also a menace. It is argued that although South Africa was during the apartheid regime recognised by several international organisations such as the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) as being a "desirable tourist destination" because of its environmental and climatic advantages, tourism growth was slow seeing as the apartheid regime prioritised the protection of South African airports making the cost of traveling into South Africa expensive and out of monetary reach for some (Allen & Brennan, 2004; Mogale & Kola Odeku, 2018). This appears to have been a strategic and sinister move by the apartheid government to prevent the world from witnessing the injustices and racial segregation committed against the black majority at the time (Mogale, 2019). Accordingly, this approach hampered the growth of tourism in South Africa during this period given the industry's imposed "exclusivity" (Allen & Brennan, 2004; Mogale, 2019).

The scholarship in the tourism sector has acknowledged the lack of a culture of tourism-related travel by the black majority in post-apartheid South Africa as one of the vestiges of the discriminatory regulations brought on by apartheid (Rogerson, 2014). This phenomenon by the black majority is said to have compromised

domestic tourism growth (Rogerson, 2014; 2015). This phenomenon is likewise attributed to the uneven geography of tourism in South Africa as a result of racial segregation and particularly the migrant labour system during apartheid rule (Rogerson, 2014). Various scholars have likewise argued that the lack of travel is even more prevalent among poorer households from former Bantustans as well as a majority of the marginalised populations residing within or on the outskirts of major cities (Rogerson & Visser, 2004; Rogerson, 2014; 2015a; Butler & Rogerson 2016). This "exclusivity" contextualises the meaning and debates around heritage historically, taking cognisance of the broader societal dynamics as a result of the aforementioned conditions, the existing legal and policy environment, and also tourism as a driving force of the economy, and the contradictions that may arise from these dynamics.

3.6 Heritage legislation in the democratic South Africa

The dawn of democracy saw the continuation of conversations around heritage transformation that had intensified along with discussions that gave "birth" to a "new" South Africa in 1994. While the *National Monuments Act 28 of 1969* remained in place, the South African Constitution that was passed in 1996 acknowledged the cultural rights of all South Africans regardless of race (Ndlovu, 2011).

The first post-apartheid policy for heritage, arts and culture was adopted in 1996, and it was called the *White Paper on Arts, Culture, and Heritage of 1996*. This policy document was somewhat silent on what should happen to colonial and apartheid monuments post-apartheid. According to Marschall (2019), its approach was seemingly in sync with former President Nelson Mandela's (1918 – 2013) approach to reconciliation which was based largely on diplomacy and keeping peace instead of pursuing a radical approach to achieving societal transformation (Marschall, 2010; Marschall, 2019). Based on this approach, the mandate was clear, that the heritage landscape was mainly to be left as it was, however, there ought to be a substantial investment to promote the heritage, arts and culture (tangible and intangible) of the previously marginalised majority (Marschall, 2010, 2019).

The aforementioned White Paper was also in furtherance of the inclusive vision of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which called for symbolic

reparations for those who suffered during the apartheid years (Baines, 2009). The TRC Report proposed the construction of memorial sites that would enable visitors to come to terms with South Africa's divided history by providing a place where people could not only mourn the loss of loved ones who died in various conflicts but also celebrate the victory of democracy and freedom (Baines, 2009). So, it was based on this vision that, in terms of transformation, the White Paper gave birth to the then Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology's (DACST) National Legacy Projects in 1997 (DACST, 1997). The National Legacy Projects were, in line with furthering the vision of the TRC Report, meant to balance the heritage landscape through the construction of heritage sites that generally represented the previously marginalised (DACST, 1997).

Consequently, the first post-apartheid legislation for heritage was passed in 1999 when the *National Monuments Act of 1969* was finally repealed and subsequently replaced by the *National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999*. This Act was promulgated to promote the "good management" of all heritage resources in South Africa. In 2000, the old National Monuments Council was dissolved, and through the *National Heritage Resources Act*, the South African Heritage Resource Agency (SAHRA) was established as the national administrative body responsible for the protection of South Africa's cultural heritage (Kotze & Van Rensburg, 2003; Ndlovu, 2011; Manetsi, 2017). The main role of the *National Heritage Resources Act*, in turn, was thus to enable and encourage communities to nurture and conserve their legacy, memorials included, so that it may be bequeathed to future generations (National Heritage Resources Act, 1999, Kotze & Van Rensburg, 2003; Ndlovu, 2005; 2011; Manetsi, 2017).

Importantly, the *National Heritage Resources Act* promulgated a three-tier system for heritage resources management in South Africa at the national, provincial, and local levels. This process allowed for the nomination and declaration of heritage resources with exceptional significance (internationally, nationally and locally), to be managed nationally by SAHRA as Grade I sites (The Council of Heritage Western Cape, 2016). The Act further makes provision for heritage to be graded and declared as provincial (Grade II), and these are the responsibility of Provincial Heritage Resources Authorities (PHRAs) that are established under Section 23 of the

aforementioned Act (The Council of Heritage Western Cape, 2016). Local municipalities have the responsibility for sites of local significance (Grade III) and those that have not been graded (National Heritage Resources Act, 1999; Heritage Western Cape, 2016).

It is therefore important to note at this stage that the monuments in question in this investigation are generally Grade II and III heritage resources and are therefore protected and managed either at a provincial or local level. Although this is the case, these monuments also fall under Section 37 of the *National Heritage Resources Act* which is prescriptive that "public monuments and memorials must, without the need to publish a notice to this effect, be protected in the same manner as places which are entered in a heritage register" (National Heritage Resources Act, 1999).

In Durban, or at the provincial level, the monuments are also protected under the *KwaZulu-Natal Heritage Act 4 of 2008*. This implies that the five monuments in question are additionally also managed provincially by the KwaZulu-Natal Amafa and Research Institute (Amafa Institute), although they are the responsibility of the local municipality which is eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality (Amafa Institute*,* 2008). This protection of the monuments, along with other heritage resources in the country ensures that, in line with section 27, sub-section 18, of the *National Heritage Resources Act*, "no person may destroy, damage, deface, excavate, alter, remove from its original position […] any heritage site without a permit issued by the heritage resources authority responsible for the protection of such site" (National Heritage Resources Act, 1999).

3.7 Tourism legislation in South Africa post-1994

The *Tourism Act 72 of 1993* was the first legislation that governed the South African post-apartheid tourism landscape. The principal aim of the *Tourism Act 72 of 1993* was to provide for the promotion of tourism to and in South Africa. This Act also advocated for the coordination and rationalisation of the activities of persons who are active in the tourism industry (Tourism Act, 1993). Importantly, the *Tourism Act 72 of 1993* also provided for the establishment of a body that is obliged to exercise, perform and carry out certain powers, functions, and duties in the tourism industry.

Accordingly, the first South African Tourism Board was established in 1993 (Tourism Act, 1993).

The purpose of the Tourism Board was initially to market South Africa as a domestic and international tourist destination; market South African tourism products and facilities internationally and domestically; develop and implement a marketing strategy for tourism that promotes the objectives of the *Tourism Act 72 of 1993* (Tourism Act, 1993). The Board was also responsible to advise the Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism on any other matters relating to tourism marketing; with the approval of the Minister, establish a National Convention Bureau to market South Africa as a destination for business events; and report to the Minister on the work performance of the National Convention Bureau (Tourism Act, 1993).

It is a common cause, however, that the post-apartheid South African government has been gripped by the Constitutional goal of transforming the South African society and as such, the *Tourism Act 72 of 1993* was amended three times in 1996 and twice in 2000 before its replacement in 2014 came to align it to this Constitutional goal (Mogale & Odeku, 2018). The amendments were to ensure that the *Tourism Act 72 of 1993* is buttressed by the principles of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa which called for correcting the historical discrimination and injustice of the black majority (Davids, 2008; Mogale & Odeku, 2018).

The first post-apartheid policy to guide and structure the tourism industry in South Africa was spearheaded by the *White Paper on Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa*, promulgated in 1996. This White Paper was promulgated within the ambit of fostering transformation, driving and delivering socioeconomic inclusion, reducing poverty, and creating employment especially for the historically marginalised black South Africans who were deliberately denied and prevented from participating in the tourism industry during the apartheid era (DEAT, 2002). Mogale and Odeku, (2018) concur and underline that this White Paper was premised on ensuring that tourism is inclusive and everyone is allowed to participate fairly and equally (Mogale & Odeku, 2018).

Pieterse (2006), as well as Mogale and Odeku (2018), in turn, are of the view that the White Paper and subsequent tourism policies that followed were firmly geared towards inclusion, transformation, creating employment, infrastructural development, and poverty alleviation (Pieterse, 2006; Mogale & Odeku, 2018). However, it appears the biggest dilemma for the present government has been to find a balance between economic growth and economic inclusion by way of touristic activities (DEAT, 2002; Mogale & Odeku, 2018). It appears that although tourism in South Africa is seen as important in terms of fostering economic inclusion, its utmost importance for the government is its potential as a 'low hanging fruit' to ease most of the country's incessant economic challenges such as unemployment (Mogale & Odeku, 2018). The White Paper and subsequent travel legislation, strategies and policies have also pitched tourism in South Africa as a "missed opportunity" that has the potential to encourage entrepreneurship; provide immediate employment in a multiplicity of skills and expertise; create entrepreneurial opportunities and jobs' bring development to rural areas and the indigents; and generate foreign exchange for the country (Mogale & Odeku, 2018). Unfortunately, this endeavour remains largely in theory and not in practice.

The underlying theme of fostering economic growth through tourism is also found in the New Growth Path (NGP) that was released in 2010. The NGP identified job creation as its main objective and it accordingly identified travel and tourism as a key industry to achieve this (Zarenda, 2013). The same tone can also be found in the National Development Plan (NDP) that was adopted by the government in 2012. The NDP identifies tourism as an engine to alleviate poverty, reduce inequality, reduce unemployment, and of course provide the marginalised rural areas the opportunity to have meaningful participation in the economy (Zarenda, 2013).

The first National Tourism Sector Strategy (Tourism Strategy) for South Africa was published in 2011 as a ten-year plan for the tourism sector that places transformation at the centre of the changes required to grow the sector from 2010 to 2020. However, the Tourism Strategy subsequently underwent a review to position the tourism economy to play an enhanced role in the growth of the overall economy of South Africa (National Tourism Sector Strategy, 2017). The reviewed National Tourism Sector Strategy was approved by Cabinet in December 2017 as a ten-year

Strategy from 2016 to 2026. In the reviewed National Tourism Sector Strategy, the underlying theme of absolute economic growth through tourism became somewhat more defined (National Tourism Sector Strategy, 2017). According to the Department of Tourism (2021), the purpose of the review of the National Tourism Sector Strategy was to link tourism to broader development imperatives of government, including addressing barriers to growth and the building of a transformed and inclusive tourism economy (National Tourism Sector Strategy, 2017). The reviewed Tourism Strategy thus focuses on economic growth which is based on domestic and international tourist market growth, foreign tourist arrivals and expenditure increases (National Tourism Sector Strategy, 2017).

In 2012, the newly stand-alone Department of Tourism launched the National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy with a mission of unlocking the economic potential of heritage and cultural resources through sustainable tourism development while simultaneously raising awareness of the ability of heritage and cultural tourism to contribute towards social cohesion (National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy, 2012). The overarching objective of this Strategy was to provide an integrated framework for the development and promotion of heritage and cultural tourism products for economic development (National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy, 2012). However, there seems to be a lack of relationship and trust between the cultural and heritage sector and the tourism sector in South Africa. One of the respondents in this study, Dr. Thabo Manetsi,[2] the Chief Director for the Department of Tourism indicated that the Department of Tourism is not intimately involved in the discussions around heritage in the country, and it was not even involved in debates around contested heritage in 2015 (Manetsi, 2020). This lack of relationship was cited as a challenge in the Heritage Transformation Charter that was prepared by the National Heritage Council in 2014 (NHC, 2014).

In 2014, a new legislative framework, the *Tourism Act 3 of 2014*, was developed to replace the *Tourism Act 72 of 1993*. The previous Act was considered at this stage not to be in line with, and fully capable of implementing, the objectives of the White Paper and the National Tourism Sector Strategy (Pedersen, n.d.). The new *Tourism Act* provides the Minister of Tourism with the option to determine norms and

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[2] Interview with Dr Thabo Manetsi, Chief Director: Tourism Enhancement, National Department of Tourism, on 8 October 2020

standards that must be applied by official tourism institutions while private firms have the option to choose whether they want to implement the norms and standards (Tourism Act, 2014; Pedersen, n.d.). The biggest change from the *Tourism Act 72 of 1993* to the current Act was to further strengthen the Tourism Grading Council of South Africa (TGCSA), which is responsible for the implementation of the national grading system in terms of quality assurance for tourism products in South Africa (TGCSA, 2019). The council is to supervise that all grading conforms to the standards and objectives of the national strategies and that the standards are maintained and upgraded where necessary (TGCSA, 2019). When the TGCSA presented to the Parliamentary Committee on Tourism in November 2019, it acknowledged that although its mandate entails grading services, facilities, and products broadly, its focus was then primarily on the grading of accommodation establishments due to resource constraints (TGCSA, 2019). Indeed, the success of this endeavour will certainly rely on proper governance and collaboration, and with the seeming arm's length relationship with the heritage sector, it is difficult to foresee a successful grading system for heritage tourism products. Strangely, the National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy is also mute on the grading aspect of heritage tourism products (Ramoshaba, 2016). This study will expand on the relationship, or lack thereof, between tourism and heritage as it relates to contested heritage.

3.8 The South African heritage and tourism nexus

In South Africa, the niche area of cultural and heritage tourism is believed to hold particular promise for the racial socio-economic transformation of the tourism sector and the empowerment of previously marginalised communities (Marschall, 2007). This type of tourism is structured around community-based resources (Moodley, 2012). The 2012 National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy as outlined above emphasises that heritage tourism must be allied with tangible benefits and economic development of previously disadvantaged communities (National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy, 2012). The National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy in turn also emphasises the diversity of cultural and heritage products of South Africa and cautions against 'over-marketing or overdeveloping' of the 'known

[iconic] attractions' (National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy, 2012). This is indeed also the case for Durban.

Durban is the most popular destination of choice in KwaZulu-Natal and is purported to be one of the country's most visited destinations (Makhaola & Proches, 2017). Tourism to Durban was historically a natural attraction, particularly given the warm Indian Ocean (Maharaj *et al.*, 2008; Marschall, 2012). However, with the advent of democracy in 1994, Durban repositioned itself as a city with a diverse range of tourism products that included cultural heritage (Maharaj *et al.*, 2008). According to Marschall (2007), current cultural heritage tourism options in Durban mimic those in other parts of the country such as museums, historical or architectural city tours, township tours, monuments, and heritage sites (Marschall, 2007).

However, the Durban strategy around tourism and heritage seems to be indeed in line with the National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy which cautions against 'over-marketing or overdeveloping' of the 'known attractions' (National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy, 2012). Such 'iconic attractions' in Durban are the colonial and apartheid-era monuments. Thus, it is not surprising that post-apartheid there have been massive financial investments in heritage products like Inanda Heritage Route which focuses on historical sites and monuments commemorating influential figures of the liberation struggle that played a role in achieving democracy in South Africa (Marschall, 2012; Moodley, 2012). Focus has also been on the 'Freedom Route' which was launched in 2008 and combines various "freedom nodes" associated with the liberation struggle heroes and events such as the KwaMuhle Museum in Durban (Marschall, 2012). This research as previously indicated will also look at whether this transformational approach which can be said to be based on the 'neglect' of public history has had any ripple effect on the perception of contested heritage in post-apartheid Durban.

3.9 Memorials after democracy

In 1994, South Africa inherited from the colonial and apartheid governments' heritage landscape, including heritage legislation that was shaped in accordance with the ideals of colonial and apartheid systems. During the colonial and apartheid regimes, architects of segregation such as Jan Smuts and Cecil John Rhodes were

heroically celebrated through, amongst others, memorials, public statues, and street names (Marschall, 2010). The dawn of democracy, however, saw the colonial and apartheid-era memorials raising sharp debates and public controversies about their meaning and subsequent role in a South African democratic society (Marschall, 2010). These memorials are highly contested in democratic South Africa. For critics, these memorials do not belong in the "new" South Africa as they are an antithesis to the "new" democratic ideals of the nation-state. This is because they depict individuals whose "heroism" emanated from their outstanding ability to craft and maintain a racist system that bred white supremacy and right-wing nationalism (Ndletyana, 2015). However, there is generally no consensus on the meaning and role of this contested heritage in democratic South Africa (Marschall, 2017).

It is also important to note for this investigation that the conversations around heritage policy, and what role heritage should play in democratic South Africa, began to emerge pre-democracy. These discussions gained substantial momentum with the unbanning of political parties, including the African National Congress (ANC) in 1990 (Coombes, 2003). As a way of streamlining and institutionalising these debates, the ANC established a commission to draft policies on arts, culture and heritage for a post-apartheid South Africa (ANC, 1994; Corsane, 2004). The first draft policy that came out of this process immediately identified the need to recognise the liberation struggle heritage and the fact that the struggle for democracy has led to a culture of the majority of South Africans becoming one of resistance to colonialism and apartheid (Corsane, 2004). This draft policy further asserted that post-apartheid, the government of national unity must concern itself with preserving, revitalising and promoting the national cultural heritage of all citizens of this newly fought for free society. Importantly, special efforts must also be devoted to conserving the neglected and suppressed aspects of the culture of the people of South Africa as part of transforming the cultural heritage landscape (Corsane, 2004).

In terms of transformation in the actual cultural heritage landscape, this approach was rather cautious, with no clear direction (Marschall, 2019). In this regard, the draft policy stated that the memorials adopted and carried over from the colonial and apartheid eras would be reassessed to ensure that they foster reconstruction and reconciliation (Corsane, 2004; Marschall, 2019). Furthermore, historical and cultural

collections, resources, and sites of the country should fully reflect the many components and diversity of the South African cultural heritage domain and should in turn also be accessible to all communities (Corsane, 2004; Marschall, 2019). Interestingly, Coombes (2004) points out that in these conversations around heritage leading up to democracy, "the ANC spokespeople involved in the outlining of cultural policy for the new democratic government were adamant that most of the Afrikaner monuments should remain" (Coombes, 2004: 20). This sentiment was perhaps the biggest factor in terms of post-apartheid policy position around heritage.

It is important to note though that upon attaining democracy, some very controversial statues that depicted people that were seen as the architects of the notorious apartheid system such as B. J. Vorster, D. F. Malan, and other apartheid leaders were removed in the face of the uproar from some sections of the South African population (McCracken, 2015). This fundamentally revealed the contestation around this type of heritage in post-apartheid South Africa, with its post-apartheid meaning and role in question.

Indeed, although some of the colonial and apartheid-era monuments were immediately removed after attaining democracy due to their perceived representation of the "old racist" and "autocratic" political order, some that were seen as not "too offensive", especially to the black majority, remained *in situ* (Coombes, 2004; Marschall, 2010). Some of these were roped into the tourism ecosystem of South Africa and contributed to the tourism industry collectively (Marschall, 2005). However, there seems to have been a consideration from the democratic South African government that the colonial and apartheid monuments cannot be kept solely for their perceived economic value (Marschall, 2019). That as part of reconciliation, there is a need to somehow "assimilate" this heritage into the democratic context (Jacobs, 2014). This appears to have led to a strategy by the government to build what could be perceived as "black heritage" next to "white heritage" (Jacobs, 2014).

The strategy of pairing "black heritage" next to "white heritage" has been the general policy that the democratic government has employed after apartheid to "assimilate" "white heritage" to the newly formulated socio-political order (Marschall, 2010; Jacobs, 2014). This is the case for the King Dinuzulu statue that was erected next to the Botha statue in Durban. Jacobs (2014) commends this approach for allowing the

new competing symbols to neutralize or displace the existing ones without physically destroying them (Jacobs, 2014). Jacobs (2014) further points out that this approach justifies the keeping of the colonial and apartheid monuments and memorials, as it works as a tool to "neutralise" the contested settings so that they can be redefined and accepted by South Africa and its citizens at large (Marschall, 2019). Regardless of the commendation above, this approach has been criticised for replicating the apartheid-era identity categories and falling short of transformation (Baines, 2009).

Some scholars have continued to argue that although the pairing of the "black versus white heritage" approach is meant to promote reconciliation, it, in reality, fosters divisions between black and white peoples as it perpetrates ethnically or racially defined notions of a community (Baines, 2009). On the one hand, it can be argued that employing this approach has virtually not been noticed by the black majority who have continued to raise sharp debates on the meaning and relevance of contested heritage in the democratic era (Marschall, 2019). On the other hand, it can also be argued that employing this approach has virtually not been acknowledged by white people who have continued to run their "white heritage" sites as though the "black heritage" site next door does not exist (Marschall, 2019; Nel, 2020).

Marschall (2010), notwithstanding the fact that culture is not stagnant but evolves, further reminds us that the black majority does not have a history of celebrating their heroes through statues and public commemorative markers, but rather oral types of memorialisation (Marschall, 2010). This intangible type of memorialisation points to "second-hand" stories, folk tales, genealogies, praise songs and narratives that have been passed on from one generation to another over time by word-of-mouth (Harms, 1979; Magwaza, 1993). In this regard, it appears building "black heritage" next to "white heritage" has not been seen as an earnest attempt in redressing the injustices of the past as far as heritage is concerned (Marschall, 2010). It appears black people are likely to continue to be aggrieved by the ruling government's approach to heritage landscape transformation due to the perceived view that their type of memorialisation has not been taken into account in the post-apartheid heritage transformation agenda (Marschall, 2010; Marschall, 2019).

The debate around heritage transformation has somewhat degenerated into a racial debate of "black" versus "white", completely oblivious to South Africa's wide-ranging

demographic groupings. This seems to be in line with the contemporary socio-political and socio-economic discourse of the country which appears to place race and racism as a major determinant that dictates the socio-economic conditions and outlook of the "new" South Africa (NDP, 2012). In line with this school of thought, the debate on heritage transformation has been concentrated on race, that it is a "black" versus "white" issue, in complete disregard of other demographic groupings that exist in South Africa. However, in this context, a misconception appears to have been hatched that all white people are defenders of colonial and apartheid-era monuments, while all blacks are critics of the colonial and apartheid-era statues and therefore support their removal (Marschall, 2019). A quick assessment of the views on the 2015 *#RhodesmustFall* protests by the major political parties that, due to their policies, tend to attract and represent specific racial constituencies indicates that the reality on the subject is more complicated than being a "black" versus "white" issue.

The predominantly black ANC was resolute during the 2015 protests that the "removal of apartheid statues is an insult to South Africa's rich history", and thus the statues must be preserved for future generations (Kubheka, 2015). The Freedom Front Plus (FF+) which is predominantly white and Afrikaner slammed the move to destroy the statues and argued that the statues contribute to the diversity of the history and heritage of South Africa (Kubheka, 2015). This while the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), which is predominantly black, was encouraging all South Africans to physically destroy statues, arguing that to the black majority, the statues represent oppression, segregation, racism, and persistent white supremacy (Kubheka, 2015). South Africa's main opposition party, the Democratic Alliance (DA), whose electoral support is predominantly white condemned the protests, however, did not take a particular stance given its fractured origins and ideological position (Ferreira, 2015; Montsho 2015; Phakathi, 2015). This largely demonstrated that although the debate around contested heritage in democratic South Africa is closely linked to the socio-political discourse of the country as far as race is concerned there is, however, no broad consensus among the South African populace on these debates, and thus it would be rather an error to reduce it to a "black" versus "white" issue (Marschall, 2017).

One of the debates that intensified through the 2015 protests was whether the colonial and apartheid-era heritage is part of South Africa's objective history or heritage. The critics of contested heritage argued that people who are depicted in the apartheid and colonial statues might be an integral part of South Africa's history, but these figures and their subsequent legacies cannot be regarded as heritage (Mancotywa, 2015). This, on the contrary, was in total disregard for the cultural diversity of South Africa, despite the *National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999* defining these monuments as "heritage resources" (National Heritage Resources Act, 1999). Like any other heritage resource, these monuments are legally protected by the *National Heritage Resources Act* as heritage which based on the aforementioned interpretation stands in sharp contrast to public opinion and socio-political discourses (National Heritage Resources Act, 1999).

3.10 Reflection on the international context on contested heritage

The South African conundrum around the fate of contested heritage in the democratic setting is not unique. Literature indicates that most countries that have transitioned from a colonial regime to a democratic dispensation through peaceful means are generally left to decide what should be done with the inherited cultural heritage of the former regime (Arendt, 1950; Anusaite, 2007; Harrison, 2013; Priestland, 2015; Mcgarr, 2015). This is different from those countries that have transitioned to the new dispensation through war, which in most cases, is accompanied by radical iconoclasm (Arendt, 1950; Anusaite, 2007; Harrison, 2013; Priestland, 2015). However, what is clear is that in both aforementioned cases, the heritage of the former regime remains a source of fierce contestation. This section indicates some of the major challenges and considerations that emanate in the international context that appear prevalent when dealing with contested heritage in a transitional state (Arendt, 1950; Kattago, 2001; Anusaite, 2007; Macdonald, 2010; Harrison, 2012; Priestland, 2015; Mcgarr, 2015).

In Germany, the legacy of the autocratic Nazi Regime that was responsible for, among other malevolent things, the persecution of Communists, Jews and general opposition is the biggest source of discord in the contemporary socio-political discourse of Germany (Arendt, 1950; Kattago, 2001; Macdonald, 2010). At the height of his rule in Germany, the Nazi regime created monuments and buildings

which would serve as manifestations of its perceived greatness and grandeur for centuries to come (Arendt, 1950; Kattago, 2001; Macdonald, 2010). After the demise of this regime through a revolution, most of the Nazi iconography was subsequently destroyed and/or removed from public spaces (Kattago, 2001; Harrison, 2013). However, how post-Nazi Germany dealt with the Nazi iconography that survived the revolution provides an interesting case for the democratic South Africa that is grappling with contested heritage.

Kattago (2001) indicates that the remnants of the Nazi heritage were either neglected, renovated and put to a new use or reimagined as a tourist attraction, depending on ideological value, ability to evoke emotions and location (Kattago, 2001). However, Arendt (1950), Kattago (2001) and (Macdonald, 2010) indicate that the decision on what to do with the remaining Nazi iconography was neither unanimous nor in any way final (Arendt, 1950; Kattago, 2001; Macdonald, 2010). There remain in contemporary Germany those who strongly argue that the Nazi heritage must be destroyed, while others are adamant that it must be preserved (Kattago, 2001; Macdonald, 2010). On one hand, the former group is convinced that excessive fixation on the past through allowing the continued existence of the Nazi heritage is obstructing Germany from moving forward and creating a "new" stable identity. On the other hand, the latter group argues that the continuous and active critical engagement with this "difficult past" is necessary and vital to creating self-reflective peoples (Kattago, 2001; Macdonald, 2010). Although the Germany scenario is somewhat different from South Africa as it did not necessarily involve colonial invasion, the polarising nature of contested heritage is all too familiar. In as far as colonisation is concerned, India provides an interesting case for South Africa.

Following the independence from the British Empire in 1947, it became immediately clear that the Indian Government had no appetite to address the status quo as it relates to its colonial heritage despite robust debates and calls in the media, academia, and the wider public around the merits of embracing or rejecting the legacy of British colonialism (Priestland, 2015; Mcgarr, 2015). The biggest dilemma that India was faced with was that the conversation on the fate of British colonial iconography was closely linked with the discussion around its general foreign policy and particular bilateral and diplomatic relations with Britain (Priestland, 2015).

Literature indicates that for over a decade after gaining independence, India's politics, economy, and military were still profoundly influenced and reinforced by Britain (Priestland, 2015; Mcgarr, 2015). Thus, although facing internal pressure to get rid of British colonial statuary, the central government was uninterested and adamant that the "obsession" around the British iconography was unwarranted, and was unfairly robbing the country of discussing very important issues that pertain to its socio-economic challenges (Mcgarr, 2015). However, with political opposition parties gaining momentum, and the dwindling political support for the ruling Congress Party, 17 years after independence, the ruling party hastily announced that the colonial iconography in public spaces will be removed (Philip, 1987; Priestland, 2015). In the capital city, New Dehli, the Coronation Park, a place where King George V has formally crowned the emperor of India in 1911, was selected to serve as a tourist theme park, and house all the British statues in and around the capital city (Priestland, 2015; Mcgarr, 2015). However, although this move has somewhat waned the debates on the matter, the public rejection of the Park is evidenced by the fact that very few domestic tourists ever visit the Park (Philip, 1987; Mcgarr, 2015).

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s and the collapse of the socialist bloc in 1989, wiping the Communist past from communal memory became one of Lithuania's most important concerns (Lankauskas, 2006; Harrison, 2013). In fact, after the declaration of independence from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), in Lithuania in 1990 the Soviet Union iconography, was targeted and urgently removed from the nation's public spaces and parks (Lankauskas, 2006; Harrison, 2013). The message was clear from the onset that the Soviet Union statuary had no bearing in the new Lithuanian national identity (Harrison, 2013). To make this clear, the country immediately embarked on a mission of pursuing a post-soviet era national identity that was buttressed by new monuments of "distinguished" Lithuanian historical figures and recuperated traditions that were essentially suppressed under communism (Anusaite, 2007). By the mid-1990s, Lithuania's post-Soviet landscape was thoroughly cleansed of all referents to disvalued socialist history (Lankauskas, 2006; Anusaite, 2007). However, not all the Soviet Union's heritage was dismantled as some of it survived these initial efforts, and just like in South Africa, presented a dilemma for Lithuania in terms of how this contested heritage could be aligned with the newly found national identity.

The remnants of the Soviet Union iconography essentially remained neglected until 1998 when a special parliamentary committee announced a nationwide competition for initiatives that would ensure the restoration and preservation of the neglected iconographic legacy of socialism (Lankauskas, 2006; Harrison, 2013). This led to the construction of the outdoor museum called Grūtas Park which is dedicated to the Soviet Union statuary in the rural town of Druskininkai in south-western Lithuania. The Grūtas Park has more than eighty Soviet-era monuments of communist party leaders. Its objective according to the government is to make the tourist visitors "understand what dictatorships are capable of and what tools they use to brainwash people" (Anusaite, 2007: 1). One could also argue that the rationale is also to generate tourism income. The park was officially opened on April 1, 2001, as somewhat of an April Fool's Day "joke" (Anusaite, 2007). However, not everyone in Lithuania finds the Grūtas Park amusing or entertaining (Lane, 2001; Anusaite, 2007). Although the Grūtas Park has ensured that the Soviet Union statuary is removed from the face of Lithuania and is no longer politically imposing in the public spaces, the existence of the Soviet Union heritage remains highly contested in Lithuania.

Although the Lithuanian government went to lengths to try and 'neutralise' the statues by installing them without their pedestals as a way to indicate that they are no longer the metonyms of power and oppression, the park continues to ignite a fierce national debate that polarises Lithuanians into those who applauds this commemorative initiative and those who see it as a sacrilegious act that activates memories of trauma and loss (Lane, 2001; Lankauskas, 2006; Harrison, 2013). Anusaite (2007) indicates that many Lithuanians want the contents of the Grūtas Park destroyed as they find them controversial and distasteful, and particularly disrespectful to the memory of citizens who suffered or were killed by communists (Anusaite, 2007; Harrison, 2013). This is further exacerbated by the socio-economic instability of Lithuania as a transitional state, where the Soviet Union's socio-economic vestiges are perceived as still intact, and a major factor in the economic stress among the Lithuanian majority (Lane, 2001; Anusaite; 2007; Harrison, 2013).

The cases above indicate that South Africa still has a long way to go in "solving" the issue of contested heritage and strengthening its unique national identity and

heritage, as observed by Bornman (2013). In this regard, it is clear that the continuous eruptions around contested heritage in transitional states are inevitable as they continue to try and recast the past through addressing the existence of contested heritage while rebranding the nomenclature of streets and buildings (Arendt, 1950; Kattago, 2001; Anusaite, 2007; Macdonald, 2010; Harrison, 2012; Priestland, 2015; Mcgarr, 2015). In South Africa, various viewpoints abound on how to deal with monuments that the country inherited from the colonial and apartheid regimes in the quest for a "new" national identity for the "new" South Africa. These viewpoints will be assessed in this by way of analysing the discussion on contested heritage in the South African media, and later in the social media.

3.11 Contested heritage in the South African media

The debates around contested heritage in South Africa have, since the dawn of democracy, played out in the country's media space. This has been in the form of, among others, opinion pieces and news reportage. In this research, twenty-one newspaper articles from established newspapers such as the *Mail and Guardian*, *Independent Media,* and *Daily Maverick* were examined. The media content assists this study in enhancing the understanding of the diverse perspectives of people around contested heritage which will be integral to this investigation and its subsequent practical recommendations to follow. The most robust debates around contested heritage are by far those that were triggered by the #RhodesMustFall protests of 2015. These protests were prompted by Chumani Maxwele, a political science student at the University of Cape Town (UCT), who threw a bucket of faeces over a statue of the British colonialist, Cecil John Rhodes (Pitso *et al.*, 2015; Smith, 2015; Dore, 2015). This sparked a barrage of protests, impassioned mass and social media discussions, and ferocious street protests. The protests that started in Cape Town quickly spread throughout the country, leading to the defacing of the King George V Statue, the Louis Botha statue, and the Fernando Pessoa Statue, among others, in Durban (Figure 7).

Figure 7: Defaced Statue of King George V (Left) and Louis Botha (Right) in Durban
Source: Phillip, 2015.

The debates around contested heritage in South Africa have been likened in the media to a nation searching for its soul that is buttressed on a common heritage, identity and race (Pitso *et al.*, 2015; Smith, 2015). However, it appears the possibility of a South Africa that is hinged on a common identity is out of question given the contested nature of all South African heritage resources at present (Dore, 2015; Mnyanda, 2015). While South Africa is grappling with what to do with the colonial and apartheid-era iconography, some in the media space have indicated that public history contestation in South Africa goes far beyond the heritage domain (Dore, 2015; Mnyanda, 2015). In 2015, the media reported that a group of men threw paint on a statue of Mahatma Gandhi (1869 – 1948) in Johannesburg, alleging that he was racist as well (Dore, 2015). Gandhi in South Africa is generally regarded as a liberation hero that inspired Nelson Mandela in shaping the anti-apartheid struggle (Dore, 2015). However, the act of defacing his statue was in relation to the fact that Gandhi notoriously referred to the black majority as "*kaffirs*" and fought against Indians being at the same level as the black majority (Dore, 2015).

Meanwhile, Gareth Cliff, a white South African media personality, was arguing in his online blog that while it may be accurate that colonial and apartheid-era monuments

may be archetypal of imperialists who exploited and killed Africans, the same could be said about King Shaka, the founder of the Zulu Kingdom (Ntuli & Hans, 2015). Cliff's view is shared by Mnyanda (2015) who indicates that King Shaka expanded the Zulu Kingdom by violently obliterating and dispossessing many neighbouring Xhosa, Sotho, and Swati people of their land, and thus to name an airport – the King Shaka International Airport – in his honour is equally problematic (Mnyanda, 2015). Although the two examples above were dismissed by many as not comparable for various reasons, they reveal that heritage contestation in South Africa is not exclusive to colonial and apartheid-era iconography and that the "heritage enigma" in the nation is far from over (Ntuli & Hans, 2015).

The debates on contested heritage in popular media have shown that although problematic public history is indeed a conundrum in the South African democratic setting, this heritage is a "microcosm" of a failure of racial transformation, the power of white privilege, and the persistence of racial subordination of the black majority (Grootes, 2015; Hodes, 2015). This observation is reinforced by Marschall (2017), in her article "*Targeting Statues: Monument "Vandalism" as an Expression of Socio-political Protest in South Africa*", Marschall notes that the protests against colonial and apartheid-era iconography are an indication that many South Africans, especially the black majority, believe that South Africa has not "freed" itself from the "shackles" of its colonial and apartheid past that privileged a few based on race (Marschall, 2017). Therefore, some media articles seem to suggest that the debates around contested heritage are in actuality a call end to racism and demand for deep and meaningful changes in the socio-economic and political environments in South African societies (Morken, 2015; Smith, 2015; Mann, 2016). In this regard, it is argued by an array of authors such as Morken (2015), Smith (2015) and Mann (2016) that many years after the advent of democracy, economic power and wealth remain in the hands of the white minority, while poverty, inequality and unemployment remain almost exclusively the plight of the black majority (Morken, 2015; Smith, 2015; Mann, 2016).

Certainly, the media space has been used as a platform to debate what should be done to contested heritage given its current controversial position in the psyche and public space of the South African populace. In this regard, some commentators have

suggested that the issue of contested heritage must be solved "the Mandela way" which they must be left *in situ* (Grootes, 2015). Mandela's approach to reconciliation, which Marschall (2019), claims is already setting the tone of heritage transformation in South Africa has been thrown around in the media by the proponents of the status quo, seemingly to suggest that Nelson Mandela was against the removal of contested heritage (Grootes, 2015). In the bigger scheme of development discourse, this view seems rather misguided as this study has shown that some contested heritage were removed at the dawn of democracy, and this during Mandela's was presidency which shows that Mandela was in fact for transformation and social justice after all, despite several arguments that he was not (Grootes, 2015).

The proposition that contested heritage must be moved and placed in a museum remains prevalent in the debates around contested heritage in the media space (Pitso *et a.l*, 2015; Grootes, 2015). The proponents of this view argue that this approach will allow scholars and researchers the ability for future research on the person depicted in the statue or memorial (Pitso *et al.*, 2015; Grootes, 2015). Interestingly, this proposition was discussed as part of the consultative process that was conducted by the then DAC in 2015, and it led to the following apt resolution that states: "it should not be assumed that removed statues will be dumped at the museums as this may both be logistically impossible and also pose a reputational risk for museums that may be viewed as dumping areas" (Department of Arts & Culture, 2015).

It is also important to emphasize that the media space has also interestingly been used to indicate that taking down the contested heritage will not signal any institutional change in South Africa's social fabric, and thus it is rather prudent to re-contextualise it in line with the current socio-political dynamics of the nation-state (Pillay, 2015). However, some commentators have argued that this approach cannot be applied in a blanket approach, given that each contested heritage setting must be looked at based on its own merits. In this regard, a criterion must be developed to decide whether a statue should remain or not (Grootes, 2015). In this regard, the contested heritage that fits a specific criterion and is in line with the current democratic principles and the outlined constitutional values of the country can remain *in situ* and be re-contextualised.

3.12 Chapter summary

This chapter has provided a collective overview of the evolution of the heritage landscape from the colonial and apartheid eras, until the advent of democracy in 1994. It has also looked at the politics of heritage in democratic South Africa. From the consulted primary and the secondary sources, it is clear that colonial heritage came about as a vehicle for cementing and legitimising the British colonial rule in South Africa. This would be the case until the Afrikaners embarked on a mission of attempting to unite the "Afrikaner nation" whilst searching for a "sacred history" of Afrikaner nationalism. The consulted scholarship shows that the "pristine" meaning of apartheid-era monuments derives its meaning from this mission. This chapter on the one hand revealed that contested heritage has become controversial under democratic South Africa as it is now deemed by some South Africans as an antithesis to the current democratic order. On the other hand, this heritage contributes to tourism which is an important economic sector that substantially contributes to the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) yearly. Post-apartheid South Africa thus finds itself having to decide the future of colonial and apartheid memorials taking into account the complexities of diverse societal stakeholders, the constitution, and the existing legal and policy environment.

CHAPTER 4: CONTESTED HERITAGE AND TOURISM IN PRACTICE

4.1   Introduction

This chapter presents the current public perceptions on contested heritage through social media and these perceptions will be juxtaposed with the views of the decision-makers and/or professionals in the tourism and heritage industries insofar as contested heritage is concerned. The goal is to understand what the public, through social media, seems to be advocating for contested heritage, and if this correlates with the direction that government seems to be taking in dealing with the matter. For this study, a hundred social media posts on the subject of contested heritage were examined, and these are discussed below under specific thematic areas, with some of the posts serving as examples.

The conflict on what should be done with contested heritage ordinarily takes place between the government and the public, although there is an acknowledgment that the public is not homogenous. The diverse opinions of the public detail the controversies concerning the meaning and the role of contested heritage in democratic South Africa; however, this chapter seeks to contextualize whether public opinion in South Africa has any influence on the government's decision and actions on contested heritage. Thus, qualitative, and semi-structured interviews with professionals who are actively involved in decision-making processes were undertaken in order to examine the actual dynamics surrounding contested heritage as it relates to tourism (Table 1).

No.	Name	Organization	Rank
1.	Mr. Vusithemba Ndima	National Department of Sport, Arts and Culture	Deputy Director-General: Heritage Promotion and Preservation
2.	Mr. Wayne Tifflin	Tourism KwaZulu-Natal	Acting Research Manager
3.	Ms. Ros Devereux	KwaZulu-Natal Amafa and Research Institute	Head: Built Environment Section
4.	Mr. Thembinkosi Ngcobo	eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality	Head: Parks, Recreation and Culture
5.	Dr. Thabo Manetsi	National Department of Tourism	Chief Director: Tourism Enhancement
6.	Ms. Mamakomoreng Nkhasi-Lesaoana	South African Heritage Resources Agency	Executive Officer: Heritage Information, Policy and Skills

		(SAHRA)	Development
7.	Mr. Amos Mulaudzi	National Heritage Council (NHC)	Coordinator: Education and Advocacy
8.	Mr. Sibonelo Nzimande	KwaZulu-Natal Economic Development and Environmental Affairs	Chief Director: Tourism Development
9.	Dr. Vusumuzi Shongwe	KwaZulu-Natal Department of Arts and Culture	Chief Director: Heritage
10.	Mr. Alex Madikizela	Decolonization of Public Places Movement	Convener
11.	Mr. Johan Nel	The Heritage Foundation	Head: Heritage Resources Management
12.	Mr Arthur Gammage	Retired - eThekwini Municipality	Former Urban Designer and Heritage Practitioner

Table 1: Professionals that were interviewed for this study

4.2   Contested heritage and transformation

The debates on social media platforms brought into sharp focus the perceived meaning of contested heritage in a democratic society. What became clear during the debates on the contested heritage is that the public felt the removal of statues from the public spaces was long overdue and that the continued existence of the statues in public spaces is a sign that South Africa remains colonised and has downright failed to progressively move towards a transformed South African society, and indeed, public spaces (Figure 8).   Coombes (2003) and Marschall (2020), indicates that the question of heritage transformation has been in the South African heritage discourse since the advent of democracy, and indeed prior, and thus it would be fairly expected that South Africa should be by now having a fully-fledged heritage transformation approach or strategy from the grassroots up to the national level (Coombes, 2003; Marschall, 2020).
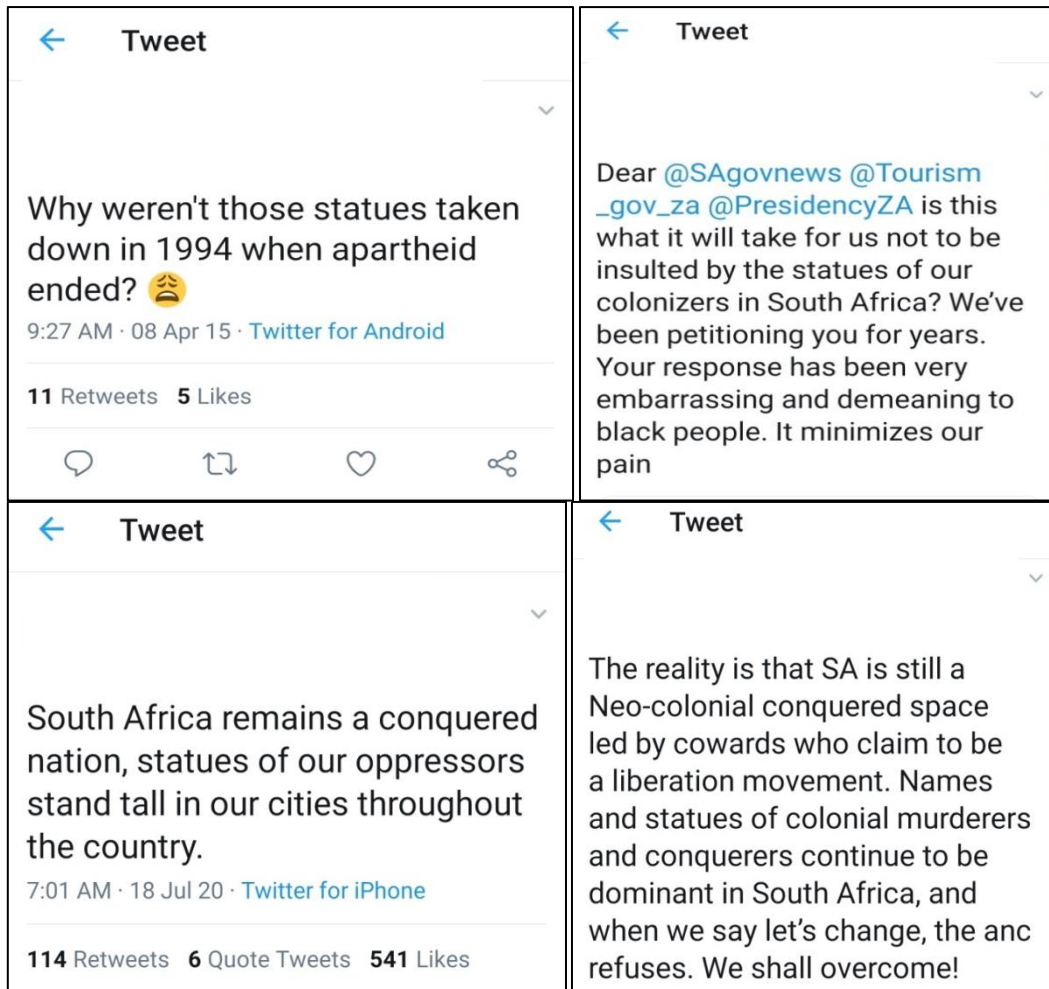
Figure 8: Debates on presence of contested heritage as an indication to lack of transformation
Source: Twitter, 2021

Vusithemba Ndima,[3] the Deputy Director-General for heritage preservation and promotion at the national Department of Sport, Arts and Culture (DSAC) indicated that DSAC has "bits and pieces" of policies, as well legislation that came into existence recently to ensure that there is some form of transformation in the heritage sector of South Africa (Ndima, 2020). According to Ndima (2020), the earliest one of these was the *White Paper on Arts and Culture of 1996* which gave "birth" to the strategic document called the Portfolio of Legacy Projects which was adopted by Cabinet in 1998 (Ndima, 2020). Although these documents led to the construction of what could be perceived as "black heritage", for instance, the Ncome Museum in KwaZulu-Natal, a close examination of the two documents shows that they are ostensibly mute on the specific approach to heritage transformation (Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, 1997).

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[3] Interview with Mr Vusithemba Ndima, Deputy Director-General: Heritage Preservation and Promotion, National Department of Sport, Arts and Culture, on 22 September 2020

The Portfolio of Legacy Projects document is clear in pointing out that there is a need for a "policy framework" that will substantially set principles for and contribute to nation-building, somewhat indicating that there is still a gap in terms of heritage transformation policy framework in the country (Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, 1997). Ndima (2020) is, however, clear that dismantling contested heritage has never been the approach of the government (Ndima, 2020). In this regard, as a redress measure, South Africa's approach was and continues to be to keep the contested heritage *in situ* and build new ones as somewhat of counter-narrative. However, it appears the post-apartheid memorials are failing to convey a visual message strong enough for the public to let go of painful and traumatic history which is triggered and exacerbated by the contested heritage in public spaces.

The lack of a congruent policy framework appears to have prompted the National Heritage Council (NHC) to draft the Heritage Transformation Charter which sought to achieve equity between African heritage and other forms of heritage, especially, according to the Charter, that of European origin which continues to dominate the public sphere (Heritage Transformation Charter, 2014). According to Amos Mulaudzi,[4] the Coordinator of Education and Advocacy at NHC, the Charter was subsequently not adopted by DSAC, and thus, it has not been implemented, even though a year after it was presented to the DSAC, a country-wide protest against contested heritage ensued (Mulaudzi, 2020). According to Mulaudzi (2020), the Charter looks at heritage in totality in line with the role which the NHC perceives that it should be playing, that is, of coordinating the arts, culture and heritage sectors in South Africa as a whole. However, this role seems contested between DSAC, SAHRA, and the NHC. And thus, this contestation appears to have stood in the way of the actual implementation of heritage transformation as conceptualised in the Heritage Transformation Charter.

The lack of a congruent policy framework indeed around heritage transformation is also evident at a provincial level in the KwaZulu-Natal. Vusumuzi Shongwe,[5] the Chief Director for Heritage at KwaZulu-Natal Department of Arts and Culture (KZN

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[4] Interview with Mr Amos Mulaudzi, Coordinator: Education and Advocacy, National Heritage Council, 13 October 2020

[5] Interview with Dr Vusumuzi Shongwe, Chief Director: Heritage, KwaZulu-Natal Department of Arts and Culture, on 4 November 2020

DAC) indicated that the practical transformation of heritage in the province is very "haphazard" due to the absence of a clear policy framework (Shongwe, 2020). Shongwe (2020) likewise indicated that the KZN DAC has sought to transform the heritage landscape of KwaZulu-Natal by foregrounding the heritage of previously marginalised people through the erection of monuments that speak to this group specifically. This is in line with the approach of KwaZulu-Natal Amafa and Research Institute (Amafa Institute), which is the body in the province that is tasked with preserving and managing all provincial heritage resources in KwaZulu-Natal.

Ros Devereux,[6] the Head of the Built Environment Section at the Amafa Institute indicates that the Institute's approach to transformation hinges on introducing new monuments, new markers, and finding new sites that are important to previously marginalised races (Devereux, 2020). According to Devereux (2020), one of the first instances of this approach in the province was to erect the statue of King Dinuzulu next to the Louis Botha statue in Durban. Devereux (2020) explained that this approach is based on memorialising people that were contemporaries as a way of re-contextualisation and fostering reconciliation (Devereux, 2020). It is within this approach that Amafa, in collaboration with the local, provincial and national government, will erect the statue of Archie Gumede at Francis Farewell Square during the current political administration that ends in 2024, if the government's five-year implementation plan, the Medium Terms Strategic Framework (MTSF) is to be relied on (DPME, 2019; Ndima, 2020).

According to Thembinkosi Ngcobo,[7] the Head of eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality's Parks, Recreation and Culture Unit, the municipality is guided by its social cohesion mandate in its approach to heritage transformation. However, Devereux (2020), pointed out that the major weakness to heritage management and preservation, and indeed transformation, at a local level in the province is that there is no devolution of these functions to municipalities in the province in the form of a dedicated local heritage resources authority as prescribed by the *National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999*. In the eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality, part of the heritage preservation and management function, and indeed at a menial level, is

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[6] Interview with Ms Ros Devereux , Head: Built Environment Section, KwaZulu-Natal Amafa and Research Institute, on 2 October 2020
[7] Interview with Mr Thembinkosi Ngcobo, Head: Parks, Recreation and Culture Unit, on 6 October 2020

appended to the mandate of the Municipality's Local History Museums, which dedicatedly are in charge of several museums scattered all over the Metropolitan city. This then leaves Amafa as the lead in terms of heritage transformation in the province, although it appears to be carrying out this function reluctantly as most of the contested heritage is Grade III, and thus belongs to the local heritage resources authorities that are non-existent at present.

It appears that, despite the lack of a congruent policy framework around heritage transformation, there is a general understanding flowing from a national to a local level that the current government approach to transformation is that the contested heritage must not be demolished, however, that these problematic spaces must be paired with new monuments and memorials that represent the other races in South Africa collectively. Johan Nel,[8] the Head of Heritage Resources Management and The Heritage Foundation criticizes this approach and argues that this approach is flawed and too politically driven (Nel, 2020). Nel (2020), argues that this approach to transformation polarises heritage and South Africans on a racial basis. Nel (2020), in turn, suggested that contested heritage ought to be adapted to the current narrative of the country through re-interpretation and ensuring that it has meaning and value to every citizen in the country and not just a single grouping.

Ndima (2020) dismissed this idea of re-interpretation of contested heritage as tantamount to "tempering" with its narrative which could be been seen to be "intrusive" and "transgressive" as many Afrikaner people still have a "laager" mentality, and that is the reason government believes building "counter memorials" is the best option (Ndima, 2020). Perhaps the effectiveness, or lack thereof, of the re-interpretation of contested heritage as a form of heritage transformation holistically, will be gauged through the initiative being undertaken by Amafa Institute in the KwaZulu-Natal province at present.

Devereux (2020) indicated that Amafa Institute has resolved to transform the old monuments that were erected by the Voortrekkers or the British settlers to commemorate certain historical events in the province.   In this regard, Amafa Institute has noticed that quite often, especially with the contested heritage of the

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[8] Interview with Mr Johan Nel, Head: Heritage Resources Management, The Heritage Foundation, on 12 February 2021

Voortrekkers, there were people of other races who participated and many were killed in these historical events. However, their names do not appear on the monuments currently. Amafa Institute is therefore in the process of redressing this, and research has begun, after which new markers will be put up (Devereux, 2020). This approach, it should be noted, will certainly be revolutionary in the context of heritage transformation in South Africa. This study will showcase in the chapters to follow the existence of this opportunity with the contested heritage in Durban, after which it can effectively form part of the tourism ecosystem, carrying the message that is endorsed by the government. However, in terms of social media and the general public sentiments that believe that heritage transformation is slow and ineffective, it appears the status quo is far from being resolved.

4.3 Contested public history: History versus heritage

The debate on whether contested heritage should be viewed as either part of history or heritage in democratic South Africa was discussed widely across social media platforms (Figure 9). The critics of contested heritage argued that people who are depicted in the apartheid and colonial statues and commemorations might be an integral part of South Africa's history, but these figures cannot be regarded as public history (Figure 9). This argument is premised on the broad debate that equates a statue to endorsing, and that the existence of such a statue of an individual/ group means that the society endorses the deeds, good or bad, of the depicted person/ group. In this regard, some views were that the colonial and apartheid leaders that are currently still depicted in public spaces were brutal and degrading to the black majority, and thus the sites that depict them cannot be endorsed as heritage in the "new" democratic South Africa (Mulaudzi, 2020, Figure 9). Concerning this, the proponents of the removal of the monuments argue that it is necessary to allow for more affluent debates on the subject, as the refusal to remove the statues does not promote vigorous history debates but perpetuates offensive forms of nostalgia (Figure 9). This perception seems to be calling for the radical review of the post-apartheid definition of heritage and certainly challenges the intricacies of the operations of the institutions like SAHRA and DSAC that are mandated to define, conserve and manage heritage (Marschall, 2019).
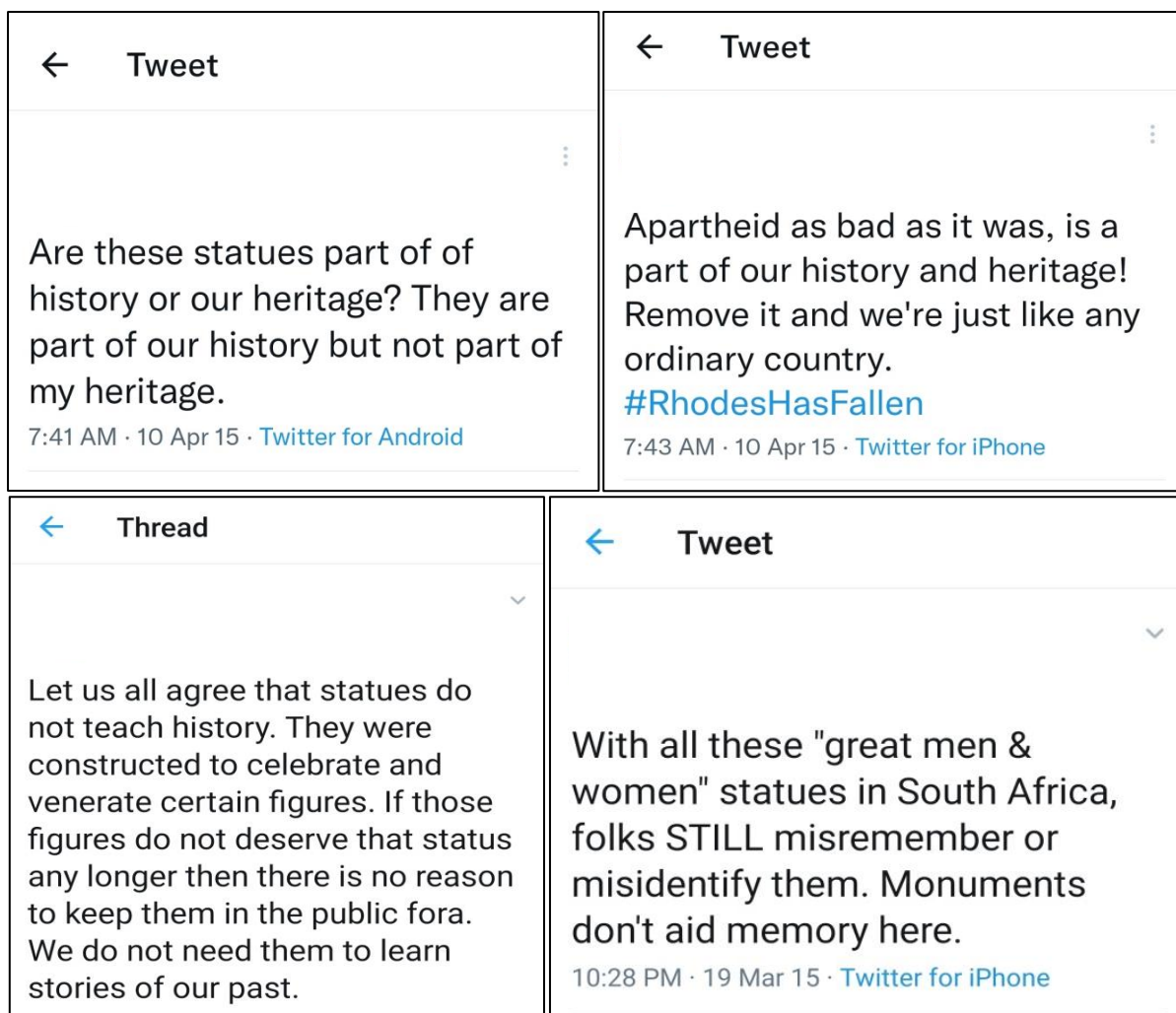
Figure 9: Social media debate on whether contested heritage is part of history or heritage
Source: Twitter, 2021

SAHRA is the responsible authority through its *National Heritage Resources Act of 1999* to define, conserve and manage heritage. Mamakomoreng Nkhasi-Lesaoana,[9] the Executive Officer: Heritage Information, Policy & Skills Development at SAHRA explained that contested heritage is part of South Africa's national estate as far as heritage is concerned. This is the reason why SAHRA did not discard the national estate database that was inherited from the National Monuments Council that involved memorials, statues, and buildings of the past. However, since coming into existence, through the *National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999*, the heritage profile has become inclusive, and it hinges on a bottom-up heritage management system, with the local communities being able to identify heritage resources. In this regard, the interviewee notes that the heritage estate now includes graves, liberation

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[9] Interview with Ms Mamakomoreng Nkhasi-Lesaoana, Executive Officer: Heritage Information, Policy and Skills Development, South African Heritage Resources Agency, on 9 October 2020

heritage, and intangible heritage that has been identified and recommended by the public for inclusion in the aforementioned repository (Nkhasi-Lesaoana, 2020)

What may certainly aggrieve many is the fact that contested heritage seems to have been absolved from undergoing the channels that SAHRA set up for accepting the public history and narratives of those whose heritage was previously marginalised. The unilateral adoption of the colonial and apartheid heritage estate and exempting it from undergoing the test of public recommendation appears to be the reason for its rejection as part of the heritage, as the majority of the public would not possibly recommend it, and thus see it as misaligned to their post-apartheid definition of heritage. However, SAHRA seems adamant that contested heritage is indeed part of the South Africa heritage resources regardless of the debates, and has subsequently proposed to the Minister of Sport, Arts and Culture for SAHRA to develop regulations that would put SAHRA as a centralised body for dealing with the contested sites, taking cognisance of that although the provincial and local authorities are the ones currently in charge, they have limited resources, and some are not even fully functioning (Nkhasi-Lesaoana, 2020). However, in this regard, the actual management of contested heritage is not the core frustration of the public.

4.4 The perceived economic benefits of contested heritage

The perceived economic value of contested heritage through tourism was discussed through social media (see Figure 10). This view premises on the assumption that the removal of contested heritage will hurt travel as contested heritage contributes to tourism (Figure 10). This is a central theme of this study which is based on the hypothesis that tourism is a factor in the discourse, and certainly policy and legislative framework, around contested heritage in South Africa. The tourism and heritage professionals that were interviewed were quizzed on three elements that will paint a clear picture of whether there is any merit in whether tourism plays a role in the policy discussions around the preservation, protection and conservation of contested heritage, and whether there is any significant tourism value attached to contested heritage in South Africa. These three elements are:

- The working relationship between heritage and tourism sector
- The significance of contested heritage to tourism

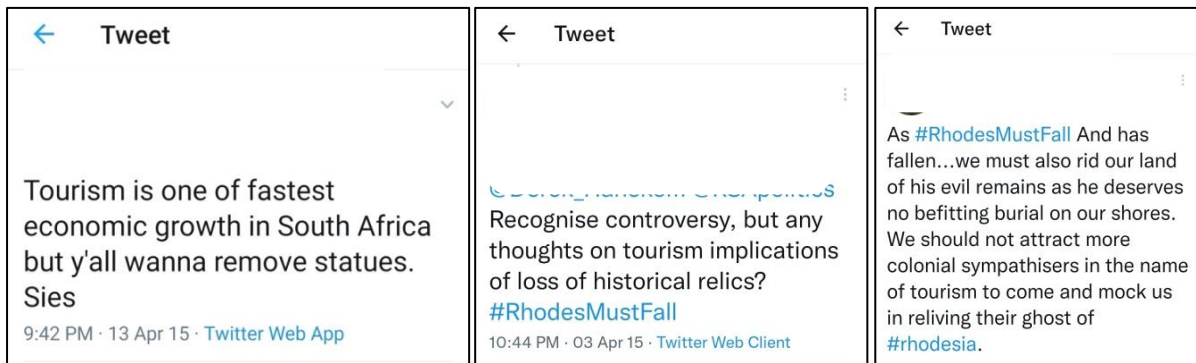- The involvement of the tourism sector in the debates around contested heritage

Figure 10: Social media debate on the tourism value of contested heritage
Source: Twitter, 2021

4.4.1 Working relationship between heritage and tourism sector

There seems to be no formal working relationship between the tourism and heritage sectors in South Africa. Mulaudzi (2020), points out that the relationship between these domains in the nation is disintegrated at best. According to Mulaudzi (2020), it would appear that the tourism sector is exploiting the heritage sector in that although the heritage sector is involved with the management of heritage products in the country, tourism is merely interested in marketing these for tourist consumption, without investing back into the heritage sector (Mulaudzi, 2020). At the national level, the disintegration in terms of the working relationship between the two sectors is evidenced by that there is no memorandum of agreement between the Department of Sport, Arts and Culture and the Department of Tourism although the latter depends on the former in terms of heritage and cultural product development and preservation, according to Ndima (2020) and Manetsi (2020). The KwaZulu-Natal province is no different as far as the working relationship is thus concerned.

According to Sibonelo Nzimande,[10] the Chief Director for Tourism Development at KwaZulu-Natal's Department of Economic Development and Environmental Affairs (KZN DEDEA), the province operates at an understanding that the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Arts and Culture (KZN DAC) is the custodian of heritage, and if it properly manages it, it has potential be a good product for tourism that can be profiled and packaged for the domestic and international travel market. Regardless,

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[10] Interview with Mr Sibonelo Nzimande, Chief Director: Tourism Development, KwaZulu-Natal Economic Development and Environmental Affairs, on 13 October 2020.

it appears this relationship is not formalised. Shongwe (2020), clearly states that there is no working relationship between the heritage and tourism sectors in the province, and he blames this squarely on the challenge of what he terms "silo mentality" (Shongwe, 2020). According to Shongwe (2020), tourism is doing its "own thing", and the heritage sector is doing its "own thing" – there is no synergy (Shongwe, 2020). The lack or poor relationship is also evident in the two institutions that one would logically assume should be working closely together, which is Amafa Institute which is responsible for heritage management and conservation in KwaZulu-Natal, and Tourism KwaZulu-Natal (TKZN) which is responsible for the development, promotion, and marketing of tourism products, including heritage tourism products, in the province (TKZN Five-Year Strategic Plan, 2020).

Devereux (2020), likewise indicates that the "relationship" between Amafa and TKZN has somewhat deteriorated over the years. According to Devereux, the two institutions used to have a liaison committee which has now been abandoned. Devereux (2020) also highlights that the relationship between the two entities has unfortunately been reduced to merely communicating on issues of the preservation and management of rock art which is considered fragile (Devereux, 2020). This poor relationship unfortunately seems to be the order of the day at a local level at eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality. Ngcobo (2020), underlines that in Municipality, there is no concrete working or beneficial relationship on intergovernmental cooperation between the cultural heritage and tourism sectors. Ngcobo (2020), argues that this is due to the short-sightedness of municipal leaders who do not view the two sectors as complementary to one another. According to Ngcobo (2020), this is evident in the fact that the Municipality has been allocating and investing more money into tourism - in terms of marketing - but allocating increasingly fewer funds into developing and preserving the heritage products. This finding proves problematic not only for Durban's tourism ecosystem but also for its deteriorating heritage landscape.

4.4.2 Significance of contested heritage to tourism

In terms of the view on whether contested heritage forms part of major travel attractions for tourism in South Africa, Thabo Manetsi,[11] the Chief Director for Tourism Enhancement at the National Department of Tourism, indicates this is certainly not the case, and further emphasises that this is not necessarily out of the ordinary as not all heritage sites in South Africa have a tourism bearing or serve a tourism purpose (Manetsi, 2020). Nel (2020), concurred that in South Africa there is no evidence that contested heritage, especially statues currently, or have ever, contributed to tourism. This seems to be the case in KwaZulu-Natal as well. In KwaZulu-Natal province, Nzimande (2020), argues, there has never been a conscious decision to promote contested heritage as tourist attractions in the province, although the province is aware that it would inevitably attract tourists for a variety of reasons (Nzimande, 2020). Ndima (2020), likewise indicated that as a sovereign country, South Africa has no obligation to nurse the nostalgic gaze of its erstwhile colonial masters (Ndima, 2020). However, it appears the general rule in South Africa is that economic value through tourism of contested heritage cannot be at the expense of transformation and the psyche of the majority that are affected by the presence of contested monuments in the public spaces (Ndima, 2020; Muladzi, 2020; Tifflin, 2020; Nzimande, 2020, Ngcobo, 2020).

While some countries such as India and Guinea-Bissau appear to preserve their contested heritage as a drawcard to former colonists that are interested in the activities of their forefathers in former colonies, South Africa does not have such a consideration (Manetsi, 2020; Ndima, 2020). Wayne Tifflin,[12] the Acting Research Manager for Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, however, indicated that the province is aware that contested heritage is marketed by the private sector based on the notion of attracting tourists from former colonial countries (Tifflin, 2020). An example would be marketing the heritage associated with the Prince Imperial of France, Louis Napoléon (1856 – 1879) who participated in Anglo-Zulu War British forces was killed in KwaZulu-Natal. Tifflin (2020), indicated that the French tourists constantly visit the site of his death through the private tourism sector, and the Prince Imperial of France

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[11] Interview with Dr Thabo Manetsi, Chief Director: Tourism Enhancement, National Department of Tourism, on 8 October 2020

[12] Interview with Mr Wayne Tifflin, Acting Research Manager, Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, on 29 September 2020

is annually celebrated in the province by the 'French Presence in KwaZulu-Natal', Alliance Française Pietermaritzburg and other associated organisations that are geared towards preserving the "French" heritage in KwaZulu-Natal (Figure 11). However, it appears the province of KwaZulu-Natal in reality is going this route taken by the private tourism sector.
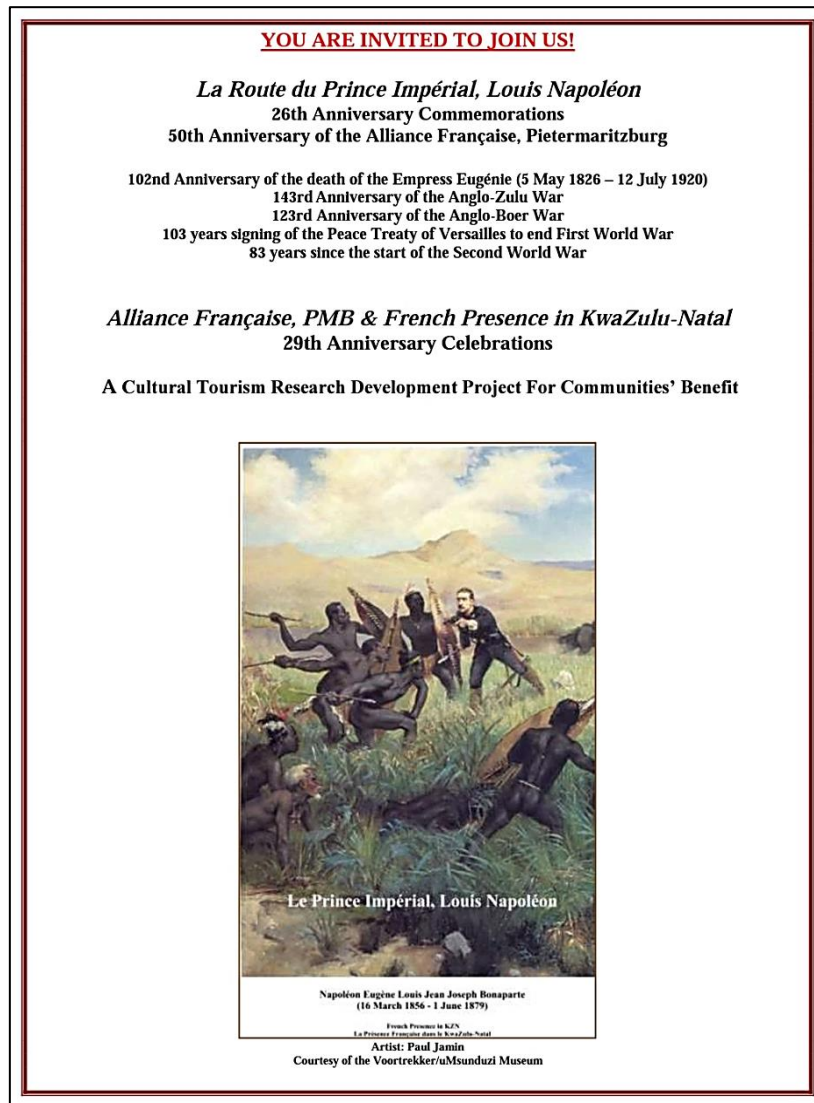

Figure 11: The 2022 invitation to the "La Route du Prince Impérial, Louis Napoléon"
Source: French Presence in KwaZulu-Natal, 2022

Nzimande (2020), indicated that the province is in the process of developing what it terms "mission tourism", which essentially falls under contested heritage (Nzimande, 2020). He indicated that this exercise will involve tracing the footprint of missionaries in KwaZulu-Natal, tracing their roots, "linking" them to their source country, which immediately gives the province a direct market internationally albeit for problematic spaces. This product will be developed and enhanced and packaged for the

countries where the missionaries were coming from, hence placing tourism value on contested heritage. Until then, it does not appear there is yet any tourism value attached to contested heritage, not even for Durban which has a rich British heritage (Ngcobo, 2020).

4.4.3 Tourism sector in the debates on contested heritage

The tourism experts that were interviewed for this study indicated that the tourism sector has never been involved in discussions around contested heritage. However, Manetsi (2020), points out that tourism as a sector must be involved in the debates and discussions around contested heritage. However, according to Manetsi (2020), this does not mean that the tourism value associated with contested heritage must take priority over the country's needs and interests (Manetsi, 2020). Tifflin (2020), has a rather different view in terms of the involvement of the tourism sector in the discussions around contested heritage. Tifflin (2020), on the contrary, indicated that TKZN has not been involved in the conversation around contested heritage, and should not be involved at all going forward as involvement in such a polarised debate could create a negative perception of KwaZulu-Natal as a destination. Tifflin (2020), indicated that TKZN is of the view that there are people that support the removal of statues, and there are people who are not in support, and both of these are the tourists to KwaZulu-Natal, and thus TKZN must not be seen to be taking sides (Tifflin, 2020). While this may be the case, most interviewed experts indicated that traditionally, the tourism sector has not been involved in debates around contested heritage, however, this sector ought to be involved as a sector that is in charge of marketing the South African identity to the world (Ndima, 2020; Ngcobo, 2020; Nzimande; 2020; Manetsi, 2020; Shongwe, 2020). In fact, Shongwe (2020), blamed the lack of involvement of the tourism sector in the debates on contested heritage on the heritage sector that has not been proactive enough to involve the tourism sector.

4.5 The future of contested heritage in South Africa

Social media has been an open and accessible platform for the public to make suggestions and recommendations on what should happen to contested heritage in South Africa (Figure 12). It must be noted that the dominant voice in the social media platform is the call for radical iconoclasm, while some voices have suggested other

more moderate and conservative options (Figure 12). Although radical iconoclasm appears to be the most popular option that South Africans are suggesting as a way to deal with contested heritage in public spaces, there seems to be a disconnect with the direction that the government is taking. This given the South African government's dogmatic and liberal approach to reconciliation, the public debates appear to have little impact on the ultimate decision regarding contested heritage. Although the views of the "pro-demolitionists" seem to be the majority and claim that contested heritage is standing in the way of transformation, they appear to have failed to capture the government's attention with regards to the formation of national identity (Marschall, 2019; Twitter, 2021).
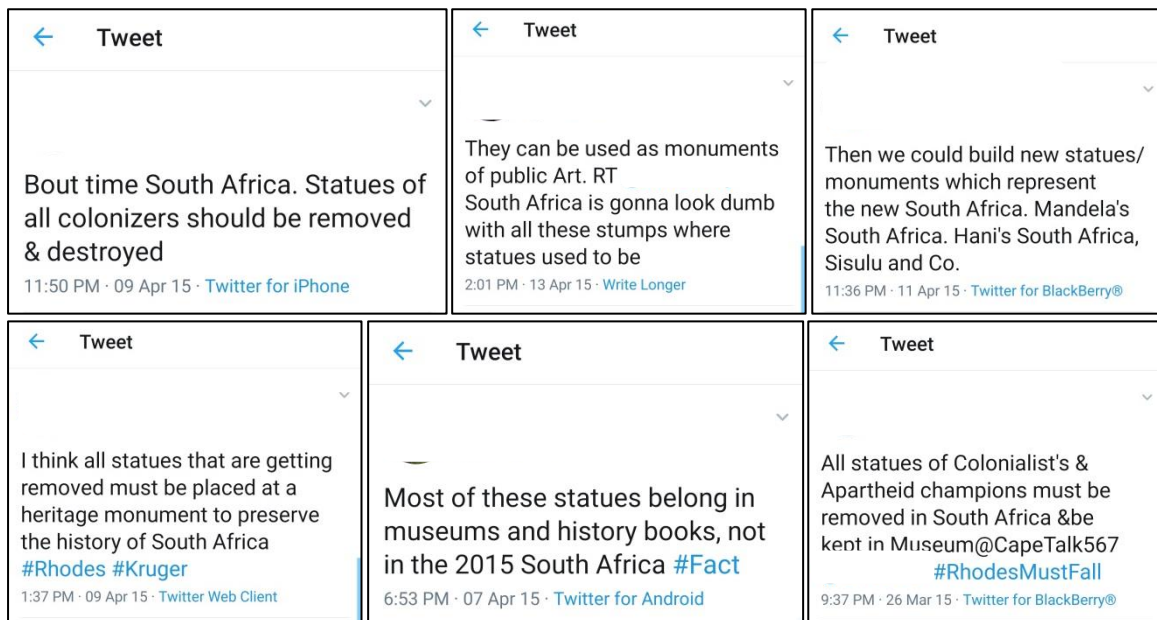

Figure 12: Social media suggestions on what should happen to contested heritage
Source: Twitter, 2021

Experts in the tourism and heritage sectors are clear that contested heritage must not be destroyed. According to Nkhasi-Lesaoana (2020), SAHRA is of the view that contested heritage should not be destroyed but curated properly so that it does not offend (Nkhasi-Lesaoana, 2020). Likewise, Nel (2020), argues that contested heritage needs to be contextualised and remain part of the current heritage, without polarising it. This, according to Nel (2020), must be done in a people-centred approach – having the general public take ownership of heritage, and manage it, alongside the state (Nel, 2020).

Mulaudzi (2020), indicated that the position of the NHC is that the colonial and apartheid-era heritage must be housed somewhere, and be reinterpreted (Mulaudzi, 2020). Likewise, Manetsi (2020) and Ngcobo (2020), concur and highlight that contested heritage must be placed in a dedicated space where it can be displayed – a theme park, museum, or archive - and contextualised so that the South African story is complete from all associated perspectives. Manetsi (2020) and Ngcobo (2020) are adamant that keeping the contested heritage is necessary to give context to the resistance and liberation heritage, thus serving as an illustration to the future generation where South Africa came from, and the past that informed South Africa's liberation struggle, which led to a democratic dispensation. This seems to be the direction that South Africa is taking, despite the prevailing calls for radical iconoclasm and radical socio-economic transformation from the public.

Ndima (2020) likewise indicated that DSAC is planning to construct what will be referred to as "Cultural Nation Building Parks" where contested heritage, specifically the statues of colonial and apartheid periods, will be "relocated" and "repositioned". Ndima (2020), explained that the Department will be working with relevant other government departments, municipalities, provincial structures and local entities to conduct an audit of the entire colonial and apartheid-era commemorative repository, and this audit will go far beyond tallying the monuments and memorials. The audit will record information around who designed the statue, who cast it, who is depicted, what does the person depicted stands for, what this person did in his or her lifetime, and what kind of ideas/ ideologies this person stood for. This is the information that will be used when curating the Cultural Nation Building Parks which in turn will be regional travel spaces. Ndima, (2020), explained that the DSAC will be commissioning professionals to curate the Cultural Nation Building Parks in a way that will excite people to come, view, and study these spaces. Ndima (2020) likewise explained that this option is preferred so as to preserve contested heritage to bear testimony to what happened in South Africa's checkered history.

4.6   Chapter summary

There appears to be a clear disjuncture between the government's approach to heritage transformation, and the wishes of the public, especially the black majority (Marschall, 2019). This would appear strange in a country that attained democracy

through mainly a consultative process. However, it is clear that government, at the moment, does not appear interested in the views of the public on the matter of contested heritage. To many South Africans, the removal of contested heritage is necessary to signal "real" change in political power, the absence of which has suggested that South Africa is still undergoing some form of neo-colonialism. However, within the context of reconciliation, social cohesion and nation-building, the government does not seem to have a clear-cut approach in terms of transforming the heritage landscape, and this lack of certainty does not seem to bode well with an increasingly impatient public.

In addition, there appears to be a top-down approach to collective memory building in South Africa, which seems to highlight a misalignment between the direction that is being taken by the nation-state on contested heritage and the needs and aspirations of the general population at the grassroots level. The memory conflicts between these two stakeholders also reflect that the contestation on colonial and apartheid-era heritage is not only in its role and meaning in the democratic South Africa, but also contestation in dealing with this heritage that continues to represent a painful and traumatic history to the black majority and others alike. Although the nation-state has been and remains the most influential decision-maker in national identity formation, the recent 2021 protests where shops were heavily looted suggest that public power is on an upward trajectory and will inevitably become a major agent in national identity construction insofar as heritage transformation is concerned. this chapter also indicated that social media platforms are a tool that tends to mold public perception and somewhat forces the public to choose a "side". The latter is naturally in sharp contrast to the constitutional objective for a South African society that is united in diversity. This chapter also fundamentally showcased the contrasting approaches to heritage in theory (Chapter 3) and heritage in practice (Chapter 4) especially from a South African point of view.

CHAPTER 5: HERITAGE PRACTICES IN DURBAN

5.1 Introduction

This chapter sets forth to interpret and analyse heritage practices in Durban, including the evolution of the meaning of contested heritage in the city that has experienced different epochs of socio-economic and political power dynamics throughout its history. In this context, taking into account the constant shift of political power throughout the colonial, apartheid, and democratic epochs in Durban, it thus appears that the meaning of heritage has equally been on continual evolution. This chapter will therefore look at the dynamics of heritage during the aforesaid periods in the city and how the meaning of what constitutes heritage in the metropole today has progressed over the years. An array of case studies are utilised throughout this section to showcase how heritage has played an integral role in shaping Durban's "travelscape".

5.2 Durban's heritage domain

Durban emerged from its colonial and apartheid pasts with a heritage landscape that was laced with controversial historical contexts (Bramdeow, 1988; Marschall, 2010). In a big way, it appears that post-colonial and apartheid Durban inherited a "conglomeration" of politically and racially charged heritage which was based on exclusion and suppression on one hand, and consecration and the need for political and territorial legitimacy on the other hand (Bramdeow, 1988; Marschall, 2010; Bennet *et al.*, 1987).

In a colonial context, when the British "established" Durban as a trading settlement in the region that belonged to a pre-colonial Zulu nation, the formalisation of a settlement was inevitably secured through the "suppression" and "containment" of an extensive Zulu Kingdom (Marx & Charlton, 2013). Up until the 1900s, the British and their subsequent colonial rule were resolute to mark Durban as their territory, and in this regard, heritage was harnessed as a vehicle for legitimacy to strengthen and institutionalise its grip on the then Durban cityscape (Marschall, 2010). This was done by "heroically" acknowledging and celebrating the British citizens that "developed" Durban through, amongst others, memorials, public statues, as well as street and historic site names similar to other locations in South Africa as previously

pointed out. One such colonial figure who was honoured this way was Francis George Farewell (1784 – 1829) who is largely acknowledged as the founder of the Port Natal Colony (Bennett *et al.*, 1987; Bramdeow, 1988).

After visiting the Bay of Natal in 1823, Farewell immediately concluded that the ivory obtained by the Portuguese from "Africans" around the Delagoa Bay (today Maputo, the capital city of Mozambique) was originally obtained from the Zulu Kingdom (Bramdeow, 1988). Farewell likewise concluded that a trading settlement in the Bay of Natal would succeed in diverting the ivory intended for the Delagoa Bay market and great profits would, in turn, be made for the British at the Port Natal Colony (Bramdeow, 1988). At this point, ivory was a commodity in much demand and worth a great deal on the European market (Bramdeow, 1988). On 8 August 1824, Farewell approached King Shaka along with Henry Francis Fynn (1803 – 1861) who was at this point Shaka's acquaintance, to get him to sign a land cession purporting to give "F. G. Farewell and Company" the Bay of Natal and the surrounding areas (Bramdeow, 1988). Bramdeow (1988) and Cubin (1988) have gone into great detail to reveal that to King Shaka, the cession amounted to no more than the right to occupy the land, and this is why the session was rejected by the British Government (Bramdeow, 1988; Cubin, 1988). Regardless, Farewell, on the 27th of August 1824, went on to hoist the British flag in the Bay of Natal and fired a salute as a sign that he had taken formal possession of the land on behalf of the United Kingdom (Bramdeow, 1988; Cubbin; 1988; Kruger, 1994).

Farewell's expedition certainly spearheaded the colonisation of Durban as it marked the beginning of a permanent British settlement at Natal and the emergence of a "frontier zone" (Cubbin, 1988; Kruger, 1994). The site of the original 1824 first European encampment in Natal was later named Francis Farewell Square in "honour" of the earliest efforts of Farewell to "building" a trading station in this specific location Cubin, 1988; Kruger, 1994. The site was set up by Farewell near the Bay of Natal, and would later be the cultural nucleus of Durban that links the city culturally to the British Empire (Cubin, 1988; Kruger, 1994). In this context, it appears the main objective of consecrating Durban as a British territory was to suppress the claim to the location and Natal collectively by the Zulu Kingdom, whilst also fostering the British visibility campaign to whisk off the "Boers" who were in territorial

contention for Durban at the time having already settled in Pietermaritzburg to the west (Bramdeow, 1988; Cubin; 1988; Kruger, 1994; Picton-Seymour, 1977).

Although firmly in the hands of the British who were in charge of the memorisation project in the city of Durban at the time, the British acknowledged the footprints of other Europeans, specifically the Portuguese who had somewhat "discovered" or rather helped to raise the profile of the area (Kruger, 1994). One such individual is the Portuguese sailor Bartolomeu Dias (1450 – 1500) who is honoured through a memorial in the Durban harbour for being the "first" European explorer to round the southern-most tip of Africa and thereby opening the sea trading routes to South East Asia via Durban (Kruger, 1994). Another Portuguese explorer, Vasco Da Gama (1460 – 1524) is also honoured through the Vasco da Gama Memorial Clock which was originally located at the Victoria Embankment (now known as Margaret Mncadi Avenue) and was erected in 1897 to mark the 400th anniversary of the famous Portuguese explorer's voyage to India around the Southern African coastline (Kruger, 1994; Anon, n.d.). During this voyage, he 'discovered' a large bay on the south-eastern coast of Africa on Christmas Eve in 1497, which he named "Natal" – the Portuguese word for Christmas (Kruger, 1994; Moodley, 2012; Marschall, 2017).

Another Portuguese citizen that was honoured through a statue for helping raise the then "profile" of Durban along with the British was Fernando Pessoa (1888 – 1935). The Pessoa Statue which was unveiled in 1986 stands in what is now known as the Pessoa Square opposite the Old Station Building which today houses the Tourist Junction, which is the tourist information centre for Durban (Bennet *et al.*, 1987; Zenith, 2006). Pessoa was a Portuguese poet, writer, literary critic, translator, publisher and philosopher who lived in Durban from 1895 to 1905 (Zenith, 2006). Although Pessoa's career flourished when he returned to Lisbon in Portugal, it is indeed in Durban where he spent his formative years, and later enrolled at Durban High School "where he receives a solid English education" (Zenith, 2006). However, in retrospect, the latter statue erection stands in sharp contrast to the former commemorations when considering the city's tourism landscape at the time.

Although the British were initially eager to quell the territorial contention by the "Boers", it appears this would change after the Anglo-Boer War and specifically towards the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910. In this context, it

appears heritage was at this point used to show the commitment of the two parties to the Union (Dubow, 2008). As a result, in the arguably "sacred" British cultural sanctuary of Durban in the Francis Farewell Square, the Anglo-Boer War memorial was erected in 1905 and the Statue of General Jan Smuts was later unveiled in 1954 (Marschall, 2010). Elsewhere in Durban, the Battle of Congella Memorial was unveiled in 1920, while the General Louis Botha Statue was unveiled in 1923 (Marschall, 2010). These memorials although initially intended to showcase "unity", have in turn become fiercely debated in recent years for their presence, purpose and perceived meaning in Durban's heritage landscape.

The aforementioned scenario is generally the heritage landscape that was inherited by the "democratic Durban" where memorialisation in public spaces excluded the two major racial groups in the city, namely the black Africans and Indians. The Indians had arrived in Durban in 1860 as indentured labourers due to the unwillingness of the indigenous Zulu population to engage in poorly paid wage labour as they were able to live off the land (Kruger, 1994). Durban was at this point experiencing rapid economic expansion particularly in the shipping and allied industries, including increased production of raw materials, farming, as well as diamond and gold mining in the interior at the then Natal colony (Kruger, 1994; Maharaj, 1996). While the indigenous Zulu population engaged in all other labour activities, there was a shortage of "cheap labour" especially in the farming sector (Kruger, 1994). This prompted the colonial British authorities to import Indian labourers to work on the sugar farms. Once their period of indenture ended many of these labourers remained in the province and settled in and around Durban (Maharaj, 1996). This in turn contributed to the diversity of Durban's current population and heritage landscape, albeit marginalised along with that of the black majority (Kruger, 1994; Bennet *et al.*, 1987; Marschall, 2010; Zenith, 2006).

The inheritance of a heritage landscape that was not reflective of the multi-cultural diversity of Durban in terms of race and ethnicity seems to have prompted the post-apartheid city, working in collaboration with the provincial and national government, to seek to transform this setting to ensure that it is representative of all who resides in the city. "Radical iconoclasm", a feature of many countries and cities that were colonised, and subsequently transitioned to freedom and democracy, has been

absent in Durban (Jacobs, 2014). In Durban, the quest to transform the heritage landscape seems to have gained traction only in the year 2000. This is when the newly formulated eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality identified the Botha Gardens at the corner of Berea Road and Warwick Avenue in Durban as the site for a more suitable post-apartheid heroes' monument (Marschall, 2010). The Municipality had suggested and argued that the Botha Statue that was already at the site should be removed to an "appropriate" museum and be replaced by a post-apartheid transformative commemorative memorial (Marschall, 2010). However, in 2005 the plans for removing the Botha Statue and creating a Heroes' Monument were abandoned in favour of, it can be argued, the national government's approach of pairing "white heritage" with "black heritage", as a way to show commitment to reconciliation (Marschall, 2005; Jacobs, 2014). Today, the statue of King Dinuzulu stands close to the Botha Statue in the former Botha Gardens (Figure 13).

Figure 13: King Dinuzulu Statue (R) next to the Louis Botha Statue (L)
Source: Nkobi, 2020

It is important to note that in terms of addressing nomenclature as part of heritage transformation, the Botha Gardens (also known as Botha's Garden) is now referred

to as the King Dinuzulu Park following the post-apartheid erection of the statue of the Zulu King, Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo in this park (Marschall, 2010). The statue of King Dinuzulu was erected in 2006 and was officially unveiled by the late Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelethini (1948 – 2021) in September 2008 (Marschall, 2005, 2010; Jacobs, 2014).

Although the statue of King Dinuzulu provides a glimpse into the overall heritage transformation approach by the provincial government in line with the issues of reconciliation and social cohesion at a national level it is, however, one of the many post-apartheid heritage transformation projects in Durban that are still very much work in progress. A variety of memorials of liberation stalwarts have been erected in Durban post-1994, and these include the bust of Moses Mabhida at the Moses Mabhida Stadium, the Queen Thomo Memorial in Cato Manor, the Victoria Mxenge bust in Umlazi, and the statues of former President Nelson Mandela and the first president of the African National Congress, Dr. John Langalibalele Dube at Ohlange north of Durban (Miya, 2010).

Maharaj *et al.* (2008) however argue that this transformational approach was important and necessary for tourism development and promotion in the city itself at the time. Maharaj *et al.* (2008) explain that to successfully promote its tourism opportunities to domestic tourists especially, the post-apartheid Durban was forced to enhance its destination image and attraction appeal by promoting heritage tourism attractions that would entice a local audience to travel there. Maharaj *et al.* (2008) therefore claims that the democratic transition, in turn, provided many challenges, the most enduring of which was the need to cater for the emerging black tourist market in line with the country's aspirations of social cohesion, transformation and nation-building from a tourism point of view (Maharaj *et al.*, 2008). Unquestionably, the same argument can also be made for the Indians who were also largely marginalised during the colonial and apartheid eras (Gokool, 1994).

Certainly, attempts have been made to incorporate the role that was played by Indians in creating the dynamic heritage landscape of Durban since their arrival in 1860. The Phoenix Settlement which was established in 1904 by Mahatma Gandhi, which remains predominantly Indian in democratic contexts, includes Gandhi's house, and his International Printing Press and Museum is a crucial part of the

Inanda Heritage Route (Marschall, 2012). A bust of Gandhi that was presented by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations was also erected in the foyer of the Old Durban Railway Station building (Tichmann, 1998; Gokool, 1994). It was from here that Gandhi boarded a train at the Durban Station in 1893 to travel to Pretoria but was kicked out of the train in Pietermaritzburg Station after a white passenger was disturbed to see a 'person of colour' in the train (Tichmann, 1998). This was the first time that Gandhi had experienced racism first-hand, it was reported, and it prompted him to establish the Natal Indian Congress and develop his practice of Satyagraha, or non-violent resistance (Tichmann, 1998; Gokool, 1994; Marschall, 2005).

However, upon further investigation, it appears the incorporation of Indians into the Durban heritage and tourism landscapes has been lacklustre and tending to be centred on Mahatma Gandhi only (Marschall, 2012). Small attempts have, however, been made recently in terms of street naming with the likes of Dr. Naicker, Dr. Naidoo, JN Singh, DK Singh, MN Pather, M Naidoo, G Singh, and K Rabilal being celebrated this way (eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality, 2021). Also, since 2010, the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Government has mooted the establishment of a monument in honour of the arrival of Indian indentured labourers in South Africa in 1860 (Maharaj, 2020). However, the monument remains delayed for several reasons such as lack of a clear conceptualisation of the project, limited public participation and bureaucratic sluggishness (Maharaj, 2020).

Moreover, regardless of the efforts by the democratic government to heritage transformation in Durban, its approach has, however, been questioned due to the thematic content of the liberation heritage, the ruling party, the ANC, and its political personalities being the main theme of the government's approach to heritage transformation (Marschall, 2010). In Durban, this trend can be observed in terms of the government's "Geographic Name Change" project which was crafted to "standardise" geographical names in post-apartheid South Africa, and the Resistance and Liberation Heritage Route (RLHR) project which is aimed at mapping South African's road to independence (Marschall, 2012). A quick analysis of these two projects in Durban immediately renders the transformation project problematic and casts it only as a vehicle for the political legitimacy of the ruling party (Manetsi, 2017).

The heritage transformation project has also been questioned for appropriating "colonial iconographic language" (Marschall, 2010). Although the black majority customarily celebrates its heroes through intangible heritage, King Dinuzulu in Durban in contrast is celebrated through a statue that is fully clad in colonial military clothes while adopting a similar pose to the classic colonial statues (Marschall, 2010). This approach tends to appear imposed from the top-down and is not earnestly transformative. Perhaps this is the reason why the King Dinuzulu statue was listed by the 'Decolonization of Public Places Movement' as one of those that must be removed from the public space during the 2015 protest (Decolonization of Public Places Movement, 2015).

In terms of incorporating the Indian public history into the Durban heritage landscape, the democratic government has seemingly fallen short as well. Not only has it, 'Gandhised' Indian heritage in Durban, it has also appropriated colonial iconographic language in this regard as well. Overall, it can therefore be argued that the democratic government has fallen quite short in fully transforming the heritage landscape in Durban for the majority of inhabitants in the city. Specifically, in terms of its support to the development and promotion of cultures that since colonisation has endured many processes of suppression, appropriation, integration and assimilation (Gokool, 1994). It should therefore be stated that the adoption of a colonial iconographic language is an outright missed opportunity in developing the previously marginalised heritage that resisted change despite colonial and apartheid subjugation (Marschall, 2005).

5.3 Practices of heritage conservation, protection, and preservation

In KwaZulu Natal, all provincial heritage resources are managed through the KwaZulu-Natal Amafa and Research Institute (Amafa Institute) which is a PHRA. Amafa Institute is responsible for the management of Grade II heritage resources in the province, with Grade II heritage resources being stipulated and outlined in Section 8, sub-section 1 of the *National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999* (Ndlovu, 2005). Amafa Institute is also responsible for handling the overall permit application process as well as heritage site nominations and declarations throughout the province. As a way of preserving provincial resources from destruction as the province develops, Amafa Institute is also responsible for running the heritage

impact assessment approval process throughout the province and within Durban itself (Devereux, 2020).

The Grade III heritage resources in eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality in turn are the responsibility of the Municipality as per the *National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999*. For effective management of Grade III heritage resources, the *National Heritage Resources Act* divides them into three sub-categories (National Heritage Resources Act, 1999). Highly significant heritage resources at a local level such as all cemeteries are automatically assigned a grading of "IIIA". Unless proclaimed as provincial or national sites, all public memorials are also assigned grade IIIA status. Grade "IIIB" in turn refers to heritage resources that are significant in the context of a townscape, settlement or community (Heritage Western Cape, 2016). Whereas Grade "IIIC" sites refer to heritage resources that are significant in the context of a streetscape or direct neighbourhood (Heritage Western Cape, 2016). The monuments that are under investigation in this study fall under Grade IIIA and are thus the outright responsibility of the eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality.

The *National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999* likewise requires that all local authorities develop heritage management capacity. eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality, like many local governments, does not have a dedicated heritage unit (Ngcobo, 2020). In the aforesaid entity, "heritage" and its various manifestations are managed under the Parks, Recreation and Culture Unit, specifically under the auspices of the Durban Local History Museums. In this instance where there is no dedicated local heritage authority, the Amafa Institute takes the responsibility to provide institutional assistance to the local authority in developing its heritage management capacity. According to Amafa Institute, this assistance hinges on a Heritage Management Memorandum of Agreement between Amafa Institute and the Municipality in question.

Accordingly, Amafa Institute, via such a Heritage Management Memorandum of Agreement seeks to help the local authority in question develop heritage expertise, allow them to access existing heritage inventories, heritage geographic information systems, the heritage grading criteria, and assist with preparing heritage management plans that can be incorporated into integrated development planning schemes in grassroots space (Devereux, 2020). According to Devereux (2020),

eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality at present does not have a Heritage Management Memorandum of Agreement with the Amafa Institute. This is problematic given the rapidly changing heritage landscape in Durban itself.

In this context, the *National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999* also requires local authorities to take on responsibilities concerning heritage resources and integrate heritage into urban and rural planning. Furthermore, the also Act requires that local authorities assist in mitigating the impact of by-laws on heritage and ensuring that those developments that trigger the heritage legislation proceeds with full compliance (National Heritage Resources Act, 1999). In eThekwini, heritage is one of the six thematic areas of the Municipality's Long Term Development Plan (eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality, 2020). These include:

- Creating a safe city;
- Ensuring a more environmentally sustainable city;
- Promoting an accessible city;
- Creating a prosperous city where all enjoy sustainable livelihoods;
- Fostering a caring and empowering city; and
- Celebrating our cultural diversity, history, and heritage (eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality, 2020).

Through the thematic area on "celebrating cultural diversity, history and heritage", the Municipality appears to recognise its integral role as per the *National Heritage Resources Act* to conserve, protect and preserve heritage for tourism purposes, creating employment, providing the city with a unique identity, and celebrating the diversity of the city itself (eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality, 2020). Although the plan is vague on the specific role that it plays in administering the conservation of heritage in the Municipality, Devereux (2020) clarifies that the Municipality is the first point of contact before an application is made to Amafa Institute for developments triggering the heritage legislation (Devereux, 2020). Furthermore, the Municipality's Long Term Development Plan specifically states that for effective management of heritage in the metropole, the skills and capacities of culturally diverse persons and communities involved in heritage resources management must be developed and provisions must be made for the ongoing education and training of existing and new heritage resources management personnel (eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality,

2017). However, it can be argued that currently, the Municipality does not have an adequate mechanism nor capacity as per the *National Heritage Resources Act* to conserve, protect, and preserve heritage in the Municipality and its associated geographical spaces. It is no wonder that the public monuments throughout the city stand neglected.

5.4 Contested heritage spaces in Durban

Colonial and apartheid-era heritage representation in Durban has become very contested in a democratic cityscape as it is now perceived as an antithesis to the "new" principles of the location. In the past, this colonial and apartheid city largely catered for the needs of the white minority, while the public history of the black majority was largely ignored in the cityscape (Maharaj *et al.*, 2008). The five sites that have been chosen below for this investigation reveal the dynamics around the meaning of heritage from the colonial and apartheid eras up until the post-apartheid era.

5.4.1 Francis Farewell Square

The Farewell Square is a Grade II Provincial heritage site as per SAHRA's grading criterion and is located within the original Market Square laid out in George Cato's Town of Durban of the 1840s (McIntyre, 1969). Initially named the Town Gardens, it was renamed in 1924 to commemorate the arrival of Francis Farewell, the British settler who was part of the contingent that established a permanent trading post at Port Natal as indicated earlier in this investigation (McIntyre, 1969).

The Francis Farewell Square was the first site of the European encampment in 1824 in Durban (Bennet *et al.*, 1987; Hunt *et al.*, 2010). From the onset, the Francis Farewell Square emerged as a British "shrine", given that it was erected at the height of the British dominion in South Africa as a cultural centre in Durban. As a cultural nerve in the city and a place of sanctity to the British colonisers, the Francis Farewell Square was accordingly littered with buildings and monuments of cultural significance that linked Durban and South Africa to its "ancestry" of the British Empire (Bennet *et al.*, 1987; Brown, 2006). The Francis Farewell Square would later house the first public building in Durban, the Court House which was completed in 1866, and the Durban City Hall which was built in neo-Baroque style and was

completed in 1910 (Brown, 2006). This architecture in Francis Farewell Square fitted in with the ideology of the British settlers who were intent on constructing a city centre according to a European model (Brown, 2006).

It has been argued elsewhere in this study that the Francis Farewell Square fits within the period where building colonial heritage in African colonies became the equivalent of the Nguni concept of "*ukubethela isikhonkwane*", with colonial heritage itself serving as "*isikhonkwane*". Thus the Francis Farewell Square was the heart of the Durban town's centre which was designated for the white population at the time only and was initially meant to be a bastion of British culture and ideology and to exclude the local black population (Brown, 2006). The British cultural heritage, which is concentrated in and around the Francis Farewell Square, was a statement to the locals, and certainly to their rivalries, the Boers who also had an interest in taking control of the City, of the legitimacy of the rule of the British Empire over Durban (Brown, 2006). In other words, through heritage as "*isikhonkwane*", Durban had been announced ("*ukubika*") to the British ancestry through the colonial British heritage. And in terms of "*ukuqinisa umuzi*", the authority of the British over Durban could not reasonably be contested, either by the "Boers" or "locals", as the British heritage in the city legitimised this grip.

As a political symbol of British rule, the Francis Farewell Square also consists of several statues of leaders of the British Colonial regime in Durban and the former Natal Colony. These include the statues of the two prominent British politicians of colonial Natal namely Sir John Robinson and Harry Escombe (Bennet *et al.*, 1987; McIntyre, 1969; Cubbin, 1988; Brown, 2006). The Francis Farewell Square is thus the epitome of celebrating the power and influence of the British Empire (Bennet *et al.*, 1987; Hunt *et al.*, 2010; Brown, 2006). However, this was just the first phase of the symbolism of the Francis Farewell Square, specifically from its inception until 1902.

After the Anglo-Boer of 1899 – 1902, the Francis Farewell Square was transformed to become a symbol of British and Afrikaner commitment to peaceful coexistence in South Africa which was subsequently sealed through the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910. The Union was based on the National Convention of 1908 which framed the "Act of Union" and was hosted at the Francis Farewell Square

(Bennet *et al.*, 1987). It is after the end of the Anglo-Boer War in 1902 that the Afrikaner heritage began to emerge and be incorporated into the Francis Farewell Square, and all around Durban. Figure 14 shows all the monuments that are found in Francis Farewell Square and were inherited from the colonial and apartheid regimes. These are briefly described below.
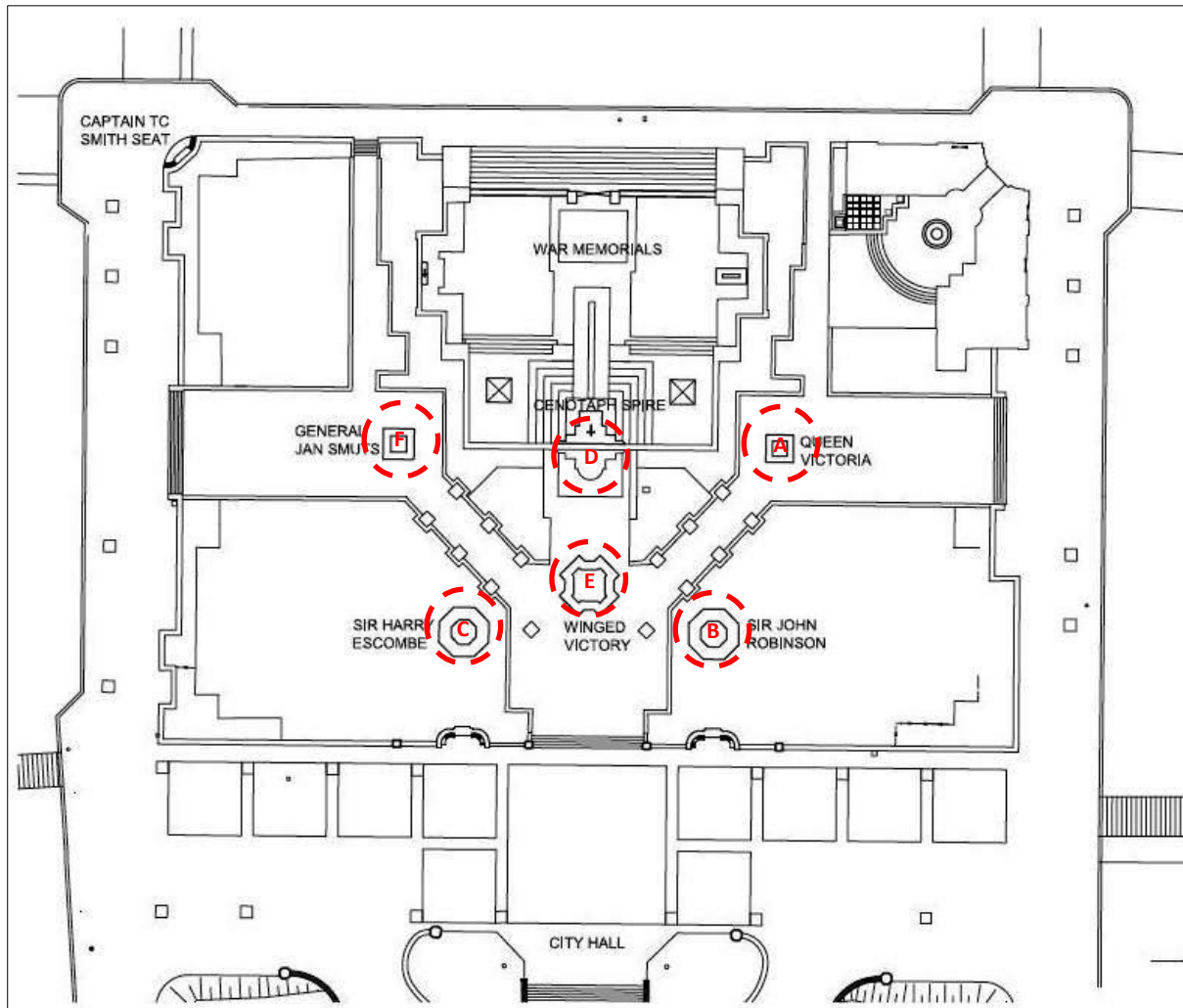

Figure 14: The contested monuments at the Francis Farewell Square
Source: KZ-NIA, 2010

a)   Queen Victoria Statue

The Queen Victoria Statue (Figure 15) was erected to commemorate her Diamond Jubilee of 1897, and it was unveiled in April 1899 by the then Governor of Natal, Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson (1849 – 1913) (Durban Local History Museum, 2020). The marble statue is the work of Hamo Thornycroft (1850 – 1925), a Victorian sculptor, and it depicts Queen Victoria (1819 –1901) as a young woman, garbed in a state robe, crowned, and holding an orb and sceptre. It is reported that the statue was

unveiled in a notable ceremony in the history of the town – an inspiring spectacle of military pomp and gaiety, with the band crashing out the stirring chords of "God Save the Queen" (McIntyre, 1969; Cubbin, 1988).
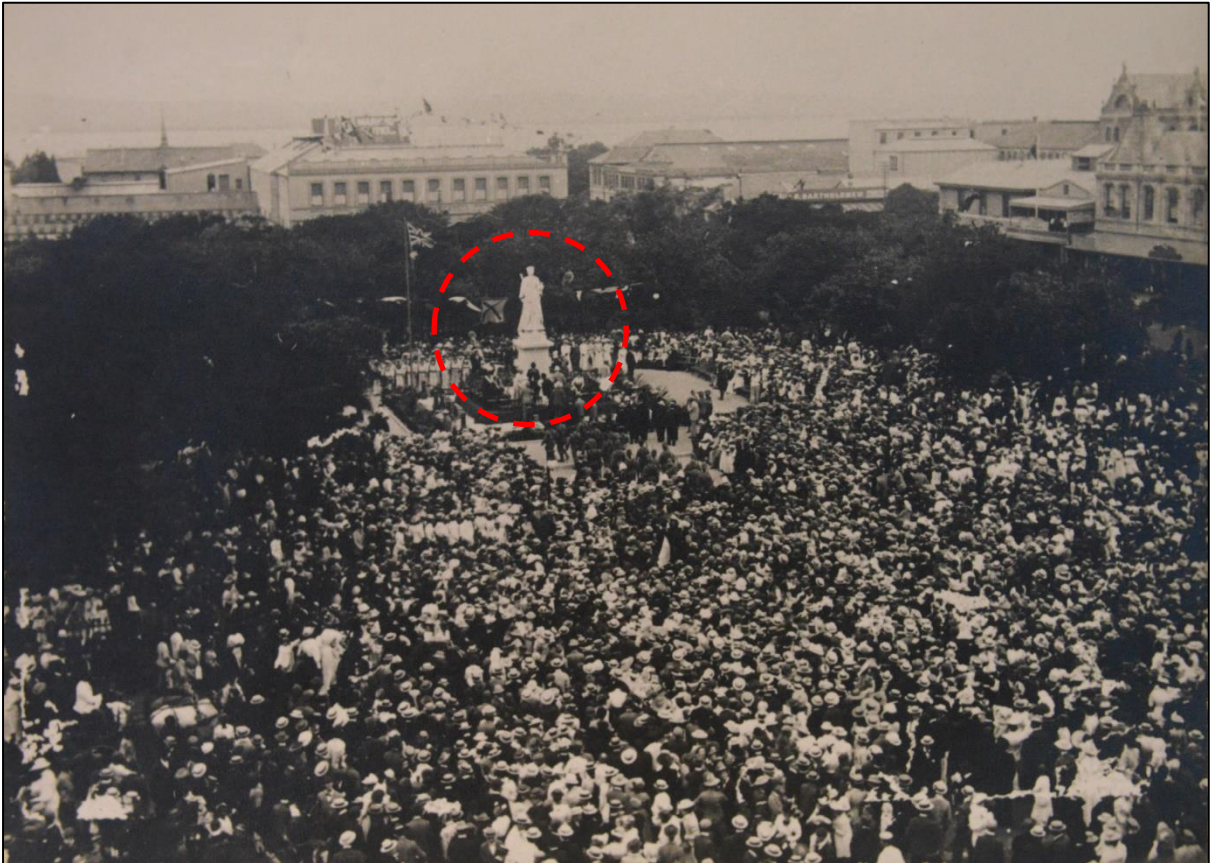

Figure 15: The unveiling of Queen Victoria's statue in Durban in 1899
Source: Durban Local History Museum, 1899

The Queen Victoria Statue in Durban (Figure 16) is one and the first of such statues of the six in South Africa, the others being in Pietermaritzburg, Cape Town, Kimberley, King William's Town, and Port Elizabeth. The legend of Queen Victoria is well documented in the history books and will therefore not be rehashed in this dissertation. However, it is argued in this study that Queen Victoria in Durban, like in all other former British colonies, was the celestial leader of the British expansion through colonisation and thus served a cultural link to British ancestry. In Durban certainly as elsewhere in South Africa, it can be argued that her Statue sought to complete a cultural and political link of Durban, to the British Empire to legitimise and complete the grip of this territory by the British (McIntyre, 1969; Cubbin, 1988; Brown, 2006). The inscription on the Queen Victoria Statue appears to justify this finding:

"Victoria: Queen and Empress - this Statue was erected by the citizens of Durban to commemorate the sixtieth year of the glorious reign of our beloved sovereign. A.D. 1837 - A.D. 1897".

Figure 16: The Queen Victoria Statue at the Francis Farewell Square in 2020
Source: Nkobi, 2020

The inscription on Queen Victoria's statue points to the perceived existence of what Anderson (1991) describes as the "imagined community" of Durban' that are cohesive and accepting of the pledge of allegiance to the Queen, the British Empire, and its subsequent ancestry (Anderson, 1991). In this regard, Durban was perceived, at least by the British colonists, as an "imagined community" of "African natives", "Boers", Indians, and British who shared the same idea of a "nation" and "nationhood" and fundamentally "subscribed" to what this "nation" stood for. Colonial heritage, therefore, with the Queen at the core of it, was perceived as the binding force for this "imagined community" holistically throughout the country but especially in Durban as it ushered in a shared national identity that is directly linked and firmly buttressed on the cultural and political ideologies of the British Empire. In line with this ideology, the passing of Queen Victoria in 1902 was in turn accordingly marked in Durban, with her Statue bedecked out with wreaths, mourning her death (Figure

17). This certainly indicates the power of a memorial as not merely an illustration of a historical event, but also an embodiment of that particular historical event.

Figure 17: The Queen Victoria Statue in Durban bedecked with wreaths following her death in 1902
Source: Durban Local History Museums, 1902

b)   Sir John Robinson Statue

The marble statue of Sir John Robinson (Figure 18) was erected by public subscription and unveiled publicly by the then Governor of Natal, Sir Matthew Nathan (1862 – 1939) in October 1908 (McIntyre, 1969). The statue stands at Francis Farewell Square facing the main entrance of the City Hall.

Figure 18: The Statue of Sir John Robinson at Francis Farewell Square
Source: Nkobi, 2020.

John Robinson (1839 – 1903) was born in England and moved to Natal with his parents in 1850 (Lambert, 1975, 1980). John Robinson was the son of George Robinson, the Editor of the *Natal Mercury* which was launched in 1852 by Jeremiah Cullingworth (Lambert, 1975, 1980). Soon after its launch, the Robinson Family acquired the Newspaper, which John Robinson took over as owner and editor in January 1861 at the age of twenty-one on the death of his father in January 1861. He subsequently grew the *Natal Mercury* newspaper from a weekly paper to a daily paper (Lambert, 1975, 1980; McIntyre, 1969). From his father, he inherited a newspaper that had established itself as a well-informed journal on colonial and South African affairs. Robinson would continue this strategic business trajectory but also positioned it strategically to establish himself politically, using his journal skilfully to manipulate white public opinion in the colony as part of his desire to be the man to lead Natal to self-government and to become her first prime minister (Lambert, 1975, 1980).

Robinson was very instrumental in the political development of Natal (McIntyre, 1969; Haasbroek, 1972; Lambert, 1975; 1980; Thabethe; 2000). He is popularly known as the chief architect of "responsible government" in Natal (Lambert, 1975; 1980). However, his push for a "responsible government" is said to have been only one aspect of his career. Throughout his political career, from 1860 until his

retirement in 1897, Robinson is said to have remained true to three "cardinal" strategies, namely "railway extension", "responsible government" and "white South African unit", which he referred to as the "trinity of political aspirations" (Lambert, 1975; 1980; Thabethe; 2000). The "responsible government" principle was based on his philosophy of self-governing colonies with their parliamentary systems. This principle was inspired by his unrelenting aspiration to always work for what he believed to be the advancement of the interests of the Natal colony (Haasbroek, 1972; Lambert, 1975; 1980; Thabethe, 2000). Although he believed in the unity of European colonists in South Africa, he was adamant that this unit must be beneficial to Natal (Haasbroek, 1972; Lambert, 1975; 1980). For Robinson, if the Natal Colony was to take its rightful place in South Africa and the British Empire, it was, therefore, necessary that it should relish in the benefits of a "responsible government" (Haasbroek, 1972; Lambert, 1975; 1980). This was the original premise on which he based his call for constitutional reform for the Natal Colony to be independent (Haasbroek, 1972; Lambert, 1975, 1980).

Robinson's call for reform intensified in 1875 when the British Empire sent Sir Garnet Wolseley (1833 – 1913) to Natal to subvert the colony's cries for independence (Lambert, 1975; 1980). His opposition to Wolseley established him as a colonial patriot who was prepared to fight for the interests of the Natal colony (Lambert, 1975; 1980). Wolseley's proposed reforms made Robinson determined to create a "responsible government" for Natal to ensure not only that the colonists of the area would control their own affairs, but also that a situation would never again arise in which the colony would be powerless to defend her own interests in the face of interference by the British government or other associated attacks (Lambert, 1975; 1980). In 1882 Robinson's desire for "responsible government" was granted by the British government, however, with a proviso that the then Natal Colony should be prepared to defend itself (Haasbroek, 1972; Lambert, 1975; 1980). Not convinced that Natal was capable of defending itself, especially at a time when the colonial socio-political dynamics were exceptionally volatile and potentially dangerous to Natal, the offer was not accepted (Haasbroek, 1972; Lambert, 1975; 1980). In 1888, the campaign for "responsible government" began in earnest with John Robinson as the chairman of a Select Committee to investigate his construct of "responsible government" (Haasbroek, 1972; Lambert, 1975; 1980. The negotiations between the

colonists and the British government over this question dragged on for years, with Natal finally receiving a form of "responsible government" as termed by Robinson in 1893 (Haasbroek, 1972; Lambert, 1975; 1980). In the same year Sir John Robinson was inaugurated as its first Prime Minister, until his resignation in 1897 (McIntyre, 1969; Haasbroek, 1972; Lambert, 1975, 1980).

Robinson's push for "responsible government" also hinged on Natal's ability to be self-sustainable without the aid of the British government, which made his pillar on railway extension very crucial (Haasbroek, 1972; Lambert, 1975; 1980). With the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in the then Transvaal, Robinson quickly realised that for Natal to survive as an independent colony let alone flourish, it was essential for her to establish a railway link with the goldfields up north (Lambert, 1975; 1980;). The railway extension to the goldfields was subsequently successful and this secured Natal's independent existence until the "white South African" unit of 1910 under the auspices of the Union of South Africa (Thabethe; 2000).

However, the modern-day meaning of Robinson, indeed including that of his statue in Durban which is ordinarily considered as his modern-day embodiment, is hinged on the fact that Robinson was at the heart of the racial prejudices towards the black majority and Indians of the province (Haasbroek, 1972, Lambert, 1975, 1980; Dhupelia, 1980; Thabethe, 2000). In fact, one of the reasons for advocating for the so-called "responsible government' was essentially to exclude the black majority and Indians from the right to vote as a way to maintain and sustain (his) colonial grip on Natal. Robinson was apprehensive of the equality of franchise which according to him would throw the colony "into the hands of rich and unscrupulous men who would buy votes, leading it to end up in the wrong hands" (Haasbroek, 1972Lambert, 1975; Lambert, 1980; Lambert, 1995; Dhupelia, 1980). According to Lambert (1975), Robinson explained his stance as follows:

> The electoral franchise is a privilege that the "natives" would fail to understand, and would only exercise, under the guidance, if not the dictation of some superior influence or authority. Were it certain that that guidance would be shaped by strictly "patriotic motives", and directed to wise and benevolent ends, this might not in itself be an unmixed evil. But there is no sort of guarantee that the "natives" would be so led. The natives, moreover, would be the great majority.

Their representatives might make or unmake Ministries (Lambert, 1975; 1980).

Robinson was equally malevolent towards the Indians. During the election campaign in 1890, he made it clear if "responsible government" was to be granted, he would introduce legislation to prevent Indians from voting and also encourage them to return to India on the expiry of their indentures (Lambert, 1975). Subsequently, his ministry introduced a series of discriminatory legislation against the black majority and Indians (Haasbroek, 1972; Lambert, 1975). From the above, it is obvious that Robinson was a typical colonial racist and power-hungry settler who was determined to maintain the status quo for as much and for as long as possible (Haasbroek, 1972; Lambert, 1975; Lambert, 1980; Dhupelia, 1980; Lambert, 1995; Thabethe, 2000). The presence of statues of colonial architects of Robinson's calibre in the public spaces in democratic South Africa continues to be a sore point as there is no consensus on what should be done with this form of heritage.

c)   Harry Escombe Statue

The marble Statue of Harry Escombe depicts the English colonist standing on top of a pedestal with an open coat facing the City Hall of Durban. The Harry Escombe Statue (Figure 19) was erected by public subscription and was unveiled in 1903 by Sir John Robinson (McIntyre, 1969).

Figure 19: The unveiling of Harry Escombe Statue in 1903
Source: Durban Local History Museums, 1903

Harry Escombe (1838 -1899) was born in England and emigrated to the Cape Colony in 1859 and subsequently relocated to Durban in 1860 (Tower, 1990). Escombe is best remembered in the historiography of Durban for devoting a great deal of his public life to the struggle for opening up the Durban harbour (Tower, 1990; Twyman, 1991; Lambert, 1995; MacDonald, 2007). He saw clearly that the opening up of the Durban's harbour was imperative for the economic advancement of Natal (Tower, 1990; Twyman, 1991; Lambert, 1995; MacDonald, 2007). Escombe became the first chairman of the Harbour Board upon its inception in 1881 and this placed him in a unique position in Natal as the Board was perceived by colonists as a medium by which they could achieve independence from the control of Britain (Twyman, 1991; MacDonald, 2007). In this capacity, Escombe gained unrestrained power over the affairs of the harbour. Although the Port Natal harbour had always been part of the economic discourse of Durban, it was only in the 1890s, and especially as a result of Harry Escombe's leadership that the harbour became a prominent issue in the politics of Natal (Twyman, 1991). He held the reins for

fourteen years and personally influenced nearly all decisions on the development of the harbour in his drive to transform the Port of Durban into a commercial harbour and subsequently on the economic hub of the southern tip of Africa (Tower, 1990; Twyman, 1991).

Although Escombe resigned as chairman of the Harbour Board at the beginning of 1894 and was appointed Minister of Public Works in the first cabinet of John Robinson, while also serving as the Attorney-General for the colony, he continued to contribute to the development of the harbour (Twyman, 1991). After John Robinson retired as the Prime Minister in 1897, Escombe took over as Prime Minister (Twyman, 1991). In fact, before taking over the premiership, Harry Escombe, from 1894, increasingly had to take the reins of power from Robinson whose health was deteriorating during his premiership in which he suffered from heart trouble(s) (Lambert, 1975; 1980). In terms of the harbour, it was only after Harry Escombe's death in 1899 that the ideal of making Durban harbour the greatest port in southern Africa was realised. Today the harbour, once a natural lagoon, boasts the reputation of being Africa's largest, busiest port and one of South Africa's major transportation hubs (Koopman; 2004).

d)   Cenotaph Tower (incorporating War Memorials)

The Francis Farewell Square consists of the Cenotaph (Figure 20), also known as the 'sacred acre' that incorporates memorials of the fallen soldiers of World War I (1914 – 1918) and World War II (1939 – 1945) (McIntyre, 1969; Hunt *et al.*, 2010). After the first World War, the then Town Council of the city resolved to build a memorial in honour of Durban's fallen soldiers in that particular war. The foundation stone of the memorial was laid in December 1923 by Prince Arthur of Connaught (1883 – 1938), Governor-General of the Union, and the memorial was unveiled by Colonel G. Molyneux (1874 – 1959) in March 1926 (Hunt *et al.*, 2010).
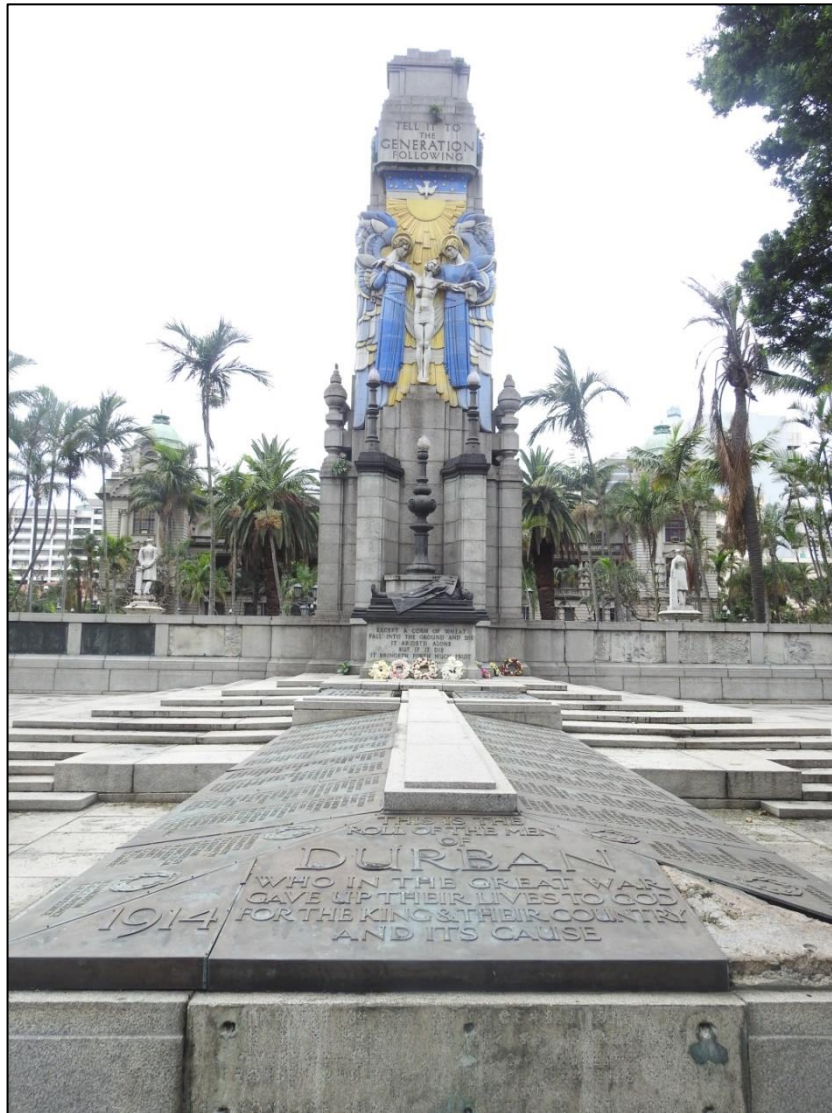
Figure 20: The Cenotaph at the Francis Farewell Square
Source: Nkobi, 2020

The design of the 15-metre granite aspire which dominates the Francis Farewell Square was the result of the 1921 competition which was won by the Cape Town architectural firm called Eagle, Pilkington and McQueen, and the structure was completed in 1926 (Hunt *et al.*, 2010). The Cenotaph is decorated with ceramic sculptural work in art deco style. The central feature represents two angels bearing the soul of a departed white "warrior" heavenward against the light of a golden sun and a blue sky (McIntyre, 1969). At the base is a realistic bronze of the mortal clay from which the spirit ascended (McIntyre, 1969). The layout of the Cenotaph includes three tombs on which the names of the fallen are inscribed on large bronze plates (McIntyre, 1969).

Figure 21: The 1955 commemoration of Remembrance Day
Source: Durban Local History Museum, 1955

At the foot of the spire of the Cenotaph is a bronze Statue of a fallen soldier. Figure 21 indicates a soldier saluting to this bronze statue of the fallen soldier in the 1955 Remembrance Day commemorations to mark the end of World War I. This gesture seems to suggest that in Durban, as elsewhere in the world, monuments are not mere historical objects but very vibrant incarnation of historical events and personalities. While in democratic South Africa Remembrance Day is not particularly observed as one of the country's commemorative days, it has however continued to be observed by the South African Legion, a predominantly white organisation of military veterans. In Durban, the Cenotaph continues to be the "consecrated" hosting place for Remembrance Day by the South African Legion (Figure 22) – an event that inquisitively attracts mostly white South Africans. The fact that the Cenotaph monument has remained germane and venerated particularly by white South Africans points to its complicated role and meaning in democratic South Africa. While perceived as "sacred" by some, to some it is just another colonial monument that represents white supremacy and has no bearing in the "new" South Africa.

Figure 22: The 2015 Remembrance Day commemorations in Durban
Source: South African Legion, 2015

After the Second World War, the enclosing stone walls were lengthened and heightened to enable the names of the fallen of that War to be included in the Memorial, and this addition was inaugurated in March 1955 (McIntyre, 1969). The names of the servicemen who were killed in action at the two wars are recorded on a bronze cross shape and two flattened pyramids on the ground (Hunt *et al.*, 2010). A later addition to the Cenotaph was the Indian Regimental War memorial, a marble-clad wall element with inlaid plaques containing the Rolls of Honour from the two World Wars, having been omitted from the main memorial (Hunt *et al.*, 2010). This appears to have been the earliest attempt to transform the Francis Farewell Square. According to Hunt *et al.* (2010) and Gammage (2020),[13] the city has had a plan to include another memorial which would include the names of the liberation struggle heroes, however, this seems to have fallen through the "bureaucratic cracks" of the city that have unfortunately stood in the way of transformation (Gammage, 2020).

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[13] Interview with Mr Arthur Gammage, Retired Urban Designer and Heritage Practitioner, eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality, on 22 September 2020.

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e)   Anglo-Boer War Memorial

The Anglo-Boer War Memorial, also known as the Winged Victory Statue, is an epitome and a physical embodiment of a commitment to peace and unity between the British and the "Boers" in Durban, and certainly the rest of South Africa, which ultimately culminated in the formation of the Union of South Africa. After the Anglo-Boer War, the Durban Town Council decided to erect a memorial to commemorate the Durban volunteer regiments which served at the War (McIntyre, 1969; Hunt *et al.*, 2010). The outcome was the memorial which now stands facing the main entrance to the Durban City Hall (Figure 23). The memorial is the work of the eminent sculptor Hamo Thornycroft. It was unveiled in 1905 by the Governor of Natal, Sir Henry McCallum (1852 – 1919).

Figure 23: The Anglo-Boer War Memorial
Source: Nkobi, 2020.

The memorial depicts the "Angel of Peace" descending with an olive branch in her hand, flanked by two bronze lions, signalling peace between the British and the "Boers" (Hunt *et al.*, 2010). On the stone plinth which supports the main feature are

four bronze panels depicting, in relief, scenes representing four local units in action, and at each corner of the plinth are panels recording the names of the soldiers who fell in the War (Bennet *et al.*, 1987). It is also important to note that it appears to have been very important for the then Town Council, which was under British rule, to locate this monument in a space that was hitherto a territorial and sacred marker, as a gesture of commitment to peace and unity between the two white groups (Bennet *et al.*, 1987). In the grand scheme of things, it appears this was a way of extending "courtesy" by the British to the Afrikaners not only for them to have their iconography in the public and strategic spaces, but also to play a meaningful role in the socio-political and economic affairs of the Union of South Africa, a "courtesy" that many would argue the white South Africans have failed to extend to the rest of other demographic groups in democratic South Africa, within the context of redress and transformation. And thus, the contested heritage in the public spaces appears to serve as a painful reminder of the purported lack of extension of "courtesy" to the other demographic groups, who continue to suffer due to the incessant status quo. In this contest, colonial and apartheid statues are thus contested insofar as they continue to act as a potent medium that conjures terrible and unpleasant memories for many South Africans (Marschall, 2017; 2019).

f)   General Jan Smuts Statue

The General Jan Smuts Statue (Figure 24) in Francis Farewell Square depicts General Smuts in the uniform of a British Field Marshall (McIntyre, 1969). The statue is in bronze on a granite pedestal with bronze panels showing highlights of his career, but also immersing it within the aforementioned "peace and unity" narrative of the British and the "Boers", although the statue was unveiled during the apartheid regime, in May 1954 (McIntyre, 1969). The statue which was constructed in Italy was unveiled by Denis Shepstone (1888 – 1966), the Administrator of Natal (McIntyre, 1969).

Figure 24: The General Jan Smuts Statue
Source: Nkobi, 2020.

The stone plinth bears four bronze plaques which show the General (a) being bestowed by King George VI with the Order of Merit; (b) receiving the Freedom to the City of Durban; (c) addressing the House of Commons; and (d) taking the salute on the departure of South African troops for North Africa in the Second World War (McIntyre, 1969). General Jan Smuts (1870 – 1950) played a leading role in the creation of the Union of South Africa and helped shape its subsequent Constitution. In 1919, Smuts became the Prime Minister of the aforementioned Union, holding office until 1924 (Dubow, 2008). It is reported that as Prime Minister, Smuts followed a pro-British direction and he ensured that South Africa participated actively and effectively in the Second World War. In 1941, he was promoted to British field marshal, and was thus revered by both the "Boers" and the British, and thus fit within

the "peace and unity" narrative which he championed since the end of the Anglo-Boer War (Davenport & Saunders, 2000). Smuts returned as Prime Minister again in 1939 and subsequently played a significant and leading role in the construction of the apartheid regime that was implemented in 1948 (Dubow, 2008). While revered by the Europeans, and his statue still standing *in situ* at the Farewell Square, his post-apartheid image, like many Afrikaner and British colonial leaders, is that of an architect of a system that institutionalised racial segregation and suffering for the black majority in South Africa (Marschall, 2010). Thus, his Statue like so many in the Francis Farewell Square remains heavily contested in contemporary society.

5.4.2 Dick King Statue

The Dick King Statue (Figure 25) which is a Grade III municipal heritage site as per SAHRA grading was erected in honour of English colonist, Dick King, who is said to have substantially contributed to the formative years of Durban (Kalley, 1986; Eyre, 1932).

Figure 25: The Dick King Statue on the Victoria Embankment in Durban, erected by public subscription in 1915
Source: Durban Local History Museums, 2020

The Dick King Statue was created by Italian marble artist, Adolfo Ascoli, based on Henry Harley Grellier's design and was erected in August 1915 (McIntyre, 1969;

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Marschall, 2005). The Statue consists of two relief panels, which were also designed by Grellier, and adorn the base of the Statue. One depicts two rowing boats crossing the Durban Bay to the Bluff with two horses in tow and the other shows Dick King and his companion, the Zulu native, Ndongeni kaXoki on their journey through the bush (Marschall, 2005). The inscription on the Statue reads: "*Dick King saved Natal, May 1842*".

Dick King (1813 – 1871), born Richard Philip King, was born in England and arrived in Port Natal during its formative years (Kalley, 1986,2019; Eyre, 1932, Marschall, 2005). He immediately became inextricably linked with early Natal history (Kalley, 1986,2019; Eyre, 1932, Marschall, 2005). Dick King is said to have begun his role in Natal's early history in 1834 when he allegedly attempted to visit King Dingane on behalf of a committee led by Petrus Lafras Uys to seek land for farmers of Uitenhage and Grahamstown who wished to move to Port Natal (Eyre, 1932; Kalley, 1986; 2019). The commission, however, did not see King Dingane, but they returned with the impression that King Dingane seemed favourably disposed towards them, and was prepared to discuss the granting of land (Eyre, 1932; Kalley, 1986; 2019). In 1835, Dick King was part of the meeting of fifteen men that were called by Captain Allen Gardiner to discuss the formation of the new town in Natal called "D'Urban" (Eyre, 1932; Kalley, 1986; 2019). He at this stage was a signatory to the aforementioned unsuccessful petition by Francis Farewell requesting Natal's incorporation as a British colony (Eyre, 1932; Kalley, 1986, 2019).

Dick King was in Durban when Piet Retief (1780 – 1838), the Voortrekker leader, led the first wave of the Great Trek across the Drakensberg mountains into Natal in 1837 in an attempt to negotiate a treaty for land in Natal (Eyre, 1932; Kalley, 1986; 2019). However, King Dingane, suspicious of previous Voortrekker influxes from across the Drakensberg, had Retief and his followers killed, which appears to have shaken the British colonists in Durban (Eyre, 1932; Kalley, 1986; 2019). On learning of the killing, Alexander Biggar (1781–1838), the then Commander of the then Fort at Durban, is claimed to have felt compelled to notify the rest of his fellow Europeans, the Voortrekkers, who were still camped near Weenen and were oblivious of the horror that had befallen some of their men (Eyre, 1932; Kalley, 1986; 2019). Dick King is claimed to have bravely volunteered for this 'mission,' choosing to walk

around 295 kilometers rather than risk detection while riding a horse (Eyre, 1932; Kalley, 1986; 2019). Following his arrival, he is said to have fought alongside the Voortrekkers, supporting them in repelling the Zulu invasion (Eyre, 1932; Kalley, 1986; 2019). Dick King allegedly fought in the Battle of the Tugela three weeks later and was one of only four settlers out of seventeen to survive (Eyre, 1932; Kalley, 1986, 2019). Following their victory at the Tugela, the Zulus are said to have ransacked the then D'Urban and here Dick King survived by seeking cover on a boat anchored in the Bay (Eyre, 1932; Kalley, 1986; 2019). One cannot help but note that the aforementioned narrative appears to exaggerate Dick King's mythology as part of Durban's colonial foundation myth. Perhaps this is intended to set the stage for the specific extensively documented version that portrays Dick King as a Durban hero.

Dick King is most known for his legendary journey from Durban to Grahamstown in 1842, when he sought assistance for the besieged British forces at Port Natal (now the Old Fort, Durban) (Eyre, 1932; Kalley, 1986, 2019; Marschall, 2005). After losing Durban to the "Boers" in 1838, the British deployed a garrison under Captain Charlton Smith back to Durban in 1842, aiming to evict the "Boer" soldiers from the strategic Port Natal (Eyre, 1932; Kalley, 1986, 2019). This resulted in the Battle of Congella, in which the British sustained terrible losses and were forced to retreat to their Old Fort military base. Dick King was subsequently dispatched to Grahamstown (modern-day Makhanda) by Christopher Cato (1814 – 1893), who eventually became Durban's first mayor, to communicate a request for immediate reinforcements (Eyre, 1932; Kalley, 1986; 2019; Marschall, 2005). Dick King arrived in Grahamstown 10 days after leaving Port Natal and returned after a month on the Conch, one of the British rescue ships (Eyre, 1932; Kalley, 1986; 2019). The reinforcements arrived just in time to spare Smith's garrison from capitulation or hunger, and the Boers were subsequently defeated and expelled and expelled from Port Natal (Eyre, 1932; Kalley, 1986, 2019; Marschall, 2005). As a result, in the tale of Durban's early beginnings, King is widely regarded as the "hero" who, when the besieged British troops required assistance, he changed the course of Durban and Natal's history, resulting in its annexation in 1843 (Marschall, 2005). (Eyre, 1932; Kalley, 1986; 2019; Marschall, 2005) This famous ride, which covered 960 kilometres, certainly cemented the name of Dick King in the history books of South Africa, or at least those of the colonial regime. This consequently earned him a

towering statue on the Esplanade, next to the Durban Harbour (Eyre, 1932; Van Riet Lowe, 1941, Kalley, 1986; 2019; Marschall, 2005). The Dick King Statue is a difficult and contentious issue in democratic South Africa, as will be shown in the next chapter of this study.

5.4.3 John Ross Statue

The John Ross Statue (Figure 26) right in front of a prominent building named after John Ross – John Ross House Building - depicts the teenage adventurous young British "hero" in a torn shirt with knee-breeches, his eyes far-seeing (Marscall, 2010). He is raised on a podium and is carrying three hunting spears. The statue was created by the artist, Mary Stainbank in the 1970s. The plaque mounted in 1974 on the façade of the John Ross House Building explains that: "In 1827, at the age of 15 years, he walked to Delagoa Bay and back, to obtain urgently needed medical supplies for the new settlement at Port Natal. The Zulu King, Shaka, provided him with an escort of warriors to accompany him during the journey".

Figure 26: The John Ross Statue in Durban
Source: Nkobi, 2020.

Just above the inscription, is a tiled mural depicting John Ross sloping off up the beach, with bare feet and a cane (Figure 27). He is dressed in a brown jerkin and blue jeans. Observed by a few Zulu people, John Ross seems to be travelling unaccompanied (Figure 27). John Ross (1812 - 1880), real name Charles Rawden Maclean, arrived in Port Natal as a young boy in 1825 as part of the entourage of James Saunders King (1795 – 1828), a prospective ivory trader who was joining a party of English traders led by Lieutenant Francis Farewell and Henry Francis Fynn (1803 – 1861) who pioneered the settlement at Port Natal (Gray, 1987; 1988).

Figure 27: A tiled mural depicting John Ross on the famous journey to Delagoa Bay
Source: Nkobi, 2020.

John Ross's most notable contribution to Natal's pioneer history was a daring marathon rescue trek from Port Natal to the Portuguese fort at Delagoa Bay in search of medicines and other essentials for his fellow settlers in Durban (Gray, 1987; 1988, Coan, 2008; Marschall, 2010). He is credited with being the first European to go (by land) from Port Natal to Delagoa Bay and return (Gray, 1987; 1988). King Shaka is said to have sponsored this expedition (Coan, 2008).

John Ross is said to have arrived in Durban as one of the first batch of "pioneers" and spent four years in the Natal Colony, three of which he did spend in Port Natal, but at KwaDukuza with King Shaka (Gray, 1987; 1988, Coan, 2008; Marschall, 2010. In the later years, Ross became a sea captain in the British merchant marine in the Caribbean (Gray, 1988; 1987; Coan, 2008; Marschall, 2010). John Ross's legend is convoluted and highly debated, with some claiming even before the advent of democracy in South Africa that his legend is nothing but a fable (Figure 28). Perhaps this is because his story is closely linked to the experiences of black people in KwaZulu-Natal, and so does not completely fit into the colonial "foundation myth" of

"white" Durban (Marschall, 2010). The next chapter will show that attempts have been made to integrate Ross' tale into the colonial "foundation myth" of Durban by downplaying his ties to black Africans, an element that tragically reduces his statue, and by extension his legend, to that of a mere Durban colonial statue (Marschall, 2010).

Figure 28: A newspaper article on the contested story of John Ross
Source: Durban Local History Museums, 2020.

5.4.4 Congella Battlefield Monument

The Congella Battlefield Monument (Figure 29) situated at Congella Station was erected in 1920 by the Natal Provincial Council in honour of the "Boer" causalities at the Battle of Congella in 1842. Part of its inscription, written in Afrikaans, reads:

> "In memory of Abraham Greyling, Dirk van Rooyen, Theunis Oosthuyzen, Cornelis van Schalkwyk and other heroes fallen in or after the Battle of Congella 24 May 1842. Founded by the Prov. Government and the O.H.T.V of Natal. Unveiled February 7, 1920, by Rev. A.M. Murray".

Figure 29: The Congella Battlefield Monument
Source: Nkobi, 2020

The Congella Battlefield monument is a Grade II Provincial heritage site according to the SAHRA grading system. The site is marked by a monument that was erected in 1920. The monument is in commemoration of the battle of Congella between the

British of the Cape Colony and Voortrekkers or the "Boer" forces of the Natalia Republic which began on 23 May 1842 (Van Riet Lowe, 1941; Gillings, 2000; Averweg, 2017).

In 1834 the Great Trek began and by 1837 the Voortrekkers were starting to cross the Drakensberg. Fearing retaliation from the neighbouring Zulu Kingdom north of the Tugela, the Governor of the Cape Colony, Sir George Napier (1784 –1855), dispatched a small military detachment to Port Natal to safeguard the trading post (Averweg, 2017; Gillings, 2000). However, Napier was compelled to recall his forces after the British government refused to sanction his conduct (Averweg, 2017). The "Boers" overjoyed by this turn of events, immediately created the Republic of Natalia, with Pietermaritzburg as its capital. Faced with this fresh threat, Napier was eventually granted permission by the British government to send a force of 260 men under the command of Captain Thomas Smith to reoccupy Port Natal (Averweg, 2017). In May 1842, the British troops arrived in the Bay and set up camp at Fort Itafa Amalinde (today called the Old Fort) (Averweg, 2017).

In response, Smith's forces were ordered to retire by the "Boer" commando stationed at Congella (Van Riet Lowe, 1941). When Smith refused to comply, the "Boers" tried to compel him to conform by stealing his livestock (Averweg, 2017; Gillings, 2000). This enraged the British who responded by attacking the "Boer" camp at Congella. However, the backfired as the British suffered a humiliating defeat, and were forced to retreat after losing seventeen soldiers during the battle (Van Riet Lowe, 1941; Averweg, 2017). The Boers then took control of the situation by encircling the British camp. In a desperate situation, the British were obliged to request assistance from Grahamstown (Van Riet Lowe, 1941; Averweg, 2017). For 34 days, the British force held out against the "Boers" who were under the command of General Andries Pretorius (1798 – 1853). In June 1842, the British reinforcements arrived and this led to the lifting of the siege and the subsequent annexation of Natal by Britain, with a contingent of the British troops permanently stationed in Durban for future occurrences (Averweg, 2017; Gillings, 2000; Lonsdale, 1981; Theal, 1973).

The Battle of Congella Monument marks the Boers' short-lived stay in Natal and their first engagement with the British. The battle was basically for the economic control of Durban as Durban was emerging as a strategic trading post (Lonsdale, 1981; Theal,

1973; Averweg, 2017; Van Riet Lowe, 1941). Today Congella remains a significant Afrikaans cultural enclave in Durban, with the monument commemorating the Battle of Congella serving as a testimony of Voortrekker hegemony at Port Natal between 1838 and 1842. The following Chapter will delve deep into contemporary contestation associated with this heritage site.

5.4.5 General Louis Botha Statue

The memorial statue in honour of General Louis Botha is located in a small public park in Durban in a place known as Berea. The Botha Statue (Figure 30) in plain field clothing at Botha Gardens was designed by the then famous sculptor Anton van Wouw (1862 – 1945) and was unveiled by General Jan Smuts in 1921 (Marschall, 2010).

Figure 30: The Louis Botha Statue in Berea, Durban
Source: Nkobi, 2020.

The "heroic" role that General Louis Botha played by being at the forefront of the political affairs of colonial South Africa undoubtedly earned him his first

aforementioned statue in South Africa, and the attendant public park named after him in the city. Louis Botha (1862-1919) was a Boer war "hero" and a General in the South African Anglo-Boer War of 1899 – 1902. In the first phase of the war, a good account is given of Botha's leadership at the Battle of Spioenkop against the British, where he turned a potential disaster into a "Boer" victory (Brookes, 1959). It is said that, during this battle, he exhorted exhausted "burghers" to make one final, fateful, effort which led to the defeat of the British (Brookes, 1959). Historians have attributed the Battle at Spioenkop to Louis Botha's leadership who is described as having been a skilful tactician in conflicts wherein known to have conducted guerrilla warfare across the "veld" (Brookes, 1959). Subsequently, after the Peace of Vereeniging in 1902, the treaty that ended the Anglo-Boer War, Botha's leadership also played a significant role to convince his fellow "burghers" to lay down their arms and accept the peace terms offered by the British (Engelenburg, 1929; Steyn, 2018).

Louis Botha is also attributed to establishing and being the architect for a unified white South African ruling partnership (Steyn, 2018). In this context, General Botha was elected as the first Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa from 1910 to 1919. Steyn (2018) refers to him as the Mandela of his time for his efforts to unite the English and Afrikaners in a 'similar' way that President Nelson Mandela (1918 – 2013) strove to unite blacks and whites later on. Steyn (2018) observes that both men demonstrated a generosity of spirit and a depth of understanding that set them apart from many of their contemporaries and that this fundamentally and overwhelmingly won the admiration of their former foes (Steyn, 2018). In reality, the two men are incomparable; however, this narrative has been somewhat beneficial to Botha in the post-apartheid South Africa where he seems to have conveniently occupied a rather ambivalent memory (Engelenburg, 1929; Steyn, 2018).

The post-apartheid narrative around Botha seems to suggest that the deeds of Botha in forming the Union of South Africa were something to be expected as a man that was respected by blacks and whites and by the "Boers" and British alike during colonial South Africa (Steyn, 2018). In terms of his relationship with black people of the country, it is said that Botha used to live in Vryheid, KwaZulu-Natal, where he met the then Prince Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo, the heir to the Zulu throne, with whom he maintained a lifelong 'friendship' and later assisted at his coronation (Steyn,

2018). It is said that Botha spoke a couple of Bantu languages fluently and chiefly studied the pragmatic aspect of the relationship between whites and blacks (Engelenburg, 1929; Steyn, 2018). The experience of spending his formative years in KwaZulu-Natal taught him how to exercise authority over "natives" and he became accustomed to the customs of the Zulu people (Steyn, 2018). This narrative seems to have influenced key decisions around the legend of Louis Botha in democratic South Africa (Engelenburg, 1929; Steyn, 2018).

It appears it is this narrative around his relationship with King Dinuzulu, and indeed the Zulu people have essentially led to decisions to "spare" the Louis Botha Statue in Durban. As a result, the statue today remains in situ as a SAHRA Grade III Statue whose preservation and maintenance are the responsibility of eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality. It is also important to note and point out that the Botha Statue is one of the statues that were defaced in Durban during the 2015 protests, and there were calls during this time that it be removed (Phillip, 2015).

5.5 Chapter summary

Literature seems to suggest that with the advent of democracy in 1994, Durban, in line with the rest of the country, has had to transform and diversify its heritage landscape or at least the outlook thereof, to reposition itself as a transformed city within the parameters of a "new" South African society. Fundamentally, this chapter argued that the core concern of social cohesion, reconciliation, transformation, and the need to attract the black and Indian audience in terms of tourism by the post-apartheid government is paramount in understanding the current heritage dynamics in Durban in terms of its outlook, conservation, protection and preservation. Post-apartheid, Durban has had to enhance its image and appeal by promoting its heritage attractions that would appeal to both the previously marginalised audience as well as its previous oppressor. However, the earnestness to this transformation agenda by the democratic government remains suspect and non-effective as it appears to be based on legitimacy for the ruling ANC, while also adopting the colonial iconographic language. The chapter to follow will contextualise the tourism landscape of Durban, and the extent to which localised contested heritage features are represented in Durban's "tourismscape".

CHAPTER 6: DURBAN'S "TOURISMSCAPE"

6.1 Introduction

Tourism is one of the biggest and most important industries in South Africa, KwaZulu-Natal, and certainly in Durban. In KwaZulu-Natal, Durban is amongst one of the favourite destinations for tourists to visit, especially during the "peak season". Tourism in Durban is said to be the second-largest industry in the city after manufacturing, and it contributes substantially to the economy of the metropole at present (Maharaj, 2018). While tourism as a sector is established in Durban, literature seems to suggest that the city is lacking in terms of a heritage tourism sub-sector (Moodley, 2013). In this regard, Durban is, however, confronted by another problem in terms of the role of contested heritage in the constructed touristic image of Durban. This chapter contextualizes the meaning of contested heritage in Durban within the ambit of tourism, and to what extent this meaning has been "democratised" in line with the government's drive towards transformation, reconciliation, inclusion, diversification, and social cohesion. Furthermore, the chapter will consider some of the strategies that may be explored in Durban's "tourismscape", to create successful and inclusive cultural products.

6.2 Tourism in KwaZulu-Natal

The importance of tourism as a major economic and development driver in the KwaZulu-Natal Province is now a given (Moodley, 2003; Grant & Butler-Adam, 2005; Maharaj *et al.*, 2008; Marschall; 2012; Govindasamy, 2012). Creemers and Wood (1997), argue that this has not always been the case though as in the mid-1980s, tourism used to be of minor economic importance. During this period, the number of overseas visitors to the province was substantially low, and most of the visitors were visiting friends and relatives (Creemers & Wood, 1997; Maharaj *et al.*, 2008). In the same vein, domestic tourism was also underdeveloped, and in line with apartheid principles, as tourism was mainly the preserve of the white minority (Creemers and Wood, 1997; Maharaj *et al.*, 2008; Fakude, 2010).

Today, tourism is an established concept in discussions concerning the socio-economic development of the province. In KwaZulu-Natal, tourism is recognised as a major source of radical socio-economic development and is a central focus of the

province's long-term sustainable development strategy (Ndlovu *et al.*, 2017; Maharaj *et al.*, 2008; Fakude, 2010). Tourism in KwaZulu-Natal is administered and managed under the Department of Economic Development, Tourism, and Environmental Affairs (KZN DEDTEA) through its entity called Tourism KwaZulu-Natal (TKZN). TKZN in turn is responsible for the development, promotion, and marketing of tourism into and within the province (TKZN Five-Year Strategic Plan, 2020). The entity was established as per the *KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Act 11 of 1996*. TKZN is largely mandated to ensure that responsible and effective tourism is practiced while forging local and global partnerships that will subsequently lead to the growth of tourism in the province (TKZN Five-Year Strategic Plan, 2020). In this regard, for TKZN to facilitate its mandate, it relies on several partnerships with key stakeholders, such as those responsible for the management of the tourism products and services, as well as tourist attractions, destinations, and sites in the province itself (TKZN Five-Year Strategic Plan, 2020).

The management of the natural resources dedicated to tourism in KwaZulu-Natal is headed by Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife (hereinafter, Ezemvelo). Ezemvelo is responsible for the management of nature conservation within the province including that of protected areas (KwaZulu-Natal Wildlife, 2021). Furthermore, it is responsible for the development and promotion of ecotourism facilities within these protected areas (KwaZulu-Natal Wildlife, 2021). Additionally, the coastal region is managed by the Coastal and Biodiversity Unit of the KZN DEDTEA whose main aim is to monitor threats of degradation and misuse in the coastal region of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN DEDTEA, 2021). The KZN Sharks Board is another important organisation involved in assisting with the management of the coastal region of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN DEDTEA, 2021). However, the cultural and heritage resources of the province in turn are managed by the KZN DAC through its entity, Amafa Institute, as indicated. The main objective of the Department is to transform arts and culture from being economically marginalised to becoming part of the economic mainstream of the province by way of tourism development and promotion (KZN DAC, 2021). For this investigation, it is also important to note that Amafa Institute is a statutory body brought into existence by the *KwaZulu-Natal Heritage Act 10 of 1997*, later becoming an official Provincial Heritage Resource Authority on 14 December in 2018 under the

new *KwaZulu-Natal Amafa and Research Institute Act No. 5 of 2018* (Amafa Institute, 2021).

In terms of legislative and regulatory frameworks, it is also important to emphasise that the management of TKZN and all provincial tourism resources (natural and cultural) are administered under the *KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Act No. 11 of 1996.* Further, the 2008 *White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in KwaZulu-Natal* (hereinafter, KZN Tourism White Paper) also governs the management of tourism in the province. This White Paper, in turn, sets out the vision for tourism in KwaZulu-Natal thus positioning the province as Africa's leading "eco-cultural tourism destination", nationally and internationally (KZN Tourism White Paper, 2008). The White Paper further records the mission as being to initiate, facilitate, co-ordinate and implement experience-based tourism marketing, and demand-driven tourism development and promotion programmes to achieve tourism growth objectives, and thereby, contribute to a shared and sustainable economic growth pattern and favourable advancement in the province itself (KwaZulu-Natal Tourism, 2008). Additionally, the KZN Tourism White Paper also stipulates the involvement of previously marginalised local communities in the tourism industry, denoting a specific emphasis on a bottom-up approach to tourism development and promotion.

With the aforementioned legislative and institutional arrangements, tourism has become one of the biggest market segments in KwaZulu-Natal which contributes substantially to the province's GDP, employment, empowerment, upliftment, and investment (KwaZulu-Natal Treasury, 2021). Nationally, the KwaZulu-Natal province stands out as a significant contributor to South Africa's overall tourism activities and subsequent profits (KwaZulu-Natal Treasury, 2021). After Gauteng and the Western Cape, KwaZulu Natal is ordinarily the third-largest overall contributor to tourism in the country, with the province being a major domestic tourism destination as well (KwaZulu-Natal Treasury, 2021). In 2017 the KwaZulu-Natal province received 2.5 million domestic visitors, thus was South Africa's third top domestic tourism source market after Gauteng (6.2 million) and Limpopo (3.6 million) (KwaZulu-Natal Treasury, 2018).

In 2019, before the onslaught of the COVID-19 pandemic globally, a total of 28.5 million domestic trips were taken in South Africa. KwaZulu-Natal received the second-largest share of 22%, after Gauteng with a share of 23% (KwaZulu-Natal Treasury, 2020). Like in most of the country, domestic tourists spend most of their disposable budget in KwaZulu-Natal on transport, accommodation, and refreshments (Tourism KwaZulu Natal, 2020). Domestic spending from local trips in 2019 in turn increased by 77.7% to a high of R8 billion in the province itself (KwaZulu-Natal Treasury, 2020). Nevertheless, the province has identified two main challenges hindering domestic tourism growth in KwaZulu-Natal. The first challenge is affordability as a result of, among others, the increase in the price of fuel (Tourism KwaZulu Natal, 2020). The second challenge has to do with what the province terms 'relevant experiences'. The latter relates to South Africa's travel trade and tourism product owners not seeing the value of the African majority and, therefore, do not offer packages or experiences that meet this market segment's specific needs. In this regard, preference is usually and still given to long-haul overseas international tourists (Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, 2020).

In 2019, South Africa received 10.2 million international visitors, which was a decline of 2.3% compared to 2018. In that year, KwaZulu-Natal received 797 830 international visitors, thus a 7.9% of the national share (Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, 2020). The most visited provinces ahead of KwaZulu-Natal were Gauteng with 3.5 million visitors, followed by Limpopo with 2.3 million visitors, the Western Cape with 1.8 million visitors, and Mpumalanga with 1.7 million visitors (Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, 2020). KwaZulu-Natal Treasury (2020) indicates that some 20% of travellers visit more than one province, while the majority of international tourists to South Africa are repeat visitors, with less than 20% of total tourists visiting the country for the first time (KwaZulu-Natal Treasury, 2020). In terms of the long-haul international visitors, the highest proportion of international tourists to KwaZulu-Natal come from the United Kingdom at 6.2% (50 678 persons), followed by Germany at 5.9% (48 225 people), the United States of America (USA) at 5.4% (44 138 persons), India at 5% (40 626 people), France at 3.9% (31 878 persons), and the Netherlands at 3% (24 521 visitors) (Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, 2020).

An assessment of the numbers of international tourists reveals that, generally, there has been a reduction in the number of tourists from African countries, especially the Southern African Development Community (SADC), visiting KwaZulu-Natal which is a ripple effect from the national picture (KwaZulu-Natal Treasury, 2020). Statistics reveal that in 2019, arrivals from across Africa into South Africa declined by 2.4% from the 2018 records (KwaZulu-Natal Treasury, 2020). In this regard, in 2019, KwaZulu Natal received 413 233 tourists from African countries, a slight drop from 435 038 in 2018 (Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, 2020). However, as usually the norm, in 2019, the highest proportion of visiting tourists from the African countries to KwaZulu-Natal came from Eswatini at 36.3% (296 711 people), followed by Lesotho at 5.5% (44 956 visitors) and Zimbabwe at 4.5% (36 782 visitors) (Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, 2020; KwaZulu-Natal Treasury, 2020).

Tourism KwaZulu-Natal (2020) indicates that tourism is of critical importance for the economy of the province in terms of poverty alleviation and economic investments (Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, 2020). Like everywhere else in the world, tourism functions as an important source of demand driving growth in revenue in activities such as transport, retail, property investment, and entertainment (Ndlovu *et al.*, 2017). However, Ndlovu *et al.* (2017) go on to argue that this is particularly important in KwaZulu-Natal which has high levels of poverty, especially within the rural landscape (Ndlovu *et al.*, 2017). In this regard, Ndlovu *et al.* (2017) argue that tourism has the potential to support the regional economy and it has the added benefit of supporting a measure of the geographic spread of economic opportunities to rural areas that might otherwise have had little in the way of economic development (Ndlovu *et al.*, 2017).

Furthermore, the aforesaid scholars indicated that in KwaZulu-Natal, tourism also allows for the formation and operation of small local businesses in a variety of fields seeing as in many cases the barriers to entry are low for small emerging businesses (Ndlovu *et al.,* 2017). In this case, significant numbers of emerging and established enterprises in KwaZulu-Natal identify themselves as directed towards the tourism sector (Ndlovu *et al.*, 2017). In terms of the actual contribution to the economy, in 2019, tourism's direct contribution to KwaZulu-Natal GDP was R14.4 billion (KwaZulu-Natal Treasury, 2020). The total contribution (inclusive of direct, indirect,

and induced spending) to GDP was approximated at R28.8 billion (KwaZulu-Natal Treasury, 2020).

Tourism is also important in terms of its contribution to employment creation in KwaZulu-Natal (Gumede, 2019; Creemers & Wood, 1997; Maharaj *et al.*, 2008; Fakude, 2010). Govindasamy (2012), rightfully highlights that the reliable statistics for actual employment and job creation are difficult to come by as with tourism's GDP contribution, much activity that is connected with tourism is captured within a range of sectors such as transportation, communication, financial services, hospitality and retail (Govindasamy, 2012). In this regard, the levels of employment might be somewhat overstated. Nevertheless, according to KwaZulu-Natal Treasury (2020), in 2019, the number of people directly employed in the travel and tourism sector in the province equated to approximately 83 783 (KwaZulu-Natal Treasury, 2020). The industry's total contribution to employment within the province in turn was estimated at 165 890 (KwaZulu-Natal Treasury, 2020). Ndlovu *et al.* (2017), however, argue that the bulk of the jobs that are accounted for in the tourism industry are generally those in the lower skill service category – and often outsourced and seasonal services such as cleaning, catering, and security (Ndlovu *et al.*, 2017). However, a quick analysis of historical reports indicates that generally, there is a positive correlation between growth in tourism and employment creation in the travel sphere which indicates that actual jobs created are influenced directly by growth in tourism specific setting (Creemers & Wood, 1997; Maharaj *et al.*, 2008; Fakude, 2010).

Fakude (2010), likewise claims that tourism would not exist without tourism attractions, although some also argue that the opposite is true (Fakude, 2010). Nonetheless, KwaZulu-Natal tourism is driven by a variety of popular attractions in the province. This seeing as the province is home to a diverse range of cultures and natural ecosystems, many of which contribute to the tourism landscape as a way to encourage domestic and international tourism (Aylward and Lutz, 2003). These tourist attractions are scattered in eight identifiable tourism regions/nodes (Figure 31; Table 2) in the province itself namely the Elephant Coast, Zululand, Durban Metro, South Coast, Midlands, Battlefield, and uKhahlamba Drakensburg (Tourism KwaZulu Natal, 2021). It is important to note that although these regions are important for

planning purposes for TKZN, they are no longer preferred for implementation and marketing purposes as they cross District Municipal boundaries which makes it complicated for local municipalities to market their sub-destination when part of it falls into another municipality (Tifflin, 2020).

Figure 31: The map of KwaZulu-Natal showing the Tourism Regions
Source: Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, 2020

No.	Tourism Regions	Key Tourism Areas
1.	**Elephant Coast**	Hluhluwe, iSimangaliso Wetland Park, Jozini, Kosi Bay, Mtubatuba, Mkuze, Sodwana Bay, St Lucia
2.	**Zululand**	Empangeni, Eshowe, Mtunzini, Nongoma, Ulundi Paulpietersburg, Pongola, Richards Bay, Vryheid

3.	**Durban Metro**	Amanzimtoti, Berea, Bluff, Durban Central, Durban North, Durban Outer West, Durban South, Essenwood, Hillcrest, Kloof, Morningside, Pinetown, Umhlanga Rocks, Valley of 1000 Hills, Westville
4.	**South Coast**	Hibberdene, Margate, Pennington, Port Edward, Port Shepstone, Scottburgh, Shelly Beach, Southbroom, Umkomaas - Aliwal Shoal, Umzumbe, Uvongo, Doonside
5.	**Midlands**	Albert Falls, Greytown, Hilton, Howick, Ixopo, Karkloof Nature Reserve, Mooi River, Nottingham Road, Pietermaritzburg, Richmond, and Byrne, Wartburg
6.	**Battlefield**	Colenso, Dundee, Estcourt, Ladysmith, Newcastle, Weenen
7.	**uKhahlamba Drakensburg**	Bergville, Champagne Valley, East Griqualand, Highmoor/Kamberg Valley, Himeville-Underberg, Kokstad, Umzimkhulu, Winterton
8.	**North Coast**	Ballito, Blythedale Beach, KwaDukuza, Salt Rock, Shaka's Rock, Sheffield Beach, Thukela Mouth, Zimbali, Zinkwazi, Mount Moreland

Table 2: Tourism regions of KwaZulu-Natal and their key areas
Source: Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, 2021

The province is also home to two World Heritage Sites that were declared by UNESCO. One is the Isimangaliso Wetlands Park, which has a wild area, lakes, an ancient marine reserve, and a coastal dune forest (Tourism KwaZulu Natal, 2021). The other is uKhahlamba-Drakensberg Park which is part of a much longer mountain range that stretches some 1 600 kilometres from South Africa's northernmost provinces to the Eastern Cape and contains caves that are home to ancient rock art in Africa painted by Southern Africa's earliest inhabitants, the San or Bushmen (Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, 2021). However, of interest for this study is the eThekwini - Durban node which is the most popular destination of choice in KwaZulu-Natal and is purported to be the country's most visited destination, which in turn is most famous for its beaches especially along the "Golden Mile" (eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality, 2021).

According to TKZN annual reports, Durban is indeed the favourite destination for tourists in KwaZulu-Natal. As a way of illustrating, the 2018 tourism statistics indicate that in 2018, KwaZulu-Natal received 817 388 foreign visitors, with Durban

receiving the highest share at 68.3% (Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, 2018). 18 years earlier, KwaZulu Natal received 500 000 international visitors, which subsequently grew to an all-time high of 1 600 000 in 2005, after which there was a steady decline and/or stagnancy (Table 3; Graph 1). In 2018, domestically, the province, in turn, received 2 900 000 visitors, with Durban receiving the highest share of 34%, or rather 1 326 221 visitors (Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, 2018). This was a substantial decline from 18 years earlier in 2000 when the number of domestic tourists who visited KwaZulu-Natal stood at 6.5 million, and Durban was named as a "key destination" in the country's collective travel landscape (Table 3; Graph 2) (KwaZulu Natal Tourism Authority, 2002).

It is likewise important to note that the steady decline and/or stagnancy of both international and domestic visitors to KwaZulu-Natal also has a ripple effect on the tourists visiting Durban. The decline in domestic tourists appears to be happening despite the said commitment to the transformation of the tourism sector by the Tourism Authority of the province by way of opening it to the majority in the form of tourism business ownership, the outlook of attractions offered, and the active participation of the black majority in tourism management and as tourists. Many scholars indicate that TKZN has failed in this regard (Magi & Nzama, 2009; Gumede, 2019).

Year	International Visitors		Year	Domestic Trips
2000	500 000		2000	6 500 000
2001	445 765		2001	17 000 000
2002	1 000 000		2002	17 000 000
2003	1 200 000		2003	13 900 000
2004	1 300 000		2004	13 900 000
2005	1 600 000		2005	11 600 000
2006	1 435 000		2006	11 900 000
2007	1 400 000		2007	11 900 000
2008	1 227 000		2008	10 400 000
2009	1 211 000		2009	8 800 000
2010	956 550		2010	8 300 000
2011	908 277		2011	7 100 000
2012	891 822		2012	6 200 000
2013	847 146		2013	7 100 000
2014	768 228		2014	5 300 000
2015	743 615		2015	4 980 000
2016	753 617		2016	4 190 000
2017	812 531		2017	2 500 000

Year	International Visitors		Year	Domestic Trips
2018	817 388		2018	2 900 000
2019	797 830		2019	6 200 000
2020	224 988		2020	3 800 000

Table 3: Tourist trends in KwaZulu-Natal from 2000 – 2020
Source: Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, 2021
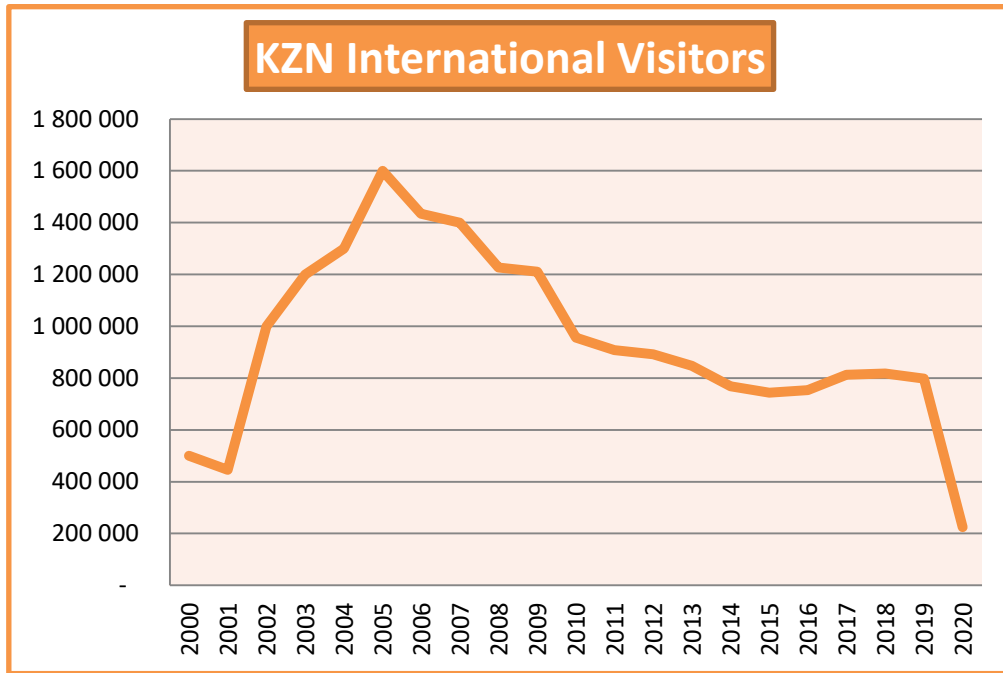
Graph 1: KwaZulu-Natal International visitor trend from 2000 – 2020
Source: Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, 2021
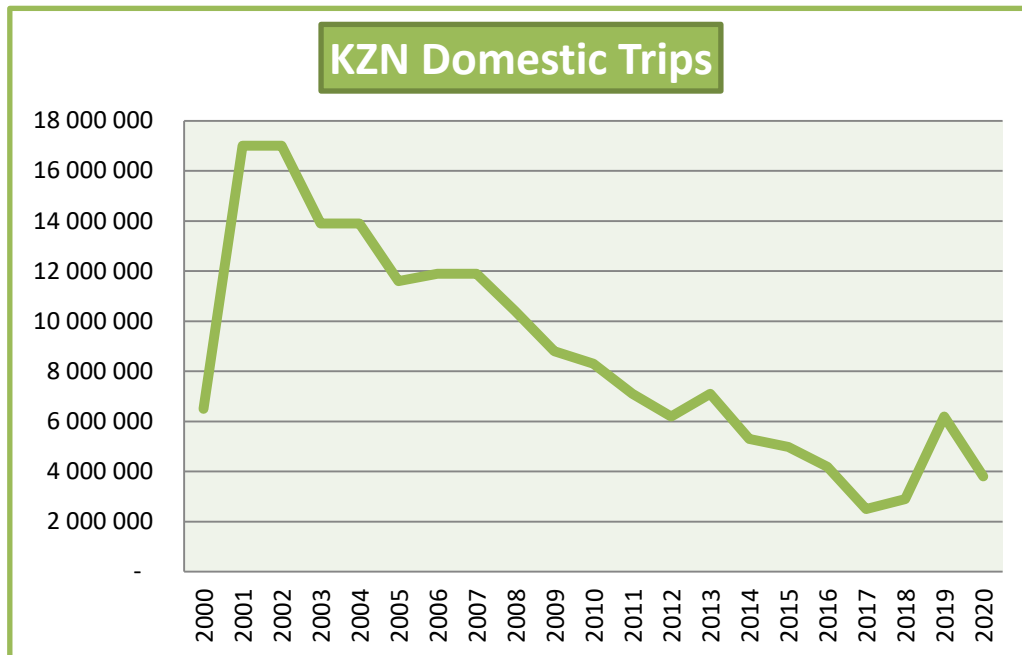
Graph 2: KwaZulu-Natal Domestic visitor trend from 2000 – 2020
Source: Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, 2021

6.3 Durban's tourism landscape

The tourism landscape in Durban is administered by Durban Tourism under the eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality's Business Support, Tourism, Markets, and Agri-Business Unit (eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality, 2021). The mission of Durban Tourism is thus to market Durban as a "destination of choice", to achieve economic development, and facilitate job creation (Durban Tourism, 2021). The Durban Tourism landscape is divided into nine Community Tourism Organisations (CTO) namely Umhlanga CTO, Durban Central CTO, Sodurba CTO, Sapphire Coast CTO, Inanda Ntuzuma Kwa-Mashu (INK) CTO, Durban West Tourism CTO, Clermont KwaDabeka CTO, 1000 Hills CTO, and Umlazi Township CTO (Durban Tourism, 2021). The focus of this study however is on the Durban Central CTO.

According to Maharaj *et al.* (2008), the Durban Metropolitan Area has been associated with travel and tourism since its inception as a city (Maharaj *et al.*, 2008). Maharaj *et al.* (2008), indicates that early visitors to the Durban area wrote in their diaries about the beauty of the sun-washed coast of Durban which consisted of a subtropical forest of banana palms, cottonwoods, and coastal shrubbery sweeping down to large sandy beaches, clear lagoons, and a sparkling sea (Maharaj *et al.*, 2008). The city's growth in the mid-nineteenth century is said to have contributed to an increase in the city's appeal to tourists and set a tone for modern-day tourism in the city which back then promised an authentic and distinctive tourist experience that featured the combination of natural beauty, the rural and township tourism experience and the burgeoning cultural urban centre (Moodley, 2003; Grant & Butler-Adam, 2005; Maharaj *et al.*, 2008; Marschall; 2012).

Since the 1920s, Durban has become KwaZulu-Natal and one of South Africa's major tourist and recreation destinations (Maharaj *et al.*, 2008). Today, tourism is said to be the second largest industry in Durban after manufacturing (Sengani, 2020). However, just like elsewhere, it is difficult to present a reliable overview of the size and economic contribution of tourism in Durban seeing as it does not form a discrete industry or activity (Grant & Butler-Adam, 2005). Smith (1995), argues that this is due to the diverse nature of tourism which makes it difficult to collect accurate and comprehensive tourism data. Consequently, information sources tend to be sporadic and inconsistent in terms of the nature and scope of the information

collected and methods of calculation (Smith, 1995). Like the provincial and national levels, tourism in Durban is not separately classified as an industry. Its economic contribution to tourism is hidden within different sectors, for example, tourism spending on airlines can be found under transportation, hotel expenditure, and accommodation (Grant & Butler-Adam, 2005). Regardless, according to Phillip Sithole, the Deputy City Manager for Economic Development and Planning in eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality, tourism in Durban supplies a massive economic contribution to the city, of which R11.5 billion is generated by visitors to Durban yearly, thus contributing R19.3 billion to the gross domestic product (GDP) in 2019 – which is a 9% contribution towards the city's yearly GDP (Sengani, 2020). Sithole further indicates that KwaZulu-Natal tourism which consists of 70% Durban visitor arrivals, contributes roughly 8% to the national economy through tourism (Sengani, 2020). This appears to be the same status quo that was described by Grant & Butler-Adam (2005), that Durban is the gateway to, and the hub for, tourism in KwaZulu-Natal and is a major beneficiary of the overall economic impact of tourism to KwaZulu-Natal collectively (Grant and Butler-Adam, 2005).

Before the democratic era, Durban's tourism landscape was crafted specifically for the minority of white tourists in and outside South Africa (Maharaj *et al.*, 2008). Since democracy, there have been several strategic initiatives to transform and rid the city's tourism sector of "crime and grime" to open it to the market and enhance its value as a tourist resource rather than a detraction (Grant & Butler-Adam, 2003; Allen & Brennan, 2004; Preston-Whyte & Scott, 2007; Maharaj *et al.*, 2008). One of these was to fund research geared towards informing policies to reverse negative perceptions of tourism in Durban (Preston-Whyte & Scott, 2007). One such study is that of Seymour (1998, 2008).

Seymour's (1998, 2008), studies highlighted the challenges faced by tourism in KwaZulu-Natal and delved deeper into the strategies of promoting tourism in Durban. Among other things, this research suggested a need to transform the tourism sector by primarily increasing black tourism business ownership and black participation in tourism as domestic tourists (Seymour, 1998; 2008). However, this remains largely a pipedream at this stage. Makhaola (2015), in turn, argues that regarding who benefits from tourism in the province and city, it would appear that those most in

need – arguably the black majority - are left only with very modest and menial employment opportunities (Makhaola, 2015). Furthermore, research indicates that the previously marginalised continue to be on the fringes of decision-making in the Durban "tourismscape" despite the incessant calls for transformation by government and the public at large (Makhaola, 2015). Surprisingly, government appears to be as culpable of sidelining previously marginalised people. This has been evident in the large-scale, government-backed beachfront renewal and development programmes where the local political and economic elite of the area are exclusively involved, with a lack of community consultation and consensus (Makhaola, 2015). Durban's tourism landscape is at the moment operated, owned and managed from a top-down position, as opposed to a bottom-up approach.

Marschall (2013) makes the same observation as Makhaola (2018) when investigating local knowledge and views regarding heritage and tourism in Inanda, following the eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality's investment in the refurbishment of the Inanda Heritage Route in 2010 (Marschall, 2013; Makhaola, 2018). She noted in her paper that many Inanda inhabitants have never visited the route's heritage attractions, have little interest in the protection of heritage resources along the route, and have no genuine sense of ownership of the heritage sites along the route (Marschall, 2013). She came to the conclusion that community participation is required in both tourism and cultural heritage site management in order to promote a sense of ownership as well as opportunities for material gain and poverty reduction (Marschall, 2013). Essentially, literature seems to suggest that this arm's length approach in terms of community involvement in Durban tourism space is an inherent and a common factor in Durban's tourism scene (Marschall, 2013; Makhaola, 2018).

Durban is among the biggest tourist cities in South Africa and receives a high influx of tourists, especially domestic tourists, during the "peak" season in December (Grant & Butler-Adam, 2003; Allen & Brennan, 2004; Preston-Whyte & Scott, 2007; Maharaj *et al.*, 2008). It is crucial to note that Durban, as previously said, has a major proportion of the domestic tourist market in South Africa, with millions of tourists from outside or within the province visiting one or more Durban tourism sites, usually during the "peak season" (Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, 2014). Tourists from Gauteng are the primary external source market, with the majority of their vacations spent in and

around the eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality's beach resorts (Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, 2014). Moodley (2003), indicates that Durban tourism is largely driven by culture, history, heritage, and beach destinations, sport as well as events such as Durban July horse racing event, meetings, incentives, conferences, and source markets (Moodley, 2003). The Durban Blue Flag status beaches of the Indian Ocean with their warm current are the biggest drawcard to the city, especially for the domestic tourist (Moodley, 2003). The Blue Flag status is awarded by the Foundation for Environmental Education for low pollution, clean and high-quality ablution areas and most importantly, professional lifeguard services (Moodley, 2003).

Despite the annual influx of tourists to Durban, Moodley (2006) believes that cultural and historical tourism is severely inadequate in the city (Moodley, 2006). According to Moodley (2006), despite the fact that Durban is a multi-cultural city with a big population of Indian and Zulu people, the city has downright failed to invest resources to promote and market the strong Zulu and Indian culture and heritage influences, thereby developing the city's distinctive tourism characteristic and expanding tourism offerings that go beyond the natural attractions. Research seems to suggest that this exercise may effectively increase domestic and international tourism to the city (Moodley, 2012, Marschall, 2013; Makhaola, 2018). In the main, it appears that Durban's overreliance on natural resources has largely marginalised cultural and heritage tourism and products, more so the attendant investments to the cultural and heritage domain (Ngcobo, 2020).

According to Nzama (2010), the strength of heritage tourism lies in the packaging of tourism products for tourists' consumption. This, in turn, necessitates the display and interpretation of cultural and heritage items (Nzama, 2010). This exercise involves the selection, evaluation, protection, and conservation of significant cultural assets and ensuring public involvement and access to these facilities is promoted as a way to improve public appreciation of the heritage tourism products (Ashley & Roe, 2002; Nzama, 2010). In turn, interpretation is required in this exercise so as to transmit the significance and worth of the cultural and heritage objects, as well as to stimulate, facilitate, and expand people's understandings of the public history at hand (Nzama,

2010; Tan and Choy, 2019). These dynamics as they relate to Durban's historical product packaging will be discussed in the following sections.

The role of heritage tourism as a vehicle for economic development all over the world is undisputed (Withey, 1997; Amarilla & Conti, 2012). Gumede (2019), indicates that heritage tourism is one of the most popular forms of tourism in terms of attractions and visitor spending (Gumede, 2019; Makhaola, 2018). The aforementioned author likewise notes that statistics show that 40% percent of international tourism is attributed to heritage tourism and it has become a significant source of revenue for local economies (Gumede, 2019). Although Durban has, among others, a unique cultural mix, historical architecture, and liberation heritage it, however, is said to be lacking in terms of heritage tourism (Gumede, 2019; Makhaola, 2018).

Nzama (2010), argues that a "recipe" for successful heritage tourism hinges on the process of planning and developing cultural and heritage tourism products, selecting the most interesting sites and assigning particular presentations and interpretations to them (Nzama, 2010). In this regard, Smith (2003), as well as Nzama (2010), advances four strategies for creating a successful and attractive cultural package or product for tourism consumption, namely (i) bunching/clustering of cultural attractions (clustering of several weak attractions into a strong primary attraction with greater historical significance), (ii) theming of cultural attractions (an attraction is themed to enhance its uniqueness) (iii) labelling of cultural attractions (emphasising the functional use of the attraction), and (iv) altering cultural attractions (applied to potential tourist attractions only) (Smith, 2003; Nzama, 2010). While these strategies may very well be effective in creating a successful cultural package, they appear unfit for purpose in a post-colonial and post-apartheid environment like South Africa, and Durban to an extent, where there is contestation around heritage owing to the conditions already detailed in earlier chapters. In this context, Marschall (2010), although not presenting them as strategies for creating successful and attractive cultural products in post-colonial and post-apartheid contexts, emphasises consideration for the following in terms of creating inclusive and transformative heritage tourism space:

- Re-contextualisation - transforming heritage to serve a specific purpose in post-independence such as reconciliation, social cohesion, and nation-building.

- Reinterpretation – re-inscribing heritage with a new narrative and a hybrid meaning which detaches it from its past.

- Recasting – inclusion of the narrative or memory that was previously marginalised in a heritage setting.

- Relocation – moving heritage to a new location that is less authoritative or less offensive to the majority of population (Marschall, 2010).

These strategies will be tested against the contested heritage in Durban within the ambit of tourism as a driving force of the economy in KwaZulu-Natal, while also taking cognisance of the democratic government's drive towards transformation, reconciliation, and social cohesion at a national level.

6.4 Localised travel settings

Marschall (2012) and Gumede (2019) confirms that tourists are eager to visit sites of remembrance such as monuments and memorials, and thus it is important to recognise that despite the perceived troublesome and inhumane nature of colonialism and apartheid, its physical relics may nonetheless still be intriguing to a sufficiently sympathetic 'tourist lens' (Marschall, 2012; Gumede, 2019). In this regard, it may be worthwhile to make necessary investments into rebranding the colonial and apartheid iconography in line with the contemporary dispensation. In line with the aforementioned strategies and focusing on the five contested sites in Durban outlined in Chapter 4, this section will critically analyse, interpret, and evaluate the current narrative and meaning of contested heritage in Durban, and if there have been any attempts to reposition or rebrand these sites to play a meaningful role as key tourist attractions in the city. It is important to mention from the onset that the Francis Farewell Square, Dick King Statue, and John Ross Statue are regular features in the Durban Walkabout Tours (Figure 32).

Figure 32: Durban Walkabout Tours featuring contested heritage
Source: Durban Tourism, 2021

6.4.1 Francis Farewell Square

The Francis Farewell Square is a regular feature in Durban Tourism brochures (Figure 33), and it is a constant feature in Durban Tourism's Historical Walk-About Tour which includes the Station Building, Francis Farewell Square, City Hall, Dick King Statue, the Vasco Da Gama Clock, the John Ross Statue, the Old Court House, Old Train Station Buildings and KwaMuhle Museum (Durban Tourism, 2020). The perceived tourism value of the Francis Farewell Square to the city was demonstrated towards the build-up to the 2010 FIFA World Cup (Hunt *et al.*, 2010).
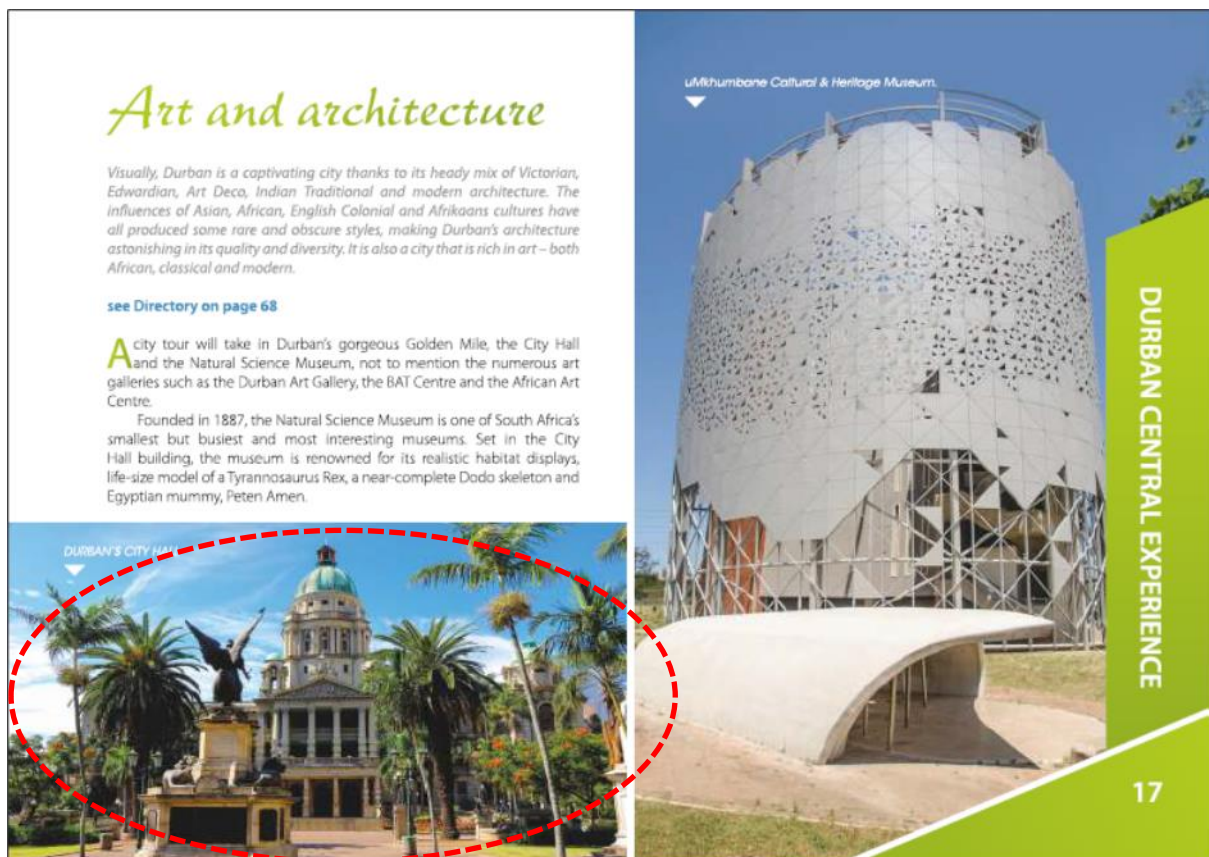
Figure 33: An online brochure featuring the Francis Farewell Square in 2020
Source: Durban Tourism, 2020

In anticipation of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality embarked on a project called "Public Realm Architecture" (Hunt *et al.*, 2010). The project aimed to provide maintenance and restoration to the monuments and memorials in the Francis Farewell Square and the surrounding area. The restoration work was done by GVK Contractors who subcontracted the specialist conservators, the South African Institute of Objects Conservation (Hunt *et al.*, 2010). The restoration is said to have been in the region of R1 million for the Francis Farewell Square Monuments which indicates the importance of the square to the city's "tourismscape" (Gammage, 2021) [14]. Ngcobo (2020), however, is of the view that contested heritage in Durban will serve a rather more effective tourism purpose once they have been re-contextualised, especially because tourists do not come to Durban to see a "mini-London" (Mkhize, 2001, Ngcobo 2020). In this regard, post-apartheid, the Francis Farewell Square has had several "near misses" in terms of

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[14] Email received on 1 December 2021 as a follow up to the interview with Arthur Gammage which took place on the 22 September 2020.

undergoing this purported re-contextualisation, although one of the initiatives was partly implemented.

According to Gammage (2020),[15] there has been a plan to install the statue of Dorothy Nyembe (1931 – 1998) (Figure 34), an ANC anti-apartheid activist and politician, in the Francis Farewell Square, however, this seems to have also fallen through the "bureaucratic cracks" of the metropole. The most "disruptive" plan to transform the Francis Farewell Square seems to have been mooted in 2004 (Peters, 2004).

In 2004 eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality called for proposals from the general public for the design of a Memorial Wall in the Francis Farewell Square to commemorate local heroes of the colonial and apartheid liberation struggle (Peters, 2004; Huizinga *et al.*, 2004; KZ-NIA, 2006; Marschall, 2010; Gammage, 2020; Devereux, 2020). The Memorial Wall was to accommodate 350 entries with the possibility of further names to be added. The winning proposals belonged to Huizinga\Bush\Chiang Architects in Association who were notified in October 2006 (KZ-NIA, 2006).

This proposal sought to introduce a wall that would rise in "opposition" to the colonial layout of Francis Farewell Square through a series of randomly placed glass panels (Figure 34) (Huizinga *et al.*, 2004; Marschall, 2010; Gammage, 2020; Devereux, 2020). According to the proposal, the apparent disorder in the layout of the panels was a deliberate deconstruction of the ordered layout of the Francis Farewell Square, with some panels obscuring the statues, from view – a representation of the struggle and uprising against the colonial and apartheid systems (Huizinga *et al.*, 2004; Marschall, 2010; Gammage, 2020; Devereux, 2020). The glass panels that were to be inscribed with the liberation heroes' names were to be red in colour (Figure 35) (Marschall, 2010; Gammage, 2020; Devereux, 2020).

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[15] Interview with Mr Arthur Gammage, Retired Urban Designer and Heritage Practitioner, eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality, on 22 September 2020.
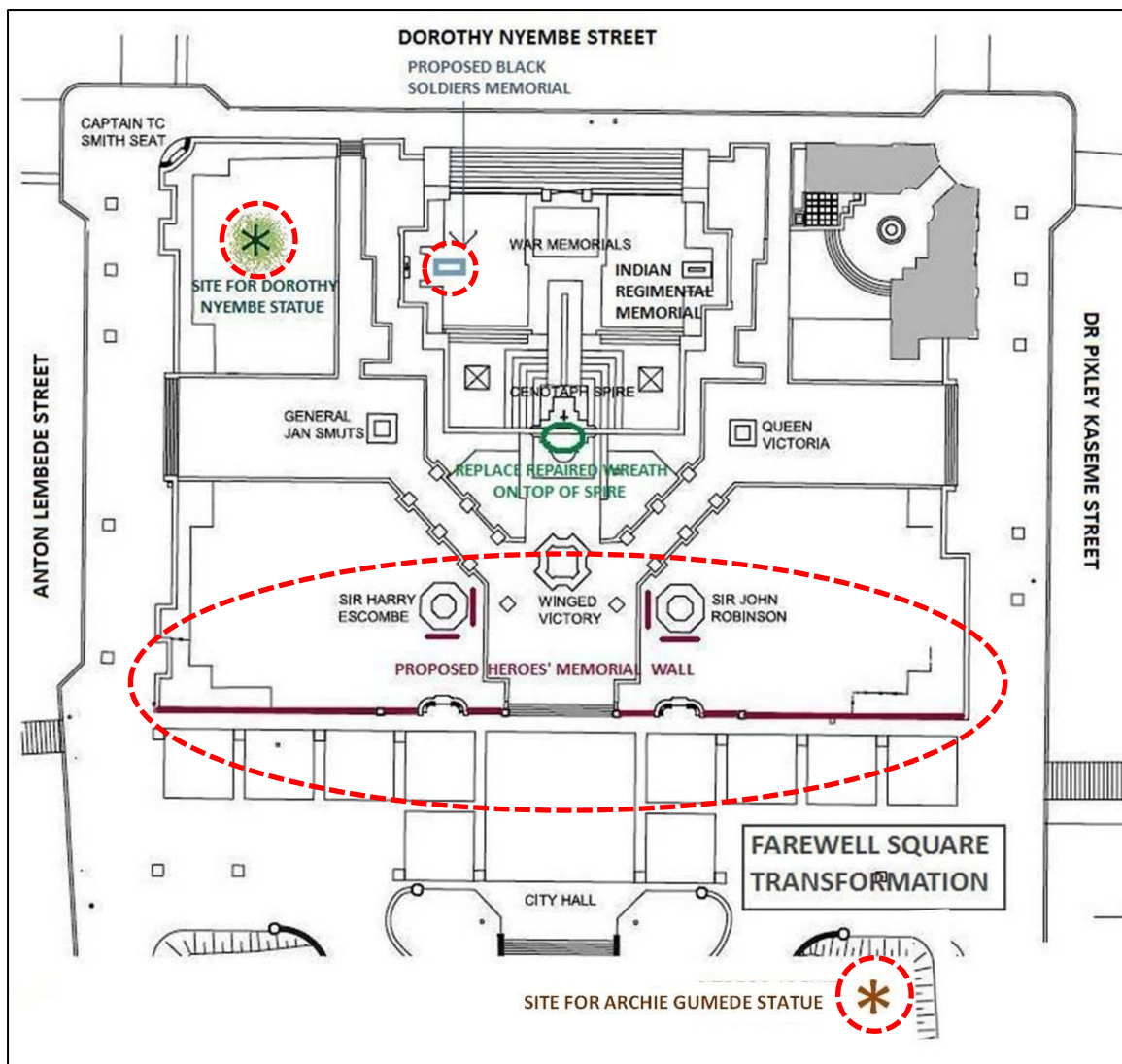
Figure 34: The proposed location for new memorials in the Francis Farewell Square
Source: Gammage, 2020

It appears this proposal was all way too "radical" for the Amafa Institute which elected not to endorse the proposal, and thus the plan also fell through (Marschall, 2020; Gammage, 2020; Devereux, 2020). However, on the one hand, considering that the Francis Farewell Square is a "radical" and "somewhat" extreme representation of European heritage in an African city, perhaps the city could be justified in its "radical" approach (Ngcobo, 2020). On the other hand, perhaps Amafa Institute was worried about retaining the "authenticity" of the Francis Farewell Square. However, Ngcobo (2020) seems to strongly believe that the Amafa institute is standing in the way of transformation and "decolonising" the city's heritage landscape, indicating that this was the reason why the former Premier of KwaZulu-Natal, Sibusiso Ndebele, attempted to dismantle Amafa Institute, however, the courts intervened (Ngcobo, 2020).

Figure 35: Proposed red glass panels to carry names of liberation heroes
Source: Gammage, 2020

However, since 2017, DSAC, the Amafa Institute, the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Government, and the eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality has been engaged in a process of installing the statue of the anti-apartheid activist, Archibald "Archie" Gumede (1914 - 1998), with the Municipality's Executive Committee approving in 2018 that the statue should be installed and erected at the Francis Farewell Square (Figure 34) (Ndima, 2020) [16]. This would be by far the most "daring" move by the democratic government in terms of re-contextualising the Francis Farewell Square that it appears to be continuing to stubbornly hold onto its colonial and apartheid identity of being a place of sanctity for the minority white South Africans who still use the site to commemorate their heroes (Ngcobo, 2020). Reinterpretation and re-contextualisation of spaces like the Francis Farewell Square are necessary for terms of facilitating the rewriting of the national myth by erasing the stigma of colonisation and apartheid while reifying the West, and to show, from intermediate situations – the tourists - how "hybridisations" are forged in which post- and de-colonial

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[16] Interview with Mr Vusithemba Ndima, Deputy Director-General: Heritage Preservation and Promotion, National Department of Sport, Arts and Culture, on 22 September 2020

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paradigms act on identities (Tan & Choy, 2019). Thus, despite its contested nature, the Francis Farewell Square remains a massive tourist drawing card in Durban even in a democratic South Africa.

6.4.2 Dick King Statue

The Dick King Statue is regularly included in Durban Tourism brochures, especially as part of the Inner-city Historical Walk About Tour, although it does not appear to be a key tourism attraction in the Durban "tourismscape" (Durban Tourism, 2021). In fact, besides a mere mention on the Durban Tourism websites and in brochures, it is in the main part of the neglected colonial and post-apartheid era monuments in and around the city. Certainly, to the public, it is just another colonial statue in the city centre that is symbolic of values associated with colonial or apartheid oppression, and no longer deserving public display (Marschall, 2005). Perhaps this could be changed through re-contextualisation, reinterpreting, or re-casting which has not happened to this Statue in the post-apartheid era, although there is an opportunity to do so (Marschall, 2005).

In 2005, Marschall (2005), proposed the recasting of the Dick King Statue with the inclusion of Ndongeni as part of transforming the meaning of this Statue and perhaps making it appeal more to the domestic tourists who visit the city (Marschall, 2005). Since the colonial era in South Africa, the details of Dick King's expedition have been the subject of contestation, especially when it comes to his companion, Ndongeni kaXoki, the young Zulu man who reportedly accompanied Dick King on his famous journey (Eyre, 1932). Ndongeni is said to have accompanied Dick King on the famous journey until midway, where fatigue and severe chafing forced him to abandon the ride (Eyre, 1932; Marschall, 2005). The controversy around Ndongeni's role peaked during the time of the memorial project when there were deliberate attempts by the then decision-makers to downplay or completely dismiss his role and underline that King practically travelled alone (Marschall, 2005). However, it is now a generally accepted historical fact that indeed, Ndongeni was part of King's expedition. Owing to the colonial narrative of the expedition, Grellier's proposal for a life-size figure of Ndongeni was turned down, however, his participation in the heroic venture reluctantly was acknowledged in the relief panel mounted to the plinth of the memorial (Marschall, 2005). This panel depicts different episodes of the expedition

where Ndongeni was travelling with King, although within the typical colonial narrative of King the "leader" in front and Ndongeni the "follower" or "subordinate" behind (Marschall, 2005).

A variety of market research has indicated that local domestic tourists do not visit these heritage attractions (National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy; 2012; Khumalo *et al.*, 2014; Tifflin, 2020). The reason why this is the case remains speculative, however, Butler and Ivanovic (2016) as well as Viljoen and Henama (2017) underline that this may be circumvented by ensuring that South African cultural heritage is representative of a nation rich in cultural diversity (Butler & Ivanovic, 2016; Viljoen & Henama, 2017). Marschall (2005) rightfully argues that including Ndongeni in the Dick King commemorative monument could turn the present conventional Statue into a unique monument that contributes to a different public remembrance (Marschall, 2005). Perhaps this would benefit the city's tourism as travel often seeks to celebrate the "unique" and the "exotic", and thus, the narrative on how Africans and Europeans collaborated in the development of Durban as a city would certainly appear to be unique and exotic, while also acting as a catalyst for social cohesion and post-apartheid national identity (Marschall, 2005; Khumalo *et al.*, 2014; Viljoen & Henama, 2017). Therefore, at this stage, it is clear that although contested like the Francis Farewell Square, the reimagined Dick King Statue will likely be a major feature in the Durban "tourismscape".

6.4.3 John Ross Statue

The John Ross Statue is another regular feature on the Durban Tourism website and in brochures as part of the Durban City Walking Tours (Durban Tourism, 2021). However, post-apartheid, the John Ross Statue remains buttressed in its colonial denotation, and the statue has not been reinterpreted, re-casted or re-contextualised in line with the city's mandate of social cohesion (Ngcobo, 2020). According to Marschall (2010), the John Ross Statue presents an interesting case, and certainly a lost opportunity in post-apartheid Durban in terms of re-interpreting the statue by recasting its colonial identity and the prevailing Eurocentric narrative about John Ross in favour of reconciliation, social cohesion and transformation (Marschall, 2010).

The Statue of John Ross is currently hinged on his heroic deed that seeks to link John Ross to the "foundation myth" of Durban as a British Colony (Gray, 1987; 1988). However, it is now accepted that John Ross did not undertake the journey to Delagoa Bay alone. King Shaka played a crucial role in this venture by affording John Ross with every assistance required including giving a sizeable number of Zulu warriors to escort, protect, and furnish him with food on the way (Gray, 1987; 1988; Marschall, 2010). Cubbin (1995) rightly observes that in the Eurocentric writings on this epic journey, John Ross has been given all the credit, and King Shaka and his warriors virtually none (Cubbin, 1995). Gray (1988), likewise Cubbin suggests that this imbalance needs to be rectified seeing as King Shaka was able to provide tremendous Zulu expertise - military and economic - to make the journey possible (Gray, 1988). Cubbin (1995) further argues that the Zulus had well-developed links with the Delagoa Bay region and King Shaka knew what was required of a journey of this nature (Cubbin; 1995). Therefore, Shaka's pivotal role in ensuring the success of this journey needs to be highlighted and acknowledged in this specific heritage setting, more so than ever in a democratic South Africa (Cubbin, 1995; Gray, 1987, 1988; Marschall, 2010).

Furthermore, in reinterpreting and re-contextualising the John Ross Statue, there are other aspects of John Ross's experiences in the Natal Colony that could be foregrounded in line with the current socio-political context (Marschall, 2010). According to John Ross's recorded memoirs, he had become a great associate and an admirer of the Zulu people, and King Shaka liked him so much that he adopted him as his son (Gray, 1987; 1988; Marschall, 2010). For a time, John Ross lived among the Zulus at Shaka's settlement, learning the Zulu language, dressing in Zulu garb, and generally absorbing Zulu culture (Gray, 1987; 1988; Marschall, 2010). In fact, as aforementioned, the statue of John Ross depicts him carrying hunting-spears which Gray (1988) dismisses as the ultimate "appropriation" of Zulu might, however, it appears it was based on the artist's understanding of Ross's association with the Zulus (Gray, 1988). In the later years, upon leaving the Natal colony, Ross is reported to have devoted the rest of his life to fighting for black liberty and the emancipation of blacks all over the world through manning his Caribbean ship with freed black slaves, and challenging anyone who threatened their freedom (Gray, 1987; 1988; Marschall, 2010). The colonial narrative of John Ross renders his Statue

completely irrelevant to the domestic tourists who are overwhelmingly black people, however, it can be transformed to encourage historical perspectives that speak of amicable relations and productive contact between the black majority and white people that is based on cross-cultural understanding and respect (Coan, 2008; Marschall, 2010). However, this statue has retained its colonial identity and, unline the Dick King Statue, it does not appear to be playing any significant role in Durban's "tourismscape" at present.

6.4.4 Congella Battlefield Monument

The Congella Battlefield monument does not feature in Durban Tourism brochures and/or websites. The monument is located in a private property that is owned by Transnet although it is accessible to tourists given its provincial monument status. Like many monuments of the colonial and apartheid eras in Durban, the Congella Battlefield Monument stands neglected in the outskirts of the city in what used to be called the Congella Village, although it has significant heritage tourism potential.
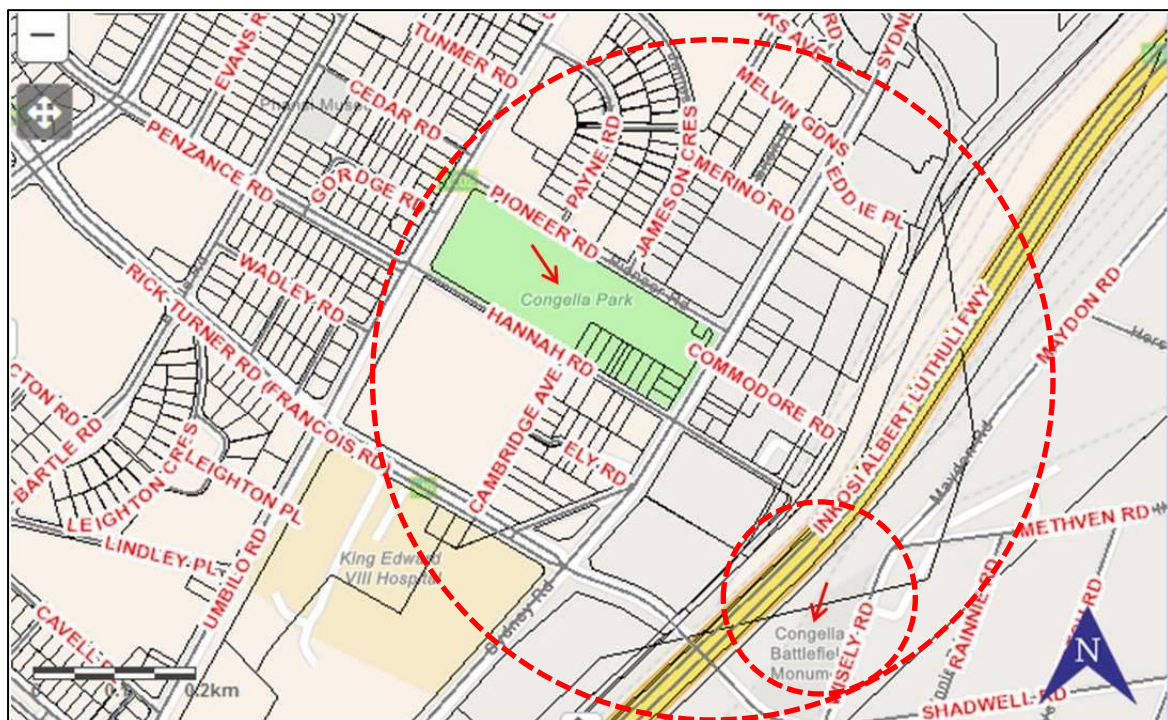

Figure 36: A map showing the "Congella Cultural Precinct"
Source: Gammage, 2021

The Congella Battlefield Monument falls under what could be developed as a "Congella Cultural Precinct" (Figure 36) which derives its "Congella" name from the Zulu name "*KwaKhangela*" and is said to have been originally established by King

Shaka to keep a watchful eye on the nearby British traders at Port Natal - the full name of the place being *kwaKhangela amaNkengane* (a place of watching over "vagabonds") (Koopman, 2004; Averweg, 2017). Later after the Battle of Congella between the British and the Boers, the Congella village was developed and the place between Umbilo, Sydney, Hannah and Pioneer Roads became Congella Park, in memory of the 1842 battle (Bennet *et al.*, 1987; Averweg, 2017). The Park consists of a British memorial stone pillar and is near the modern-day Hannah Road fence. At the harbour edge of the "cultural precinct" along Maydon Road is where the Congella Battlefield Monument is located (Gammage, 2021).

The Congella Battlefield Monument also falls within a particular tourism niche that is very important in KwaZulu Natal, namely battlefield tourism. According to Moeller (2005), Battlefield tourism is a key niche area in Kwazulu-Natal tourism. This is supported by Devereux (2020) who indicates that in terms of heritage tourism in the province, rock art and battlefield tourism are the leading attractions, and in terms of battlefield tourism, significant numbers of tourists are seen at battlefield sites such as Isandlwana, Rorke's Drift, Blood River, Spioenkop and others around the province (Devereux, 2020). According to Devereux (2020), battlefield tourism in KwaZulu-Natal has proven to be such a lucrative niche it has become a much-contested space that has seen some tourist guides fighting over it. According to Venter (2011), this is not out of the ordinary as the same trend is experienced in the Northern Cape near Kimberley where the boom of the battlefield tourism along the N12 route has encouraged the government to invest (Venter, 2011).

According to Devereux (2020), the main market for battlefield tourism in KwaZulu-Natal is tourists who come from the former colonist countries who seem to be interested in the wars that their forefathers participated in (Devereux, 2020). Research has also shown that this is to be expected as battlefields have long held a fascination for those who survived them and inspired the imagination of latter generations (Moeller, 2005; Rayner, 2006; Ryan, 2007; Venter, 2011). In this regard, armed conflict plays an important role in the generational identity as it is these Wars that shape and mould the future and psyche of generations to come (Lloyd, 1998; Moeller, 2005; Rayner, 2006; Ryan, 2007; Venter, 2011). Such heritage sites are perceived as a place of memory for individuals who perished in battles that

determined the future course of numerous countries throughout history. Curiosity is a key factor for many people who visit such heritage spaces. The yearning to better understand, experience the sensation of the site, and walk in the footsteps of those who were there are driving motivations behind battlefield tourism (Lloyd, 1998; Moeller, 2005; Rayner, 2006; Ryan, 2007; Venter, 2011). Research indicates because of the lucrativeness of the battlefields, in a utopian world, they would ordinarily be preserved for the sake of their historic and economic significance, in some cases, and sometimes due to budgetary constraints, these sites are left neglected, damaged, or eroded over time (Lloyd, 1998; Moeller, 2005; Rayner, 2006; Ryan, 2007; Venter, 2011). This unfortunately is the case for the Congella Battlefield Monument, although it remains in a relatively good state, despite its neglect.

In light of the above, the Congella Battlefield Monument is a perfect candidate for battlefield tourism in Durban, which in turn offers a commercial solution to preserving historic sites of this calibre from being lost with time (Lloyd, 1998; Moeller, 2005; Rayner, 2006; Ryan, 2007; Venter, 2011). However, the Congella Battlefield Monument brings another challenge – its Eurocentric bias as a colonial marker. However, the Congella Battlefield Monument carries a potential of re-interpretation within the government's drive for heritage transformation. Stuart (1913), writing within the socio-political discourse of the time, lists the Battle of Congella as one of those Wars in which the natives were "only indirectly" concerned (Stuart, 1913). What is clear is that there has not been any research that has been done in terms of the role that was played by other races in the Battle of Congella, although this study has shown above that, despite many attempts to write him off, Ndongeni kaXoki – a Zulu Native - played a role to salvage the war for the British (Marschall, 2005; Averweg, 2017). Devereux (2020), likewise indicated that Amafa Institute is in the inception phase of redressing and transforming the old commemorative monuments that were erected by the Voortrekkers or the British settlers where the names of the people of other races were deliberately omitted – perhaps the Congella Battlefield Monument could be one of these, after which it, along with the rest of the "precinct", holds the potential unleashed, through appropriate marketing, for the "tourist gaze" within the ambit of battlefield tourism, while in line with the post-apartheid national identity. However, this contested setting stands in contrast to other sites in Durban's "tourismscape" – seeing that although it is deemed by many as problematic,

emphasis is placed on the need to include this space in Durban Tourism marketing spaces and to develop it accordingly. This measure once again brings into question the role or need for contested heritage in travel settings as a key force for economic development and social upliftment.

6.4.5 Louis Botha Statue

The Louis Botha Statue remains *in situ* in the Botha Gardens - a place where job seekers gather, and where protest marches ordinarily begin towards City Hall (Gammage, 2020). A quick analysis of the Durban Tourism brochures and website indicates that for a long time if it ever did, the Louis Botha Statue has not featured as one of the key attractions of the city (Durban Tourism, 2014; 2016, 2017; 2019). Like many other contested heritage settings in and around the city, the statue stands somewhat neglected in the outskirts of the city. However, as previously outlined, there has been a post-apartheid attempt to re-contextualise the Louis Botha Statue as part of the reconciliation approach of the municipality in recent years (Jacobs, 2014).

eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality held a design competition in 2000 for the construction of a Heroes Monument on the site of Botha Park, which would acknowledge those who made an extraordinary contribution to "Durban's eventful history" in a variety of fields (Marschall, 2010; Jacobs, 2014; Peters, 2001; 2004, KZ-NIA, 2006). Contestants were furthermore requested to suggest how the existing bronze statue of General Louis Botha could be recontextualised (KZ-NIA, 2006; Marschall, 2010). The winning design by architects envisaged a Wall of Remembrance, a public amphitheater, and a small Garden of Remembrance, where Botha and various other colonial statues could be assembled, and over time, accompanied by statues of new heroes in a mutual, inclusive space of public commemoration (Marschall 2003; Marschall, 2010; Jacobs, 2014; Peters, 2004; KZ-NIA, 2006). This unique proposal was not implemented. Louis Botha thus continued to command this busy urban space unrivalled (KZ-NIA, 2006).

This, however, changed when the Botha Statue was later paired with the King Dinuzulu Statue. King Dinuzulu is generally recognised in South Africa as the liberation struggle stalwart and hero that galvanised the Zulu nation to fight against

colonial rule. In fact, during his reign, King Dinuzulu was jailed twice for leading the Zulu nation in the fight against British colonial rule (Stuart, 1913). The decision to pair the Louis Botha and King Dinuzulu statue was based on the relationship that Botha had with King Dinuzulu and the Zulu people. It is recorded that on the very first day the Union of South Africa was created, one of Botha's first acts as Prime Minister was to order King Dinuzulu's release from the unfair captivity he had been put to by the Natal colonial authority (Steyn, 2018). Botha reportedly went even farther, arranging for him to spend the rest of his days on a government-owned property outside Middelburg in the Eastern Transvaal, now Mpumalanga (Steyn, 2018). This deed by Louis Botha ensured that the Louis Botha statue is spared from the initial plan by the Municipality to remove it and replace it with a post-apartheid heroes' monument (Marschall 2003; Marschall, 2010; Jacobs, 2014; Peters, 2001; 2003; 2004). This post-apartheid narrative seems to suggest that Botha was "humane" and "decent" in his dealings with black people (Steyn, 2018). This narrative seems to be the one that influenced the decision of KwaZulu-Natal Premier Sibusiso 'Sbu' Ndebele reversing the decision of the eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality of removing the Botha Statue initially and opting to erect that of his comrade-in-arms rather, King Dinuzulu, next to it in the same park.

What has been suppressed in the aforementioned Botha narrative is that three years after releasing King Dinuzulu from prison, Botha presided over the enactment of the infamous *Native Land Act of 1913*, which later became the foundation of apartheid Bantustan policy (Dominy, 2019). This was not the first time Botha was involved in such a malevolent act. Botha's first government position was as a "veld" cornet, responsible for partitioning the Zulu lands into farms for the Vryheid Boers. The 1913 *Native Land Act*, however, is generally perceived as the pinnacle of colonisation and dispossession (Dominy, 2019). Today, South Africa is grappling with the land issue, which was engineered by the colonial leaders, led by Botha (Dominy, 2019; Marschall, 2010). This, however, appears to have been brushed under the rug in favour of the overly romanticised "reconciliation" storyline.

Nonetheless, while the re-contextualisation of the Louis Botha statue may be commended, however, there is a clear let-down in terms of re-interpretation in line with the theme of reconciliation. Reconciliation remains excluded in the statues, as

the Louis Botha Statue still stands with no meaningful narrative except his birth and year of death. The statue of King Dinuzulu as well does not carry much narrative on his relationship with Louis Botha, notwithstanding that some panels seem to have been stolen, except one panel that indicates, in a faint amateurish inscription (Figure 37), that reads:

"In the year he was proclaimed King 1884 Prince Dinuzulu defeated his uncle Inkosi Zibhehu with the help of the Boers at the Etshaneni"

Figure 37: Inscription on one of the panels of the King Dinuzulu Statue
Source: Nkobi, 2020

The poor reinterpretation of the two statues means that the two monuments remain not properly contextualised. This opens them up to unintended interpretation from the public. In fact, during the 2015 protests, both statues were some of the statues that were defaced in Durban, and there were calls during this time that they must be removed. When the convener of the Decolonization of Public Places Movement, Alex Madikizela, was interviewed for this study on why their organisation was calling for the removal of the King Dinuzulu Statue, he explained that King Dinuzulu, "in his

totality of his contribution to the struggle, became urgent of colonial rule. He used the land as means to retain or advance his royal status… his kindship which was being contested at the time. One of the examples was, he gave away land to what was previously known as the Transvaal, the area around Vryheid. So he gave away a lot of lands for his self-interest to keep his Kingship status. As a result of this, a lot of the land that he gave away is still predominantly owned by the beneficiaries of colonial rule. He is not a symbol of people who struggled against colonialism".[17]

Although many heritage experts and historians alike may take issue with Madikizela's views, it shows that it is not enough to just juxtapose white monuments with black monuments. These need to be adequately re-contextualised and reinterpreted. The exclusion of the Louis Botha statue in the tourism brochures may mean that eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality is well aware that it has not done enough in terms of re-contextualising and reinterpreting the statue. It can be argued that, following the attempted re-contextualisation of the Botha statue, its promotion in the context of tourism would be significant for making a case for reconciliation, as well as helping to break down the myth (for some visitors, at least) that the reconciliation project that Ndebele (2005) spoke about is merely superficial. Furthermore, its inclusion in tourism would also be significant, not just in the representation of the statue to the visitors themselves, but also by placing the Afrikaner heritage in a context significantly different from that of its origins, thereby demonstrating to South Africans its new official role in national inclusive heritage making.

6.5 Chapter summary

Durban is one of the most popular tourist destinations in KwaZulu-Natal and South Africa for that matter. Its success as a tourism city in the province is driven by abundant natural and traditional cultural tourism resources. While successful in promoting tourism, this study reveals that contested heritage is not playing a meaningful role in fostering tourism in the Durban Metropolitan Area. What is evident is that there is a distinct lack of strategy to reinterpret, recast and re-contextualise this heritage as a way to integrate this into the tourism ecosystem of the city.

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[17] Interview with Mr Alex Madikizela, Convener of the Decolonization of Public Places Movement, on 3 December 2020.

Although some contested heritage sites get mentioned in the tourism brochures of the city, there is no evidence that tourism marketing of the city influences the interpretation and meaning of this form of heritage, and how tourists perceive and understand this type of public history. In fact, besides the mention of this heritage in tourism brochures, this heritage stands neglected (and disowned) all over the Metropolitan Area, arguably in a complete juxtapose to the postcolonial democratic tenets of the city.

Seeing that the cultural and heritage tourism in Durban is lacking, this Chapter indicates that the reinterpretation and re-contextualisation of spaces like the Francis Farewell Square are in line with the democratic principles of the new South Africa is necessary to have these spaces playing a more meaningful role in the Durban "tourismscape". For the Francis Farewell Square, this exercise will involve repealing this space of its reputation as a 'shrine' for white South Africans which other racial demographics do not relate with. Just like the Francis Farewell Square that is holding on to the colonial "foundation myth", the Dick King Statue presents another missed opportunity of ensuring that the Durban cultural heritage is representative of a city rich in cultural diversity. The deliberate exclusion of Ndongeni ka Xoki in the Dick King commemorative monument denies it an opportunity to contribute to a rather inclusive public remembrance and it thus lies somewhat neglected in the fringes of the city. Likewise, it is also argued that the colonial outlook of John Ross which desperately tries to fit it into the Durban "foundation myth" and writing off his relationship with the black majority renders his statue completely irrelevant to the domestic tourists who see it as another colonial Statue that is an antithesis to the current dispensation.

This Chapter also indicates that through reinterpretation and/or recontextualisation, the Congella Battlefield Monument has the potential to play a significant role in battlefield tourism of Durban which currently does not exist. This can be done by, among others, elevating the role that other demographic groups played in the Congella battle, however, its lack of transformation has cast it neglected in the periphery of the City, and has no role to play in the Durban "tourismscape". The same can be argued about the Louis Botha Statue in the outskirts of the city. Although the Statue has been recontextualisation in democratic South Africa by

pairing it with the King Dinuzulu Statue, the current site is however a typical example of a failed attempt at recontextualising the contested statuary. The biggest let-down in terms of re-interpretation with no meaningful narrative on the site. The two statues stand somewhat in competition with each other, with neither of them particularly playing a meaningful role in the Durban "tourismscape".

The prevailing colonial and apartheid ideology attached to the five contested sites of this study is buttressed on historical narratives of hostility and 'difference' between various racial and ethnic groups in society in Durban and this impedes heritage tourism in the city. The academic climate of the 'new' South Africa, on the contrary, influenced by societal trends and political prerogatives, encourages historical perspectives that speak of amicable relations and productive contact between blacks and whites as well as all other associated demographic groups in the country (Marschall, 2010). As part of re-contextualising and reinterpreting these sites within the ambit of tourism and the post-apartheid government drive for reconciliation, the repositioning of these sites' identity and historical significance is necessary. This approach of reinterpretation and re-contextualisation would certainly rescue these sites and many others that are neglected in the Durban Metropolitan Area from historical obscurity and allow them to play a meaningful role in the City's "tourismscape" as heritage tourism products.

CHAPTER 7: APPLICATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study indicated that colonial and apartheid-era heritage sites in South Africa continue to raise public controversies about their meaning and role in a democratic South African society. Since the advent of democracy, there has been a general perception and consensus that not enough has been done to physically and symbolically transform the heritage landscape at the national level after attaining democracy (Marschall, 2010). In this regard, this study indicates that the contested heritage standing in present-day public spaces is perceived as problematic and it inherently introduces several complex and important challenges in terms of constructing a new national identity for democratic South Africa (Coombes, 2004; Corsane, 2004; Marschall, 2010). Furthermore, there is also a myriad of challenges in terms of having this contested heritage playing a meaningful role in the "tourismscape" of the country.

This study further indicated that there is an established relationship between contested heritage and tourism and this has led to a wide range of concepts such as 'dark tourism', 'thanatourism', 'battlefield tourism', 'post-war tourism', 'post-conflict tourism', and 'atrocity heritage tourism' (Ashworth, 2004; Fyall *et al.*, 2006). This scholarship concedes that this relationship has had direct economic benefits for some communities where neglected contested heritage objects and places have been rejuvenated and marketed for commercial gain (Amarilla & Conti, 2012; Harrison, 2013). However, the research into the extent to which tourism, as a driving force of the economy, is a factor in public policy about contested heritage conservation and transformation appears lacking. This is possibly due to the research on this subject has tended to be confined to traumatic and painful historic events such as genocide, massacre, war, and slavery, thereby falling short in expanding the inquiry into other areas of contested heritage such as colonialism and apartheid, the legacy of which South Africa is still grappling with.

This investigation likewise indicated that colonial British heritage in South Africa can be broadly divided into three phases (Van Riet Lowe, 1941). The first phase involved the construction of the military forts as part of the initial territorial wars of the colonial superpowers in the colonies at the time. The second phase involved the construction of architecture that was associated with the rise and spread of Anglicanism in South

Africa as part of the broader aims and objectives of the British imperial and colonial mission (Pearse, 1929). The third phase came after the Berlin Conference and involved building colonial heritage that sought to foster the British nationalist ideologies, develop a sense of colonial national identity and nurture a sense of acquired indigeneity for the British (McGregor & Schumaker, 2006). In Durban, this particular third phase saw the construction of the Francis Farewell Square, the Dick King Statue and the John Ross Statue, among others.

This study has also indicated that Afrikaner heritage came about as part of a project of "uniting" the Afrikaner nation and searching for a "sacred history" of Afrikaner nationalism (Goodrich & Bombardella, 2016). In this regard, the "Great Trek" and the Anglo-Boer War were selected to be the core of this Afrikaner "foundation myth", with the 'martyrs' and 'warriors' of these historical events immortalised as heroes through memorials. In Durban, not only did the Afrikaner heritage get erected as part of the aforementioned "foundation myth", but also as part of the unity negotiations between the Afrikaner and the British that culminated in the Union of South Africa in 1910 (Marschall, 2010). It is thus after the Anglo-Boer War, and as part of the unity negotiation process, that the statues such as the Congella Battlefield Monument, the Louis Botha Statue and the Anglo-Boer War emerged in Durban. Post-apartheid government has struggled to deal with contested heritage, opting for the strategy of pairing "black heritage" next to "white heritage" as the general policy for "neutralising" and "assimilating" "white heritage" to the newly formulated socio-political order (Jacobs, 2014). This is the case for the King Dinuzulu statue that was erected next to the Botha statue in Durban.

However, the predicament that South Africa is facing regarding contested heritage is not peculiar. After toppling the Nazi regime, Germany has struggled to deal with the remnants of the Nazi heritage that survived the revolution, with some people strongly arguing that the Nazi heritage must be destroyed for it is obstructing Germany from moving forward and creating a "new" stable identity, while others are adamant that it must be preserved to allow for continuous and active critical engagement with this "difficult past" (Kattago, 2001; Macdonald, 2010). Likewise, India has also struggled to deal with the British colonial heritage post its independence. The biggest dilemma for India was that the conversation on the fate of British colonial iconography was

closely linked with its bilateral and diplomatic relations with Britain, owing to its socio-economic dependence on Britain (Priestland, 2015). However, following public pressure, the Indian central government opted to place this contested heritage in theme, a move that somewhat waned the public outcry, although there is almost no appetite from domestic tourists to interact with this heritage in theme parks (Philip, 1987; Mcgarr, 2015). The route of creating a theme park was also adopted by the Lithuanian government for the remnants of the Soviet Union iconography following the fall of the Soviet Union. However, this did not decrease the public pressure for the contested heritage to be destroyed as it is perceived as controversial and distasteful, and disrespectful to the memory of those who died in the hands of the Soviet Union (Anusaite, 2007; Harrison, 2013). The Lithuanian situation is further exacerbated by the perception that the Soviet Union's socio-economic vestiges are still intact just like its heritage and is a major factor in the economic stress among the Lithuanian majority (Lane, 2001; Anusaite; 2007; Harrison, 2013). This is the view that is shared in the academic, media and public spaces in South Africa when it comes to contested heritage – that the perceived failure for government to deal with contested heritage is a "microcosm" of a failure of racial transformation, the power of white privilege, and indicates the persistence of racial subordination of the majority (Grootes, 2015; Hodes, 2015).

Chapter four of this study engaged the current public perceptions on contested heritage through social media and found that there appears to be a clear disjuncture between the government's approach to heritage transformation, and the wishes of the public, especially the majority. The social media analysis indicates that the majority is not satisfied with the efforts so far of government in dealing with contested heritage, and it is convinced that the best option of dealing with this heritage is radical iconoclasm. To many South Africans, the removal of contested heritage is necessary to signal "real" change in socio-economic and political power. Furthermore, the fact that government does not seem to have a clear-cut approach in terms of transforming the heritage landscape does not seem to bode well with an increasingly impatient public. in Durban, this is further exacerbated by the fact that the Municipality does not have a dedicated local authority to deal with contested heritage as per the *National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999*, which brings into question its capability to transform the heritage landscape, and further properly

conserve, protect and preserve heritage, with some public monuments standing neglected in and around the city.

Indeed, the post-apartheid heritage legislation namely the *White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage of 1996* the *National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999*, and the *National Heritage Council Act 11 of 1999* were intended on heritage transformation, it appears there has been little success in this regard. From the onset, these heritage statutes promised the previously marginalised to finally have a role to play in deciding what is to be considered "heritage" in South Africa, and ultimately have a say in the cultural identity of the country. However, the unilateral adoption of colonial and apartheid-era heritage estate into the democratic national estate, except for a few that was politically decided that it is offensive to the black majority, immediately defeated the earnestness to heritage transformation and rendered it an elitist and political process which the public will have little to do with (Van Graan 2013; Marschall, 2019). In the meantime, there appears to be a clear disjuncture between the needs of the public, especially the black majority, in terms of heritage transformation, and the pace and direction that government seems to be taking.

The advent of democracy may have promised that the heritage and identity that was suppressed under colonial and apartheid rule would be revived or revitalised through transformation, however, the reality is that this has not gone beyond resistance and liberation heritage. This has often led to a certain degree of despondency or despair, and a lack of ownership of this heritage. Masrchall (2012) has shown the obvious lack of interest and ownership in the Inanda Heritage Route by the local community of Inanda, Durban. In this regard, research on the role of tourism in influencing what government perceives as 'worthy' heritage to invest in, is necessary.

In other words, although the government has invested a great deal in the transformation of the heritage landscape, there remains a perception that not much has been done. The transformation approach appears to be driven by often arrogant government elitists and political assumptions in terms of what the majority "wants" and "needs" in terms of heritage transformation. There is a dire need to give some recognition and support to the heritage of the majority and move away from the approach that pays little attention to community-based grassroots heritage initiatives.

The continuing preference for European iconography and the fascination to resistance and liberation heritage in terms of heritage transformation is problematic. Coupled with the continuing overlooking of the majority's heritage, which mostly is intangible, for its apparent 'worthlessness', this demographic group is left to feel they rarely have the political leverage and economic means to reclaim and foreground that which is their "authentic" heritage.

In terms of pace, this will increasingly become even slower given the fiscal constraints of the country, within the onslaught of the COVID-19 pandemic, where heritage transformation is increasingly having to compete with other government priorities such as delivering basic services as well as social relief, and thus issues around heritage, and heritage transformation are pushed to the side-line. A case in point is the slow pace of implementation of the 20 resolutions that came out of the 2015 consultations following the protests where the fiscal constraints, and of course the religious lacklustre approach to the heritage transformation, seem to be standing in the way. Five of the 2015 resolutions specifically speak to transformation:

1. Use of existing laws for the transformation, removal, transfer, or replacement of any statue, public symbol, or place name. Government and stakeholders to make emphasis that the attacking and defacing of the statues is unlawful and criminal, and call for law enforcement to act to prevent these unlawful incidents and protect the symbols (Department of Arts & Culture, 2015).

2. In the event where certain symbols are removed from public spaces, it is preferred that a common park of symbols and statues with a thematic narrative of the evolution of our history be created as an inclusive space to properly reflect South African history. This approach is preferred that the one where each cultural group comes and collects what they think belongs to their heritage thus preserving separate histories and narratives as opposed to a common narrative of our history that will be mindful of sensitivities and diversities in our complex and yet common history. Such theme parks depicting our history should be established at national, provincial, and local levels (Department of Arts & Culture, 2015).

3. In the instances where, after an audit and consultation, there may be a need for disposal of some of the symbols and statues, these should also be guided by SAHRA's removal and relocation guidelines as per *National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999* disposal policy than uncoordinated and unguided discretionary disposals (Department of Arts & Culture, 2015).

4. The transformation of the heritage landscape should preferably be informed and replaced by all-inclusive symbols or themes such as justice, youth, women, peace and reconciliation, as opposed to only individual historical figures. This should not preclude future symbols and statues that celebrate and honour heroes that fought for justice and freedom (Department of Arts & Culture, 2015).

5. A need for comprehensive documentation of the transformation process will include names, statues, and symbols that were transformed and those that are still in the process of transformation (Department of Arts & Culture, 2015).

One of the resolutions that is not quoted above makes clear that the whole process of responding to the 2015 call for the transformation of the heritage landscape should be driven with a sense of urgency that has a clear roadmap, milestones, and verifiable targets (Department of Arts & Culture, 2015). It further emphasises that consultation should not become an open-ended process that begins to frustrate the very aim of addressing the issue of transformation of the public spaces. Over five years later, the DSAC is still in the planning phase of developing a policy for Cultural Nation Building Parks, and the audit of the contested heritage has not commenced (Ndima, 2020). Whatever the reasons, this certainly casts doubt on the commitment to transformation, and this echoes to the public, especially, if not exclusively, the black majority who believe that the lack of transformation in South Africa is the reason for their suffering in terms of the socio-economic conditions of the country. Furthermore, the public believes that the continued existence of contested heritage prevents democratic South Africa from defining a national identity of its own. The biggest challenge is seemingly the lack of a negotiated sense of continuity with the colonial and apartheid past of the country, and thus the contested heritage is facing democratic abandonment where it remains in the fringes, and yet central to the fabric of democratic South African society.

Durban likewise still retains its Eurocentric outlook, with the blacks and Indians seemingly side-lined due to the nation-wide slow pace of transformation that is increasingly causing people to become impatient. The colonial and apartheid legacy of Durban certainly led to a growth in multiculturalism and ethnic diversity in the city and left a situation where the heritage of the minority is the dominant and defining identity of the city, while the heritage of the majority is struggling to find its way into the mainstream character of the city. This setup where the culture and identity of the minority groups define the outlook of South Africa's cities within the national context will continue as the core of identity, theoretical and political debates.

However, this study further indicates that contested heritage can play a role in developing heritage tourism in Durban considering that research has indicated that cultural and heritage tourism is severely lacking in Durban (Moodley, 2012). Further, Durban has also failed to capitalise on it being a multi-cultural city, which includes a large population of Indian, black and coloured people, and foreground the heritage of these groups in its quest to develop cultural and heritage tourism. In terms of contested heritage, this study found that for this heritage to play a meaningful role, in the Durban "tourismscape", there is a need to re-contextualise, reinterpret, recast, and in some cases, relocate some of this heritage (Marschall, 2010). This study provided practical examples of how the aforementioned strategies can be applied to the Francis Farewell Square, Dick King Statue, John Ross Statue, Congella Battlefield Monument and the Louis Botha Statue within the government's objective for reconciliation, social cohesion and nation-building. This is likely to lead to a Durban cultural and heritage "tourismscape" that consists of architecture, arts, rituals, history, culture, festivals, religion, folklore, and nostalgia.

It is no doubt that due to the glaring untidiness of the post-apartheid heritage transformation approach that colonial and apartheid architecture remains Durban's source of "authenticity" and nostalgia. However, although there seems to be pushback by the local government in accepting contested heritage as a commodity portraying the authenticity of the city through foregrounding the beach in the "tourismscape" of the city, the real problem facing the majority is in terms of dealing with this public history as a source of identity for their city daily. For the majority, the

city must rid itself of its colonial identity as a sign that the city has transformed in terms of its socio-economic dynamics that remain unfavourable to the majority.

In terms of dealing with contested heritage in Durban, the following are recommended to the relevant authorities:

- To set up a dedicated local heritage authority that will be devoted to heritage management, conservation, and transformation in eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality.
- That an inventory of all contested heritage be made, and that proper profiling of this heritage be done;
- The local authority, in collaboration with the provincial and national partners, to prioritise re-contextualisation, re-interpretation, re-casting, and if necessary, relocation of the contested heritage as part of the transformation in line with the democratic principles of the Municipality with the potential to foreground some of this heritage for tourism purposes;
- Considering that some of the contested heritage in the city is facing neglect and the real possibility of ruin, and in light of the continuously shrinking resources for the conservation of heritage, the city to consider introducing a heritage tourism levy which will be allocated to the authority in charge of heritage in the city for heritage management and preservation for the benefit of the tourism industry and the city.

Thus, in conclusion it should be stated that tourism does indeed play a significant role in local debates on contested heritage sites, especially within the case study of Durban.

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ANNEXURE A

Research approval letter – KwaZulu-Natal Amafa and Research Institute

07 August 2019

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT INTERVIEWS WITH OFFICIALS AT KZN AMAFA AND RESEARCH INSTITUTE FOR THE RESEARCH ENTITLED, "*THE ROLE OF TOURISM IN LOCAL DEBATES ON CONTESTED HERITAGE: A CASE STUDY OF DURBAN*".

This letter serves to grant permission to Mr Nhlanhla Nkobi to conduct his research with relevant officials in the employ of KZN Amafa and Research Institute (formally known as Heritage KwaZulu-Natal – Amafa) During and after conducting these interviews, Mr Nkobi is expected to submit his research paper to KZN Amafa and Research Institute upon completion of his Masters.

Yours sincerely

Mrs L.Z. Msomi
DEPUTY DIRECTOR – HUMAN RESOURCES

ANNEXURE B

Research approval letter – Tourism KwaZulu-Natal

Tourism KwaZulu-Natal

Tourism KwaZulu-Natal is the Tourism Authority for the province of KwaZulu-Natal established by
the KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Act of 1996 (as amended in 2002)

Zulu Kingdom. Exceptional

04 September 2019
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
Historical and Heritage Studies

To:	Mr. M. Schoeman
Cc:	Mrs. Herselman
Subject:	The role of Tourism in local debate on Contested Heritage: A case study of Durban

Ref: Approval to Conduct Research at Tourism KwaZulu- Natal

Dear Maxi

It is the entity's understanding that Student Researcher Mr. N. Nkobi, 19222 085 (HUM046/0519) will be conducting a research study at our entity on "The role of Tourism in local debate on Contested Heritage: A case study of Durban".

Mr. N. Nkobi, 19222 085 (HUM046/0519) has informed the entity of the design of the study as well as the data collection tool to be used (Questionnaire). This has been confirmed by the correspondence from the University of Pretoria signed and approved by Prof: Maxi Schoeman.

The entity supports this effort on the premises of the information provided to the entity. The support will be through our research department with reference to any questions related to the study and the entity thereof. Point of contact will be Mr. Wayne Tifflin who will be responsible for perimeters allocation around study population.

Sincerely,
Chief Financial Officer
Lindani Sidaki

Date: 05/09/2016

ANNEXURE C

Research approval letter – eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality

PARKS, RECREATION & CULTURE
LOCAL HISTORY MUSEUMS

130 Bram Fischer Road, Durban, 4001
PO Box 5426, Durban, 4000
Tel: 031 311 2222/3,
www.durbanmuseums.gov.za

03 April 2019

To whom it may concern!

RE: Permission to access Municipal Heritage Sites for the Research entitled, "*The Role of Tourism in Local Debates on Contested Heritage: A Case Study of Durban*".

This letter serves to grant permission to Mr Nhlanhla Nkobi to conduct his Masters Research on the five sites that he has chosen, namely the Botha Gardens, Dick King Statue, the Farewell Square, Fernando Pessoa statue and the Lady in White statue. In conducting this research, Mr Nkobi is expected to adhere to the bylaws of the Municipality regarding heritage sites and these can be accessed through the Municipal website: www.durban.gov.za . Mr Nkobi is further expected to adhere to the following condition:

i. To submit his research paper or thesis to eThekwini Municipality upon completion of his Masters.
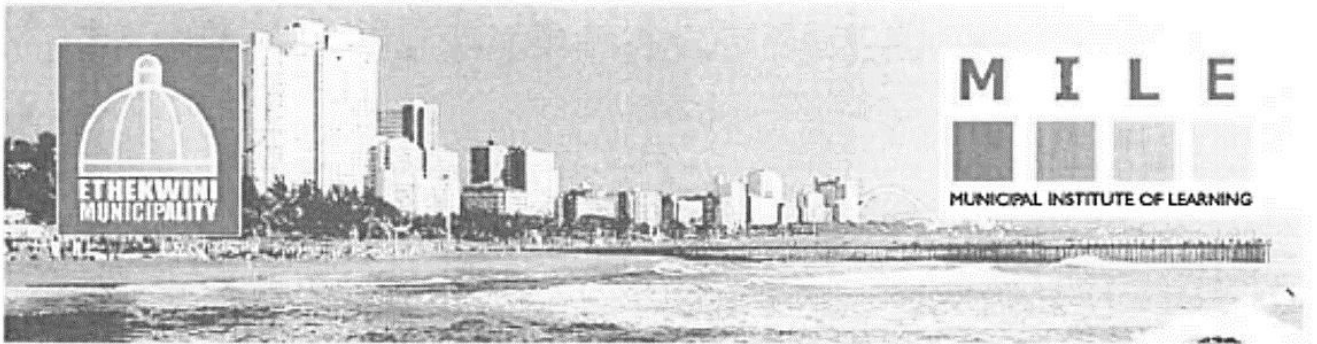
Kind Regards

....

Sinothi Thabethe
Director: Durban Local History Museums

Date: 03/04/2019

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ANNEXURE D

Research approval letter – Durban Tourism

Pod 1, Second Floor, Intuthuko Junction, 750 Mary Thiphe Street, Umkhumbane, Cato Manor, Durban 4001.
Tel: 031 322 4513, Fax: 031 261 3405, Fax to email: 086 265 7160, Email: mile@durban.gov.za, Website:
www.mile.org.za

For attention:
Chair of Ethics Committee
Faculty of Humanities & Heritage Studies
University of Pretoria
Private Bag X20
Hatfield,
Pretoria
0028

20 September 2019

RE: LETTER OF SUPPORT TO N. NKOBI STUDENT NUMBER 19222085 - GRANTING PERMISSION TO USE ETHEKWINI
MUNICIPALITY AS A CASE STUDY

Please be informed that eThekwini Municipality's Business Support, Tourism and Markets Unit and eThekwini
Municipal Academy (EMA), have considered a request from Nhlanhla Nkobi to use eThekwini Municipality as a
research study site leading to the awarding of a Masters in Social Science degree.
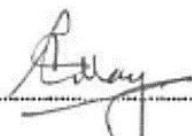
Dissertation Title: *"The Role of Tourism in Local Debates on Contested Heritage: A Case Study of Durban"*

We wish to inform you of the acceptance of his request and hereby assure him of our utmost cooperation towards
achieving his academic goals; the outcome which we believe will help our municipality improve its service delivery.
In return, we stipulate as conditional that he shares the results and recommendations of this study to the
relevant city units on completion. The forum will be facilitated by MILE and Mr Nkobi must contact the MILE
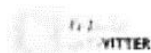Office on 031 3224513 or by mail, collin.plllay3@durban.gov..za to confirm a date for this presentation.

Wishing Mr Nkobi all the best in his studies.

....
Mr Oswald Nzama   **Dr M. Ngubane**
Head: Business Support, Tourism and Markets Unit   Head: eThekwini Municipal Academy
EThekwini Municipality   eThekwini Municipality

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facebook

ANNEXURE E

Decolonization of Public Places Movement letter to eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality

Decolonization of Public Places Movement

To whom it may concern.

We as concerned youth members of the public in terms of sections 10, 17 and 38 of our Constitution, feel aggrieved by the existence of colonial statues of agents or office bearers of colonial imperialism in South Africa, particular in the Kwa-Zulu Natal province. We feel that our right to human dignity is undermined by the continued existence of these condescending symbols of the reign of colonial imperialism. We believe that these statues no longer must be reserved for admiration in public areas and ought to be removed in order to quash the indignation such statues create among the descendants of the victims of the people the statues represent. We feel that it would be in the public interest to protest in demand for their removal and relocation to a safe and less offensive area, preferably a museum park.

We request that the Municipal Council within reasonable legislative means and available resources submit this grievance and mandate the specific or relevant department responsible for the statues to relocate the following colonial Statues:

- Statue of Harry Escombe
- Statue of John Dickinson
- Statue of Sir John Robinson
- Statue of Queen Victoria
- Statue of Louis Botha
- Statue of King Dinuzulu kaCeshwayo
- Fernando Pessoa

We ask that a response to the above mentioned demands, be communicated to us on the day of the submission of our demands. We also request permission to protest and demonstrate peacefully around these statues to symbolize our grievance, without vandalizing any of the statues. We request that we be permitted to proceed towards the Durban City Hall using Anton Lembede Street, the reason for this procession is so that we enable participants from various institutions within the street to join the march. We expect about 500 to 700 participatants in the march. The date upon which we intend to march is on the 8th of May 2015.

We anticipate that this letter shall be given its due consideration and attention and a response shall be communicated within reasonable time.

Yours in good faith

Alex Madikizela (Convener)

Contact number: 083 522 1530