DSPACE

https://dspace.org/

Re-envisioning the Kimberley Mine Museum:De Beers' Big Hole Project

Brown, Marj

2006-02-09
http://hdl.handle.net/10539/171

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

Grad 539

RESEARCH REPORT

MASTER OF ARTS (HERITAGE STUDIES)

Re-envisioning the Kimberley Mine Museum: De Beers' Big Hole Project

Student: Marj Brown

Student Number: 8388843

Supervisor: Elizabeth Delmont

I would like to express my thanks to all the people I interviewed, my supervisor Elizabeth Delmont and Cynthia Kros, for their time and advice.

CONTENTS

Aim **4**

Methodology **6**

A History of the Kimberley Mine Museum and the role of De Beers in making heritage **11**

The Big Hole - silent testimony to the industrialization of South Africa 11

The evolution of a Museum and its transformation: 12

Post 1992 transformation of old museum 15

Heritage and Urban regeneration: De Beers and the Arts 16

Kimberley: Local economics and demographics and tourist profile. 19

Industrial and corporate museums and the commodification of heritage **23**

A need for representation of our industrial past 23

Theory and discourse on museums of industrial heritage or corporate museums. 25

The pursuit of fun and authenticity 26

Relationship and authority: conflict in museums: 31

Place Marketing and Responsible Tourism 37

Legacy or whitewash? Plans for Kimberley's new mining museum **42**

De Beers, Diamonds and Kimberley - Summary of Plans for the Big Hole Project 42

Constraints and Forces 46

History/Heritage – choices of displays: 50

Education: 53

Heritage Status: 55

Artefacts and displays 58

Conclusion **62**

Bibliography **65**

Literature 65

Websites 70

CD-ROMs 70

Aim

The old Kimberley Mine Museum, set up by De Beers in 1968, is broadly seen as a social history museum, albeit that the focus has been on the history of the more privileged and largely white sector of the population. De Beers is in the process of redesigning this museum. The development of the new attraction, however, will be subject to various new forces and considerations, which will impact on how it will reflect the history of the city, the corporation that is driving the project and the people involved. The project is located on the site of the beginnings of our industrial history in South Africa.

The current thinking behind the new attraction is focused largely on its commercial sustainability and corporate image and hence on its ability to attract and entertain an audience based on tourism. As a commercial attraction, the museum will be subject to various other priorities that have little to do with 'telling the whole story' or being primarily educational. As a corporate project, the museum will be influenced by the broader corporate image that De Beers displays to its wider market. The site is however, because of its broader historical significance, important as a feature of South Africa's industrial past.

The tension between the traditional educational function of a museum, the historical functions of displaying social history, the possible expectations of a more inclusive social history being displayed within a new political dispensation post 1994, the corporate ownership of this attraction and the commercial plans or pressures- augmented and compounded by various other strains in the debate about what a museum should be – will form an underlying theme in this research project. The main aim of the research will be to investigate ways in which an inclusive social history is accommodated in the planning process for the new museum. The time frame I will look at will be within the planning stages of this new museum up until January 2005. It is hoped the first visitors will pass through the gates of the new museum in December 2005. The design brief was awarded in July 2004 and the winning design proposal and budget passed by the board in October 2004. Prior to this decision

however, there have been a number of years of planning, concept design, and debate around the project.

Methodology

The nature of this research has been qualitative, as it is an attempt to analyse a process of reconstruction of a museum, in its early stages. There are a number of De Beers' documents that have been drafted in the last two years, which show shifts in thinking a few months apart, and the influence of sites visited internationally. The De Beers website, purportedly the main source for display content, was also important as a reflection of the current image of De Beers (Yuill 2004, pers. comm., 25 April).

De Beers' personnel that I interviewed were: Derek Schaefer, the current curator of the Kimberley Mine Museum (site of the proposed Big Hole Project – the BHP). A historian, Derek worked for the provincial McGregor Museum before working for De Beers.

Roger Ketley: Company Secretary of De Beers SA, Ketley is now based in Johannesburg, but was stationed in Kimberley until the late in 2004. He is the key person in De Beers whom the project manager of the Big Hole project reports to. Ketley represents De Beers on the stakeholders meetings for the BHP. A Big Hole Trust is being revitalized to take managerial and financial responsibility for the BHP in the future. Ketley is facilitating the setting up of this Trust as well as its composition.

Brian Harkin: De Beers has employed this car showcase manager, who confesses that he is not knowledgeable of the history aspects of the museum, to head the Big Hole Project. On contract, Brian is responsible for driving the process through to the doors opening towards the end of 2005.

David Ramokgalela: David works in the legal division of De Beers in Kimberley and is currently tasked with considering options for the heritage status of the Big Hole precinct, as well as the how the mining legislation affects the Big Hole project and De Beers' mining operations, especially the retreatment of the mine dumps around the Big Hole.

Merwyn Ward: Company Secretary of De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ward has only recently taken over Ketley's position in Kimberley and is acquainting himself with the Big Hole project, as one of the De Beers' personnel who is tasked with attending stakeholders meetings.
David Noko: General Manager of Kimberley Mine, Noko also sits on the stakeholders meetings on behalf of De Beers.

Kimberley has other visitor attractions. The provincial McGregor Museum is situated in a large building that was a convent, in Egerton Street. At the moment the main McGregor Museum houses early Southern African history, an overview of the nineteenth century and a bit of the twentieth century history. Part of this building houses a collection of ethnographic photos by the photographer Duggan-Cronin, who used to work for De Beers as compound manager. This gallery is being revamped to house a broader range of photos and will not be strictly for ethnographic collections anymore.

In the centre of Kimberley is the original McGregor museum, the Alexander McGregor Memorial Museum, corner of Chapel and Du Toitspan Street. This is in a much smaller building and currently houses collections of fossils and geology, and more recently, a social history of Malay Camp, one of the early "non-white settlements" in Kimberley. This latter museum did not appear on the tourist maps available in Kimberley, at the time of this research.

I interviewed two people associated with the above museum(s):
Colin Fortune: curator of the McGregor Museums, Fortune has done research on the history and social conditions of black workers on the De Beers' mines.
David Morris: Archeologist working for McGregor Museums and other initiatives in the area such as the Rock Art museum at Wildebeestkuil, just outside Kimberley.

People who are closely involved with the BHP and are not De Beers' employees, who also merited interviews, were:
David Yuill, architect of the BHP external structures and a man who has been involved with the heritage of the Kimberly Mine for many years. He served on the National Monuments council and was part of the De Beers' team who did the

international best practice tour and drafted most of the concept documents on behalf of De Beers. These documents span approximately three years – there is a "Concept solution" dated February 2002, an undated "Project brief", a "Development concept and proposal" dated March 2003 and a "Museum/exhibition design call for proposals" dated April 2004. Broadly speaking, there are two interlinked sections planned for the new attraction: "Diamond Rush" is a commercial venue encompassing the original buildings of the old Kimberley Mine Museum and "Diamond World" will be a new attraction, telling the story of De Beers, the story of diamonds and provide access to the Big Hole.

Furneaux Stewart designers, the international partners linked to the winning bid, produced a final concept document for Diamond World on 4 November 2004.
Ken Brown, creative director for Furneaux Stewart, and his team have had to interpret the broad guidelines given to the designers in the concept documents. I interviewed Brown as well.

De Beers commissioned Grant Thornton THL Consulting (tourism, hospitality and leisure specialists) to do a market and product assessment for the Big Hole project concept. The report was released in March 2004.

Local museums that represent corporations, such as the "World of Beer" (South African Breweries) and the Dynamite Company Museum (AECI) were taken into account. A visit was made to the SAB museum and to Gold Reef City. The author has been to Pilgrim's Rest in previous years.

I have attempted to place my research in a global context, to display what trends and variations might be internationally in this field. Literature on the development of museums in general and particularly industrial sites of heritage and corporate museums has also been explored. Contact has been attempted with heritage personnel in the USA, UK, Australia and Mexico. Websites of corporate museums and sites that the De Beers team visited were also explored. On a best practice tour, a De Beers team visited Falun museum in Sweden, Colonial Williamsburg in the USA, Sovereign Hill Mine Museum in Ballarat, Australia, and the Coca Cola Museum in Atlanta, USA and Ironbridge Gorge near Birmingham, UK.

Interviews were conducted with various people involved in tourism and heritage in Kimberley, from tour guides to government personnel at provincial and local level:

Andrew Hall, director of Heritage in the province, has had to interact with De Beers in his current position and historically, as he was one of the people drafted the National Heritage Resources Act of 1999.
According to Hall, a large amount of the history of early Kimberley is contained in the De Beers archives. These are closed to the general public and many researchers feel access to the archives is very difficult to obtain. He raised the issue of what happens if De Beers decides to relocate their offices to London for instance. Would the De Beers archives go to London? The issue of corporate records here is crucial since: "In 1889 the municipal records of Kimberley were destroyed in a fire. Given that during its early history the areas of authority of the Municipality relative to De Beers were often indistinguishable and that De Beers decisions had great impact on the policies of the City Council, the possible relevance of the De Beers' archive as a source of information on the early history of the city and any interpretation thereof is more significant than it would have been had the disaster of 1889 not occurred" (Hall, 2004, pers.comm., 3 Dec). Hall and Fortune both mentioned the difficulty with gaining access to the De Beers' archives. I was taken to the De Beers archives by Ward, but told that access was according to "one establishing one's credibility". I had no reason for the purposes of this research to apply for use of the archives. The documents I perused very hastily include the original deeds of claims and the early survey maps of the diggings.

Also interviewed were Victor Morumo: director of tourism in the Sol Plaatje municipality, Sharon Lewis, CEO of Northern Cape Tourism and Janet Welsch, a local tour guide.

The South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) regional office was contacted but had no information forthcoming. Former township activist, Pakes Mokgetsi, now MEC of Economic Affairs in the Provincial government and a member of the BHP stakeholders committee, was interviewed.

As these interviews varied widely according to the person being interviewed, in terms of their knowledge and relationship to the project, it was impossible to draft a standard questionnaire**.** Questions were asked about the history of the museum, the reasons to overhaul it, the planned changes, overall message of the museum, the opportunities and threats involved in the plans, the broader environment of heritage developments in Kimberley and the message being projected. Questions fleshed out who the role players were, levels of decision – making (Financially, technically, content), time lines, stakeholders in different parts of the museum- making process, and the current and future marketing strategy. As far as the content of diplays were concerned, questions were asked about content and sources of displays, the role of education in the museum, role of entertainment, role of public relations, technology, commerce, tourism mediation of displays, the possibility of debate in displays and the target audience. Relationships between De Beers and the broader stakeholders in heritage regionally, attitude of De Beers' personnel to heritage, its corporate responsibility program and members of the community's views of De Beers current displays and future plans were investigated.

I undertook two trips to the site of the museum (March and April, 2004), and a further trip to Kimberley. A visit was also made to the Duggan-Cronin Museum, the McGregor Museum, the Alex McGregor Museum, the William Humphreys Art Gallery and Wildebeestuil Rock Art Centre, to get a sense of the role of De Beers in the area, regarding heritage and possible links with other institutions

A History of the Kimberley Mine Museum and the role of De Beers in making heritage

The Big Hole - silent testimony to the industrialization of South Africa

The Big Hole was the old Kimberley Mine, dating back to 1871.The digging in this area started soon after the diamond rush that followed "the discovery of the first diamond in 1866". It is not clear whether this was the first diamond discovered. Schaefer mentions a reference by F. Boyle in the latter's book *To the Cape for Diamonds – a story of digging experiences in South Africa* (1873) of an early missionary map drawn in about 1750 "which indicated that there were diamonds in the Northern Cape. (The map has never been found)" (Schaefer, undated. Collection of unpublished notes on the history of the diamond mines).

In this area the 1866 discovery took place. A diamond was brought to Hopetown by Jack O' Reilly, a trader, and because of its size and worth, it created a ripple of excitement through many parts of the Western world. Schalk van Niekerk had given it to O'Reilly to try and sell, after the Jacobs' family to whom he was selling his farm had given him the diamond. Apparently it had been found by one of the children on the farm – according to Schaefer it was probably the goatherd, and Jacobs, on a visit to the farm had seen them playing with the stone. When he had asked whether he could buy it, the mother had laughed and said he could have it. As news of the find spread, people flocked to South Africa and Kimberley became a Klondike. In the first two years, the local Black and Griqua tribes largely collected the diamonds from their lands and sold them to traders. Chiefs struggled to keep the prospective diggers from their lands however and individual Boer landowners experienced the same difficulty as their farms were rushed and claims were staked. By 1871 the largest diamond producing mines in the world had been established around Kimberley: De Beers mine, Kimberley mine, Du Toitspan mine, Bultfontein mine and Jagersfontein mine. Kimberley mine had started off as a hill, Colesburg Kopje, but had rapidly turned into a hole, as the diggers dug deeper and deeper into their claims, exploiting the

Kimberlite pipe (Schaefer undated. Collection of unpublished notes on the history of the diamond mines).

In the early days, Kimberley diggers laid down a series of laws, "Diggers' democracy", which limited each digger to two claims. Black and White claim owners worked side by side. After the Black Flag Rebellion in 1873 however, this changed, and wealthier miners bought the claims of poorer diggers, who became labourers, working the deepening holes. Supply of labour to the mines was slow at first, but eventually was facilitated through the dispossession of Black people from their land through conquest, the introduction of taxes to force Blacks to earn wages and the lure of wages for cash to procure guns so that tribes could protect themselves from further attack and dispossession. By 1873, approximately 30 000 Basotho had been forced under the twin pressures of dispossession and taxation to seek work outside Basutholand and especially on the Kimberley mines (Innes, 1984). Shillington (1985) has covered extensively the wars for land, and control of this region, that ensued. In 1888, De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd bought up the last remaining rivals or established a significant share in their operations and started a policy of tight labour control through compounds and contracts, supported by the state laws of passes and taxation. It also successfully manipulated the diamond market with its monopoly. Today, De Beers is still the biggest producer of diamonds in the world and continues to manage the supply of diamonds to world markets.

The Kimberley Mine lasted as an operational affair, until 1914 when it closed.

The evolution of a Museum and its transformation:

About ten years ago, De Beers started researching the viability of upgrading the Kimberley Mine Museum, situated adjacent to the Big Hole, in Kimberley.

The diamond giant is in ownership of this museum, by default, on the site of the world's biggest diamond rush, and consequently the biggest man made hole (22,5 million metric tons of ground were excavated to produce 2722kg of diamonds). Over decades the city fathers of Kimberley had approached De Beers with concern about

one or other historic building that was threatened with demolition by new developments taking place in the town. The response from the diamond house was "stick the old building next to the Big Hole"(Schaefer 2002, pers. comm. 28 April).

People in Kimberley regarded the Big Hole as a place to come and picnic, and according to Schaefer, in the 1960s the sole entertainment was buying a rock from a local with a wheelbarrow full of rocks – to throw down the Hole and wait for the splash! (40% of the Hole is now covered by water). In the 1960s the Big Hole was apparently the second biggest tourist attraction in South Africa aside from the Cango Caves (Ward 2004, pers. comm., 29 Nov.).

As the buildings arrived from the City Fathers, they were placed in a line, next to the Hole, without any thought of chronology. A retired De Beers public relations official managed the collection. People began to show an interest in the buildings and in 1968, William Humphreys, a local collector in Kimberley, became the first curator, donating a lot of his collection into the buildings. People of the town responded by donating memorabilia and the site grew into a museum. De Beers had become a custodian of local heritage by default. People began to pay to see the collection, which had few labels and no catalogue. In 1971, De Beers had a stand at the "Rand Easter Show", in Johannesburg, where it had a display of diamonds in a hall. After the show, according to Schaefer, someone in the De Beers' hierarchy felt it would be a good idea to have a replica of the hall at the Kimberley Mine Museum, thus Diamond Hall was constructed boasting a unique assortment of cut and uncut diamonds and jewellery, in the midst of the historic buildings. While some original buildings were moved from Kimberley town centre or suburbs to the museum site, replicas of others were constructed. By the time of the Kimberley centenary in July, 1971, De Beers felt it was in possession of a valuable site displaying Kimberley's heritage (Schaefer 2004, pers. comm., 28 April).

The old Kimberley Mine Museum was a collection that had a surprise around every corner: One street housed the "Director's Coach" a special railway coach built for De Beers in Chicago in 1897. Including a bathroom and wine store, "its landed cost was two thousand, six hundred and fifty pounds". Opposite it was a prefabricated home imported from England in 1877, nearby to a replica of one of the 128 pubs, which

flourished in Kimberley in early times. In close proximity was Sir David Harris's ballroom, a "gracious building erected in 1901 in the garden of Colonel Sir David Harris' home" (tour guide pamphlet for Kimberley Mine Museum).

All the memorabilia dated back before 1914 in the museum, which attracted on average 85 000 people a year. There were certain attractions for children such as Gemstone Kopje where one could have a go at sorting gravel and looking for mock diamonds, or one could try one's hand at the skittle alley. School groups used to be taken regularly to the museum until 1999, when school tours were greatly diminished, as the Mining museum was not seen as relevant to the syllabus. Roughly 60 000 schoolchildren visited in 1998 and only 8 307 in 1999 (Schaefer 2004, pers. comm., 28 April).

Many of the museum employees are ex-mine personnel or contractors. Schaefer is a historian and has been in the position since the 1970s. Schaefer was responsible for compiling a catalogue of all the collections and creating a sense of order out of the donations. There was still however, a sense of self guided discovery. On a visit to the museum in April 2004, the overall impression was of a rambling, quaint site, with treasures to be found amongst the conglomeration of structures and artefacts. In the little guide booklet purchased from the cantankerous old man at the entrance, the introduction states "welcome to the Kimberley Mine Museum. The exhibits here are self-explanatory. Please feel free to stroll around and absorb the atmosphere of the past. Enjoy creating in your imagination the hardships and excitement of the people who brought about the birth of South Africa's impressive industrial growth". The booklet, in English and Afrikaans, has a map of the site with a key, and one paragraph or line on each building.

Signage was almost non-existent and on this first visit in April, I had to ask a worker where the actual Big Hole was. It is labelled Kimberley Mine in the booklet, yet tourist signs in the streets of Kimberley point to the Big Hole. To view the actual Big Hole, the visitor walked into a caged off corridor that overlooks the Hole. There was no text here about the Hole, or photos of how it looked when it was being mined. Some of this information was present in the Mining Hall. To the right of the cage

were some coco pans, filled with glass symbolizing the number of diamonds retrieved from the Big Hole in its entire history: 2 722kg of diamonds.

In a room titled "Barnato's Boxing Academy", was a letter, posted unobtrusively on the wall behind the door. It was from an ex-student of Lovedale College writing to his ex-teacher and thanking him for a reference he provided to the mine personnel, from whom the student obtained a job. He described the different Black groups that were present in the mines around Kimberley, especially the Basotho, "who are there to buy guns". No explanation of this letter was given, just as no explanation was given of the artist Philip Bawcombe, whose work on historic and modern Kimberley, was displayed in a building nearby. In fact the letter was from Gwayi Tyamzashe, who became a good friend of Sol Plaatje and in 1885 was the last Black claimholder on the diamond fields (Schaefer undated. Collection of unpublished notes on the history of the diamond mines).

Here, as in the old curiosity cabinets of the 17th and 18th century, objects dominated, as opposed to text. The object or text is the artefact and in its authenticity speaks for itself, with no deconstruction or contextualisation.

Post 1992 transformation of old museum

The Kimberley Museum, whilst preserving a certain amount of valuable heritage of the early days of this town, could not sustain itself. De Beers had to subsidise the museum. This almost led to its demise. According to Roger Ketley, Company Secretary for De Beers SA, he came to be responsible for the Museum in 1992, when De Beers was facing a tough financial period. The following brief summary of the history of the Museum post 1992 derives from Ketley (2004, pers. comm. 25 Nov.): In 1992 there was a downturn in diamonds and major retrenchments. It was felt the Big Hole Museum was a financial drag and one of the directors felt it should be given to the McGregor Museum, the local Provincial Museum in Kimberley. But in the end it was decided to cut costs and staff and keep it. De Beers' pensioners were employed at a low cost; there was low cost marketing and low maintenance. The museum deteriorated. David Yuill, an architect and a member of the National Monuments

Council in Kimberley and Ted Sweetnam (an ex-de Beer legal employee) had decided to try and bring commercial interest to the Big Hole earlier but with little success. In 1992 De Beers decided to involve AMPROS, the Anglo American Property Services. This company felt there was money to be made out of the project and decided to lease the lot opposite the entrance to the museum, from the municipality. Later it negotiated an exchange of land on behalf of De Beers – the 9ha opposite was exchanged for 20 ha that De Beers owned elsewhere. There was a caravan park on the 9ha and this was leased back to the municipality. In 1994, with the change in government, Kimberley was allocated a casino license and the hope was to win this and build a casino on the vacant plot with shops and restaurants adjoining. However, the license was allocated to the golf club and with new malls being built around town it was felt the business opportunity was lost. There had been a lot of hype and expectations were high from politicians and the broader population. AMPROS withdrew and De Beers decided to focus on the revamping of the Museum as a world-class attraction.

Thus, the museum, originally founded with the task of ad hoc preservation, housing collections from townsfolk and based on De Beers' financial philanthropy, became the object of a serious project to not only preserve, but to become a generator of income and a major tourist attraction in a region that is not only beleaguered with high unemployment but facing further economic demise as the remaining De Beers' mines face closure.

Heritage and Urban regeneration: De Beers and the Arts

Business in Kimberley has long been associated with the art of exhibition, heritage and display. In 1891 a group of influential Kimberley businessmen, including De Beers' personnel, decided that the flagging economy of Kimberley would benefit from an exhibition that would focus attention on the economic potential of South Africa in general, and Kimberley in particular. Their hard work culminated in the opening, on the 8th September 1892, of the first international exhibition to be held in South Africa, in Kimberley.

For three weeks life in Kimberley, the "precocious young mining centre", focused on this "British Empire and International Exhibition" (McGregor Museum, 1992 *The 1892 South African and International Exhibition)*. Weekly reports appeared in *The Independent* and visitors streamed into Kimberley. Although the event did not generate money but was left with a debt (which was settled by Cecil John Rhodes) the exhibition contributed towards pulling people out of the depression of financial instability by focusing on the economic potential of the country (McGregor Museum, 1992 *The 1892 South African and International Exhibition)*. One of the key issues here is that the event, a business venture, incorporated the arts and was initiated by business, not government. The 1892 Exhibition concentrated on the old and new, with displays from museums alongside those of some 27 businesses. This highlights the first representation of Kimberley by business, and the sidelining of the indigenous population, in keeping with exhibitions of the times.

Business held centre stage with sideshow curiosities such as ethnographical displays and entertainment surrounding it. The main displays were thus western tools of production, ranging from agriculture to mining to home industry and electrical goods. There were fine arts and music on display as well. A Kaffrarian section is mentioned, in the supplement produced for the exhibition (McGregor Museum, 1992 *The 1892 South African and International Exhibition)* but no list of exhibits is attached for this in the list of displays. There was also a Natural History and Science section, containing the native "curiosities" such as Bushmen paintings alongside tortoise shells, "old arms taken from natives" – I presume that this refers to guns (!) and a "stone slab bearing a footprint of some gigantic Antediluvian God". These indigenous artefacts were separated from the western displays and art galleries, placing the indigenous art with natural wildlife, to emphasize the white race having achieved a superior culture.

In Kimberley, once again, De Beers is trying to stage a heritage event, which is really a business venture, to attract the eyes of the world back to this region, through the revamping of its museum. Between the original Exhibition and now, Kimberley has been an important place as the home of De Beers, the diamond giant. It has been the place of diamond mines, producing a large proportion of the wealth of this corporation and contributing in revenue to the State and creating the majority of jobs

in Kimberley and attracting service industries to the region. Until recently there have been five active mines in the area. However, two have closed down and the remaining three are winding down operations, according to Ketley (2004, pers. comm. 28 Nov).

There is a sense of the importance of Kimberley having to reinvent itself as the output of the mines declines. The diamond mining infrastructure and the history it represents is crucial in this. "Once sites, buildings, objects, technologies, or ways of life can no longer sustain themselves as they formerly did, they 'survive' – they are made economically viable – as representations of themselves" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998: 151).

De Beers hopes that the Kimberley Mine museum will provide a way of the corporation leaving a lasting legacy to Kimberley and hopefully generating some interest for tourists in the area, bringing an alternative form of income to the region (Ketley 2004, pers. comm., 28 Nov.). In addition to this, De Beers has also invested in a combined treatment plant to reprocess the old dumps in the area. This was launched in August 2004.

According to Schaefer (Schaefer 2004, pers. comm., 28 April), there was a famous saying, "Rhodes is De Beers and De Beers is Kimberley". One might feel the latter part of this saying is true even today in terms of the economy of Kimberley, which relies so heavily on diamonds, but it is also felt in other ways. With regard to the Arts, De Beers seems to be patron of the town. The William Humphreys Art gallery, a national art gallery, stores rich treasures of South African artists – over 60% of these paintings are owned by De Beers, according to one of the guides (visit to William Humphreys Art gallery, April 2004). This patronage also gives the corporation a great deal of power in decision-making. De Beers sits on the board of the Art Gallery. In 1998 the Art Gallery board took the Provincial Minister of Arts and Culture to court to prevent the William Humphreys Art Gallery's status changing from a national to a provincial gallery. The Arts and Culture White Paper had recommended that the national art gallery become a provincial gallery. De Beers felt the province did not have the competency. (Hall 2004, pers.comm., 30 November).

De Beers donated the building that houses the Duggan Cronin collection in the McGregor Museum: Arthur Duggan-Cronin took these world famous photos when he was a compound manager on one of the De Beers' mines and followed the workers home to their places of origin. De Beers has also recently paid for a special room to be built to store the fragile glass plated negatives of this collection. (Fortune 2004, pers.comm., 26 April). This donation was R1 million. De Beers donated video equipment in the provincial McGregor museum and in the San Rock Art Centre at Wildebeestkuil. Each year the corporation donates about R500 000 to arts and culture in the province (Hall 2004, pers. comm. 30 Nov).

There is therefore a sense in the city of a paternal, if somewhat patriarchal, grandfather. However things need to change according to Brian Harkin, project manager of the new De Beers attraction. If mining operations are drying up, and the revamping of the museum is to take place, it has to be self-sufficient in the long run, and not subsidized, as the current museum is (the shortfall in 2002 was R886 192.00). The stakeholders in the town of Kimberley will have to become involved in a responsible way and take some of the risk, along with De Beers (Harkin 2004, pers. comm., 25 April).

Kimberley: Local economics and demographics and tourist profile.

Kimberley is situated in the Northern Cape, the county's largest province by area, housing 8,1 million residents. In 2001, 44% of economically active people in the Northern Cape were unemployed. The economy of the Northern Cape is the smallest out of all nine provinces and is based largely on services the city delivers to its hinterland. The population of Kimberley is approximately 201 464 according to the 2001 census - 52% are Africans, 14% are whites, coloureds are 31% and Indians 1%. (Statistics SA in Grant Thornton, 2004: 9).

Kimberley has strong rail and road networks and there is air travel to Johannesburg and Cape Town on a daily basis. However, it is not a popular destination for tourists According to SA Tourism research, 4% of all visitors to SA visited the Northern Cape – the lowest foreign visitation level of any province and represents 257 200 visitors

out of a total of 6.4 million. 73 % of these Northern Cape visitors were "cross border arrivals", rather than by air. 18% are from Namibia, 14% from the Netherlands, 12 % from Germany 9% from Canada and 7% from Sweden. 4% are from the UK, Japan and Italy, respectively. Foreign visitors visiting the Northern Cape spent on average 3,2 days in the Province. The Northern Cape only received 3% of the country's domestic tourists, with 19% of these coming from Gauteng, 19% from the Eastern Cape and 21% from the Western Cape. (Grant Thornton: 2004: 22-25).

The Northern Cape Department of Economic Affairs and Tourism has recently commissioned the development of a Tourism Master Plan for the Northern Cape (Lewis, S. 2004, pers.comm., 1 Dec.). Until now any tourism development activities have been largely ad-hoc. Within the portfolio of the province, Kimberley is the only City. Of all the tourist attractions tracked by the N Cape Tourism Authority, the Big Hole Mine and Museum in Kimberley is the most visited, with some 84 000 visitors in 2003 compared to 58 000 at Augrabies National Park and 25 000 to the Kgalagadi National Park (Grant Thornton 2004: 28).

Kimberley is not a tourist destination per se, more a stop over to some other destination. There is very limited tourism to Kimberley as a destination in its own right. Some tourism takes place to surrounding areas for hunting or adventure activities, and there are tourist attractions in Kimberley besides the Big Hole and Kimberley Mine Museum – rock art sites, old mining sites, battlefields, art galleries monuments and game farms. The Big Hole is thus a possible node in a broader network of attractions. Kimberley tourist attractions share a common thread in their historical and cultural backgrounds, and any increase in attendance in the Kimberley Mine Museum will benefit other attractions.

Trip operators interviewed in the Grant Thornton study believe there is little or no marketing done in respect of Kimberley and its biggest attraction, the Big Hole. The private tourism sector has thus formed Kimberley Publicity to promote Kimberley nationally and internationally. Tour operators feel better co-operation is necessary between various stakeholders and would like to be consulted as they deal with the tourists on a daily basis. According to tour operators interviewed, the most popular tours (Belgravia Historical tour, Great Kimberley North Tour, Ghost tours and

Galeshewe township tour) – all include the Big Hole. They felt the authenticity of the museum should remain (Grant Thornton, 2004: 18-32).

Janet Welsch, a local tour guide states that many of the foreign tourists coming through Kimberley want to know about the development of Kimberley, the history of Kimberley generally and how mining shaped the history. She says a lot of Scandanavians want to know about the social conditions of the miners and a number of overseas tourists also want to know about the impact of Britain on the area (Welsch 2004, pers.comm., 29 Nov).

Grant Thornton did an assessment of the competition to the Big Hole in terms of industrial or mining attractions. According to the report, within South Africa, in terms of mining and open historical/museum experience, Pilgrims Rest is probably the only potential direct competition to Kimberley, while Gold Reef City, although it offers some similar experiences, is generally seen more as a family fun theme park than a mining museum experience and is much more commercial in people's minds. Cullinan is also a strong competitor for a diamond and historic town experience. Pilgrims Rest is on Kruger Park route and Mpumalanga escarpment, whilst Kimberley is en route to Cape Town from Johannesburg. There is a view that Kimberley and the Big Hole can be advertised as a once in a life time experience as a key part of this country's history, whilst Cullinan and Gold Reef City's attractions are not once in a lifetime but gain mainly because of their location to Gauteng (Grant Thornton, 2004: 34-53). Thus, the uniqueness of the Big Hole and its history is a favourable point for Kimberley's place marketing.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett speaks of the need to make a destination unique, in order to attract tourists. As museums increasingly have to compete with destinations that are seen as more exciting, the need to offer experiences, thus being more active than passive, is pressing. The result of this is to focus on the visitors more than the artefacts: "Such critics note a decline in the 'museum product', as museums move away from object-based museum services to the contextual approach advocated by the 'New Museology'. This move, as they see it, does not just take objects out of the spotlight, but also removes them from the gallery. It emphasises education and visitor services, at the expense of curatorial research based on museum collections"

(Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998: 136). This tension is seen throughout the process of creating the new attraction and in choices of displays and content.

Kimberley at present has to compete as a stopover rather than as an attraction. According to the Grant Thornton report, virtually no one is choosing Kimberley as a destination in its own right and most visitors are passing through and do not stay long. There is a need to market Kimberley better as a weekend and short holiday destination for the Gauteng market. For foreign visitors, Kimberley has to be marketed as the most unique, unparalleled SA mining, historic and diamond attraction, even though it is further from Gauteng than the Cullinan Diamond Mine or Gold Reef City (Grant Thornton, 2004: 53).

Industrial and corporate museums and the commodification of heritage

A need for representation of our industrial past

Two minerals; gold and diamonds, broadly shaped South Africa's industrial past. In the mining of diamonds and later gold, the need for labour dominated the creation of laws that impacted on the social patterns of our society for over one hundred years. These laws determined where people lived, the wages they received, the health care and basic services and dignity afforded to people from their time of birth to how and where they were buried. Yet in neither industry do we have the social history portrayed in a museum that will ensure that this aspect of our past is not forgotten and that tribute is paid to the diverse people who built the wealth of South Africa.

De Beers has played a role in creating a large part of the heritage of Kimberley, and has made a resounding impact on the economic heritage of South Africa as a whole. Many communities, both black and white, would have had ancestors that spent part of their lives on the diggings in and around Kimberley, and the ensuing industrialization brought about immense social, political and economic change to our country. Their experiences would have been miserable or successful, depending on luck at the diggings and later, and on which side of the colour bar they were born.

The legacy of De Beers itself also has many angles, depending on whose experience it is viewed through, and there are therefore potentially debates and discourses that could be among the representations displayed. De Beers as a corporation has also undergone changes in the broader context of political change in South Africa. These changes may impact on the project and how De Beers wishes to be reflected in the museum.

The transformation of this Kimberley Mine museum presents an opportunity to represent and give insight into our industrial history. How the members of The Big Hole project deal with these opportunities will provide helpful precedents or lessons to be learnt from, as they grapple with options ranging from purely a focus on the

product and the corporation that controls the product to including a representation of the story of the lives of the diggers and the communities they hailed from. There are many forces and constraints that the corporation will face in considering these options and it is therefore necessary to take these into consideration in order to understand the decisions that might be made. Once part of a story is told, however, and educational groups are brought through the attraction, the impression is created of history and if the social history of the workers is not told, bias will be through omission. Schaefer feels that the space for telling the history is very small and that bias through omission is inevitable (Schaefer 2004, pers.comm., 30 Nov.). "Heritage is produced through a process that forecloses what is shown…paradoxically, remembering is a prelude to forgetting…' (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998: 159).

Krige (2002) and Davison (1999) both describe the role of historians in museums, - in South Africa, showing this to be a recent phenomenon. Lane echoes this in the case of the USA, particularly with regard to industrial heritage: "A generation ago, many scholars within the profession contemptuously referred to the contents of social history as 'pots and pans' and disparaged local history as the preserve of geneologists and antiquarians ……now all that has changed". He speaks of the influence of English historian H.P.R. Finberg's image of the world as a series of concentric circles, "starting with the family and the close at hand community and extending out to the national state and supranational society" and comments that "a growing number of historians are finding industrial heritage museums to be excellent venues for the work of the inner rings" (Lane 1993: 2). Lane does warn however of the tension that occurs when urban renewal and heritage combine, quoting Michael Frisch, "history as a tool of civic revitalization is not history in necessarily reliable hands" (Lane 1993: 2). Witz (1999), Schlereth (2004) and Kavanagh (2004) highlight the way in which in public displays, history is clipped to become heritage - palatable and often unquestioning. Schaefer feels there is still a long process to go through until the final displays are done, but that initially, the story that will be told will be very basic (Schaefer 2004, pers.comm., 30 Nov.).

Theory and discourse on museums of industrial heritage or corporate museums.

In the sixties and seventies, museums attempted to be more integrated and representative of different cultures and the environment (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2002). In most of the new museums, there was an emphasis on cultural heritage, with a burgeoning in the numbers of museums in the last twenty years, including industrial history sites. The rise of industrial museums and industrial heritage sites has created a new identity for former industrial sites through commemoration, commodification and consumption. Far from being benign, these processes "are often agents of a contested heritage discourse, producing landscapes that some authors describe as 'bogus history'" (Summerby-Murray, 2002:2).

Workplaces have internationally been turned into "places of curiosity" and heritage and are attracting tourists. In the UK old workhouses, mines and mills are popular heritage spots, having reinvented themselves (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998). For those tourists who are interested in heritage, heritage tourism is seen as intelligent tourism and complementary to sustainable tourism. However, the simplifying of content and commercialisation and falsification of crafts leads to this form of tourism not being green or compatible with the principles of sustainable tourism at all. Swarbrooke notes that the growth of heritage tourism has often led to heritage content being changed and trivialised, to meet the needs of tourists, with tour guides wanting short inputs. He raises the ethical issue of what and whose heritage should be portrayed for tourists (Swarbrooke, 1994:226).

It is within this framework that the planned new De Beers mining attraction in Kimberley will possibly be assessed in future years. The consideration by senior De Beers' personnel that perhaps certain aspects of the social and labour history should be told but not in the De Beers' attraction (Ketley, Yuill and Harkin, 2004 pers. comm.) seems to be leading to an attraction without debate. Ketley admitted the tension between heritage and commerce was great in this project. Many museums have become big business, and they have begun employing professionals other than curators, including people skilled in business management, marketing, fundraising and design. One result is "the 'McGuggenheim effect', or emergence of the museum

as brand and franchise" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2002: 9). Harkin is clear that the attraction he is creating is for fun, since he feels this is what people want on a day out (Harkin 2004, pers. comm., date 25 April).

The pursuit of fun and authenticity

In the mid 1800s there was a debate whether or not collections might be separated into two parts: one for research purposes and the other for public display (Owen vs Gray, cited in Bennett: 42). This reflects the discussions at present in the De Beers' team, i.e. one option considered by some of the team at present is to display the fun/palatable history and have the other more serious information on computer for the scholar or researcher, or refer the latter to the Africana Library in Kimberley or to the museum curator (Schaefer, D. 2004, pers. comm., 30 Nov.). Yuill claims that research has shown that most visitors are there for a fun, light-hearted experience, lasting one hour. (Yuill 2004, pers. comm., 25 April).

Whilst Bennett (1995), describes the evolution of the modern museum; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2002), Hudson (2004) and Cameron (2000), amongst others, grapple with the defining features of a museum. Hudson quotes a director of a large art museum in France who retired saying she had been "trained to look after pictures", not to persuade people with money to give it to the museum" (Hudson, 89). The above authors, with Karp (1992), note the shift in museums internationally from education to audience appeasement. In the past, the museum existed because of its collections; today there is almost "the universal conviction that they exist to serve the public" (Hudson, 86). Berning and Dominy have summarized this move to entertainment rather than education in a museum as the move from "muse to amuse" (Berning and Dominy, 1992: 11).

When interviewing Harkin, this shift was clearly evident. In the first meeting with Harkin, on 15 April 2004, he was briefing prospective designers and was at pains to express the view that the new project was not a museum, but an attraction. He went as far as saying it was a relief that there were not too many artefacts as one could then do more with technology. Swarbrooke has postulated that in the future, " the distinctions between education and entertainment, and between authentic and non-authentic, and even the difference between light-hearted leisure and sensation-seeking and heritage

will become ever more blurred. This will happen partly because of the use of new technologies such as 'virtual reality' and the pressures on heritage institutions to become more entrepreneurial" (Swarbrooke, 1994:228).

Kros, when commenting on a paper she had given lamenting the omissions of social history from Gold Reef City, relates how a student responded that if the attraction had all the things Kros was listing- "suffering, and compounds and social tensions" that no one would want to attend the attraction because it would be too boring or too horrible, leaving Kros to muse that possibly her expectations were the "morbid nit-pickings of boring historians" (Kros, 1992:2-3). Speaking to De Beers' personnel, the importance of entertainment, fun and commerce has been featured in the conversations – not the need to tell the untold story; yet the need for authenticity has been part of these conversations too – and more than once I have been told, "this is not a Gold Reef City" (pers.comm.; Harkin, Ketley, Schaefer, Nov 2004). By this the implication is that the Kimberley Museum has been and that the Big Hole Project will be, more authentic. There are seeming contradictions in this discourse of De Beers' employees: on the one hand, the emphasis on fun and moving from a museum to an attraction is emphasized, yet in the same discussion, there is pride in the fact that the artefacts that do exist are authentic, and that the attraction will be more authentic than Gold Reef City. It seems the choice of facts to be displayed, will be fun and palatable, with omissions any morbid details; yet the facts chosen, will be lauded as authentic.

"Diamond Rush is where everyone will be able to take pride and learn something about the contribution their forebears made to the growth of Kimberley and the diamond industry", a De Beers Big Hole Project executive summary (2003) states. It goes on to say that good contents in a museum do not necessarily attract crowds and become successful… "The Big Hole Project has to be an attraction that incidentally includes good museum content… (but) for the existing museum to become a dynamic world class tourist facility it will need to distance itself from the traditional museum concept and become an 'attraction'… "this does not imply that traditional museological principles have to be abandoned, but rather that they have to be enhanced in order to create more than a museum and attract international tourists" Yuill, 2003: 7).

The executive summary states that all categories of visitors want:
-Ease of access
-A unique and memorable experience
-Comfort and hospitality
-Good communication with quality presentation
-Fun and interaction
-Good value for money

The development concept and proposal for the Big Hole Project (Yuill, 2003), like the design brief, is quite clinical. The actual content of the museum seems to be off the centre stage and has become quite a side issue. The report speaks about the intense competition for leisure time, including competition from theme parks and other attractions "which offered visitors a more entertaining and less intellectually demanding outing". It states that the electronic media have become an almost effortless route to entertainment and information, further reducing interest in museums. "It matters not that the competition is often museologically shallow or even corrupt in terms of the information it conveys." (Yuill, 2003: 11).
Swarbrooke on the other hand, notes that one of the reasons for the rapid growth in heritage tourism is "a growing desire amongst holidaymakers to learn something new whilst they are on holiday" (Swarbrooke, 1994:226).

Danilov (1994) has produced a directory of Corporate Museums, galleries and visitor centers in the USA. A review of this directory (Gross, 1994:2), states that their primary goal is to "enhance a company's image – not the preservation of objects for enjoyment and study by future generations, one of the distinguishing features of a museum". On a best practice tour, a De Beers team visited "The World of Coca Cola" in Atlanta, USA. This was an inspiration to the team (Yuill: 2003). Harris (1995:1) provides a critique of the Coca Cola attraction, finding no conflict in the mundane displays of history. "The world of Coca-Cola is one of a growing series of corporate museums stretching from the BMW Museum in Munich to Motorola's Museum of Electronics in suburban Chicago. Amply funded and handsomely designed, the best of them build upon popular awareness of their product advertising to represent entire periods, cultures, and industries through their commodities. Like museums of art and

natural history, corporate museums are selective and argumentative, but their aspirations are not necessarily more limited" (Harris, 1995: 154).

Harris found an institution housing "commercial production, civic benevolence and pedagogic influence, without tension or conflict, - except insofar as rivals or pretenders are concerned. Although some bottlers and distributors are described, there is little on those who work for the company…this is the museum as summer vacation, which, aside from having a commercial commodity at its centre, shows some of the pure spirit of self-celebration that the Wunderkammern and curiosity cabinets of centuries past possessed. Only now our most beloved exotica are mundane, and curiosity has been replaced by hedonism" (Harris, 1995:157-158).

There are few corporate museums in South Africa, but the Dynamite Company Museum (Modderfontein, Johannesburg) has been included in an article that looks at our industrial heritage and distinguishes between the different ways in which social history and corporate or traditional history is portrayed in a study of five museums. (Berning and Dominy, 1992). Berning and Dominy, who state that in the South African context, the cultural history museum has been given the responsibility of portraying our industrial past, acknowledge the scarcity of industrial museums. They state, however, that industrialization presents an opportunity for museums to portray the history of all South Africans.

Berning and Dominy reflect on the impact of the need in recent times to take on the role of showman and not of custodian of cultural heritage. The result for them is a negative one in terms of a contribution to society and they quote Lumley as warning "the museum then, that feeds off recycled nostalgia is not just to be criticized for its political and social function, but for impoverishing the culture and, therefore, our sense of human possibilities" (R. Lumley, in Berning and Dominy, 1992: 6).

Kros (1992) takes a look at the representation of the past through fun, at Gold Reef City. She explores how parts of this theme park attraction display a carefully selected history in the context of pleasure, with the result that visitors take the displays to be authentic, and therefore representative of an era whilst the negative effects of gold mining and the voices and experiences of many sectors of the population with regard

to this are not present. History, in this environment, has been sanitized to make it palatable to an adventure-seeking public, yet the owners are eager to attract educational institutions to the venue. There is no discourse in the museums at Gold Reef City however, and the students visiting in school trips will take away a lasting impression of the gold fields as exciting and fun, as portrayed on an educational outing. About the lack of debate she has to say, "Gold Reef City's past is a pleasant one, but it is also insidious – not just because we historians feel it lies about the past – but also because it encourages absolute passivity" (1992:7). She quotes Wallace's critique of certain American museums: "By obscuring the origins and development of capitalist society, by eradicating exploitation, racism, sexism and class struggle from the historical record, ….by rendering the majority of the population invisible as shapers of history, the museums inhibited the capacity of visitors to imagine social orders – past or future". (Kros, 1992:7).

Berning and Dominy(1992: 7) add their critique of Gold Reef City as a place that is big business, with live theatre and action drama besides the rides, to keep visitors amused, yet has taken on the task of preserving the material cultural remains of the Crown Gold Mine and the gold mining industry in South Africa.

> There is no doubt, however, that there are problems when those who have taken on the responsibility of portraying the past attempt to dress-up history. And the Gold Reef City headgear and mine shaft surrounded as it is by the razzmatazz of the funfair and the soporific bars…is not the right place to learn about South Africa's premier industry. Furthermore, it would be a very difficult venue to communicate the history of an industrialisation of South Africa based on the gold industry; no doubt a particularly ruthless and hard epoch for some people…it would be almost impolite to mention the migrant labour system and labour relations on the mines in this partial and imagined community of the past
>
> Berning and Dominy, 1992:7.

Yet it is this selective and nostalgic mix of history and entertainment that is the secret of Gold Reef City's success. While the commodity side dominates how the past is

made available to the visitor, in turn the importance of packaging and selling the past is clear. Tony Bennett has commented in his critique of a British social and industrial museum (Beamish) in a similar away: “the museum embodies, indeed is committed to, an institutionalised mode of amnesia” (Bennett in Berning and Dominy, 1992: 7).

The Big Hole Project will be seeking to attract school tours again, and the content of the attraction therefore will influence young minds about the past. Whether it will promote amnesia or assist children to understand what factors shaped their past, is yet to be seen.

Relationship and authority: conflict in museums.

Mabin (1994) has explored the representation of history in the Kimberley Mine and Pilgrims Rest Museums, highlighting the lack of social debate in the current museums and gaps in the material covered. While he applauds the preservation of the historical material and buildings on these sites, including the Pilgrims style of open compound, with huts built by the workers themselves, visible in the tour of the reduction works. “Both Kimberley and Pilgrims Rest, fascinating as they are, could be subjected to criticism for their failure to capture any degree of the forces of social change” (Mabin, 1994:36).

Mabin goes on to say that the version of history displayed in the two museums differs with certain academic accounts, which have been informed by oral history from the black communities involved in the development of these two mines. In addition to this, there are so many questions that are not answered for the academic mind, in the Kimberley Mine Museum, involving the historic order of the development of the mines, the geography of the place, and the train of events that left so many workers unemployed, among others. Similarly, in Pilgrims Rest, there is one account told and the different interpretations by other academics, and the struggles of the workers, are left unexplored.

> Perhaps the most obvious way of pointing to the gaps in the presentation of the past at the two museums is to make the point that, unfortunately, the built environment of the present has come to contradict the built environment of the

> past. One of the major features of both Pilgrims Rest and Kimberley was the compounds, which housed so many people at work over the decades from the 1880s to much more recently. These central institutions of South African society have largely been removed from the sight of visitors to both towns…the demolition of the compound is symbolic of the removal of people who lived in them. But what can be learnt from the historiography which addresses these matters, and which is not yet absorbed in these museums?
>
> Mabin, 1994:36

Mabin goes on to point out that understanding conflicts, strikes, forced removals, pass laws and the strict division of the labour force helps us understand how our cities have been made. In looking at possibilities for the future, he postulates the differences that could be the result of a new management structure of the museum were it to include representatives of communities long excluded from all forms of decision making in Kimberley: "What effects would flow from the presence in museum governance of community representatives from Floors Township …and from Galeshewe…Could the Kimberley Mine Museum pursue this route and become a new model for museum governance?" (Mabin, 1994:37). Mabin muses that it would not be enough to stick the history of black workers alongside the story of white workers, rather it would be important to show the complexities of relationships, to understand the rises and falls of both groups in our society.

Lane records how the company museum that existed in the USA for most of the twentieth century focused on industrial objects, processes and entrepreneurs. This changed dramatically since 1976, to a focus on the "universe of the working class: its culture and cultural creativity, its forms of economic and, to a lesser degree, political organization" (Lane, 1993:3). This does not emerge in Yuill's reference to sites visited in the best practice tour (Yuill, 2003: 19-20), rather, the communication media that will "assist in telling the message" is emphasized.

De Beers is not the State, neither is the Big Hole Project initiated by government funding, and therefore different public voices may have lesser impact than in a state museum. The corporate image of the diamond giant is important in this project, according to proposals, as

is the image of Coke in the Atlanta museum. How much the project will take dissenting voices within the public into account is questionable. However, heritage, or history, is not static, and there is always a need for debate and dialogue, in order to allow as many voices from the past to be heard, for them to impact on the present.

Hamilton argues that museums should not be chameleons that merely change their colour to reflect new political alignments – instead they should become forums in which images/representations are contested. Museums should initiate debates rather than try to authenticate or sanction the outcomes of old debates (cited in Witz, 1999:20). When I raised the issue of having debate in the museum, based on the excellent research done by the current curator that allows for debate, I was told this is not a museum that seeks debate; it is a visitor attraction (Ketley 2004, pers. comm., 25 Nov).

Berning and Dominy found that the corporate museum of AECI, the Dynamite Company Museum, in Modderfontein, was the only museum out of the five they studied, to have a clear statement of its intention (in its brochure). This is to chronicle the technical history of AECI as a producer of explosives and chemicals, to provide a social commentary and insight into world famous figures who had a hand in shaping the destiny of South Africa, as well as to give background to black employees from the four corners of the sub-continent who have made a great contribution to the Company's success story. There is also an educational aim and an aim to be a resource to researchers of South African history (from the Dynamite Company Museum brochure, in Bennett in Berning and Dominy, 1992: 11). Although this was part of their commendation of the museum, the information was lacking in debate and not integrated, for overall, their criticism of South Africa's museums tackling the theme of industrialization, is that they have missed an opportunity to appeal to a broad spectrum of the public: "the museums were content to exhibit the object as a collected item and not analyse the social, economic and political context of it" (Berning and Dominy, 1992: 11).

Diane Peapus, currently setting up a corporate museum for Cobleskill Stone Products Inc, in the USA, is facing the tension of community expectations regarding displays showing the detrimental environmental effects the quarry had in the area that the Cave

House Museum of Mining and Geology is built in, versus the mining house's expectations of the displays showing the positive economic effects of mining in the area. (Peapus 2004, pers. comm., 12 June). This conflict over what history to display, according to different interest groups is very relevant to the Big Hole Project.

Following Karp (1992), this research report treats museums like exhibitions – as political arenas in which definitions of identity and culture are asserted and contested. This is true of both the existing Kimberley Mine Museum and the proposed Big Hole Project, where the identity of the De Beers corporate culture is projected through the history of Kimberley and diamond mining.

Karp (1992) and Kratz (2002) explore the shifting hegemonies in society and the resulting effect on museums, with the latter arguing that the politics of representation is not singular, static, or even and the audience's responses will vary vastly too and change over time while Cameron (2000:5) describes museums as mechanisms for maintaining cultural integrity as promoted by those in authority, including the corporate museum- as helping maintain the integrity of the consumer society. It seems that the latter view is reflected in the opinion of Ketley and Harkin (2004, pers. comm., November)– i.e. that the BHP should provide the customer or family with a fun day out and an "authentic, positive view of the history of diamond mining", whilst Schaefer's view is more farseeing possibly, as he feels there will be a reaction to the absence of certain parts of the history and that certain consumers will therefore lobby for and achieve change over time (Schaefer 2004, pers.comm., 28 April).In my first interview with him (April, 2004), he dryly said that all the history needs to be displayed but he did not know when it would finally be. "Probably not in my time, but it will come out". He then said one would probably see displays go up, come down and later come up again as De Beers realizes that the response has not been too negative. "It is like a stripper – when one anticipates the taking off of the clothes, there is much anticipation. When the clothes are off, one gets used to it and barely notices". He did say that there was another problem: a few years ago he had showed a pile of photos of the workers on the early diggings to a wide range of Black people of varied backgrounds and asked them their opinion on displaying these images. According to him, the response was they did not want their ancestors displayed as naked savages or servile (Schaefer 2004, pers. comm., 28 April).

Swarbrooke argues that in the years to come, the concept of what constitutes heritage may well change in response to political, social and cultural developments around the world. Some of these developments may be an increase in popular culture through the influence of the media; consumer driven tourism; or minority groups may be given more prominence in an attempt to redress past injustices and because of the influence of community tourism .The result of the latter could be that heritage tourism could become more a focus of political controversy than the "cosy neutral subject it has been" (Swarbrooke 1994:228).

The PA to the MEC for tourism, Les Abrahams, said in a telephone conversation (15 Dec.2004) that he felt the Big Hole Project was a partnership and that as such the whole history besides the history of De Beers should be told and that it will slowly be told, as the partners get more involved in the project. He said that already De Beers had to change the composition of the Big Hole Trust, and that this would have ramifications. The MEC of Tourism, according to Abrahams, recently held a press conference where he made it clear that he expected the 'whole story' to be told, in the Big Hole Project (Abrahams 2004, pers. comm., 15 Dec). Just what is meant by the "whole story" will only become apparent as this process goes further. What is intimated however is that there is an untold or suppressed story, and this needs to be told. There is not only the issue of telling a story however, but how it is told and by whom. The design teams are in the process of employing a researcher who will draft the text for displays. It is not yet known what the vetting process will be, before the text appears in exhibits.

Kros, noting the evolution of a miner's house, Hosken house, at Gold Reef City from a "living museum" to an Arts gallery filled with an eclectic mix of art including stuffed animals and masks, expresses the lost opportunity of presenting information that would have allowed visitors to feel a connection with their ancestors and the day-to-day life style of the period and class. She then relates this to the living museum in Ironbridge Gorge, the "cradle of the Industrial Revolution" near Birmingham, in the United Kingdom. This is peopled by workers who are really working and resourced by audio tapes that tell of the ordinary details of everyday life, from religion to toilets to rodents and insects, while "Often implicit, but also at times, waiting in monstrous,

shadowy wait, is the Pit" (Kros 1992:5). Kros does acknowledge that there is no debate or conflict in Ironbridge, despite the displays of social history. Summerby-Murray quotes Barthel as noting that industrialisation "was a dirty, smelly, dangerous affair", complicated by inequality, yet industrial processes in places like Ironbridge and the Du Pont Rolling Mills of the Hagley Museum in Delaware have been romanticised and sanitised to the point of becoming non-industrial (Barthel in Summerby-Murray 2002:5). However, Summerby –Murray acknowledges that because many heritage landscapes provide economic development for a town, rather than celebrating diversity, the selection of material to represent the past is often comforting and non-confrontational, in order to appease the consumer (Summerby-Murray 2002:5).

De Gorgas (2004) and Braque (Barre: 1999) raise the issue of the object in a museum having no intrinsic value, rather being defined instead by its relationship with humankind, which attributes different values to it. The silent Big Hole is testimony to labour and human initiative, a relatively untold story in the museum, apart from a 'few great white men'. De Beers is owner of the land and buildings, but it does not own these intangible relationships, memories that are embedded in the minds of some members of our community in South Africa, through folklore, oral history, and songs and poetry. The latter are deemed an important part of our heritage by the South African Heritage Act of 1999. De Beers does have thousands of photographs and letters, documents of this section of the population's relationship with the area (Yuill 2004, pers. comm., 25 April), and the present curators of the Kimberley Mine Museum and the provincial McGregor Museum have done extensive research on the lives of workers on the diamond mines and different forces that brought so many of these individuals to the diggings.

According to Victor Morumo, (2004, pers. comm., 1 Dec) the Big Hole's current museum complex is Euro-centric and there is a need now for an Afro-centric attraction. Recently he was in London for a tourism exhibition, which ended with two days of workshops, where one had to market one's region for travel agents who then critiqued one's promotion. He said when he described the Big Hole attraction there were responses of "What about the other story? Where is the story of the indigenous people in the Big Hole attraction?"

Place Marketing and Responsible Tourism

According to Morumo, people want to be educated as well as entertained. There is also a need to link the Big Hole to other local products in the pipeline, such as the R12 million Galeshewe 2 Project, which will include tours of the township. He feels the township tours will have to piggyback on De Beers Big Hole attraction originally; that there will need to be package tours that combine the two. The Galeshewe project will, according to Morumo, be a combination of Heritage, History and Culture. One of the tours planned is a Mining tour that talks of Galeshewe housing. 80% of the labour that dug the Big Hole shows the vestiges of the compound system in the township and ends at the Big Hole itself (Morumo and Lewis 2004, pers. comm., 1 Dec).

Currently there is no shared marketing strategy – Morumo has heard that De Beers plans to spend R1 million on marketing a year, but how this will fit in with the broader marketing strategies of the local council remains to be seen and discussed. When I asked him what he felt about the possibility of the social history of the Big Hole being placed in the McGregor Museum[1], he said maybe this was a way of making the other stakeholders pay for some of the displays and that without touching on the whole story of who dug the Hole, the story of the Big Hole at the actual site could be rather cosmetic (Morumo 2004 pers. comm., Nov).

Sharon Lewis, CEO of Northern Cape tourism, says that the Big Hole is one of the top four sites visited in the Northern Cape. The aim is to keep visitors longer at this site so that they will spend more. Her department was very supportive of the Big Hole project when they were initially consulted. She and De Beers have been involved in a N12 promotion, to get people to use this route via Kimberley, from Johannesburg to Cape Town.She feels very strongly that the story at the Big Hole should tell of the social history of the workers. “So if De Beers does not tell the true story of the workers, we will”. When asked whether she felt tourists would rather see glitz than the negative side of the history, she said, “The social history will not depress people,

[1] This possibility is discussed in chapter three, page 44.

but bring more tourists. People want to see how human hands dug that hole. The essence of the existing mine is based on labour" (Lewis 2004, pers. comm., 30 Nov.).

It is hoped, from projected forecasts, that there will be an economic turn around by 2005. Proceeds from the sale or development of an adjoining site is expected to bolster development funds, as well as income generated from the project, and contributions from local and provincial government. De Beers sees this development as attracting tourists to Kimberley as a whole and hopes that the project will bring many local business people to the site, as shopkeepers and restaurateurs in Diamond Rush, as well as playing a role in the development process of the project, where building construction, restoration, manufacturing processes, management and labour will be needed. There will be opportunities for Black empowerment projects and SMMEs, according to the development concept and proposal (Yuill 2003:7).

"In old industrial cities or regions, place marketing commonly involves a rejection of negative images of the past and the re-working of positive elements of local heritage to reconstruct an image of a new post-Fordist, consumption-oriented city….the marketing of place has been targeted increasingly at the service sector, which is viewed as both more mobile and plentiful than the declining manufacturing sector of many Western European countries" (Rogerson 1999:33). Cultural strategies are often important in this place marketing. An example given by Rogerson is Glasgow: "when Glasgow became the European Capital of Culture in 1990, the transformation of the city was sealed from industrial wasteland to post-industrial cultural centre in a period of less than a decade" (Rogerson 1999:34). In South Africa, the growth of the services economy is often through tourism. Locality and quality of life are two features that are emphasised too. Rogerson stresses the positive image of a city, although many towns and townships are offering tours that are based on the negative images of Apartheid's past, combined with the crafts and cultural attractions that are commercial and positive.

For the project to be successful, a tourism development programme led by local or regional government would be essential, so that Kimberley will be hailed as a tourist destination, rather than a place to go through. It is hoped that in the future, a World Heritage application process will be possible for the site. De Beers feel a good

museum will not attract visitors alone – marketing of the region is of paramount importance. Tours have to be packaged and branding possibilities for the Kimberley Big Hole with its worldwide association with De Beers and diamonds are huge. The township tours of Galeshewe will incorporate the Big Hole. How the different associations with and memories of the Big Hole are woven into the tours from the township guides and De Beers guided tours will be interesting. There is a responsibility to find ways of co-ordinating these different enterprises, according to the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism:

"South Africa is now beginning to work on maximising the local economic benefits which tourism can bring to an area, there is much to be gained from creating a more diversified tourism product and marketing a wider range of experiences, activities and services to tourists…strong economic linkages at the local level were identified in the White paper as a critical success factor in the local economy" (National Responsible Tourism Development Guidelines for South Africa, 2002:2). The Guidelines go on to state that responsible tourism is about enabling and encouraging historically disadvantaged local communities to access lucrative tourism markets. This includes encouraging tourists to venture beyond sanitised places of interest. (National Responsible Tourism Development Guidelines for South Africa, 2002: 6). An interesting feature of the guidelines is the recommendation to: "in accordance with the Batho Pele principle, provide visitors with inclusive, honest and reliable information about history and contemporary life in South Africa" (National Responsible Tourism Development Guidelines for South Africa, 2002: 9).

The Municipality currently operates a restored tram dating from the early1900s between the Big Hole and the City Hall. De Beers has a range of trams that could be restored and added to the system and the tram route could be extended to link other tourist attractions and hotels in Kimberley. This is one potential partnership with local government that De Beers is seeking. The 2003 executive summary also states that there are partnerships that need to be strengthened and coordinated to enhance a "tourist trail" that could possibly be linked in time by the tram.

De Beers is shouldering the first phase of development costs (R14.06 million), hoping that some of the second phase costs (R38.38 million) will be covered by concessions generated by the shops and restaurants in the first phase.

Karp argues that museums have to appease audiences for their survival. This is a very pertinent point to apply to the De Beers project – the current museum has been running at a loss for years, and has been subsidized by the company. The new project will have to be self-sufficient; so will have to appeal to new audiences. As new role players - especially those from historically disadvantaged backgrounds – are drawn into the Big Hole Project (to serve on the Big Hole Trust), there will potentially be conflicts of interests when it comes to establishing what identity and culture is to be displayed and debated on this new site. Already the newly formed stakeholders committee members have raised issues of content, the Northern Cape tourism board director is expecting the story of the workers to be told to fit in with the township tours and the director of tourism for the local municipality says tourist agencies are asking where the story of the workers who dug the Hole will be told (Morumo 2004, pers.comm.,30 Nov.). If De Beers is able to negotiate successfully with Duggan-Cronin or the Alex McGregor Museum for the life of the workers to be represented in these respective buildings, the township mining tour will take in this history elsewhere. The need to link these tours through marketing will be important and so far there has been no discussion between De Beers and the Sol Plaatje Municipality's Department of tourism on this.

Ten years ago, Mabin (1994) raised the lack of different interpretations of the history of the discovery of diamonds, and the absence of worker life in the Kimberley Mine Museum displays. He motivated for a broader focus on the social history of the period portrayed. In this Mabin acknowledged that there would be differing views, but that this civic dialogue was necessary. He related how, with compounding and the decline in mine employment, many Africans in the 1880s found themselves unemployed and thus moved to townships in the area, such as Malay camp. Research is presently being done on Malay Camp, an early mixed settlement and a display is in the Alex McGregor museum. If the new display of Kimberley's history as currently planned by Fortune does happen, it is not clear whether there will be debate in such displays. This might depend on funding, political pressure, and interpretation.

Heritage tourism has become a tool of government regional and economic policy in the USA and the UK. This has been coupled with a growth in the history of the "Common Man". A country's heritage is distinctive: the tourist industry of a particular area has to work out what is attractive and what is repulsive (Swarbrooke, 1994:223). It seems the debate on what is attractive and what is repulsive is an important one in the evolution of attractions in a new South Africa, and that all stakeholders at a local level need to be part of this debate.

Legacy or whitewash? Plans for Kimberley's new mining museum

De Beers, Diamonds and Kimberley - Summary of Plans for the Big Hole Project

"Museums traditionally collect, conserve and educate. Many museums that are very good in terms of the traditional definition do not attract visitors and are of limited value in the promotion of tourism. For the existing museum to become a dynamic world-class tourist facility, it will need to distance itself from the traditional museum concept and become an attraction" (Yuill, 2003:7). This statement by the chief architect and erstwhile project manager of the Big Hole Project, encapsulates the tensions that the project team is facing in the transformation of its old site. It also displays the centrality of tourism in the new project. To enhance an understanding of the tensions involved in keeping the old and building the new in order to promote tourism, an overview of the plans are provided below. These plans are subject to changes as these tensions play themselves out.

There are two sections planned for the museum, referred to as the Big Hole Project in De Beers' documents: "Diamond Rush" and "Diamond World". A first phase involves basically revamping and reordering the existing historical buildings, and using some of these venues as retail and recreation sites. In the development concept and proposal, Diamond Rush is planned as a leisure area where income will be derived from concessions including restaurants and shops (Yuill, 2003). The historic buildings and current artefacts will provide a social history backdrop to a commercial venue, and no entrance fee will be charged in this section. The old buildings are being moved into chronological order and some will now house restaurants and shops. Others such as Barney Barnato's boxing academy will still house displays.

The second phase is to create a site currently referred to as "Diamond World", which aims to be finished by the end of 2005. Diamond World is presented as an exhibition/

visitor centre, telling the story of the Big Hole, De Beers and Diamonds. The Big Hole will only be accessible from this area, and a display of diamonds will be its highlight. There will be an entrance fee for this section (Yuill 2003). The business plans for sustainability thus seem to be in place.

Initially, the social history was to be covered in the retail area in a more extensive form than already existed in the old Kimberley Mine Museum displays: In 2002, Yuill stated that the "new museum should have a user friendly logic that will enable visitors to better understand the pioneer spirit that made the Big Hole, Kimberley and ultimately the South African economy develop the way it did" (Yuill 2002:6). He spoke of the educative value for people who had in the past not been museum visitors and stated: "For the latter reason in particular, this should be a museum for and about the common man and his role in the Kimberley story. To achieve this and in particular to tell the story of the contribution of South Africa's indigenous people is perhaps the greatest challenge of the Social History Museum" (Yuill 2002:6).

"Diamond Rush", according to the development concept and proposal (Yuill: 2003), was supposed to cover the story of Kimberley from the first diamond discoveries in 1886 to the outbreak of the W.W.I. in 1914 and the closure of the Kimberley Mine. The story would be built around the old Kimberley environment of the existing museum, possibly amplified through a series of short audiovisual experiences. Preliminary proposals for Diamond Rush audio-visuals included:
Eureka – the first discoveries
Wet/dry diggings of Colesburg Kopje and New Rush
The Diggers
The Black Flag Rebellion
Social Inquest of amalgamation of the mines
Life in the compounds

In a section, "weaknesses to be addressed" (Yuill 2003:33), Yuill concedes that the current presentation of the Kimberley story is excessively sanitized and ignores important themes and periods such as living conditions of African people, basic conditions of many European people and the story of indigenous people travelling great distances on foot to the diamond fields. It admits that the current message does

not deal adequately with the role of "South Africa's indigenous people in the discovery of diamonds and the development of Kimberley". This is important in the context of a dearth in the representation of South Africa's industrial past. Just where this history will be told, however, is not clear when one speaks to the Big Hole team.

When I asked David Yuill in April 2004, however, there seemed to have been quite a shift in his thinking. When asked whether the compound story would be represented at all in Diamond Rush, the area that is supposed to cover the social history of the diggings, he said probably not, as it would be unpalatable in the leisure context, that the social history these patrons would want to know is "what a 19th century girdle looked like" (Yuill 2004, pers.comm., 25 April).He then speculated that there might be a panel on this in Diamond World, but then mused that De Beers could approach the McGregor museum to see whether the Duggan-Cronin gallery could house such a display, alongside the photos of the workers, in an ethnographic display that is world famous. De Beers has just made a generous donation to the provincial Duggan Cronin gallery, to house the fragile glass plate negatives, so the McGregor staff might consider this proposal favourably. When I posed this possibility to the financially beleaguered Fortune, his careful response was that if De Beers paid, they would consider this option, but his personal feelings were that the story of the workers belonged in the De Beers' museum. Fortune says Yuill approached him with the same proposal in 2003. Fortune asked whether the McGregor Museum would have access to the De Beers archives, as part of the project. He has heard nothing since. The Duggan-Cronin Gallery is being revamped to hold photographs of a wider variety and thus would not have a strictly ethnographic focus as before (Fortune 2004, pers. comm. 29 Nov).

In the April 2004 interview, Yuill mentioned Colonial Williamsburg, in the USA and said that as in this centre, the De Beers' Diamond Rush will probably consist largely of buildings and a few artefacts that spoke for themselves. He also said there might be a glossy guidebook and maybe audiovisual material on five chosen topics (Yuill 2004, pers. comm., 25 April). A month later, in the design brief, the only topic mentioned for display in Diamond Rush was "The History of Jewellery" (Yuill 2004).

In the design brief (May 2004), Yuill, on behalf of De Beers, mapped out for prospective designers a guide that gave the eras of history to be covered in Diamond World, with bullet points of information. The designers were not expected to do primary research on the themes: " More detailed information in respect of the themes, including reference sources and contact persons within De Beers will be made available" to the winning bid, designers were informed. Themes covered were:

Kimberley and the Great Diamond Rush (1860-1880)
- First Phase (1871-73)
- Second Phase (1874-77)
- Third Phase (1877-1881)
- Fourth Phase: (1882-1885)

Life of the workers
The Big Hole Experience
Recovery Methods
Personalities: Barnato, Rhodes, Rudd, Oppenheimer.

The bullet points of information were very technical in nature, e.g. dry sorting to rotary washing, experimenting in underground mining. There were no bullet points under "Life of the workers". However, what was evident was that the social history of the workers, if it was to be displayed at all, had moved from the Diamond Rush commercial area, to the Diamond World area. This topic seemed to be becoming the proverbial hot potato. There seems to be a weighing up of options on the De Beers side as to whether certain aspects of the social history, although directly related to the story of the Big Hole, should be told by someone else, or displayed elsewhere, or simply left untold. "There are often attempts to deny or ignore negative images in the social or environmental past, in order that the image of history can provide community stability and the sense of a successful past that warrants contemporary and future celebration" (Summerby-Murray, 2002: 4).

Karp acknowledges that an impetus for change is economic survival, as museums compete with the theme park and commerce (1992: 8, 9). Hudson (2004) reinforces this perspective with the speculation that independent museums, that is those that are not run on public funds, have to think very carefully about the business aspect of their work. Yuill speaks about the intense competition for leisure time, including

competition from theme parks and other attractions offering visitors a more entertaining and less intellectually demanding outing. (Yuill, 2003:11).

Constraints and Forces

In this planning stage, there have been many constraints and forces that have impacted on the decisions of what displays to include. Some of the forces and constraints include:

- New political forces and new role players:

The content of the old museum was Euro- centric and in keeping with many museums set up in the days of Apartheid. The new museum, by contrast, will be in the context of a new South Africa, where local stakeholders in the Big Hole Project will possibly bring a different perspective to the project. There are plans to draw in local black businessmen into the project as entrepreneurs in Diamond Rush and members of local and provincial government have been brought onto stakeholders committees recently. The Big Hole Trust, which will manage the Diamond Rush part of the project, is being constituted and will consist of three De Beers' nominees and two members of the broader community.

The previous Premier of the Northern Cape, Manne Dipico, endorsed the Big Hole project. However relations with local government have been strained. De Beers initiated a stakeholder's forum this year involving several provincial MECs (Tourism, Arts and Culture, Finance, Education and Public Works), to try and build relationships, roles and responsibilities in this project. A working group of people from the different departments was also set up. According to Ketley the stakeholders are happy with the project – as long as it generates income. He stated they had not had any problem with the content. He was primarily concerned with what they could bring to the table in terms of services, infrastructure or investment (Ketley 2004, pers. comm., Nov 25). This is different to the point of view of David Noko, the GM of Kimberley Mines. In his opinion, the role of the MECs is to give input on content and he cited the example of how the MEC for tourism had given a detailed press release the previous week of what his expectations were regarding the content of the attraction. Noko stated that he failed to understand how the history of the Big Hole

could be told without the history of the miners being told. He felt that the objective history of what happened in Kimberley was important and that all the stakeholders were custodians of the materials that held this information. He introduced the issue of the Bafokeng tribe to Ketley, as he was approached by the chief and asked how the tribe could commemorate their ancestors who had worked on the diamond mines (Noko 2004, pers. comm., 17 Dec).

Pakes Dikgetsi (MEC for Economic Affairs) described how originally De Beers had three MECs on the stakeholders' committee – Economic Affairs, Public Works and Tourism. The three MECs queried the absence of the MECs of Education and Arts and Culture, feeling the displays would need to attract school children and the Department of Arts and Culture was important to involve because of the displays and content. The MECs apparently stated that the history that is currently displayed must be changed (Dikgetsi 2004, pers. comm., 29 Nov 2004). Karp states: "Changes in civil and political society outside museums often provide the actual impetus for community requests and demands to museums."(1992:12). Here it is evident that a shift in expectations from new stakeholders due to political changes in South Africa and a new face in De Beers, Noko, potentially due to De Beers moving with the political times and pressures of Black economic empowerment, are potentially bringing about change in the attraction.

South Africa has experienced a political shift in the last ten years in terms of power relations. As De Beers seeks to depict the story of the discovery of diamonds the politics of representation will be evident. The responses above indicate the emergence of new expectations and questions over identity and the perspective that will be displayed in the new exhibitions. Kratz has written on the politics of representation, and the potential clashes that occur with a shift of power. She mentions the "canon wars" in the USA in the mid and late 1980s where public disputes arose over school curricula, artistic expression, "content of museum exhibitions, and so forth… to some, these perspectives, questions and reinterpretations seemed threatening, fueling the disagreements…" (Kratz, 2002:221). The practice in which persons and groups securely represented others had been dislodged. In the context of the Big Hole project, there seems to be an awakening to the politics of identity and representation and as always, there will be some who are mindful and some who are indifferent to the

potential unevenness of knowledge and representation in the exhibitions and how "exhibitions become a nexus in the distribution of representations and knowledge" (Kratz, 2002:223).

- New aims:

In sharing his opinions on the need to have the unspoken history in the museum, Schaefer dryly remarked, "I am one voice – the voice of the historian. There is a much bigger voice in this operation – commerce, which is dictating the shape of the future" (Schaefer 2004, pers. comm., 28April).

In October 2003 Board approval was obtained for the Big Hole Project and R50 million was budgeted over three years, as an investment in the future of Kimberley – this was to develop an alternative attraction, as De Beers' legacy to Kimberley. The project was driven from the start by sustainability. There are financial reasons for transforming the museum too, as it has been running at a loss. With the World Bank factoring culture into development, culture is seen as an avenue for investment, needing money and generating income. (Kirshenblatt –Gimblett 2002:3). Cultural tourism is an important form of income generation. The commodification of culture and history in Kimberley is seen as vital for the survival of the old city.

This emphasis on tourism to stimulate development in this region will play a large role in the selection of material and the choice of display technology. Kimberley as the capital of the Northern Cape is itself undergoing transformation. The political and economic changes in this region will impact on the museum. The Northern Cape province has only commissioned someone this year (KPMG) to develop a tourism plan for the region. As stated in the previous section above, the CEO feels the Big Hole is a key attraction and will feature largely in the provincial plan (Lewis 2004,pers. comm., 30 Nov.).

- International influence:

On a best practice tour, a De Beers team visited Falun museum in Sweden, Colonial Williamsburg in the USA, Sovereign Hill Mine Museum in Ballarat, Australia, and the Coca Cola Museum in Atlanta, USA and Ironbridge Gorge near Birmingham, UK.

The aim was to look at "museums and attractions elsewhere in the world that were deemed to be relevant to the Big Hole Project and which would give insight into the expectations of visitors to similar attractions" (Yuill, 2003:11). Ketley spoke of the attractions that had inspired the De Beers Project, mentioning Falun (Sweden), Ballaratt (Australia) and Iron Bridge (UK). He said the difference between these attractions and the South African context was that there are enormous political and community pressures in South Africa and one needs a good relationship with provincial and local authorities (Ketley 2004, pers. comm., 25 Nov.).

Sovereign Hill attraction in Ballarat, Australia, also boasts underground tours, and a reconstructed mining village. Tents that housed Chinese labour, demonstrating the overcrowding of this particular sector of the workforce, are also part of the village. There is also a scribe's hut, where illiterate Chinese labourers could have someone write home for them. Children can pan for real gold and gold pours are also available. While there is mention of loneliness and despair on the diggings, overall, the website advertises a sense of fun, adventure and celebration of the "best years" in Australia's history. There seems to be an attempt here to have an overview of various aspects of the life on the diggings to record history, balanced with a sense of excitement and fun, to attract the tourists (www.**sovereignhill**.com.au/about/index.shtml - accessed 1 /02/05).

Falun, in Sweden, another industrial world heritage site, speaks of the life of the workers as important in its overall significance, but admits little of the workers' story is told. However, workers' houses are also part of the attraction in the village and, according to the director of the mining museum at the Great Copper Mountain in Falun, recently the Trust responsible for the Falun site has concentrated on producing books revealing the "the last miners in Falun", and the pollution that was caused by the Mine. Here it seems, the less romantic sides to the site are only now being revealed by its Trust. (Olssen 2004, pers. communication, 22 Dec).

Looking at the website of the World Heritage attraction, the Museum Zollverein, in the Essen area in Germany, the site is deemed important for the following reasons:

> Once the largest hard coalmine in Europe, at times even in the world, Zollverein was the workplace and focus of life for 5000 miners and their families. The development of Zollverein not only had a powerful influence on urban development north of Essen; as a supplier of coking coal, Zollverein was also part of a heavy industrial network which marked the face of the Ruhr area over 150 years and to which the Ruhr owes its prosperity as an industrial region.
>
> (www.zollverein.de, accessed 10/12/2004).

Most of the tour of the mine seems to concentrate on the technology and architecture of this industrial past. Although the workers are spoken of in the motivation of its status, little is told of their lives in the attraction, if the website is anything to go by (www.zollverein.de, accessed 10/12/2004). The De Beers team did not visit this site.

History/Heritage – choices of displays:

There is a wide range of material that has been written on the history of De Beers and Kimberley. Schaefer has researched and written on the history of the migrant workers to the diggings. He has presented the designers with this research. Reading through this, there is a lot of potential debate in the material that would provide a rich resource, should the space be made available for such content. Schaefer says that the prospective designers were all given a huge amount of resource material before their bids were due. He chose the material and felt it provided many different interpretations (Schaefer 2004,pers.comm., 30 Nov).

Both Schaefer and Fortune feel that the story of Kimberley, mining and De Beers cannot be told without telling the story of the workers, if there is to be authenticity in the museum. Some of the resource material provided by Schaefer came from a range of authors below who have written on Kimberley, and newspaper accounts of the early days from the *Diamond Fields Advertiser* were supplied. Photographs from the Africana library, McGregor Museum were also copied and made available. Most of the text supplied provided a positive view of the mines, whilst the views of Innes (1984), Turrell (1987), and Worger (1987), who approach the subject of De Beers and the evolution of Kimberley from the view of the workers, implicating the diamond

giant in the development of capitalism, labour relations and many apartheid structures, were made available to designers.

"The Diamond mines of SA" by Gardner Williams (undated), "Early Diamond Days – The opening of the diamond fields of South Africa" by Oswald Doughty (1963) and the "Natives of South Africa – their economic and social condition" by John Murray (1901), generally provide the view that the "natives " were better off due to the compound system. Similarly, Roberts (1976) and Herbert (1972), provide a romantic history of early Kimberley and the account of the "first" diamond discovered in 1866. A different version is provided by Shillington (1985), who examines the life of the Southern Tswana, on whose land diamonds were discovered, how their economic base changed once the diamond rush occurred and the struggles for control of the region, showing the control of prospecting as being in the hands of the local tribes for the first two years at least, with Whites primarily being involved in the diamond trade. The latter's material was not provided to designers, nor was the work of Mabin (1986), who exposes the development of the spatial segregation in Kimberley and its implications for the rest of the country, in examining the early conflicts between labour and capital and the resulting steps to bring about more control of labour through the compound systems. There is no mention of Willan's (1984) biography of Sol Plaatje, which offers interesting insights into the life of the early mining town of Kimberley and the relationship of De Beers with the town from its early stages that are still seen today in "the atmosphere and trappings of a company town" (Willan: 1984:28). Plaatje, recognized now as an important figure in South African history, had interactions with De Beers in the early days of Kimberley.

Hart (2001) covers De Beers' development as a mining house within an international context. He also demythologizes some of the early personalities on the diamond fields. De Beers did not provide this material to designers.

The choice of historical material and the headings for the displays might lead one to feel that, like Gold Reef City, the visitor will have a pleasant if somewhat superficial view of the past. Wallace speaks of ways in which museums may generate ways of 'not seeing: "people are clearly interested in the past, but when they seek understanding they are confronted with institutions…that tend to diminish their

capacity to situate themselves in time. The political consequences of this impoverished historical consciousness are profound" (Wallace in Kros, 1992:8).

A possible influence on the process could be the design team. Although they have been given themes and headings for the content displays in Diamond World, these are not set in stone. Within this section a walk through is planned where the visitor will be exposed to the story of diamonds in history, first discoveries in South Africa, a theatre multi-media experience showing the history of the Big Hole, the birth of diamonds, origins of diamonds and 'what is a diamond'. After this the visitor will walk through a display of recovery methods, an underground mining experience leading to the actual Big Hole.

Following on from the Big Hole, will be a timeline of De Beers from the 19th to the 21st century and De Beers' global activities. A display of how diamonds shape the world will follow, succeeded by the diamond pipeline, a rough display of actual diamonds and then a presentation of famous celebrities and diamonds, showing the lure of the stones for famous women (Furneaux Stewart, 2004). From the above it is evident that the celebration of diamonds is a large part of their proposed displays. Ferneaux Stewart did however include in their proposals to De Beers' board a substantial amount of social history content. They have not had a response as yet (Brown 2004, pers. comm., 5 Dec).

When asked about the social history, and where it belonged in the project, Ketley said he felt much of this belonged in the McGregor museum. He had apparently raised this as an option with Liz Voight when she was curator of the McGregor Museum. He said he still hoped to reach a deal with McGregor (pers. comm., Nov 2004). According to Andrew Hall, director of heritage in the Northern Cape, Voight had said she would consider this as an option if the McGregor Museum got R5-10 million to make the work possible. Voight has since retired (Hall 2004, pers. comm., 30 Nov).

Ketley also agreed on the importance of the social history of Kimberley and the life of the diggers being told, but felt it was not appropriate in the Big Hole Project and felt McGregor Museum could do this better, as "we are not historians". He did say

however the possibility existed for temporary displays where the history of workers could be displayed for a short period (pers. comm., Nov 2004).

The resident archeologist of the McGregor Museum, David Morris feels if the McGregor Museum does decide to house the social history of Kimberley in the Alex McGregor Museum, the danger will be if it becomes the place where the black history is housed. It should have a balance of all the 20th century population in Kimberley at the time. If it is to be part of a broader tourist route this building would need to be marketed and hopefully a balanced social history would be placed here. At this stage it is reminiscent of the South African Museum in the past – associated with the natural history of the "Bushmen, Whale and Dinosaur". This was a time when the cultural history museum was for whites and separate from the ethnographic or natural history museums, during Apartheid (Davison 1999:143-150).

Education:

Kros, writing about Gold Reef City in 1992, when the tendency was "to close over the great social divides and injustices of our past" found that it had become "even lazier about its presentation of history and more inclined than ever to give in to the rapid transit curio seekers". Regarding the "indigenous people", Kros comments that Gold Reef City is a "past without compounds or segregation", with the real flesh and blood miners representing miners of the past but doing nothing except demonstrate "two techniques of drilling", as if they were mechanised. "The blacks of Gold Reef City are mostly happy songsters, music makers and dancers". This may be acceptable for the tourist who argues that Gold Reef City is not aiming to be authentic, rather wanting to provide entertainment. Yet it seems to aim for "edutainment" – besides the thrills and spills of the rides, Gold Reef City "hosts school tours for children studying the history of gold-mining and it leaves the impression that this is the past, which is far more durable than that made by the flaccid prose of the text-book…" (Kros, 1992:1).

Mabin raises the issue of the lack of educational material available for students and teachers or anyone else who wanted to interpret the material on view, stimulate some analytical activity, or relate the questions posed by Kimberley's past to the challenges facing urban South Africa today (Mabin, 1994:36).

In a recent interview, Harkin expressed the opinion that the social history of the early diggers and workers would not fit into the new attraction because this was negative history. When asked where the social history of the early diggers would be displayed, he said the attraction might not display this for two reasons – budget constraints and the fact that when people come to such an attraction, they want to be entertained – "They want to have fun – not be depressed". He agreed that the story of Kimberley is not really in the current plans, but said these were still being firmed up and more information on Kimberley would have to be looked at. Harkin stated however that authenticity was still paramount. He said one had to be aware of the target audience and their needs and expectations. People came as families to have fun and the underground experience would have a creaking tunnel, for example. According to Harkin, 60% of current visitors are Johannesburg tourists passing through. I asked him about the relevance of the displays to school children and the curriculum. For instance, the story of diamonds is in the Grade Six history curriculum, and people such as Plaatje are also included in the hundred years struggle for democracy. Harkin conceded that in grade eight too, there was a lot of history surrounding diamonds, Rhodes, Barnato etc and he had learnt so much whilst on the De Beers project that he could assist his niece in grade eight with. I asked whether it was important to look at the syllabus and see how relevant the displays would be to such a curriculum and he said a lot more could be told but possibly not in the De Beers displays (Harkin 2004, pers. comm., 25 Nov). Schools involved in focus group discussions in the Grant Thornton survey for De Beers (2004: 77-80) felt the museum was static – and that it needed audiovisual presentations on history of Big Hole and way of life. Ways of improving the current museum included interactive facilities, a quiz which students could follow, working machinery, more labels and interpretation, tour guides, more information on De Beers' and Rhodes' role in the Anglo-Boer war and the effect on the mining industry. The schools do not want to see over commercialisation, but want authenticity. Anxiety about price increases was expressed. Some schools stopped coming because the Apartheid Museum seems more important syllabi wise, and because of the price of the journey – subsidies were stopped by the Department of Education and Training. Many who had stopped trips still believe the trip would be useful, if affordable.

Janet Welsch, a local tour guide, takes tours to De Beers mines in the area and school tours in the area. She feels the schoolteachers do not prepare the children factually for the tour and more factual input is needed (Welsch 2004, pers.comm., 29 Nov.). According to Harkin, there are hopes to attract school groups again, but invest the money generated into school service projects, so this will not impact on the revenue greatly (pers. comm., Nov 2004). There is not much focus on this aspect in the current documents, except to mention that in Sovereign Hill in Ballarat Australia, children enjoy panning for gold and that more attention needs to be given to organising fun attractions for children.

Heritage Status:

De Beers is considering the correct heritage status for the Big Hole site, which could affect many decisions in terms of control, use of resources including the mine dumps, ownership and decision making around the removal of old buildings.
The mine and surrounding area has no heritage status yet. De Beers have never applied for any status for the area. This is due to the fact that it is still technically a mine. There has never been a closure certificate and thus it is still subject to mining legislation, which has its own constraints and requirements – safety in terms of the fall back of land around the Big Hole, and a social labour plan to name but two. The dumps surrounding the Big Hole will be part of the dumps that will be reworked in the combined treatment works. De Beers had a licence to mine the soil originally, but now the question of reworking this soil has thrown up questions in the Department of Mineral affairs as to whether it still has to have a licence to rework the soil…if so it will have to apply for a licence under the new Minerals Act and this will be subject to possible restrictions on the heritage work in the area (Ramokgalela 2004, pers. comm., 30 Nov).

Another possible restriction to reworking the soil is an interpretation that the dumps are man made and over 60 years old – does De Beers therefore have to ask permission to move them under the National Heritage Act – as they are part of the heritage and landscape of the area? This is a current debate according to Hall, director of Northern Cape Arts Culture and Heritage (Hall 2004, pers. comm. 30 Nov). At the same time, the thorny question for De Beers is if the surrounding area is protected, can the dumps

still be reworked? Also the issue of safety aspects has to be looked at if there is any heritage status, as the Big Hole is still receding

De Beers wants to apply for national heritage status in the next year for either the Big Hole or the entire precinct, according to Ketley, with the ultimate goal of World Heritage status (Ketley 2004,pers.comm., 25 Nov.).The one problem is that De Beers does not own all of the buildings in the museum complex – many have been loaned to the company for safekeeping. It is thus not clear whether De Beers will apply for heritage status just for the Hole, or for the buildings too. Ramokgalela, legal researcher for De Beers, says the idea of declaring the Big Hole a heritage conservation area in terms of section 31 of the NHRA is appealing because there is no permission needed to move or alter buildings etc in terms of this. Section 31 applies to a place that is of environmental or cultural interest. The owner is in charge and the Big Hole Project would be a site of cultural interest, according to Ramokgalela. Ramokgalela is currently looking at the legal implications of the different heritage status options (Ramokgalela 2004, pers. comm., 29 Nov.).

According to Hall, when SA signed the World Heritage Convention in 1999, provinces were asked for tentative lists of potential world heritage sites. Andrew Hall and Derek Schaefer were on a committee that drew up a motivation for the Big Hole to be on the list. The motivation was not through De Beers and this process caused great friction between personalities in the Department of Arts and Culture and Heritage and De Beers. De Beers claimed Schaefer had no mandate and therefore the Big Hole had been put on the list without De Beers' permission. After the first four sites were chosen, there could not be more than one site per year chosen. Hall says that the Big Hole is now top of a list of possible World Heritage sites (Hall 2004, pers.comm., 30 Nov). In his motivation for the Big Hole to be a World Heritage site, Hall refers to it as being the site "of the first great 19th Century African mineral find….where the industrial revolution came to Africa in the 1870's and is the spark that led to the so-called 'Scramble for Africa'". He speaks of the Kimberley capital shaping the development of Johannesburg and the goldfields as well as Zambia and Zimbabwe. It is also described as being at the "origins of the migrant labour system that came to be used throughout Southern Africa and still influences patterns of economic development and movement of population…. it represents a major example

of human ingenuity and the creative genius of the mining industry …(and it) is the home of one of the world's major modern mining industries and where the system for management of the diamond industry developed…" (Hall, "Tentative list submission" (for The Kimberley Mine and Associated Industrial Sites) undated, e-mail correspondence, Nov. 2004).

Thus the importance of the Big Hole is cited as including technological and economic importance as well as its impact on urban development and humanity. If declared a World Heritage Site, these factors would surely need to be reflected in the attraction.

In another incident Andrew Hall had to present the draft National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA) to the portfolio committee in Parliament. The opposition to the draft Act came from De Beers because of clauses in the Act relating to Mine dumps.
The tension between corporate and public heritage has surfaced in another incident in which De Beers fought a clause of the NHRA:
According to Hall (2004, pers. comm., 30 Nov.), during its drafting process and when it passed through Parliament, questions were raised by De Beers and the Chamber of Mines around the necessity for and possibly, changes made, to clause 44 (2) of the Act, which states:

> Where a heritage resource which is formally protected in terms of Part l of this Chapter is to be presented, the person wishing to undertake such presentation must, at least 60 days prior to the institution of interpretive measures or manufacture of associated material, consult with the heritage resources authority which is responsible for the protection of such heritage resource regarding the contents of interpretive material or programmes.

For clarification Clause 2. (xxxvi) of the Act defines 'presentation' as follows:

"presentation" includes-

(a) the exhibition or display of;
(b) the provision of access and guidance to;

(c) the provision, publication or display of information in relation to; and
(d) performances or oral presentations related to,

heritage resources protected in terms of this Act; (i)"

As Hall points out,

> The purpose of the clause was to allow for negotiation of issues of interpretation of the national estate. It was also to counter public perceptions that whatever is told about a site in a formal context is endorsed by the State or heritage authorities simply by virtue of the recognition of a site under the terms of the National Heritage Resources Act. However, what is interesting is that, whilst some museologists and owners of private collections had problems with this provision, representatives of the mining industry also raised these problems. It shows the importance they place on public perceptions of corporate legacy, and goes to the heart of the issue of contestation of the right to secure proprietorship of one's own heritage
>
> (2004, pers. comm., 30 Nov.).

Artefacts and displays

In a plea for historians to take the issue of artefacts seriously, Berning and Domini (1992) speak of the study of material culture in three ways – the study of the object itself, the object as a result of a mental and manual process called craftsmanship, and the artefact as a manifestation of the economic and social status of an individual in society. Besides other artefacts that may or may not be available in the Big Hole Project, were this threefold process of examination be applied to the Big Hole as an artefact itself, one would develop a better understanding of the history of the period and the people who shaped it, than the silent Hole trying to convey a sense of awe merely through its presence.

I sat in on a discussion that Harkin and Yuill had with some prospective designers. Their comments about the current museum were that it needed to be transformed into a leisure centre and a De Beers' visitors centre. Much of the discussion centred on making the "Diamond World" displays as technologically advanced as possible, yet easy to update, keeping artefacts to a minimum and keeping away from pictures and information on walls. Harkin was relieved that there were not too many artefacts at the Kimberley Mine Museum from the diamond rush days, as it freed the team to "do it digitally" (Harkin and Yuill 2004, pers.comm, 25 March,).

It has been said that there are few artefacts available on the life of the workers. Besides the artefacts currently used there are stories and memories held by people whose ancestors would have worked on the mines or been associated with the mines through their businesses in Kimberley. The King of the Bafokeng tribe has approached De Beers with a request that the corporation provide some form of memorial for the many members of the tribe who died on the mines. According to Roger Ketley, memorial is planned on one of the mining dumps surrounding the Big Hole. As David Morris of the McGregor Museum points out: it is not only the Bafokeng tribe that would hold these memories of the diggings. Harkin feels that another possibility should be that the Bafokeng be given a piece of land near the De Beers' site to develop at their own expense, and as they wish – outside of Diamond World or Diamond Rush, in the surrounding precinct (pers.comm., Ketley, Morris and Harkin, Nov/Dec 2004).

Lane (1993:14) describes how oral history has been used in the Youngstown Historical Center of Industry and Labor and how in the tapes conflicts between labor and management have not been sanitized. He raises the issue of sponsors who in other museums of industrial heritage have clipped the debate: "Daniel J. Walkowitz argued that corporate sponsorship virtually assures loss of critical perspective; similar statements could be made of government or other sponsorship. Sponsors do not care to be presented as villains and prefer to be shown in good light" (1993:14) For Lane the use of oral history enables museums not only to tell the stories of industrialization, but to examine the human consequences of these phenomena. "If the primary purpose of industrial heritage is to uncover the human dimensions of an industrial milieu as it changed over time, oral history is an essential component" (1993:3)

"Artefacts" of another sort have recently been found: Morris is in the process of excavating and analyzing bones found in 15 graves near the demarcated Gladstone cemetery. These were exposed when the Sol Plaatje municipality was digging a sewerage pipe trench earlier this year. Over 100m, 145 mass graves were exposed. Fifteen graves have been exhumed at a cost of R150000 and each grave holds about 14 bodies. Over 100 skeletons have been exhumed. Most of these were literally dumped into the grave. The bodies are now being analyzed and so far Morris's suspicions are being confirmed: it seems they were migrant workers from the 1890s. The bodies may have come from a hospital in the area. Some bodies were burnt whilst others had serious wounds (there was a serious fire on De Beers mine in 1889). These bodies will be ready for reburial next year and the council is hoping De Beers will be forthcoming with assistance for this. Stories will no doubt surface at the time of the reburial of these bones. These bodies come from a time when to quote David Morris, "there were more millionaire's in the Kimberley club per square inch than in the rest of the world, and these working class people lived alongside them". For Morris both stories need to be told and a World Heritage Site that did not tell the broader story would be criticized for not doing so (Morris 2004, pers. comm., 10 Dec.).

For Morris the technological artefacts of the early diggings are important pillars of stories too and many were cleared in the sixties. With the reprocessing of the dumps in the area, he fears more of this will disappear and the McGregor museum is interviewing old engineers such as Cecil Virtue who remember the days of steam, so that these bits of history are not lost.

On the road out of Kimberley a backpacker's lodge, called Gum Tree Lodge exists. This building potentially houses as many memories as the buildings near the Big Hole. This was in fact the compound that housed De Beers' convict labour prior to their release after working in the mines. The workers were held there, naked and manacled with leather gloves, and purged with a diet of peaches for 5 days, in case they had swallowed diamonds (Schaefer undated. Collection of unpublished notes on the history of the diamond mines).

Rosen (1995), in her critique of photographs taken by the ex-De Beers employee, Duggan-Cronin, draws the distinction between the photographs he had taken of men within the De Beers mine compound and those he took of them when at their places of origin, highlighting interesting things about the ways of life men in this new industrial center had adopted. There is great potential for using the Duggan-Cronin material as artefacts, provided they are seen in the context of the time.

Conclusion

The three possibilities that have been raised are:

1) The Big Hole project does not house any or much of the social history of the period beyond the existing buildings and displays in Diamond Rush and does not attempt to take any responsibility for this as it is a corporate visitor attraction based on fun
2) The Big Hole Project attempts to display the social history of the diggers in some way, as a part of the legacy of Kimberley and the shaping of De Beers
3) The Big Hole Project negotiates with McGregor Museum and provides a grant and access to its archives for Alex McGregor to house the social history of Kimberley in a balanced way and includes this in marketing packages as part of a cultural arc with the Galeshewe tour.

There are two initiatives due in February that will further influence the project. The Master Plan for the Northern Cape will be released and De Beers' project will be part of this. Secondly the designers, Furneaux Stewart will hear from the De Beers board what parts of their proposed displays have been accepted or rejected. According to Brown, there has been an attempt to include quite a lot of social history (Brown 2004, pers.comm., 5 Dec).

De Beers has protested over certain clauses in the heritage legislation, for the survival of its mining operations around the Big Hole. It is carefully weighing up the options for the heritage status of the Big Hole and the surrounding area and the impact this will have on its mining operations (the retreatment works) and its control over operations in the museum, including renovation old buildings and the content of displays.

The different interpretations of mining rights with regard to the dumps; the status of the dumps in terms of the National Heritage Act and the pros and cons of having the site declared a National Heritage or World Heritage site will also no doubt affect the display contents.

In her discussion on the rise of museums of conscience, Kirshenblatt –Gimblett (2002:11) cites the aims of these museums as stimulating dialogue on pressing social issues. Raising issues for debate is an important part of these museums, in an arena that has traditionally displayed consensus. The Big Hole project is not being proposed as a museum of conscience, yet the argument remains that dialogue on social issues regarding the different experiences in the era of the diamond rush could facilitate integration and broaden representivity in displays. The Heritage Act (1999) talks of heritage needing to "build our Nation", "affirm our diverse cultures" and "shape our national character". It does not however, address the possibility of cultures being in conflict and people having different interpretations of a site and how to deal with this.

Mathers (2000) warns of the trap of creating "Africanist" images in transforming museums of a colonial past, cementing the disparities of the past, or in assisting to build a new nation, pandering to the powerful groups locally or tourists, leaving representation of the less powerful locals out in the cold. The request of the Bafokeng for a site of memorium for their ancestors is an example of the expectations of the once less powerful now achieving a voice and a place in the site. How De Beers will deal with this request and the reburial of the bones of the nineteenth century diggers next year will be interesting as this may force them to deal with the negative images of the past.

Swarbrooke has two recommendations for heritage tourism to flourish: firstly there is a need for partnerships to develop between all interested stakeholders, on all levels and secondly heritage tourism must not only be perceived as something that deals with the past and thus wallow in nostalgia– rather in dealing with heritage tourism, one should look at how the past is linked to the present and future. "In the field of industrial heritage, for example, we should not only look at the past industrial life of a community. We should see how the past has shaped the present industrial life of an area and look at how local people hope their community will develop in the future." (Swarbrooke, 1994:229).

As De Beers brings in more role players in the Big Hole Trust, there is a possibility that the museum could reflect debates or the current story could be left unchanged and unchallenged, depending on the agendas of the other stakeholders. Already however

there have been interventions on the stakeholders' committee about the composition of the decision-making bodies such as the stakeholders committee and the Big Hole Trust, and the content of displays. It seems in addition to commerce the political opinions of the new ruling party will also bring pressure to bear on the project.

The funding of the attractions representing our industrial past, whether it remains strictly in the hands of corporate companies or shared with government and the private sector, is increasingly based on commercial returns through economic necessity, and thus the political and social aims of preserving our past will be subject to the perceived needs of the market, but also of the politics of the day within the State and within the company. The issue of corporate responsibility to the generations of civilians whose parents shaped the corporation and consumers, who indirectly will buoy up the corporation's image through patronage, needs further investigation.

Berning and Dominy argue there is a need to cater for a broader audience: " South African museums must attempt to move beyond the sanitized representation of industrialisation in South Africa towards an understanding of different work experiences so that audiences can encounter the richness of diversity and, therefore, move towards a recognition of the humanity binding all people" (Berning and Dominy, 1992: 11).

The project has an eventful year ahead before the planned opening in November 2005. Paul Getty once said, "The meek shall inherit the earth but not its mineral rights". The question here is shall the meek inherit their heritage rights?

Bibliography

Literature

Bennett, T. 1995, "The Formation of the Museum" Chapter One in, *The birth of the museum: History, theory, politics*. London:Routledge: 17-58

Bermond, D. 1999, "Heritage, Between Memory and Development: An interview with Francois Barre", *Label France, April:* 4-6.

Berning, G. and Dominy, G. 1992, "The presentation of the industrial past in South African Museums", *South African Museums Association Bulletin, Issue 19:*1-14.

Callinicos, L. 1987. *Working Life: Factories, Townships and Popular Culture on the Rand 1886-1940.* Johannesburg: Ravan Press

Cameron, D.F. 2000, "The Death of the Museum and the Emancipation of Cultures"*, "SAMBA", vol. 24 no.1, March*: 1-11

Coombes, A. 1988, "Museums and the Formation of National and Cultural Identities", *Oxford Art Journal*: 57-68

Crane, S. 2004, "Memory, Distortion and History in the Museum", *Museum Studies: An Anthropology of Contexts.* Malden, Oxford, and Victoria: Blackwell Publishing Ltd: 318-334

Danilov, V.J. 1986, "The New Thrust of Corporate Museums" in *Museum News, issue 5, Vol. 64:*36-47

Davison, P. 1999, "Museums, Memorials and Public Memory" Chapter 10, *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa* Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

De Gorgas, M.R. 2004, "Reality as Illusion, the Historic Houses that become Museums", *Museum Studies: an Anthology of Contexts.* Malden, Oxford, and Victoria: Blackwell Publishing Ltd: 356-361

Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism 2002 "National Responsible Tourism Development Guidelines for South Africa" March.

Furneaux Stewart 2004, The Big Hole project: Final Concept Document. 4 November.

Gilbert, J. 2001 "World Fairs as Historical Events" in Rydell, R (ed.), *Fair Representations*

Grant Thornton THL Consulting (Pty) Ltd. 2004 A concept testing, product refinement, and branding and positioning report for an upgraded museum and visitor attraction at the Kimberley Big Hole. March.

Gross, L 1994 "Research and reference Tools: Corporate Museums, Galleries and Visitor Centers: A Directory by Victor J. Danilov", *The Journal of American History, Vol 80 Issue 4:*1567

Harris, N. 1995 "The World of Coca Cola", *The Journal of American History, Vol. 82, No.1, June*: 154-158

Hart, M. 2001 *Diamond, the history of a cold-blooded love affair* London: Fourth Estate.

Herbert, Ivor. 1972 *The Diamond Diggers: South Africa 1866 to the 1970's.* London: Tom Stacey

Hudson, K. 2004 "The Museum Refuses to Stand Still" Chapter 5 in Carbonell (ed) *Museum Studies: An Anthropology of Contexts* Malden, Oxford, and Victoria: Blackwell Publishing Ltd: 85-91

Innes, D. 1984 *Anglo: Anglo American and the Rise of Modern South Africa.* Johannesburg: Ravan Press

Karp, I. 1992 "Introduction" in Karp, Kreamer and Lavine (eds) *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*, Washington and London, Smithsonian Institute Press: 1-17.

Kavanagh, G 2004 "Melodrama, Pantomime or Portrayal? Representing ourselves in the British Past through Exhibitions in History Museums" in Carbonell, B.M. (Ed), *Museum Structures: An Anthology of Contexts* Malden, Oxford, and Victoria: Blackwell Publishing Ltd: 348-355

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. 1998 "Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums and Heritage" 131-176

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. 2002 "Museums, World Heritage and Cultural Economics" *Museums and Public Spheres Conference, Bellagio, July 22-26, Rockefeller Foundation*

Kratz, C. 2002 Appendix A in *The ones that are wanted: Communication and the politics of representation in a photographic exhibition* London, California: University of California Press: 219-223.

Kros, C. 1992 "Experiencing a Century in a Day? Making more of Gold Reef City". Paper presented to *Myths, Monuments, Museums: New Premises?* 16-18 July, History workshop conference, University of the Witwatersrand

Lane, James B. 1993 "Oral History and Industrial Heritage Museums", *The Journal of American History,* September: 1-12

Mabin, A. 1994 "Visiting our Urban Past: The Kimberley Mine and Pilgrims Rest Museums", *Contree*, *36,*: 31-41

Mabin, A. 1986 "Labour, capital, class struggle and the origins of residential segregation in Kimberley, 1880-1920", *Journal of Historical Geography,* **12,** 1: 4-26.

McGregor Museum, 1992 *The 1892 South African and International Exhibition* Kimberley: The McGregor Museum

Mathers, K. 2000 "Imagined Spaces: Reinventing museums and their audiences in the "New" South Africa". Paper delivered to SAMA conference, Dec 2000.

Newbury, C. 1989 *The Diamond Ring: Business, Politics and Precious Stones in South Africa, 1867-1947* Oxford: Clarendon Press

Roberts, B. 1976 *Kimberley: Turbulent City.* Cape Town: David Philip

Rogerson, C. M. 1999 "Place Marketing for Local Economic Development in South Africa" in *South African Geographic Journal,* 81 (1), 32-43.

Rosen, R, "The Photographs of Duggan-Cronin", research report, 1995, UNISA Fine Arts dept.

RSA Government Gazette 1999 "National Heritage Resources Act" Act no. 25, 28 April. Cape Town.

Schaefer, D. undated Collection of unpublished notes on the history of the diamond mines.

Schlereth, Thomas J. 2004 "Collecting Ideas and artifacts: Common problems of History Museums and History Texts", *Museum Studies: An Anthropology of Contexts*, Malden, Oxford, Victoria: Blackwell Publishing Ltd: 335-347

Shillington, K. 1985 "The Colonisation of the Southern Tswana, 1870-1900", Johannesburg: Ravan Press

Summerby-Murray, R. 2002 "Interpreting Deindustrialised landscapes of Atlantic Canada: Memory and Industrial Heritage in Sackville, New Brunswick", *Canadian Geographer,* Spring: 48-62

Swarbrooke, J 1994 "Heritage Tourism into the 21st Century" *Tourism: the State of the Art,* John Wiley and Sons, Chichetser.

Thelen, D. 2002. "How the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Challenges the Way We Use History", *South African Historical Journal,* 47, Nov: 162-190

Turrell, R. 1987 *Capital and Labour on the Kimberley Diamond Fields 1871-1890* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Willan, B. 1984 *Sol Plaatje: a biography: Solomon Tshekiso Plaatje 1876-1932.* Johannesburg: Ravan Press

Witz, L and Cornell, C 1999 "From Robben Island to Makapan's cave: Transforming Museum and Heritage Studies in South Africa". *Paper presented at the world Archaeological Congress, Cape Town, 10-14 January.*

Worger, W. 1987 *South Africa's City of Diamonds, Mine workers and Monopoly Capitalism in Kimberley, 1867-1895.* Johannesburg: A D Donker

Yuill, D. 2002, Big Hole Project: Concept solution, Feb.

Yuill, D. 2003, The Big Hole Project: Development concept and proposal. March.

Yuill, D. Big Hole Project: Project Brief, (undated).

Yuill, D. 2004, Museum/Exhibition Design Call for Proposals, May.

Websites

www.debeersgroup.com

www.historyfactory.com /content/creative/museums/html

www.ironbridge.org.uk

www.coca-cola.com

www.sovereignhill.com.au/about/index.shtml

CD-ROMs

Krige, S, "UNISA Heritage course", 2002

Harkin, B, De Beers' Design Concept, March 2004

Harkin, B Big Hole Project – Overview Presentation and Project Execution Plan, 2004

De Beers' Design Brief, (Microsoft PowerPoint presentation) May 2004.

Newspaper Articles:

"Cave House Projects Underway" 2004 in *The Daily Star, Friday, Jan 16.* Available from, http:// www.thedailystar.com/cgi-bin/starsafe.pl. [Accessed on 11/06/2004].