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Community Participation in Heritage Site Management: Challenges and Opportunities in the Management of Kliptown Open Air Museum, City of Johannesburg Municipality, Gauteng Province.

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ABSTRACT

Located in Soweto, Kliptown hosted the Congress of the People event where the Freedom Charter was adopted on the 26th of June 1955. In spite of the historical significance of the site, Kliptown remains an impoverished township, marred by a lack of service delivery from Government. This has had a substantial negative impact on heritage development initiatives in the area. One of these initiatives is the Kliptown Open Air Museum (KOAM) precinct. This Research Report examines the level of community involvement in the management of KOAM and the impact this has had on the development of KOAM as a heritage resource. The dissertation demonstrates the desire of Kliptown local community to be involved in the management of KOAM and the extent to which they are excluded from the management of KOAM. It was found that KOAM does not have guidelines on how they should involve Kliptown community in the operations of the museum. This finding has highlighted the consequences of declared heritage sites operating without proper guidelines on how they should involve their local communities. Overall, this study has shown that community-based heritage management is still a developing concept in South Africa, and Africa in general.

DECLARATION

I, Vele Muhadi, declare that this Research Report *"Community Participation in Heritage Site Management: Challenges and Opportunities in the Management of Kliptown Open Air Museum"* is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the award of the Degree of Master of Science by Coursework and Research Report at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. This work has not been submitted before for any examination or degree in any other University.

(Signature of candidate)

_____day of_____20____in_____

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated my late father Raudzingana Thanganasolo Muhadi and to my mother Muvhulawa Gladys Muhadi.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANC - African National Congress

ASAPA - Association of Southern African Professional Archaeologists

ANC - African National Congress

CMP - Conservation Management Plans

CoJ - City of Johannesburg

DMR - Department of Mineral Resources

GPHRA - Gauteng Provincial Heritage Resources Agency

JDA - Johannesburg Development Agency

JHP - Johannesburg Heritage Policy

KOAM - -Kliptown Open Air Museum

LHR - Liberation Heritage Route

MPRDA - Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act

NEMA - National Environmental Management Act

NHRA - National Heritage Resources Act

NMMZ - National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe

PHRA - Provincial Heritage Resources Agency

PHRA-G - Provincial Heritage Resources Agency-Gauteng

SADC - Southern African Development Community

SAHRA - South African Heritage Resources Agency

SAT - South African Tourism

SETA - Sector Educational and Training Authority

UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UK - United Kingdom

USA - United States of America

WAC - World Archaeological Congress

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Community involvement in archaeological heritage management has gained prominence across the world, be it in Africa, Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom (UK) or in the United States of America (USA) (Ferguson 1996; Pwiti & Ndoro 1999; Eze-Uzomaka 2000; Marshall 2002; Kuper 2003; Howard 2003; Clifford 2004; Munjeri 2004; Merriman 2004; Damm 2005; Hall 2005; Lammy 2006; Tully 2007; Chirikure & Pwiti 2008; Simpson 2008; Phillips 2008; Ndoro & Chirikure 2009; Chirikure *et al*. 2010; Atalay 2012; Ndlovu 2016; Pikirayi & Schmidt 2016). Community archaeology can be defined as the involvement of local, indigenous and traditional people in archaeological projects; this includes sharing decision-making powers with the community (Marshall 2002: 210). The practical application of community archaeology differs from one continent to the other, one country to the next and from one heritage resource to the next (see Marshall 2002: 211; Ndlovu 2016). As a result, the growth of community archaeology has been more dominant than in other countries. Ndlovu (2016: 141) suggests that this is highly influenced by the politics of a specific country in question. Even though community archaeology takes different forms around the world, at its core is the concern for working with local communities (Garlake 1982; Ferguson 1996, Marshall 2002; Kuper 2003; Damm 2005; Simpson 2008, Chirikure *et al.* 2010; Atalay 2012; Schmidt & Pikirayi 2016). The application of community archaeology in southern Africa has produced mixed results. Success stories have been recorded whilst some cases are far from satisfactory (Chirikure *et al*. 2010: 30). These case studies will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

Currently, the involvement of local communities in archaeological heritage management in South Africa is presented as an effective approach for building good relationships between local communities, archaeologists, heritage managers and government representatives (Deacon 1996; Pwiti & Mvenge 1996; Chirikure *et al*. 2010; Ndlovu 2016). Most heritage resources are linked with a range of multiple communities with different interests making it difficult to please them all (e.g. Chirikure & Pwiti 2008; Pikirayi & Schoeman 2011). Chirikure & Pwiti (2008: 476) mention that at times the involvement of local people in archaeological or heritage projects generates unforeseen challenges. For example, when multiple communities have conflicting claims on a heritage resource, it certainly becomes difficult to make them all happy (Chirikure & Pwiti 2008: 476). The role of archaeologists and heritage managers in this instance is to recognise the intricacies of the communities, comprehend their heritage constructs and ensure that all voices are taken into consideration without giving precedence to one over the other. Thus, it is

important to develop practical heritage management approaches that are conscious of different heritage values that exist (Ndlovu 2016). This Research Report advocates for the interrogation of the term “community”. This term as used in archaeological heritage management is complex and its definition is contested (see Marshall 2002; Tully 2007: 157; Fouseki 2010; Chirikure & Pwiti 2008: 468; Crooke 2010:19; Ndlovu 2011: 124). For the purpose of this research, I follow Pikirayi & Schmidt’s (2016:115) definition of community, in which community is “conceptualized as a group of people united by at least one common characteristic, such as geography, values, shared interest, politics, experiences or tradition”. Consequently, I use the term community in this Research Report to refer to the residents of Kliptown, Kliptown Political Activists, Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality, and any other member of the communities surrounding Kliptown. The latter include people from Chiawelo and Eldorado Park who have shared interest in the history and management of Kliptown Open Air Museum (KOAM).

Whilst defining the term “community” might be a good starting point in dealing with community-based archaeology, practicing archaeologists should also be guided by the realities found in the field rather than adhering narrowly to an abstract definition of what community is or not (Pikirayi & Schmidt 2016: 04). This position is based on the fact that the communities that we investigate are unique (see Chirikure & Pwiti 2008; Chirikure *et al.* 2010; Ndlovu 2016). One definition of community may apply to a particular site but may be irrelevant to another. It is against this backdrop that this Research Report considers the definition of “community” in the local context instead of developing a universally accepted definition as circumstances differ from one country to another and one continent to the next.

The recognition and involvement of local communities in heritage management is fundamental as it reduces conflicts between heritage managers and local communities (Chirikure *et al*. 2010). This dissertation acknowledges that the involvement of local communities does not mean overlooking the views of heritage managers or archaeologists; rather it recognises that all stakeholders are vital in developing effective heritage management approaches. This study thus engages both with the significance and the pitfalls of involving local communities in managing their heritage resources; this is done using KOAM as a case study. This Research Report further explores strategies to manage a heritage resource particularly in a situation where there are conflicting views between local communities and heritage managers.

1.1 Background of the study area

The KOAM precinct is located in Soweto in Gauteng Province, South Africa (see Figures 1.1 & 1.2). Kliptown is one of the oldest townships of Soweto; it was established in 1903 after the merging of two farms, named Klipspruit and Klipriviersoog (Meskell & Scheermeyer 2008). The purpose of this settlement was to accommodate African, Indian and Coloured people who were forcefully removed from the Johannesburg suburbs (Musiker & Musiker 2000). Since its establishment, Kliptown has been a multi-ethnic township, comprising Coloureds, Blacks and Indians (Meskell & Scheermeyer 2008; Kuljian 2009). It is equally important to highlight that terminologies such as Blacks, Coloureds and Indians were used during apartheid-era by the apartheid government to maintain racial divisions and impose white supremacy in South Africa (Musiker & Musiker 2000)



Figure 1.1. Satellite image illustrating the location of KOAM including its provenance within South African Map.

Besides the adoption of the Freedom Charter, Kliptown is also known for being “the first township in the old Transvaal where Black people could purchase freehold land” (Meskell & Scheermeyer 2008: 162). Black people were able to purchase land in Kliptown until the Apartheid government revoked the freehold system in the 1950s. The revoking was done

in response to being angered by the 1955 Congress of the People event (Bremner 2004; Meskell & Scheermeyer 2008: 162; Roux 2009). Around the early 1960s, a substantial number of Black people where forcefully removed from Kliptown as punishment for hosting the 1955 Congress of the People event (Meskell & Scheermeyer 2008). Interestingly, the majority of residents in Kliptown who owned land at the height of Apartheid "managed to retain their properties until the fall of Apartheid in the early 1990s (Roux 2009:05).

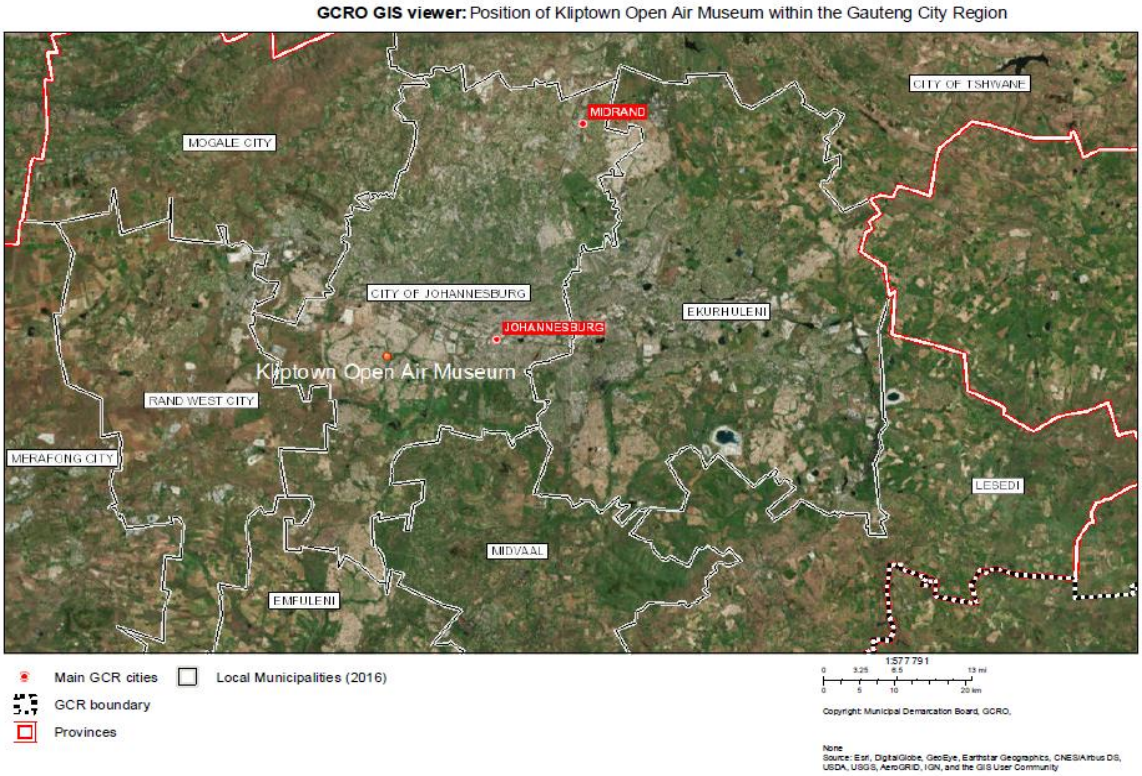


Figure 1.2. Google image illustrating the position of KOAM within the Gauteng City Region.

Because of the right of Black and Coloured people to own land in Kliptown, these two racial groups treasured Kliptown as it gave them a degree of freedom (Bremner 2004; Meskell & Scheermeyer 2008). This township was also seen as a place where Black South Africans could express their entrepreneurial skills (Bonner 2006).

Kliptown was also popularly known for hosting an "impressive list of South African and African political leaders, such as Charlotte Maxexe, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Winnie Mandela, Samora Michael and Robert Mugabe (Meskell & Scheermeyer 2008: 163). Today, "Kliptown is home to a mixed population that crosses the boundaries of religion, nationality and colour" (Roux 2009). In around 2009, the population of Kliptown was, 15% Coloured, 80% Black and less than 5% Indian (Kuljian 2009). The majority of Kliptown residents have since relocated to other parts of Soweto due to lack of service

delivery in Kliptown (Kuljian 2009). In 2009, Kliptown had a population of about 45 000, about 85% of which lived in informal settlements whilst unemployment was sitting at 70% (Himlin *et al.* 2010). The majority of Kliptown residents are currently living in abject poverty characterised by lack of basic services such as housing, health facilities, sanitation and electricity (Roux 2009) (also see Figures 1.3 & 1.4).



Figure 1.3. The living conditions of the people of Kliptown (Source: Roux 2009: 79).



Figure 1.4. Depicting lack of decent housing opportunities in Kliptown (Source: Roux 2009: 74).

Amongst many historical events that were recorded in protest against colonialism and apartheid, Kliptown is popularly known for hosting the 1955 Congress of the People event during which the Freedom Charter was adopted on the 26th of June 1955 (see Figure 1.5). The main aim of the Freedom Charter was to set out principles to guide the struggle for liberation, and to envision what a democratic South Africa should look like.

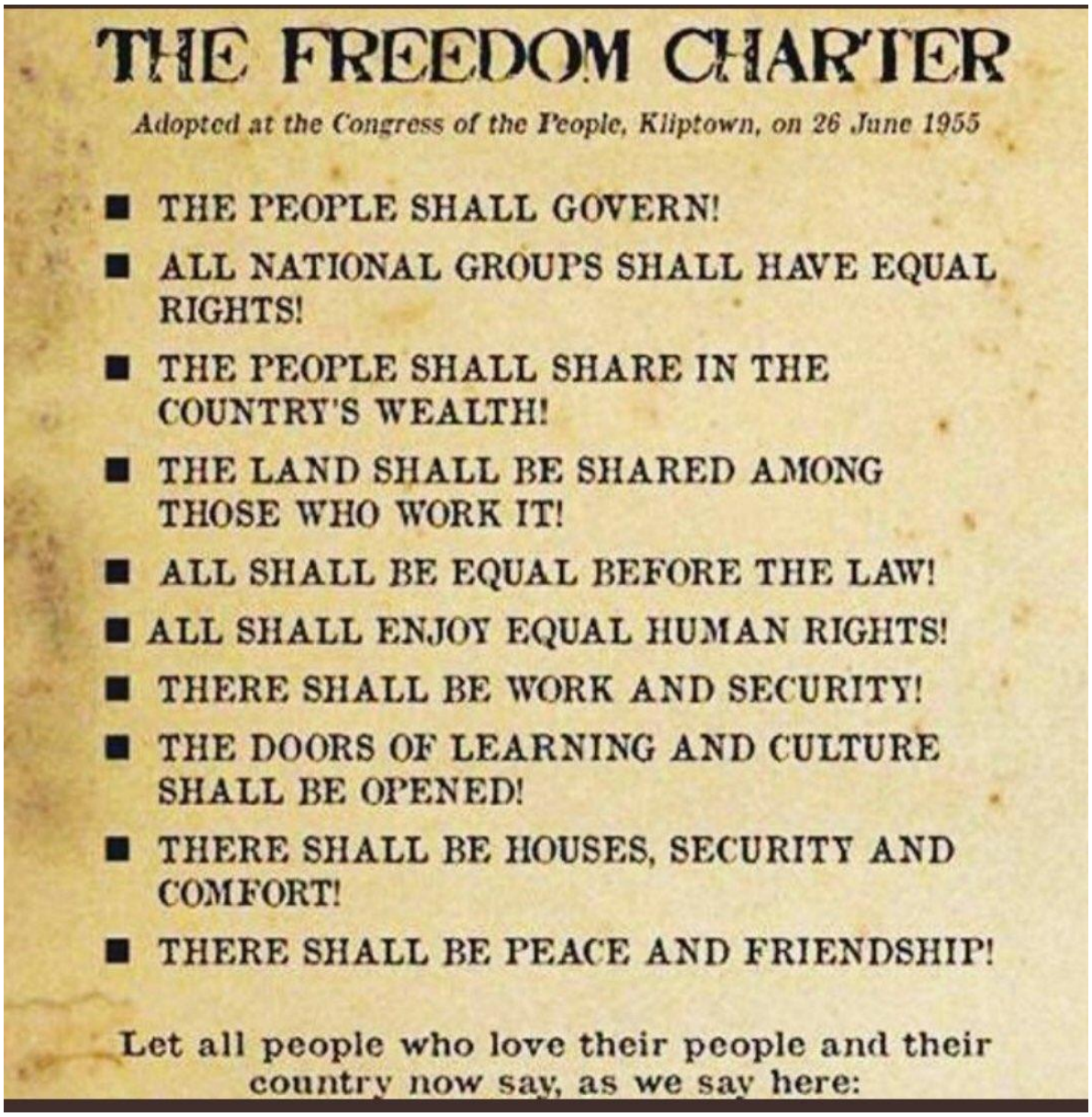


Figure 1.5. Photograph of a historic document with the words of the Freedom Charter adopted at the 1955 Congress of the People (Source: Google Images retrieved on 28 October 2018 at: https://www.google.co.za/search?q=images+of+the+freedom+charter&tbm).

This historic event was organised by the South African Congress of Democrats, the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress, and the African National Congress (ANC) (Musiker & Musiker 2000). The gathering was attended by over 3 000 men and women, both young and old (Roux 2009) (Figures 1.6 & 1.7). By hosting the Congress of the People, Kliptown became a significant place in the history of the fight against apartheid (Meskell & Scheermeyer 2008; Roux 2009; Kuljian 2009: 460).

The adoption of the Freedom Charter in Kliptown was a profound symbolic moment for the South African resistance movement against apartheid, because different races and regions came together and shared ideas on the democratic South Africa they envisioned (Mbembe & Nuttall 2004).

As highlighted in Figure 1.5, the Freedom Charter makes provision for people, Black and White, to have equal rights (Musiker & Musiker 2000; Bremmer 2004; Roux 2009).



Figure 1.6. Historic photograph showing a picket by members at the Congress of the People in 1955(Source: Google Images retrieved on 28 October 2018 at: https://www.sahistory.org.za/image/freedom-charter-signed-kliptown-1955-1).

In 2002, the Gauteng Provincial Heritage Resource Agency (GPHRA—now the Provincial Heritage Resources Agency (PHRA-G)—declared the spot where the Freedom Charter was adopted as a local heritage site. Subsequently, KOAM was built to commemorate this historic event (Meskell & Scheermeyer 2008; Roux 2009; Kuljian 2009: 460). In the early 2000s, the City of Johannesburg (CoJ) and Gauteng Province Government invested R500

million into building the KOAM precinct (Kuljian 2009: 460). This precinct comprises a hotel, the Square, a block of office space and the Freedom Charter Monument (Figure 1.8) resembling Great Zimbabwe. This project was prioritised as a strategy to promote heritage tourism and drive economic development in the township of Kliptown (Roux 2009).



Figure 1.7. Photograph showing some of members who attended the 1955 Congress of the People (Source Google Images retrieved on the 28 October 2018 at: https://www.google.com/search?q=freedom+charter+images&rlz).

During the construction of the precinct, Mr Herbert Prince who was appointed as the Project Heritage Advisor by the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) identified the need to locate and preserve the Old Kliptown Road (the Old Road), which was one of the key landmarks in historic Kliptown (Schoeman 2005: 01). Consequently, University of the Witwatersrand was appointed as an Archaeological Resource Management Company to conduct test excavations (Schoeman 2005). The purpose of the test excavations was firstly to determine the exact location of the Old Road, including the depth it was situated at and its condition (Figures 1.9 & 1.10) (Schoeman 2005: 01). This was done to avoid destroying the Old Road during the construction process. Secondly, the excavation tests were conducted to inform decisions about the conservation and the restoration of the road (Schoeman 2005: 01).



Figure 1.8. An aerial view of KOAM precinct (Source: Kuljian 2009: 452).



Figure 1.9. Excavations of the Old Kliptown Road at the KOAM precinct (Source: Schoeman 2005: 8).

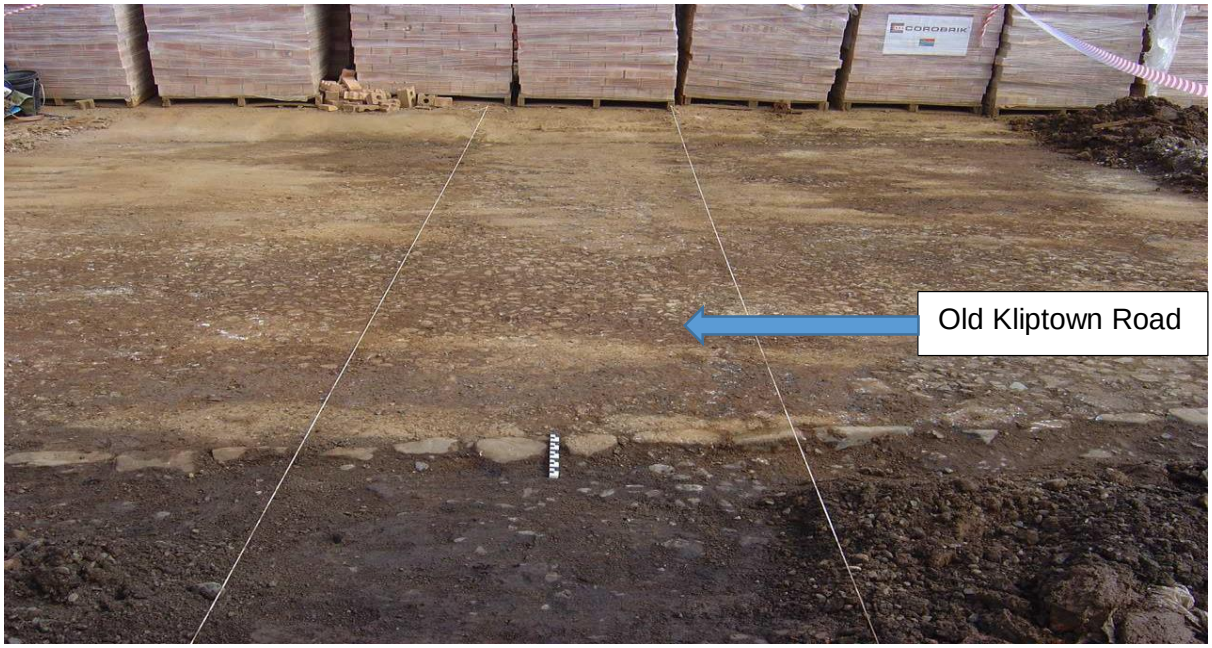


Figure 1.10. Excavations of the old Kliptown road at the KOAM precinct (Source: Schoeman 2005: 5).

Although Kliptown has seen a large injection of funds towards its heritage status in the last few years. Tourism and business developments have been centred on the development of KOAM; however, the majority of residents still live in abject poverty without access to decent housing, water or sanitation (see Figures 1.3 & 1.4) (Kuljian 2009; Himlin *et al.* 2010).

1.2 Research aim

The main aim of this research is to examine the level of community participation in the existing heritage management plans of KOAM. The research seeks to understand how the community participation model is serving—or is failing to serve—the community of Kliptown. To ensure that the research aim is addressed adequately, this study will also examine whether or not the existing NHRA and Johannesburg Heritage Policy (JHP) governing KOAM make adequate provision for active community participation.

1.3 Rationale

This research is important because:

- There is a disjuncture between heritage management theory, legislation policy and implementation in the management of urban and struggle heritage sites (Pwiti & Ndoro 1999; Munjeri 2004; Chirikure & Pwiti 2008; Chirikure *et al*. 2010; Ndlovu 2011).

- It will afford the community of Kliptown an opportunity to present their views regarding the management of KOAM.
- It will provide CoJ with fresh data that will assist with the development of the KOAM Conservation Management Plan (CMP) in compliance with Section 47 (2) of the NHRA in the near future.

1.4 Organisation of the dissertation

The dissertation is organised into six chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the study and provides a description of the study area. This chapter also outlines the aim and rationale of the study. Chapter 2 reviews Johannesburg Heritage Policy while the third chapter explores various bodies of literature on community archaeology and heritage management. Community archaeology is explored from global to African perspectives and issues of transformation in archaeology are also highlighted. After Chapter 4 where the research methodology is described, Chapter Five presents the research findings. Chapter Five is structured into four themes as follows: theme 1 deals with the significance of KOAM as a heritage resource; Theme 2 focuses on community involvement in the management of KOAM; theme 3 reviews KOAM as an economic hub; and Theme 4 discusses challenges and opportunities in the management of KOAM. The final chapter, which is Chapter 6, discusses the findings of the study. The last part of the chapter provides concluding remarks of the study including recommendations for further studies.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF EXISTING KOAM HERITAGE MANAGEMENT PLANS

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews and examines the current heritage legislation and heritage management plans of KOAM. I start by overviewing aspects of the NHRA that pertain to the management of heritage sites and community involvement. Thereafter, the Johannesburg Heritage Policy (JHP) governing KOAM is examined to evaluate whether this provides adequate guidelines for active community participation in the management and preservation of KOAM.

2.2 General overview of the NHRA

The NHRA is the main legislation responsible for heritage management in South Africa (Ndlovu 2011; Deacon 2015). Other related pieces of legislation such as the National Environmental Management Act No 107 of 1998 (NEMA) and the Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act No 28 of 2002 (MPRDA) complement the NHRA in managing our heritage resources. The heritage resources of South Africa are managed through a three-tier system (Deacon 2015; Mlilo 2016)—this means that there are three governmental levels or spheres managing heritage resources of South Africa. Section 8 (1) of the NHRA states that the South African Heritage Resource Agency (SAHRA) is responsible for managing national heritage resources whilst provincial heritage resources are managed on a provincial level by the Provincial Heritage Resource Agency-Gauteng (PHRA-G). Local authorities (municipalities) manage heritage resources deemed to have local significance. This three-tier system is informed by the structure of South African government consisting of the National, Provincial and Local spheres of governance as per Section 151 (4) of the Constitution of the South Africa (Mlilo 2016).

The South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) was established through Section 11 of the NHRA to manage the heritage resources of the country. This agency is charged with responsibilities to ensure that the three-tier system is functional and to assist the PHRA-G and local authorities where needed. Ndobochani (2012) is of the opinion that effective heritage management system requires sufficient resources to ensure that all provisions entailed in the NHRA are complied with. Mlilo (2016) has argued that proper implementation of NHRA is weakened by dysfunctional offices of PHRA-G and local authorities due to insufficient capacity in personnel and lack of financial resources (see also Odak 1991; Karega 2009; Ndobochani 2012).

The recent study by Mlilo (2016) investigated challenges confronting heritage management in South Africa and argued that the continuous lack of sufficient funding of heritage institutions such as SAHRA, proper management of South Africa heritage resources remains a pipe dream. These sentiments are echoed by other scholars (see Karega 2009; Ndlovu 2011b; Ndobochani 2012; Saccaggi 2012; Deacon 2015).

Section 13 (1) (e) of the NHRA directly relates to the broader aim of this study which is the involvement of local communities in the management of their resources. This section of the Act advocates for involvement of local communities in the management of their resources. The section's enactment was seen as progressive as it attempted to address the past ills of colonial and Apartheid-era legislation that alienated Black Africans from their heritage (Chirikure *et al.* 2010). Ndlovu (2009), however, is of the view that progressive as this section may be, without proper guidelines on how local communities should be involved in promoting and managing their heritage resources, it is also self-defeating (see also Ndlovu 2011; Deacon 2015). About two decades after the adoption of NHRA, the majority of local communities across the country remain side-lined with respect to how their heritage is managed and protected (Ndlovu 2009, 2011a, 2016; Chirikure *et al.* 2010; Pikirayi 2016).

It is in this context that Ndlovu (2016) contends that without proper guidelines on how local communities will be involved and the extent of their participation, compliance with Section 13 (1) (e) of NHRA by heritage authorities remains a dream. There cannot be one standard guideline that dictates how community involvement should be implemented as heritage sites are unique (Chirikure & Pwiti 2008). Section 47 (2) of the NHRA requires that each heritage authority must develop a Conservation Management Plan (CMP) for each declared heritage resource falling under their jurisdiction. It is in this plan that that clear guidelines should be developed as community-involvement in heritage management is context-dependent (see Chirikure *&* Pwiti 2008; Chirikure *et al.* 2010; Pikirayi 2016).

The current NHRA is also blamed for its failure to respond to the question of how the spiritual significance of a heritage site should be protected (Ndoro & Pwiti 2001; Ndlovu 2011, 2016). To illustrate the weaknesses of the NHRA in relation to the protection of the spiritual value of heritage sites, Ndlovu (2011) has provided two examples in South Africa to elucidate this problem. The first example he provided is the Kamberg Rock Art Centre that is situated in the Kamberg Nature Reserve in the Drakensberg mountain range in KwaZulu-Natal province. The Duma Clan's heritage construct of the Rock Arts Game Pass Shelter is that it is their spiritual home (Ndlovu 2011:126). In 2002, the Duma clan

requested permission to perform their ritual and spiritual ceremonies at this rock art site. The Clan was then given permission but on condition that they follow the Eurocentric guidelines how they conduct their rituals (Ndlovu 2011:126). Some of the conditions included the number of persons that may access the site, the policing of movements by on-site security, and worst of all, instructions on how these rituals must be performed (Ndlovu 2005, 2009a). With such stringent and misplaced conditions, tensions between the Duma Clan and government officials unfolded during the first performance which was held in 2003 (Ndlovu 2005). The disputes developed as a result of the heritage manager's interference with the traditions of the Duma Clan. For example, they were prescriptive on how their sacrificed eland should be slaughtered (Ndlovu 2005; 2009a).

Ndlovu (2009) used the above case study to demonstrate how the NHRA is out of touch with traditional management systems (Jopela 2011). Jopela (2011) defines traditional management system custodianships as heritage management approaches guided by beliefs systems and customs of local communities (See also Mokoena 2015).

Other scholars such as Pikirayi (2007), Pyburn (2008) and Ndlovu (2011) propose a review of our current heritage legislation (that is the NHRA) and the incorporation traditional management systems in managing the heritage resources of the country. The role and powers of local people in managing their heritage should be clearly articulated in the NHRA (Ndlovu 2011: 9).

2.2 Review of Johannesburg Heritage Policy

KOAM is under the management of the CoJ Municipality, which is the local authority in terms of Section 8 (4) of the NHRA (Mshudulu 2018: 01). It goes without saying that local and provincial governments have an important role to play in the management of heritage resources in South Africa as per Section 8 (1) of the NHRA (Deacon 2015). The NHRA is the key legislation liable for the protection of heritage resources in South Africa (Mlilo 2016). In turn provincial and local heritage authorities' policy and guidelines are informed by principles contained in the NHRA (see Johannesburg Heritage Policy (JHP) 2004). This is done in terms of Section 47 (2) of the NHRA which empowers the local and provincial authorities to develop their own heritage conservation management guidelines for the heritage resources under their authority.

Through its Department of Community Development, the CoJ has established the Directorate of Arts, Culture and Heritage to promote and preserve heritage resources within their boundaries (Community Development Business Plan 2018). The mandate of

this directorate is to facilitate social cohesion, support nation building and improved quality of life for all in the CoJ through heritage and arts services (Community Development Business Plan 2018). The JHP adopted by Council in 2004 was developed by the CoJ to enable effective management of all heritage resources under its authority (Itzkin 2018).

The JHP is divided into seven sections. The first section introduces the policy framework and provides the historical background of the City from its original days as a mining town. Furthermore, this section provides the type of heritage resources that the City owns. These heritage resources include old public buildings, liberation heritage sites, cultural villages, museums, galleries and old churches (JHP 2004). This section further emphasises that CoJ heritage resources must be carefully managed for future generations as per the international best practices and other applicable legislations such as the NHRA (JHP 2004).

Section 2 of the JHP provides the legislative foundation of the JHP. This section focuses on the "three-tier system for heritage resources management in South Africa" (Ndlovu 2011:36), and elaborates on the role and responsibilities of SAHRA and PHRA-G in ensuring that heritage local authorities are functional and effective (JHP 2004) This section of the policy however, fails to provide specific guidelines on how CoJ will interact and work together with SAHRA and PHRA-G.

Section 3 of the policy provides the rationale as to why it is important to preserve and conserve CoJ heritage resources. Section 4 of the policy discusses the significance of heritage in changing urban landscapes. Change and adaptation is central to Johannesburg's history (Itzkin 2018). The JHP is cognisant of development challenges, and thus emphasizes that the Johannesburg's post-apartheid urban landscape must adapt and continue to change (JHP 2004). This section discusses the balance between development and heritage preservation.

Section 5 of the JHP deals with the processes in the identification and listing of heritage resources located within the boundaries of CoJ. Furthermore, this section elaborates on the importance of the relationship between heritage and research.

Section 6 focuses on the strategies for managing City-owned heritage resources. This segment provides a five-point plan that should be used as a guideline to manage CoJ heritage resources. The five-point plan provides polices and legislations that should be followed to maintain all CoJ heritage resources. The policy further encourages all heritage

resources to erect interpretive plaques and signs. Lastly, this section emphasises that CoJ heritage resources must receive legal protection.

The last section of the policy (Section 7) deals with community involvement in the management of CoJ heritage resources. Section 7.2 (i) and (ii) of the JHP make provision for the involvement of residents of Johannesburg in the management of their heritage resources. This section is in line with the NHRA, in particular Section 13 (1) (e) of the NHRA. It further states that residents of Johannesburg are encouraged to participate in identifying and managing their heritage resources. However, as is the case with the NHRA Section 13 (1) (e), the JHP does not provide even basic guidelines on how the residents of Johannesburg will be involved in the management of their heritage.

2.3 Challenges impeding implementation of JHP

Beyond having strong policies and Conservation Management Plans, KOAM requires a functional institutional framework that is well-funded. Developing good Conservation Management Plans without adequate personnel to implement guidelines enshrined in these plans is self-defeating. Deacon (2015) points out that the implementation of heritage legislation requires sufficient financial resources to ensure that all three tiers of the heritage authorities are able to enforce the NHRA (see also Karenga 2009). Deacon (2015) and Mlilo (2016) contend that without sufficient financial resources, proper conservation of heritage resources in South Africa as envisaged in the NHRA remains a prospect rather than an attainable goal. These challenges are also facing KOAM which has insufficient appropriately qualified staff and due to a lack of financial resources it cannot recruit more employees. Taking into the consideration the resource scarcity in South Africa coupled with poor economic growth, KOAM should perhaps explore partnerships with private businesses for sponsorships as discussed in detail in Section 6.7 of this report.

2.4 Summary

This chapter provided the overview of the management of heritage resources in South Africa with particular focus on KOAM. It discusses the weaknesses and strengths of the act and how it relates to the community and management of KOAM. The three-tier system was also highlighted by looking briefly at its practicality in terms of implementation. The JHP was also examined in terms of whether it makes sufficient provision for community participation in the management of KOAM. Challenges impeding the implementation of NHRA and JHP were also discussed. Amongst many challenges discussed, the lack of a

fully functional institutional framework was seen as the biggest challenge confronting the management of KOAM.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

This section reviews relevant literature on community archaeology, providing both international and regional perspectives. It begins by providing an overview of community archaeology in the field of archaeological heritage management. The chapter also focuses on the successes and failures of community archaeology as an approach in heritage management. Issues of ethical archaeology and transformation of archaeology in South Africa are discussed as they are of fundamental relevance to this project.

3.2 Global context

Francis Pryor (1996) has interestingly defined community archaeology as archaeology of the people, for the people and by the people. He referred to the discipline of archaeology as nothing if doesn't involve the local communities that we investigate (see also Ndlovu 2016: 138). Pikirayi (2016), holds a position that better archaeologies can be attained when multiple voices are considered. This position firmly places community archaeology as an important aspect of archaeology.

Community-based archaeology has gained importance in the broader field of archaeology across the world (see Garlake 1982; Ndoro 2001; Marshall 2002; Watkins 2003; Kuper 2003; Munjeri 2004; Damm 2005; Schmidt & Pikirayi 2016). When and where the concepts of community participation in archaeology started is not clear (Chirikure & Pwiti 2008: 467). Some research evidence, however, demonstrates that this concept has been in existence for some decades (see McGimsey 1972; Cole 1980; Deloria 1992; Arenzi 1998; McManamon 2000; Marshall 2002; Kuper 2003; Segobye 2005; Watkins 2005). The successes and shortcomings of this concept have been recorded across the world (Marshall 2002; Merriman 2004; Lammy 2006; Chirikure *et al*. 2010). For example, the cases of the Brayford exaction (United Kingdom (UK), Grosvenor Park excavation (UK), Mapungubwe (South Africa), Thulamela (South Africa), Ngorongoro (Tanzania), Shimoni (Kenya) and Domboshaba (Zimbabwe) come to mind. These case studies reveal how community archaeology has produced mixed results across the world. The Brayford excavations (Simpson 2008) and Shimoni (Abundu 2006) have demonstrated the benefits and importance of community-based archaeology whilst the case of Domboshaba where the local community was in loggerheads with Zimbabwean government revealed problems that may arise during implementation of community-based archaeology. Central to the principles of community archaeology is an interest among practicing archaeologists of

comprehending the political nature of archaeology as a discipline, the archaeologist needs to be willing to play part in decolonising it (see Spector 1993; Shepherd 2002; Atalay 2012; Pyburn 2008; Pikirayi & Schmidt 2016).

The growth of community-based archaeology has been enabled by a shift in views from processual to post-processual archaeology (Marshall 2002; Hodder 2008). Post-processual archaeology advocates inclusion of multiple voices in archaeological and heritage management practices (Trigger 1989; Hodder 2000; Marshall 2002; Smith 2004). As stated by Hodder (2008: 196) "Post-processual archaeology emphasizes multi-vocality as an integral element of heritage and archaeological practice". The work of Trigger (1989), Marshall (2002) and Smith (2004) echoes the latter observation by Hodder. Community archaeology is based on the premise that better archaeology can be achieved when more diverse voices are involved in the interpretation of the past (Marshall 2002). Tully (2007: 58) emphasises this point arguing that "the involvement of local communities does not mean compromising the scientific nature of archaeology, but rather acknowledging how research integrates with society" (see also Simpson 2008).

Whenever I engage with community archaeology publications, I have found that scholars always feel the need to define the term "community" (see Marshall 2002; Tully 2007: 157; Fouseki 2010; Chirikure & Pwiti 2008: 468; Crooke 2010:19; Ndlovu 2011: 124). This might be a good starting point in dealing with community-based archaeology. However, Pikirayi & Schmidt (2016: 04) hold the position that for practicing archaeologists to be able to define this highly contested concept, they archaeologists should be guided by the realities that we find in the field. This should be done rather than giving credence to abstract definition of what community is, or what it is not. Pikirayi & Schmidt embrace this view based on the fact that the communities that we investigate are unique (see also Chirikure & Pwiti 2008). One definition of community may apply to a particular site but can be irrelevant to another. It is against this backdrop that Chirikure & Pwiti (2008) believe the definition of community should be understood as circumstances differing from one heritage resource to the other.

Community-based archaeology has gained prominence globally in countries such as Canada, United States of America (USA), Australia, United Kingdom (UK) and the Pacific to mention few (see Ferguson 1996; Pwiti & Ndoro 1999; Eze-Uzomaka 2000; Marshall 2002; Kuper 2003; Howard 2003; Clifford 2004; Munjeri 2004; Merriman 2004; Damm 2005; Hall 2005; Lammy 2006; Ndlovu 2016). Ndlovu (2016) suggests that the extent to which community-based archaeology succeeds in a particular context is highly influenced

by the politics of the specific country in question. Even though community archaeology takes different forms, at its core around the world is interest in working with local communities (see Garlake 1982; Marshall 2002; Watkins 2003; Kuper 2003; Damm 2005; Schmidt & Pikirayi 2016).

Countries such as Canada have made community involvement compulsory in the management of archaeological heritage (Damm 2005). Other examples of communities involved in heritage management outside Africa include the Native Americans and Aboriginal Australians (Ferguson 1996). In both of these cases, the Native Americans and Aboriginal people were frequently at loggerheads with archaeologists and heritage managers on how their heritage should be managed—in particular their graveyards (see Langford 1983; Deloria 1992; Ferguson 1996; Zimmerman 2005). Community archaeology has without a doubt given the local, indigenous and traditional people across the world an opportunity to participate in heritage management and archaeology (McManamon 2000; Marshall 2002; Damm 2005; Schmidt & Pikirayi 2016). This has ultimately contributed in restoring the dignity of these communities with regards to how their heritage is managed (Deacon 1996; Schmidt & Pikirayi 2016).

Does community archaeology really matter? Is it attainable? Does it really contribute in developing effective heritage management practices? To answer all these questions, Simpson (2008) conducted a study in both the USA and the UK. The study evaluated the value of community archaeology using five different excavation case studies. These studies included Grosvenor Park (Chester), Shoreditch Park (London), Hungate (York) and Brayford (Devon) in the UK, and Muncy (Pennsylvania) and Mitchell (South Dakota) in the USA. Simpson discovered that inclusion of local communities in archaeological projects leads to a better and a more comprehensive interpretation of archaeological sites (Simpson 2008). He holds the view that the inclusion of local communities in all of the case studies mentioned above enabled archaeologists to better interpret the sites that resonated with local people, therefore placing the past firmly in the present (Simpson 2008).

The new journal called *Journal of Community Archaeology and Heritage* (https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/ycah20) has been providing the much-needed platform to emphasise and promote the importance of community archaeology (Ndlovu 2016). It is platforms like this that will allow researchers across the world to discuss and act on the importance of community archaeology and the need to move away from a top-down approach and begin to genuinely involve local communities in archaeological and heritage

projects (see Shepherd 2002; Greer *et al.* 2002; Tully 2007; Chirikure & Pwiti 2008; Atalay 2007). Below I focus on community archaeology from an African perspective.

3.3 African context

The practice of archaeology and heritage management practices in Africa during colonial times was characterised by research approaches that excluded the majority of local communities in the interpretation and preservation of their heritage (see Ndoro 2001; Pikirayi 2007; Taruvinga 2007; Chirikure & Pwiti 2008; Ndlovu 2009c; Pikirayi & Schmidt 2016: 01). Ndoro & Pwiti (2001: 21) have pointed out that the management of heritage during colonial times "reflected the interest of the colonial masters and hardly considered the aspirations of local communities". Based on this reality, Chirikure & Ndoro (2009) argue that beside methodological and theoretical challenges related to community archaeology, the concept of community archaeology in Africa should be embraced and be understood as a progressive approach. They argue further that this approach should seek to redress the past ills of colonialism by including multiple voices in the interpretation of the past. The significance of this statement is that community archaeology seeks to address the ills of the past where local communities were excluded from the management of their heritage (Ndlovu 2009a; Pikirayi 2016).

Deacon & Deacon (1999), Ndoro (2005) and Ndlovu (2009a) highlight that local communities were excluded through colonial heritage legislation; this relegated local communities to the periphery with regard to how their heritage was managed. According to Deacon & Deacon (1999:196), "lack of involvement of local communities in managing their heritage can be traced back to the 19th century legislation". Colonial legislation failed to make provision for permitting local Africans to take part in the management of their heritage (Ndlovu 2011). It has also been argued elsewhere that during the colonial era, African countries practiced archaeology as a colonial enterprise, in which African voices were marginalised (see Ndoro 2001; Shepherd 2005; Hall 2005; Pikirayi 2007; Chirikure & Pwiti 2008; Ndlovu 2009b; Lane 2011; Pikirayi & Schmidt 2016).

The implementation of community archaeology in African countries has typically gained momentum after independence (see Shylon 1996; Eze-Uzomaka 2000; Ndoro 2001; Hall 2005; Ndlovu 2009b; Reid 2014; Schmidt & Pikirayi 2016). Ndoro (2000) and Chirikure & Pwiti (2008) argued that before independence, legislation in African countries was used as an instrument to exclude local communities from their heritage. It is against this unfortunate historical reality that this research intends to contribute in closing the gap that

currently exists in the field of community participation in archaeology and heritage management practices (see Ndoro 2004; Abungu 2006; Ndlovu 2016; Schmidt & Pikirayi 2016).

The management of archaeological heritage in Africa still manifests colonial legacies (see Shepherd 2002; Abungu 2006; Ndlovu 2009b; Schmidt & Pikirayi 2016). This is obvious notwithstanding the substantial changes (such as the proclamation of National Heritage Resource Act of 1999 in South Africa) that have happened in the last three decades to offset the colonial foundations of the discipline by including local people in archaeological research projects (Jopela 2011; Reid 2014). Despite the growth of community participation in archaeology in South Africa, it is still confronted with a number of methodological and theoretical challenges (Jopela 2011).

A prominent challenge relates to the meaning of the term 'community' when practicing community archaeology. This gives rise to complications in identifying who the "real" community is—who is considered to be 'the community' differs from one situation to another (see Chirikure & Pwiti 2008; Funari 2010; Jopela 2011). To complicate things further, is the fact that heritage managers and archaeologists are sometimes reluctant to share power with local communities and see them as research subjects that simply need to be informed about the significance of their past (Holtorf 2005; Chirikure & Pwiti 2008: 474).

Similar to other African countries gaining independence, participation of local communities in archaeological heritage management in South Africa has gained prominence since the 1994 demise of the apartheid government (see Shepherd 2002; Watkins 2003; Kuper 2003; Damm 2005; Zimmerman 2005; Fontein 2006; Chirikure & Pwiti 2008; Pikirayi 2009; Ndlovu 2009b; Ndlovu 2011; Schmidt & Pikirayi 2016). The "political transition by South Africa to a democratic government in 1994 eventually led to the adoption of National Heritage Resource Act No 25 of 1999 (NHRA), which promoted the involvement of local communities in the management of their heritage resources" (Ndlovu 2011: 125). However, Ndlovu (2011:124) contends that "whilst we have new heritage legislation, colonial scientific elements of heritage management have not been fully eradicated, and as such, the values and beliefs of local African communities have not been fully incorporated".

The case study of Prestwich Street in Cape Town where human remains dating to mid-1700 were discovered and exhumed in 2003 without sufficient engagement with local

communities demonstrate the dangers that come with undermining the concept of community archaeology and its potential as a tool for the reconstruction of the past and social justice (Ernsten 2006; Shepherd 2007: 24; Pikirayi 2009: 125). This case demonstrates that community engagements should not be a 'by the way' process but should be treated as a delicate process to avoid conflicts between local communities, archaeologists, heritage managers and government agencies (Shepherd 2007: 24; Pikirayi 2009; Shepherd 2015). Prestwich Street is arguably one of the most contested archaeological projects in South Africa post-apartheid. Important lessons can be drawn from this case study with regards to how local communities can be involved in archaeological and heritage projects (Ernsten 2006: 01). The next section will review the success and failures of community archaeology in Africa by assessing different case studies.

3.4 Successes and failures of community archaeology in Africa

In this section I discuss several case studies from southern Africa and the rest of Africa to demonstrate that archaeology or heritage management practices can only be relevant if it involves and engages with local communities (Pikirayi 2016). In contrast, this paper also acknowledges sentiments that have been documented elsewhere that community archaeology does not always guarantee success (see Nzewunwa 1990; Pwiti 1996; Munjeri 2004; Ndoro 2004; Pikirayi 2009; Kuljian 2009: 10; Abungu 2006, Mokoena 2015: 53). In some instances, local people are manipulative and see archaeology as a tool to manipulate and distort their history to suit their land and traditional leadership claims (Pikirayi 2009; Schmidt & Pikirayi 2016).

Some disappointments of the application of community archaeology have been recorded in some of the best-known archaeological sites, such as Nok Valley and the Kwatokwashi in Nigeria (Chirikure & Pwiti 2008). In both of these cases the very same community that was supposed to protect their heritage was responsible for the looting and vandalism at these sites (Chirikure & Pwiti 2008). A similar case study relates to Domboshava in Zimbabwe (Pwiti & Mvenge 1996; Taruvinga 2007), whereby the site was vandalised by local communities after a disagreement between them and the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ). Domboshava is a well-known Rock Art site located in Zimbabwe, it was first declared a national monument in 1936 (Chirikure & Pwiti 2008).

The construction of Didima Rock Art Centre and Kamberg Rock Art Centre in Kwazulu-Natal without sufficient involvement of the local community also proved to be problematic

(Ndlovu 2016). Both of these centres were built by government in collaboration with Witwatersrand University. Tension between government and local communities immediately emerged as local people argued that they had not been consulted. For example, in Didima, there was a space reserved for craftspeople to sell their products, but these people refused to move to this space claiming that that were not consulted when the space was constructed (Ndlovu 2016: 147). However, after several engagements with these local crafters, an agreement was reached between the site manager and the local crafters. This misunderstanding could have been avoided had consultation with the local people been prioritised in the initial stages of the construction of the centre (Ndlovu 2016).

Despite these failures, the concept of community archaeology has much potential for managing our archaeological heritage. Ngorongo World Heritage Site located in Tanzania is testimony to the success of community participation. In this case study, the Masai local people have been incorporated in the management of the World Heritage Site and the booming tourism is boosting the local economy of the Masai people (Chirikure *et al*. 2010: 31). The Shimoni Slave Caves case study in Kenya also shows how collaboration between government, academics and local communities can benefit all stakeholders. Local people have taken ownership of the site whilst the government is also generating the much-needed funds through tourism to uplift the community of Shimoni through job creation (Abungu 2016: 110).

The Living Landscape Project in Clanwilliam is another good example in this regard (Parkington 1999). This project studied the local landscape of Clanwilliam using indigenous knowledge to understand the past identities of the Khoekhoen and the San (Chirikure & Pwiti 2008: 470). The Mapungubwe re-burial case study also demonstrates the potential of community archaeology in reconstructing and managing our heritage (Schoeman & Pikirayi 2008). Human remains were excavated at Mapungubwe in around the 1930s and were stored in the University of Pretoria (Nienaber *et al.* 2008). In the early 2000s, a number of claims were lodged by Mapungubwe local communities to return these human remains (Nienaber *et al*. 2008: 01). It is important to highlight that the negotiations of repatriating the Mapungubwe human remains was not an easy process. In this case study, four communities wrestled amongst each other claiming sole ownership of the Mapungubwe remains. On the other hand, the Government had to negotiate with the University of Pretoria to release the remains. With the use of community archaeology approaches such as multi-vocality (Ferguson 1996), a positive outcome was achieved, and the re-burial was successfully performed in December 2007 (Schoeman & Pikirayi

2008). Multi-vocality can be defined as an approach to archaeological reasoning that encourages the different or parallel discourses when we interpret the past (Ferguson 1996; Muhadi 2009; Marshall 2002). Multi-vocality recognises different views; it embraces scientific evidence and the narratives of the local people (Basso 1996; Ferguson 1996; Muhadi 2009). The next section assesses the relationship between community archaeology and transformation

3.5 Decolonising archaeology and heritage management practises in South Africa and elsewhere

3.5.1 The relationship between community archaeology, transformation and decolonisation

Community archaeology is associated with the decolonisation of heritage and archaeological practices (see Shepherd 2002, 2005; Ndoro 2005; Atalay 2010; Pikirayi 2007; Pyburn 2008; Chirikure *et al*. 2010). It is seen as a potent tool that should be used to transform the untransformed archaeology of South Africa (Ndlovu 2009: 11; Pikirayi 2016). Trigger (1990) argued that South African archaeology was the "most colonialist archaeology in Africa" (see also Ndlovu 2009: 91). This statement was made about three decades ago, but it still rings true today (Ndlovu 2009). The main reason for these utterances was the exclusion of Black communities from the management of their heritage. This situation was further exacerbated by the colonial legislation that relegated local communities' aspirations to the periphery (Ndoro 2005; Chirikure & Pwiti 2008). It is for this reason that community archaeology is interlinked with transformation and decolonisation. Below I focus on why scholars such as Ndlovu (2011) and Shepherd (2002) have argued for the need to transform and decolonise the practise of archaeology in South Africa.

3.5.2 Why should we decolonise the practice of archaeology and heritage management practices?

Chirikure & Pwiti (2008) and Deacon & Deacon (1999) have mentioned that during the colonial and apartheid era in South Africa, Black South Africans were deliberately excluded from their heritage. As I highlighted above in Section 3.5.1, the practice of archaeology and heritage management in South Africa remains within the confines of the colonial paradigm (see Ndlovu 2009a; Pikirayi & Schmidt 2016). The exclusion of the Black community in their heritage necessitates the need to transform archaeology and heritage management practises in South Africa (Chirikure *et al*. 2010). The archaeology

of South Africa remains dominantly White (Ndlovu 2009: 91), hence the need to transform it.

It is on this premise that there can be no argument that community archaeology is not only relevant, but necessary (see Shepherd 2005; Ndlovu 2009a, 2016; Smith 2009). The undemocratic government of South Africa pre-1994 has undoubtedly contributed to the current state of untransformed archaeology and heritage management practises that we see today (see Shepherd 2002; Ndlovu 2009; Hubbard 2013).

Ndlovu (2011) and Pikirayi & Schmidt (2016: 04) are of the opinion that there is a need for archaeology to be practiced differently—not only in South Africa, but across the African continent. Pikirayi & Schmidt (2016) emphasise that more intimate engagement between communities, heritage managers and archaeologists should be the order of the day. It is in this context that Smith (2009) and Pikirayi & Schmidt (2016) contend that there is a pressing need to transform archaeology as it is becoming clear that local communities will no longer accept the untransformed practice of archaeology that continuously fails to properly engage them (see Pikirayi & Schmidt 2016). Smith (2009) defines transformation in archaeology as providing opportunities to represent populations in all aspects of archaeology.

The World Archaeological Congress (WAC) 1stCode of Ethics Section 6 states that practicing archaeologists must recognise indigenous methodologies for the management and protection of indigenous cultural heritage (World Archaeological Congress 1990). Section 7 of the same Code of Ethics states that practicing archaeologists must "establish equitable partnerships and relationships between archaeologists and indigenous people whose cultural heritage is being investigated". Therefore, the lack of involvement of local communities can be easily seen as exploitative and in contravention of WAC code of ethics.

3.5.3 A picture of a decolonised and transformed archaeology

To achieve meaningful post-colonial, decolonised and transformed archaeology, a mixture of archaeologists and heritage managers from different racial groups is essential (see Ndlovu 2011). The fact that we have few African archaeologists holding meaningful positions in academia is problematic (Ndlovu 2009b). This is a big challenge because this is where future archaeologists are trained. However, it is encouraging to note that most universities in South Africa are beginning to provide opportunities to young African archaeologists, and this will without a shadow of doubt have a positive impact on the

management of archaeological heritage of South Africa in the future (Schmidt & Pikirayi 2016; Ndlovu 2009c).

Like many other disciplines, the discipline of archaeology is in the process of discarding its colonial and apartheid elements of excluding local communities in the management of their heritage (Pikirayi & Schmidt 2016). The formation of the Association of Southern African Professional Archaeologists (ASAPA) in 2004, a decade into the democratic South Africa, including the adoption of the Transformation Charter in 2009 have been seen as bold moves towards transforming the discipline (Ndlovu 2009b; Smith 2009; Hubbard 2013; Ndlovu 2016). The purpose of the adoption of the Transformation Charter was a strategy to address issues of discrimination in the contexts of ethnicity, race, gender and religion. All these challenges were raised by the members of ASAPA (ASAPA 2009: 90; Ndlovu 2009; Mokoena 2015: 28). However, a decade since the adoption of the Transformation Charter and two decades since the fall of apartheid, not much has been achieved. South African archaeology is still dominated by White archaeologists (Ndlovu 2009; Mokoena 2015).

A recent study by Wadley (2013) investigated racial and gender representation within archaeology departments in the University of Pretoria, Cape Town, Stellenbosch and Witwatersrand. The results corroborate findings from scholars such as Ndlovu (2009), Smith (2009), Hubbard (2013) and Mokoena (2015) that South African archaeology is dominated by White archaeologists. By using the numbers of archaeologists who published on *South African Archaeological Bulletin* in the period between 2008 and 2012, Wadley (2013) found that a total of 76 publications were published by White archaeologists versus the 13 that were published by Black archaeologists. With regards to gender, in the period between 2011 and 2012, males published 60% whilst females published 40% of the entire *South African Archaeological Bulletin* publication.

Whilst the adoption of the Transformation Charter in 2009 was seen as a step in the right direction, the practical implementation of the charter is proving to be difficult (Ndlovu 2016). Hubbard (2013) asserts that poor implementation of the transformation charter is a big threat to the growth of community archaeology in South Africa. The attainment of a transformed archaeology in South Africa remains a goal that all should contribute towards. The transformation of heritage and archaeology as highlighted in the ASAPA transformation charter (Ndlovu 2011) does not only seek to redress the ills of the past where local communities were excluded from their heritage, but also contends that better archaeology can be achieved when different stakeholders are involved (Ndlovu 2011).

When local people are involved in the interpretation and preservation of their heritage, it is in itself an important aspect of decolonising archaeology as a discipline (Schmidt & Pikirayi 2016: 02).

It is important to note the fundamental similarities between the goals of the transformation charter and community archaeology. The common denominator is the need to include more Black Africans in archaeology and heritage sector as a whole (Ndlovu 2009, 2011). Ndlovu (2016) points out that the inclusion of Black, Indian and Coloured people in archaeology will ultimately promote community archaeology as every race will be sufficiently represented. Ndlovu (2016: 141) makes a powerful argument that even today, there are archaeologists who are reluctant to take part in transforming archaeology in South Africa. In contrast, there are many White archaeologists who are pro-transformation and stand against undemocratic practises (e.g. Hall 1984: 462; Mason 1987; Shepherd 2002; Mazel 2013; Hubbard 2013).

A picture of Blacks, Indian, Coloured and White people having the same opportunities in the field of archaeology and heritage management should be a goal that we all fight towards (Ndlovu 2011). As it stands, the transformation of archaeology in South Africa remains a goal to be pursued rather than a reality (Ndlovu 2016).

3.7 Summary

This chapter reviewed the literature and provided the definition of community archaeology. This concept was reviewed from both global and African perspectives. Issues of transformation and decolonisation of archaeology and heritage management were also discussed. The discussion in this chapter highlights the way in which archaeology should grow towards transforming and decolonising archaeology through community involvement. A starting point is the training and inclusion of more Black, Coloured and Indian archaeologists. The last section of the chapter dealt with the importance of community participation in archaeology and heritage projects.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research methods I used to investigate the level of community involvement in the management of Kliptown Open Air Museum (KOAM). My Research Report utilised social surveying as a research method. Surveys are a specific type of field study that include the collection of data by means of questionnaires from a selected sample of informants, who are drawn from a well-defined population (Weisberg *et al.* 1996; Leedy & Ormrod 2012). My sample of informants comprised forty individuals (see Table 4.1 & 4.2). These informants were selected through the use of non-probability (purposive and snowball) sampling approaches (see Leedy & Ormrod 2012). The selected informants were interviewed using both structured and semi-structured interview questions (see Weisberg *et al.* 1996; Ritchie *et al*. 2003) in order to obtain a broad spectrum of views on their level of involvement on how KOAM is managed. To achieve this objective, informants were given questionnaires during the interview meetings, (see Appendix 1 for interview questions).

Table 4.1: Summary of the townships covered by the study.

Township	Names of Ward Councillors	Ward	Number of Informants per township
Kliptown	Cllr Pam Sibanyoni	Ward 19	14
Eldorado	Cllr Peter Rafferty	Ward 18	07
Chiawelo	Cllr Johannes Nemaungani	Ward 12	09
Total			**30**

I used semi-structured interviews, in addition to structured interviews, because this provided flexibility, and allowed the informants the liberty to respond freely (Jopela 2010). A total of 10 City of Johannesburg (CoJ) officials from the Directorate of Arts, Culture and Heritage were also interviewed, using structured and semi-structured interviews in order to obtain their views regarding community involvement in the management of KOAM (see Appendix 1 for interview questions). This research also relied on secondary data collection

techniques such as reviewing the literature and National Heritage Resource Act of 1999 (NHRA). The NHRA was reviewed to examine whether or not this piece of legislation makes sufficient provision for active community participation in the management of KOAM.

4.2 Ethical clearance

This research was guided by strict ethics, as per the University of the Witwatersrand policies and guidelines for research involving human subjects. The Ethics Committee approved this study (Ref: GAES 2018 – 02) https://www.wits.ac.za/research/researcher-support/research-ethics/ethics-committees/. A Consent Form and Participant Information Form were developed (see Appendices 2 & 3 respectively). The Consent Form provided the details of the study to ensure that the participants understood what this research was about before taking part. The participants were requested to sign the Consent Form before they could participate in the study. The latter Form also gave the participants the right to withdraw from the study at any time if they wished to do so. The Participant Information Form provided details of the study including the contact details of the researcher. More importantly, this form assured participants of their anonymity with respect to the study.

4.3 Data collection and sampling techniques

This research utilised different data collection techniques, which included a review of published literature, the assessment of the current heritage management plans of KOAM, interviews with informants and questionnaires. Before I began conducting the interviews, planning meetings were held with the individuals responsible for the management of Kliptown Museum, Ward Councillors and local community members of Kliptown to identify informants who should be approached to participate in the study. The outcome of these meetings informed my decision to employ non-probability (purposive and snowball) sampling approaches to select 40 respondents for this study as illustrated in Table 4.2 below.

Snowball and purposive sampling are information selection techniques, which are widely used in humanities (see Tongco 2007). In circumstances where there was limited information on the levels of knowledge amongst selected informants, the snowballing method of chain referrals was used to complement the sampling. Below I discuss informant selection using purposive sampling before I outline my use of snowball sampling. The questionnaire format and content are discussed last.

Table 4.2: Summary of sampling methods including age and gender representation of informants.

Data collection method	**Kliptown**	**Eldorado**	**Chiawelo**	**Total**
Identification of respondents	1	1	1	**3**
Purposive (key informants)	9	5	5	**19**
Snowball (chain referrals)	3	2	3	**08**
CoJ officials (purposive)				**10**
Total number of informants				**40**
Age representation	**Number**			**Total**
18– 30 years	**17**			
31–40 years	**12**			
41–50 years	**03**			
51–60 years	**06**			
61–70	**02**			**40**
Gender representation	**Number**			**Total**
Males	**23**			
Females	**17**			**40**

4.3.1 Purposive sampling

Ten questionnaires were distributed to political activists that have direct links to the adoption of the Freedom Charter. Another ten questionnaires were distributed to the officials of CoJ and KOAM employees. The last twenty questionnaires were distributed to the local people of Kliptown, and its surrounding communities such as Eldorado and Chiawelo townships. The latter participants were selected based on their ties with Kliptown as per the definition of Kliptown community as provided in Section 5 of this chapter. The interviews were conducted either in the Kliptown Museum or in the informants' homes. The location of each interview was chosen based on the preference of the respondent. The officials of the CoJ were interviewed in their offices.

4.3.2 Snowball sampling

The 19 informants that were identified through purposive sampling referred the researcher to the eight political activist that were identified through the snowball technique. These participants were selected based on their knowledge regarding the adoption of the Freedom Charter.

4.3.3 Questionnaire

The questionnaire was designed to ensure that it related to the formulated aim of the research study. To ensure that the questionnaire addressed the aims of the study, questions were arranged in terms of thematic areas (Mphephu 2017). The questionnaire comprised of both open and closed-ended questions. It was structured into the following sections, namely: socio-demographic data; heritage and history of Kliptown; legislation governing heritage resources; and community participation in heritage management (see Appendix 1).

4.4 Data analysis

It is important to indicate that this study used two sets of data i.e. primary and secondary data. The primary data gathered for the study relates to the information obtained through interviews and questionnaires while secondary data refers to literature and any other information that exists but had been collected by researchers for other purposes (Welmn & Kruger 2001: 71). As part of data analysis, this research also studied NHRA legislation and literature to examine whether or not the existing legislations governing KOAM makes sufficient provision for active community participation. Additionally, the different types of data as elucidated above proved to be important for different purposes and objectives of the study.

4.4.1 Analysis of questionnaires

The data acquired through interviews and questionnaires were analysed using qualitative methods as opposed to quantitative methods. The qualitative method denotes “data in the form of words and not numbers” (Finn *et al*. 2000: 8; Timoney 2008: 4). I chose this approach following Leedy & Ormrod (2001: 148) who are of the view that qualitative research is the best technique to accurately measure the views of society. In addition, the results of the interviews were summarised using basic statistical techniques.

In this study, I employed a thematic approach technique to analyse my data using Braun & Clarke’s (2006) ‘six steps of analysing qualitative data’. The first step involved reading

and re-reading each of my interview transcripts, as a strategy to understand the entire body of data (see Braun & Clarke 2006). I made notes and recorded my first impression of the data. The second step involved generating initial codes for my data. This included the classification of pertinent words and phrases. At this stage I started organising my data in a systematic and more meaningful way (see Braun & Clarke 2006).

The third step involved searching for themes in my data and attributing codes. I ensured that the themes identified captured significant aspects reflected in my data. During this stage, I developed a Spread Sheet Analysis document using Microsoft Excel (see Appendix 4). This Spread Sheet Analysis document contained responses from my participants relevant to the themes I identified in this step. Their responses were categorised per theme and were then converted into percentages to allow me to compare different responses from the participants.

Step 4 involved the review of the themes I identified during step 3. During this stage, I reviewed and modified the preliminary themes that I identified. Step five involved defining my themes and identifying the crux of what the themes were about (Braun & Clarke 2006: 92). At this stage I asked critical questions such as the meaning of the themes and how they are linked to my research question. Step six involved interpretation and writing-up of the results. These results are discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

4.5 Challenges

Overall this project did not experience any major problems. A challenge however, was when respondents cancelled meetings at the 11th hour, or simply just missed the scheduled meetings without any notice. Particular meetings had to be rearranged. Some members of the local Kliptown community seemingly lacked interest and only wanted to participate in the study if there were incentives. Regardless of the fact that the study was introduced to the potential informants as a University project, some sections of the community were convinced that I had the power to employ them in the municipality after finding out that I am a CoJ employee.

4.6. Summary

This dissertation employed a qualitative research approach and informants were selected through purposive and snowballing techniques. This study used two sets of data i.e. primary and secondary data. A total of 40 informants were selected to participate in the study. These informants were interviewed using both structured and semi-structured

interview questions. The data acquired through interviews and questionnaires (the Project Questionnaire) were analysed using thematic data analysis technique and applying Braun & Clarke's (2006) six steps of analysing qualitative data. With regard to challenges experience during the course of the research, a minor hiccup was experienced when some respondents cancelled our interview meetings at the 11th hour; however, these meetings were re-arranged. In relation to ethical issues, this research was guided by strict ethics, as per the University of the Witwatersrand's policies and guidelines for research involving human subjects. The School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies Ethics Committee approved this study (Ethics Clearance Number: GAES 2018 – 02).

CHAPTER 5: DATA ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of the data collected in this study through questionnaires (the Project Questionnaire) and interviews. After thorough interrogation of the data, as set out in the methodology chapter, a total of four themes emerged (see Table 5.1). These themes emerged after analysing the data I collected, as discussed in detail in the methodology chapter.

The four themes identified relate to:

- Theme 1: the significance of Kliptown Open Air Museum (KOAM);
- Theme 2: community involvement in the management of KOAM;
- Theme 3: KOAM as an economic hub; and
- Theme 4: challenges experienced in the management of KOAM.

In line with project ethics and the need for anonymity, informants were referred to as "members of the community" and their views were expressed as "community views" without specifying the name of the individual. Views from officials of the City of Johannesburg (CoJ) were denoted as such, without specifying their names or job titles. Where specific statements were attributed to individuals within these two categories they were defined by numerical qualifiers, e.g. Community Member 1, or Official 1.

5.2 A thematic data presentation from the questionnaires and interviews

Each of the core themes had between two and three sub-themes (see Table 5.1 for details).

Table 5.1. Preliminary codes/themes identified.

Codes/themes	Sub-themes
1. The significance of KOAM	• The importance of the Freedom Charter • The birth of democracy • Possibility of KOAM being upgraded from Grade III to Grade I and nominated as a World Heritage Site

2. Community involvement in the management of KOAM	• The level of community involvement in the management of KOAM Strategies to involve local communities • The role of CoJ Municipality in the Management of KOAM
3. KOAM as an economic hub	• Utilising KOAM to address high poverty levels in Kliptown • KOAM as a tourism attraction
4. Challenges and opportunities in the management of KOAM	• Challenges raised by the officials from CoJ i.e. operational challenges, lack of community buy-in and insufficient funding of the museum • Challenges raised by the local community of Kliptown i.e. poor management system of the museum and lack of community involvement

5.2.1 Theme 1 - The significance of KOAM

The first question (Question 1.6) under the heritage management theme section in the Project Questionnaire (Section B) was designed to assess community members' views regarding the significance of KOAM. This question asked respondents if it is important to conserve, protect and preserve the heritage of Kliptown (see Appendix1). Figure 5.1 and Table 5.2 below provide a summary of informants' views regarding the significance of KOAM.

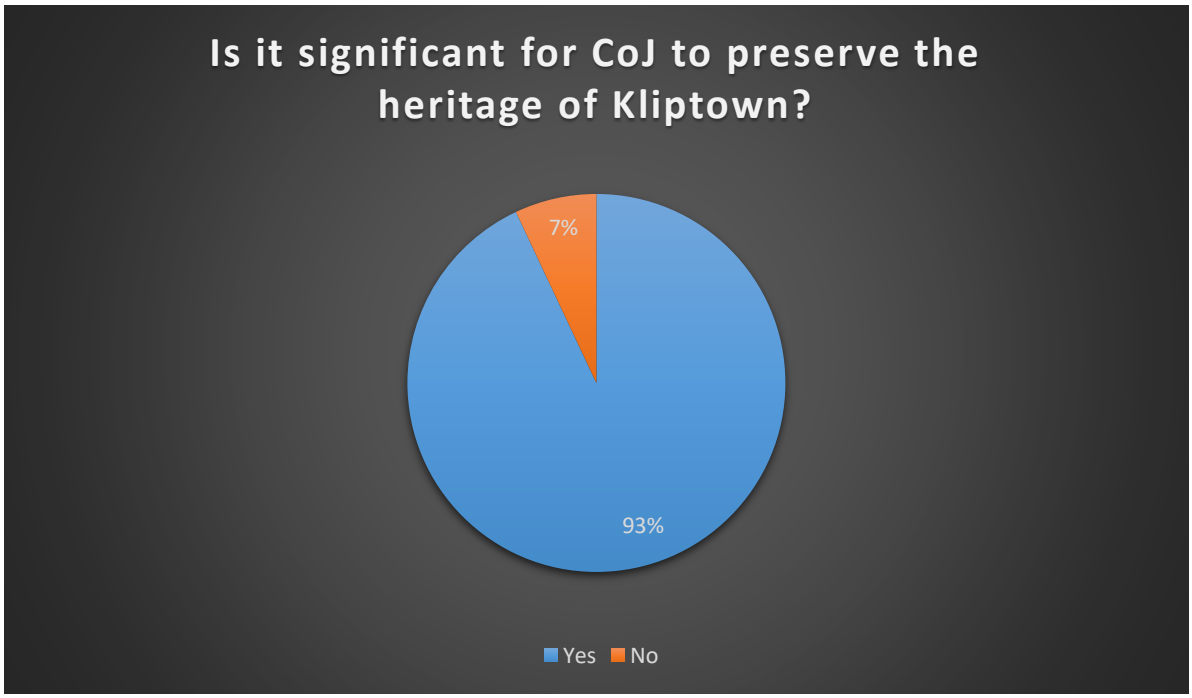


Figure 5.1. Participant responses regarding the significance of KOAM

Table 5.2. Participant responses regarding the significance of KOAM.

Number of community participants	Is KOAM significant?	Number of responses
30	Yes	28 (93%)
	No	02 (7%)

Figure 5.1 and Table 5.2 above illustrate that the interviewed members of Kliptown community regard the heritage of Kliptown as significant. A total of 28 (93%) of the respondent's regard KOAM as a significant heritage resource. Two (7%) of the interviewed participants regarded KOAM as an insignificant heritage resource, because they said that it does not help them in any way. Their responses were similar in the sense that they both touched on the fact the museum is not benefiting local people financially and therefore is not worth preserving. I will provide a detailed analysis regarding KOAM as an economic hub in Section 5.2.3.

The majority (28 individuals or 93%) of the interviewed informants who believe that the heritage of Kliptown should be preserved demonstrated political consciousness. All of these participants indicated that the democracy that we celebrate today in South Africa was a result of the adoption of the Freedom Charter in their township, Kliptown. These participants deemed it necessary that this heritage be celebrated and believed that it is worth preserving. *"We are the home of democracy, the home of the Freedom Charter that is celebrated by everyone"* (Community Member 3, interviewed on the 12th of September 2018).

5.2.1.1 The importance of the Freedom Charter

Twenty-eight (93%) of the community members I interviewed view the heritage of Kliptown as significant because it marks the place where the 1955 Congress of the People took place and where the Freedom Charter was adopted. They view the Congress of the People as a central event in the resistance against Apartheid. These participants regard the adoption of the Freedom Charter in Kliptown as a historic moment and worth preserving. These interviewed informants indicated that the Freedom Charter set out the principles for a democratic South Africa that we see today. This event paved the way to the constitutional democracy that we enjoy today.

> "*The adoption of the Freedom Charter in Kliptown was a profound symbolic moment for the South African resistance movement against Apartheid where different races came together and share ideas on the democratic South Africa they envisioned" (*Community Member 2, said who was interviewed on the 10th of September 2018).

These participants indicated that the Freedom Charter is significant as it continues to function as foundation document of the current South African Constitution. One participant indicated that "*The Freedom Charter is important because it represents a turning point in the political struggle in South Africa* (Community Member 6, interviewed on the 6th of September 2018). This statement was echoed by another respondent who said, "*The Freedom Charter is a document that shaped the politics in South Africa",* (Community Member 6, interviewed on the 13th of September 2018).

The two (7%) participants who indicated that they do not regard the Freedom Charter as an important document explained why they hold such a view. One of the community members lamented and said:

"*There's nothing to celebrate about the adoption of the Freedom Charter because we are yet to enjoy human rights such as housing, health care facilities, job opportunities and provision of safety and security as enshrined in the Freedom Charter"* (Community Member 14, interviewed on the 16th of September 2018).

5.2.1.2 The birth of democracy

As alluded to above, 28 (93%) of the interviewed members of the community of Kliptown indicated that the democracy that we enjoy today in South Africa was borne after the adoption of the Freedom Charter on the 26th of June 1955 in Kliptown. These participants based this notion on the fact that the current Constitution of South Africa was developed and shaped by the principles of the Freedom Charter. One of the respondents emphasised this point by saying *"The non-racial South Africa that we see today in the policies of the government are shaped by the ideals of the Freedom Charter*" (Community Member 12, interviewed on the 16th of September 2018).

Even though the Freedom Charter symbolises the birth of democracy, the interviewed community members also emphasised that the Freedom Charter also recognises the past injustices where people were divided by race, colour and sex. The Freedom Charter makes provision for people to have equal rights, Black and White. It is these fundamental,

basic human rights that are enshrined in the Freedom Charter that makes the community of Kliptown see their township as a place where South Africa's democracy was born.

5.2.1.3 Possibility of KOAM being re-graded

As mentioned above, Kliptown is popularly known for hosting the Congress of the People which adopted the Freedom Chapter that in turn shaped the democratic South Africa that we see today. Centred on this history, Kliptown is one of the most significance places that resisted apartheid (Mshudulu 2018). KOAM is in the process of being upgraded from a Grade III heritage resource to Grade 1 heritage resource.

KOAM is struggling to attract sufficient funding as a Grade III heritage resource; it needs to be asked whether the upgrade of KOAM to Grade I National Heritage Site, or a World Heritage Site will position the museum to attract more financial resources? The National Heritage Council (NHC) in partnership with the Southern African Development Community (SADC) are in the process of driving a massive Liberation Heritage Route (LHR) (https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5459/). The purpose of the LHR is to identify, promote and preserve significant sites associated to the liberation struggle across southern Africa. The idea is to connect these sites and form a large-scale network on the sub-continent, thus making a potent contribution to the heritage sector. KOAM has been nominated as one of these sites (https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5459/) due to the historic moment of the adoption of Freedom Charter in June 1955.

City officials confirmed that KOAM has been nominated as a World Heritage Site (WHS), and an application has already been lodged with United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) (Mshudulu 2008: 01). The UNESCO application reference number is 5459. Challenges have already emerged with NHC insisting that the CoJ Directorate of Arts, Culture and Heritage be the funding body of this project (Mshudulu 2018). The CoJ has written back to the NHC telling them that they do not have the resources nor is it within their legal mandate as a local authority to resource or manage this project (Mshudulu 2018). The application of LHR to become World Heritage Site was done on the basis of Criteria ii, iii and iv of UNESCO (Mshudulu 2018: 02).

5.2.2 Theme 2 - Community involvement in the management of KOAM

This theme is significant in this study as it directly relates to the research question of the study, which is the examination of the level of community participation of the Kliptown local community in the management of KOAM. Views were solicited from the informants to

Questions 1.7, 1.8 and 1.16 of the Project Questionnaire in particular (see Appendix 1). Question 1.7 asked the respondents about their level of involvement in the management of KOAM. Question 1.8 gave an opportunity to the interviewed participants to suggest how they could be involved in the management of KOAM. Figure 5.2 and Table 5.3 below provide a summary of informants' views regarding their level of participation in the management of KOAM.

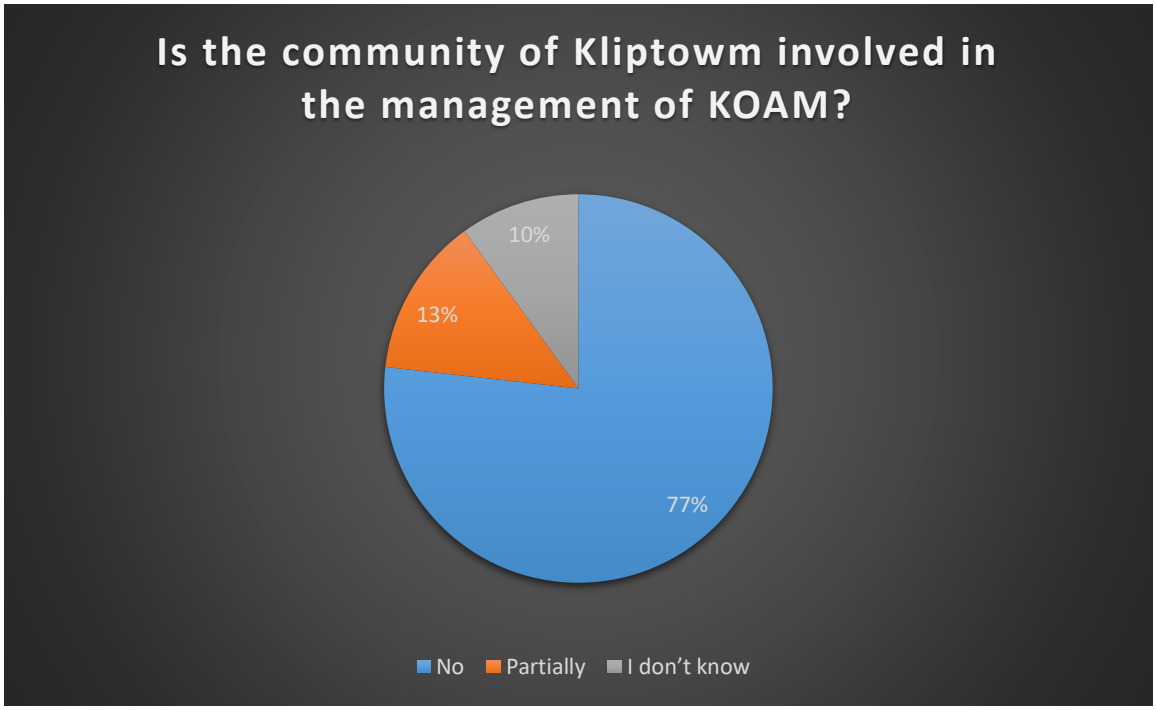


Figure 5.2. Kliptown community perceptions regarding their level of involvement in the management of KOAM.

Figure 5.2 illustrates the level of involvement of interviewed community members in the management of KOAM. A total of 24 (77%) of interviewed members of Kliptown community believe they are not involved in the management of KOAM, as they are never consulted about programmes and projects of the museum. Four (13%) of the informants indicated that they are partially involved in the management of the museum. The other 3 (10%) of my respondents did not have an opinion on this question (Figure 5.2) above.

When I asked participants who should celebrate Kliptown's history get involved in the management of KOAM, 100% of the participants indicated that *"every citizen of South Africa must celebrate the history of Kliptown and therefore form part of the community of Kliptown"* (Community Member 13, interviewed on the 16th of September 2018). But, when

it came to discussing job and business opportunities, the interviewed members of Kliptown community emphasised that residents of Kliptown should be prioritised.

Table 5.3. Community views regarding their involvement in KOAM.

Number of community participants	Communities' perceptions regarding their level of involvement in the management of KOAM	Number of participants responses
30	Not Involved	23 (77%)
	Partially involved	04 (13%)
	I don't know	03 (10%)

5.2.2.1 The level of community involvement in the management of KOAM

Before I attempted to determine the perception of interviewed Kliptown local community regarding their level of community involvement in the management of KOAM, I established if these members of Kliptown community wanted to be involved in the management of KOAM. Question 1.7 of the Project Questionnaire asked participants if they want to be involved in the management of KOAM. Twenty-seven (90%) of the interviewees indicated that they want to be involved in the management of KOAM (see Figure 5.3 and Table 5.4). The other three (10%) of my respondents indicated that they are simply not interested in being involved in the management of KOAM.

Table 5.4. Communities' viewed on whether or not they want to be involved in the management of KOAM

Number of community participants	Communities' perceptions on whether they want to be involved in the management of KOAM	Number of participants responses
30	Yes	27 (90%)
	No	03 (10%)



Figure 5.3. Communities views as to whether they want to be involved in the management of KOAM?

Question 1.16 of the Project Questionnaire solicited views from the interview participants regarding their level of involvement in the management of KOAM. The interviewed community of Kliptown expressed disappointment about their exclusion in the management of KOAM. A total of 24 (77%) of the interviewees are of the opinion that community involvement in the management of KOAM is non-existent (see Figure 5.2.). One of the participants requested the museum officials to "come clean" and tell them if they are excluded from the management of the museum because they are poor and living in abject poverty. In response to Question 1.16, another interviewed community member of Kliptown said "*The improvement of involvement of Kliptown local community in the management of KOAM will restore community pride* (Community Member 22, interviewed on the 20th of September 2018). Other interviewed community members voiced their concern regarding the lack of, or poor communication regarding present and future museum projects and programmes. One gentleman (Community Member 2, interviewed on 5th of September 2018) asked *"Has the museum been built for the people of Kliptown, or not?"* He expressed that working together (cooperation between museum officials and

community members) will yield positive results, and attract more tourists to the museum, thereby boosting the local economy.

5.2.2.2 Strategies to involve local communities

As it stands, the interviewed Kliptown community members believe that their views are not taken into consideration, because the CoJ does not provide a platform to discuss current and future plans for the museum. Question 1.8 of the Project Questionnaire solicited views of interviewed participants on how they could be involved in the management of KOAM. It was interesting to observe that the majority of these respondents were not saying the CoJ must just automatically implement anything requested by community members. Rather they were requesting the CoJ to provide a platform on which to engage and share ideas with the community for efficient heritage management of KOAM.

The lack of public meetings was seen as the main challenge that needs to be rectified in order to turn things around at KOAM. The majority of the participants believe there is friction between officials of the museum and the community. The interviewed members of the Kliptown community are of the opinion that lack of engagement by the City is the deliberate result of undervaluing them because the majority of them are living below the poverty line.

Museum officials, on the other hand, blamed the lack of financial resources for the lack of community involvement and were the main reason why most of the suggestions by local people have not been implemented (discussed in detail in Section 5.2.2.3). Below I list suggestions made by the interviewed members of Kliptown community on how they want to be involved in the management of KOAM.

All participants interviewed provided strategies, or suggestions, on how the CoJ can involve them in the management of KOAM. The interviewed respondents believed that the first thing that the CoJ must do is to communicate with the local community by calling public meetings to brief them about the museum's projects. Participants indicated that this platform will enable the community to raise their opinions on how they want their heritage to be conserved and preserved. The suggestions are:

- Regular public meeting to engage on any matter affecting KOAM (successes and failures);
- Community outreach programmes;

- Provision of Job and business opportunities;
- Constant engagement on museum programmes;
- Provision of a platform to tell their own history;
- Formalise and give support to the local site guides; and
- Provide funding for local heritage NGO's and NPO's for their contributions in telling and promoting the history of Kliptown.

The community of Kliptown have a conviction that if the above suggestions are implemented by the CoJ, KOAM will be in a better place to tell the stories of Kliptown history, and ultimately attract lucrative partnerships with local business people.

5.2.2.3 The role of CoJ Municipality in the management of KOAM

A total of ten officials from the CoJ were interviewed to solicit their views regarding the level of community involvement in the management of KOAM. The ten officials interviewed were from the CoJ Directorate of Arts, Culture and Heritage. Three of these officials are KOAM employees. Questions 1.16 and 1.19 of the Project Questionnaire were designed to solicit views from CoJ officials regarding their perception on the level of community involvement in the management of KOAM. A total of 24 (80%) of the officials indicated that they are not satisfied with the level of community involvement in their programmes (see Figure 5.4 and Table 5.5).

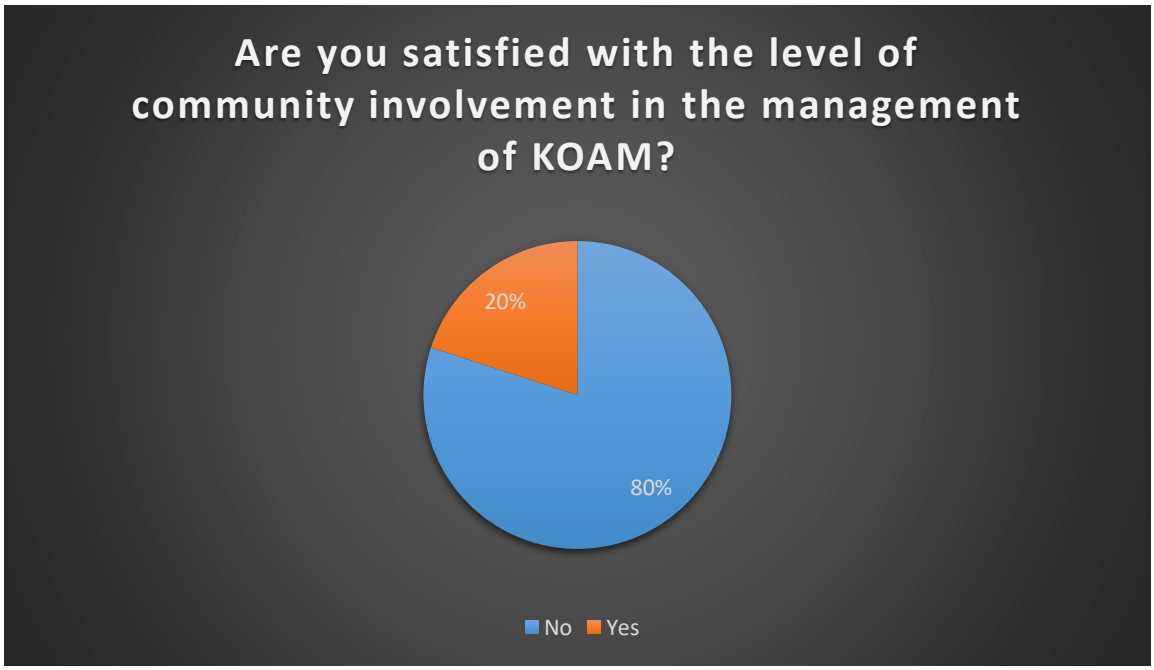


Figure 5.4. CoJ officials' level of satisfaction regarding the involvement of local community of Kliptown in the management of KOAM.

Table 5.5. Official's satisfaction on the level of Kliptown community involvement in the management of KOAM.

Number of community participants	CoJ officials level of satisfaction regarding community involvement in the management of KOAM	Number of participants responses
30	Yes	24 (80%)
	No	06 (20%)

When I asked why they are not satisfied with the level of community involvement in the management of KOAM, 24 (80%) of these officials cited lack of financial resources as the main reason why they fail to sufficiently involve community in their programmes. One official said, *"the local community of Kliptown is passionate about their heritage and want to be involved in the management of KOAM"* (Official 1, interviewed on the 5th of September 2018). The other six (20%) of the interviewed officials indicated that they are satisfied with the level of community involvement and provided examples of different programmes that the museum is implementing as part of the strategy to involve local community of Kliptown in the management of KOAM (see Figure 5.5).

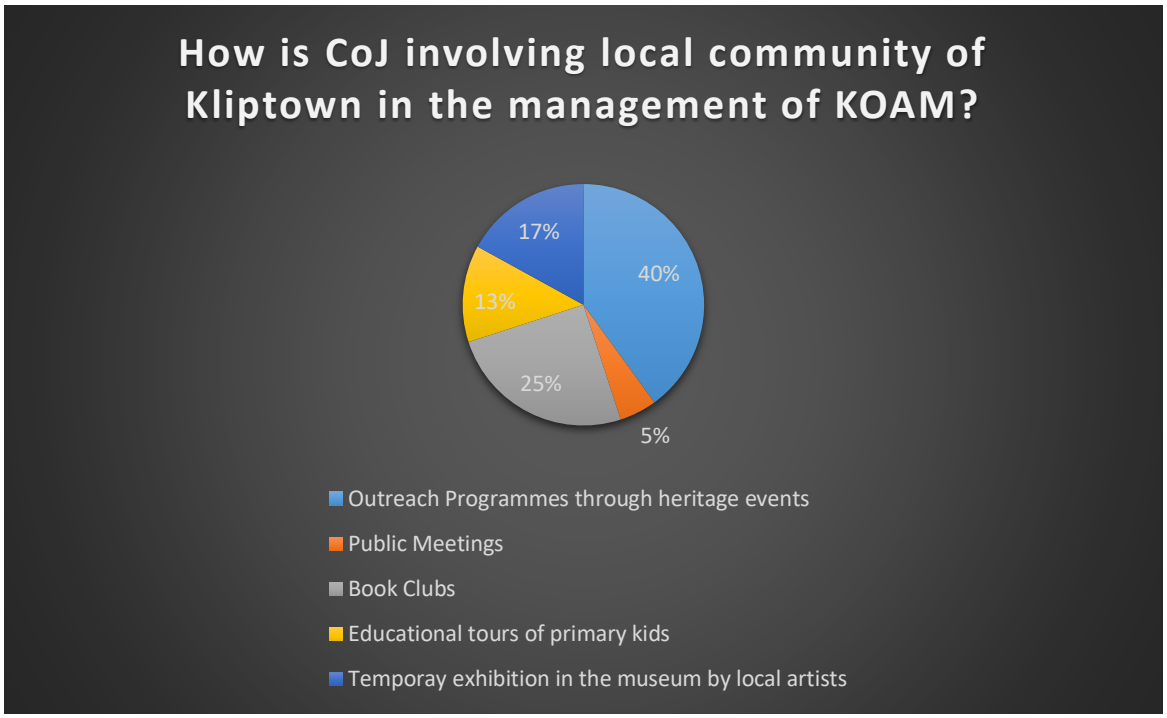


Figure 5.5. Illustrating how CoJ is involving the local community of Kliptown in the management of KOAM.

All officials acknowledged that the programmes listed in Figure 5.5 do exist, but the challenge lies with non-implementation of these programmes due to lack of financial resources. Marketing and advertising are also a challenge in KOAM because there are no funds for advertising or other marketing activities (Official 8, interviewed on the 5th of September 2018).

5.2.3 Theme 3 - KOAM as an economic hub

5.2.3.1 Utilising KOAM to address high poverty levels in Kliptown

Question 1.7 of the Project Questionnaire explored perceptions of KOAM as a potential economic hub. A total of 25 (84%) of the interviewed members of Kliptown community indicated that they see KOAM as a potential economic hub (see Figure 5.6 and Table 5.6). These participants view KOAM as a place that should provide job and business opportunities to the residents of Kliptown. The statistics (see Figure 5.7) indicate that more females are unemployed compared to their male counterparts. The youth voices were more dominant about the need for employment opportunities than the voices of the older generations (see Figure 5.7). One community member indicated that *"government has forgotten the people of Kliptown, a place where the Freedom Charter was adopted".* He added that the*" high rate of unemployment and poverty levels are a reality in Kliptown"* (Community Member 07, interviewed on the 5th of September 2018).

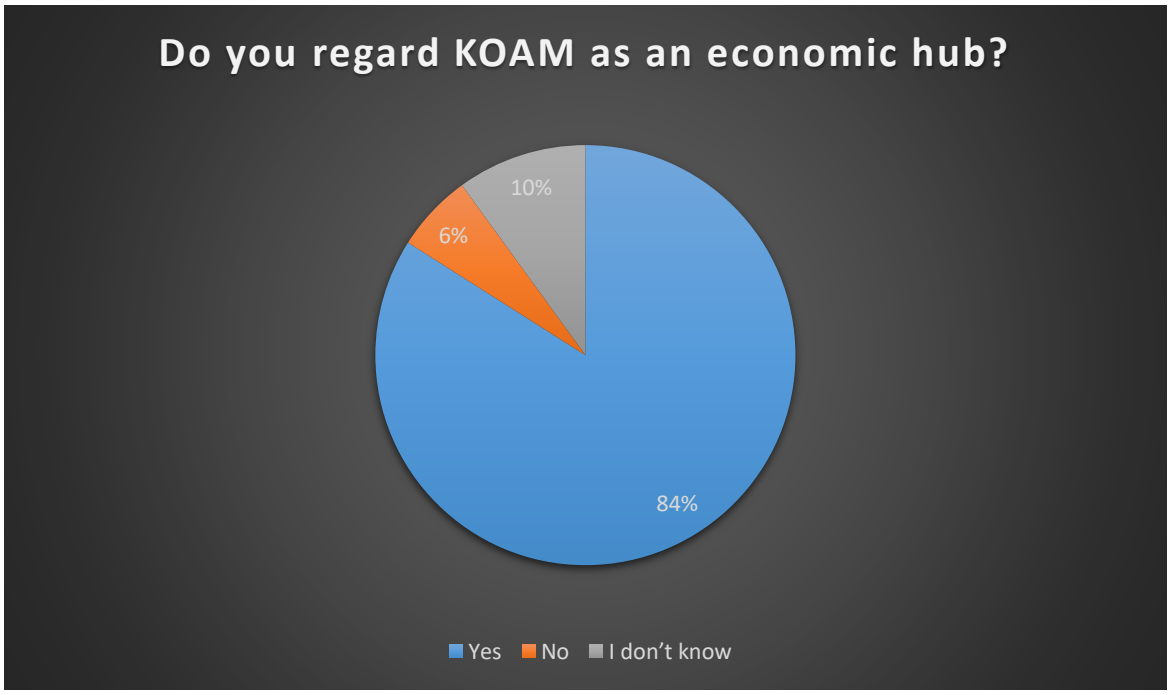


Figure 5.6. Communities views on KOAM as an economic hub.

Table 5.6. Depicting communities' views on KOAM as an economic hub.

Number of community participants	Kliptown Communities' views on KOAM as an economic hub	Number of participants responses
30	Yes	25 (84%)
	No	03 (10%)
	I don't know	02 (6%)

A total of 24 (80%) of the interviewed participants indicated that they are not formally employed (see Table 5.7 and Figure 5.7). One informant told me that when KOAM was built by the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) in the early 2000's, the local community of Kliptown were promised job opportunities—but these never materialised. The majority of the participants indicated that the heritage of Kliptown should be used to uplift the living conditions of the people of Kliptown. The main economic opportunity that has resulted from the construction of KOAM has been a number of informal trading ventures that are taking place around the KOAM precinct. These are community-driven initiatives (see Figures 5.7 & 5.8).

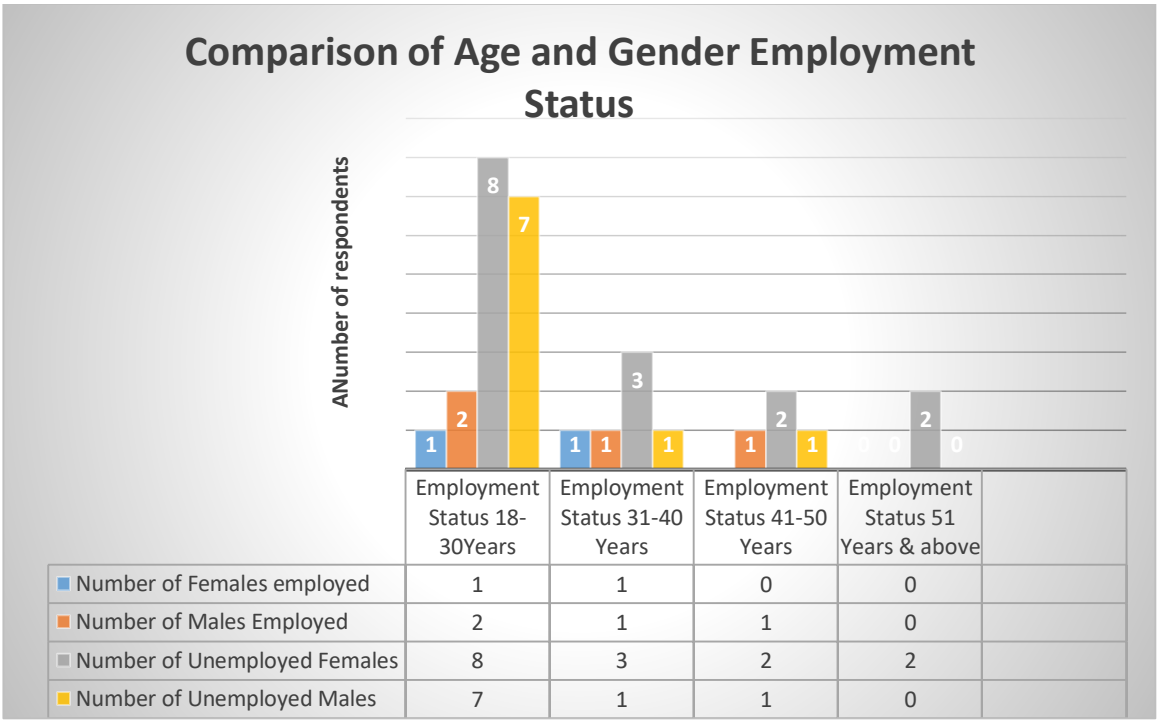


Figure 5.7. Participant's employment statuses per age and gender.

Table 5.7. The employment status of the interviewed informants.

Number of community participants	Kliptown Communities' employment status	Number of participants employed
30	Unemployed	24 (80%)
	Employed	06 (20%)

A number of vegetable-, fruit0 and old clothing stalls are open 7 days a week (see Figures 5.8 & 5.9). These are some of the economic activities the people of Kliptown are relying on in order to feed their families.



Figure 5.8. Photograph showing informal trading stores around KOAM Precinct. Photo: Vele Muhadi.



Figure 5.9. Depicting informal trading around KOAM precinct. Photo: Vele Muhadi.

5.2.3.2 KOAM as a tourism attraction

In response to Question 1.14 of the Project Questionnaire, all participants indicated that KOAM has great potential to attract tourists to their community. They emphasised that the current number of tourists is low because of lack of involvement of the local community in the management of KOAM. One of the interviewed participants indicated that despite CoJ's optimism for increased tourism in Kliptown, the new precinct continues to struggle with regards to the number of tourists visiting the museum.

Another concern relates to perceived employment practices at the hotel in the KOAM precinct. One of the community members indicated that this hotel is not employing local people (Community Member 8, interviewed on the 10th of September 2018). One of the participants compared the tourism performance of KOAM as heritage resource to Vilakazi Street Orlando. This individual believes that the heritage tourism in Vilakazi Street, which is approximately 13 km away from Kliptown is booming as a result of the CoJ working hand in hand with the community of Orlando. This sentiment was echoed by other participants when they indicated that their views are not taken into consideration, hence the failure of the museum to grow and reach its full potential.

The views advanced by interviewed members of the Kliptown community regarding KOAM as a potentially successful tourism attraction are shared by South African Tourism (SAT). In 2004, in partnership with the Nelson Mandela Foundation, SAT launched a programme to promote heritage tourism through Nelson Mandela Life Journey (http://www.saembassy.org/south-african-tourism-minister-launches-madibas-journey-travel-map/). Interestingly, this programme includes KOAM and Mandela's house in Vilakazi Street as key tourism destinations of choice.

5.2.4 Theme 4 - Challenges and opportunities in the management of KOAM

5.2.4.1 Challenges raised by the local community

This theme emerged from Question 1. 9 of the Project Questionnaire. As discussed in Section 5.2.2.2 of this Research Report, when I asked the interviewed community members of Kliptown about their perception of how KOAM is managed, a total of 25 (83%) of them indicated that they are not satisfied with how KOAM is managed (see Figure 5.10 and Table 5.8).

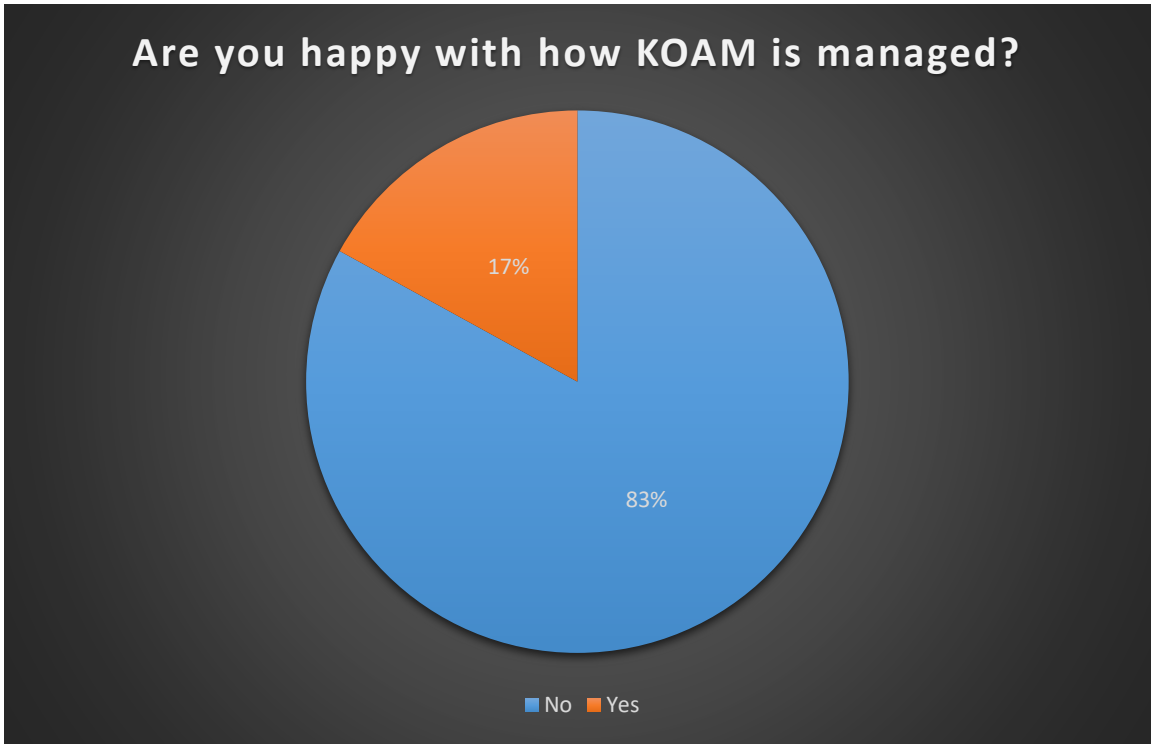


Figure 5.10. Illustration of whether or not those interviewed in the Kliptown community is happy with how KOAM is managed.

Table 5.8. Illustrating community perception on how KOAM is managed.

Number of community participants	Communities' perceptions on how KOAM is managed	Number of participants responses
30	Happy	25 (83%)
	Unhappy	05 (17%)

Participants raised a number of challenges that KOAM needs to address. The two main challenges identified included poor management systems and lack of community involvement in the management of the museum.

Regarding the first identified challenge, notably poor management, one of the community members lamented:

> *"I acknowledge that I might not know the standard operating documents of the museums, but it is clear that whichever strategy the museum is using, that document is not working. If the management is failing to erect a proper signage board of the museum, how can they implement their other strategic mandates?"* (Community Member 17 interviewed on 12th of September 2018).

The second challenge voiced by the interviewed community members relates to their exclusion from the management of the museum. These participants emphasised that the current South African government has no interest in uplifting the lives of the people of Kliptown. Community Member 23, interviewed on the 17th of September 2018 echoed this statement when she said

> *"...the majority of Kliptown residents live in abject poverty without access to decent housing opportunities, proper roads, infrastructure, health care facilities and water and sanitation services*. *The current government doesn't take Kliptown residents serious, hence our exclusion from the management of KOAM*"

Another community member lamented:

> "*Government has been too slow in addressing our dire social problems of the people of Kliptown. It is surprising that Kliptown is one of the poorest*

communities in Johannesburg yet the home of the Freedom Charter. It is ironic that the democratic rights enshrined in the Freedom Charter are enjoyed by other parts of Soweto except Kliptown," (Community Member 15, interviewed on the 10th of September 2018).

The other five (17%) of my participants indicated that they are happy with how the museum is managed. The latter participants acknowledged that a lot can be done to improve the museum, particularly in terms of community outreach programmes.

5.2.4.2 Challenges raised by officials from the CoJ Municipality

Question 1.9 sought to solicit opinion from CoJ officials regarding challenges confronting KOAM. All ten interviewees from CoJ indicated that the museum is experiencing operational challenges, due to lack of financial resources. This resource deficiency for museums is not just a South African phenomenon, but a challenge confronting the entire continent of Africa. Chirikure (2013: 1), for example, echoes this concern by stating that "heritage conservation in Africa is often given insufficient financial resources as compared to other portfolios such as health, housing, education and defence".

The officials in no uncertain terms voiced their opinion that the lack of resources negatively affects, or compromises, service delivery. Official 4 interviewed on the 12th of September 2018 mentioned that:

"All museums of the City of Johannesburg are understaffed due to resource scarcity. These challenges are destroying the relationship between local people of Kliptown and the officials of the City. Without sufficient resources it becomes difficult to involve local people in the programmes of KOAM".

For example, local people of Kliptown have come forward (to officials of the museum) and proposed that the oral history of Kliptown be recorded, and form part of the offerings in the museum. Even though the museum agreed to this proposal, five years later, the museum has not implemented this proposal solely because of lack resources. There is a general consensus among the officials of the CoJ that more funding should be allocated to its museums to ensure that they deliver on their mandates.

Another pertinent challenge raised by the officials was related to the management structures of heritage in South Africa in general. The officials indicated that as much as the legislation (the NHRA) is clear on how the state heritage resources should be protected and promoted, its implementation remains a challenge due to lack of resources

in all levels of SAHRA and related agencies. When I asked the official as to whether or not the NHRA makes sufficient provision for community involvement in heritage management, the majority of the officials believe that the act makes sufficient provision, citing Section 13 (1) (e) of the NHRA. There was consensus among officials that KOAM needs to be better funded to ensure that it contributes towards the South African sense of identity and nationhood.

5.3 Summary

The research data analysed and presented in this chapter provided insights on challenges related to the implementation of community involvement in heritage management programmes of KOAM.

A total of four themes were discussed. Theme 1 addressed the significance of KOAM as a heritage resource and how the community of Kliptown and its surrounding communities perceive their heritage. My findings revealed that both interviewed members of Kliptown community and KOAM officials regard KOAM as a significant heritage resource. Theme 2 explored community involvement in the management of KOAM. This theme revealed that community participation in heritage management remains a challenge in KOAM and in other parts of the continent in general.

Regarding Theme 3 examined KOAM as an economic hub. This theme revealed that KOAM has the potential to be an economic hub for the people of Kliptown. Theme 4 discussed challenges confronting KOAM. These challenges were raised by both the local community of Kliptown and the City's officials. These challenges ranged from operational challenges to insufficient funding of the museum. Community involvement in the management of KOAM remains a challenge due the above-highlighted problems. Lack of sufficient personnel in the management of KOAM is a stumbling block affecting the museum to deliver on its mandate. This study and other studies in South Africa such as those of Mlilo (2016) and Deacon (2015) demonstrate the need to lobby for more financial resources to ensure that museums and heritage sites comply with the NHRA.

This study has shed some light on how difficult it is to fully involve local communities in the management of our museums and heritage sites. The big problem confronting KOAM to fully engage the Kliptown community can be attributed to lack of financial resources. This study also revealed the interest the community of Kliptown has in KOAM and the extent to which they want to be involved.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

6.1 Introduction

This Research Report has set out to examine the level of community participation in the management of KOAM. Further, it has assessed how the community participation model is serving, or is failing to serve, the community of Kliptown. The population of the study involved members of Kliptown community and CoJ officials responsible for the management of heritage resources in Johannesburg. This chapter examines findings of the study as per the themes identified in the previous chapter, focusing on the implications of the research findings and contrasting them with existing literature on heritage management.

6.2 The significance of KOAM

Theme 1 of the data acquired in this research assessed interviewed members of community of Kliptown and CoJ officials' perceptions about the significance of KOAM as a heritage resource. The research results, as discussed in Section 5.2.1, demonstrate that both the local community of Kliptown and CoJ officials regard KOAM as a significant heritage resource. The interviewed members of Kliptown community contend that the democracy that we enjoy today, was born from the adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1955 on the 26 of June, in their township Kliptown. This statement is supported by scholars such Meskell & Scheermeyer (2008), Kuljian (2009) and Roux (2009). Mshudulu (2018) further support the idea of upgrading KOAM from a Grade III to Grade I heritage resource, based on its historical significance of hosting the Congress of the People event (Mshudulu 2018)

The interviewed members of the Kliptown community emphasised the significance of telling their own stories and stress that their oral history should be central in how the story of KOAM is communicated to the general public. The importance of oral history in heritage management is discussed by many scholars such as Ndoro (2005), Fontein (2006), Taruvinga (2007), Ndlovu (2011), Pikirayi (2007), Chirikure & Pwiti 2008). However, as discussed in Chapter 5 the community's proposal to include their oral histories in the museum has not yet materialised.

6.3 Community involvement in the management of KOAM

Theme 2—community involvement in the management of KOAM—is at the core of this study. In this theme, I examined the level of community involvement in the management

of KOAM. I solicited views from both CoJ officials and interviewed Kliptown community members on how Kliptown local community could be involved in the management of KOAM.

The interviewed members of Kliptown community feel they are totally excluded in the management of KOAM. The majority of these community members suggest that KOAM should organise regular public meetings and outreach programmes to ensure that the community of Kliptown is informed and involved in the projects and programmes of the museum (see Section 5.2.2.3 of this Research Report).

The interviewed community members of Kliptown have expressed their interest in being involved in the management of their heritage. A total of 90% of the interviewed members of Kliptown community indicated that they want to be involved in the management of KOAM. The importance of such involvement is supported by the research of a number of renowned scholars in the field of archaeology and heritage management (see Pwiti & Mvenge 1996; Hodder 2000; Marshall 2002; Chirikure *et al*. 2010; Pikirayi & Schoeman 2011; Jopela 2011; Atalay 2012; Schmidt 2014; Abungu 2016; Pikirayi & Schmidt 2016). They advocate for community involvement in archaeological heritage management. These scholars contend that if local people are not involved in the management of their heritage, the question needs to be asked—whose heritage are we preserving and for whom?

As I have discussed in the previous chapters, it is counterproductive to exclude affected local communities in any archaeological heritage projects. Pikirayi (2015), for example, has argued that the participation of local communities in heritage management is not just a social justice issue addressing the injustices of the past where local people were excluded in the management of their heritage. It is also a compliance or legal matter in terms of the NHRA Section 13 (1) (e).

As discussed in Chapter 3, this study has shed some light on challenges that come with community involvement in heritage management. This study has shown how the involvement of local community can be problematic at times. For example, the officials of KOAM mentioned that without sufficient funding, it becomes difficult to involve and implement suggestions made by members of the community.

Even though community archaeology is progressive in its nature; because it gives the previously marginalised communities a platform to express their views (see Ndoro 2001,

2005; Pikirayi 2007; Hodder 2000; Marshall 2002; Pikirayi & Schmidt 2016), the implementation of this concept is surrounded by a range of challenges (see also Kuljian 2009: 10). Chirikure *et al.* (2010) and Abungu (2016) have discussed a number of challenges that affect the implementation of community archaeology. Amongst many, the lack of financial resources and poor communication between heritage manager and local communities are highlighted as some of the main challenges affecting the growth of community archaeology (Deacon 2015).

Section 5.2.2 of my finding have shown the extent at which my interviewed members of Kliptown community wants to be involved in the management of KOM. These findings are not unique, Pikirayi & Schmidt (2016) have warned that local communities are losing patience and will no longer tolerate the practice of archaeology that continuously fails to properly engage them (see Pikirayi & Schmidt 2016). Ndlovu (2016) adds to this narrative by arguing that community involvement in heritage projects should not be a tick box exercise, but a genuine process. Instead community involvement in the heritage management should endeavour to develop a common understanding between community members, government officials, archaeologists and heritage practitioners (Abungu 2016). This may be challenging to attain in a society like Kliptown where the community is confronted with social and economic challenges (Kuljian 2009) but is clearly the desire of all interviewees.

6.4 KOAM as an economic hub

Theme three of this research explored KOAM as an economic hub and the perceived potential of KOAM as a tourism heritage resource. The research results have shown that local community of Kliptown view KOAM as a place that should provide job and business opportunities to the residents of Kliptown. These expectations in part stems from Kliptown being one of the most impoverished communities in Johannesburg with highest levels of unemployment (see Kuljian 2009; Roux 2009).

Poverty in Kliptown is rife, and it is not surprising that many participants see KOAM as a potential employer. The interviewed members of Kliptown community also view KOAM as a potential economic hub (see Chapter 5). The community of Kliptown's aspirations of seeing KOAM as an economic hub are in line with national Government strategies. In 2004, the National Department of Tourism has identified KOAM as one of the heritage resource to be utilised to promote heritage tourism through Nelson Mandela life journey

(http://www.saembassy.org/south-african-tourism-minister-launches-madibas-journey-travel-map/).

As outlined in Chapter 5, the majority of the interviewed community members of Kliptown shared their frustration regarding poor management of KOAM. For example, they claim that when KOAM was built by Johannesburg Development Agency, they were promised job opportunities which never materialised. Meskell & Scheermeyer (2008) and Kuljien (2009) support this perception by pointing out that the museum is failing to grow due to poor organisation and administration by KOAM management.

Heritage and archaeological sites have enormous potential to be used as a catalyst for both social and economic emancipation of local communities (see Chirikure & Pwiti 2008; Comer 2012). All interviewed members of Kliptown community indicated that they are not benefiting economically from KOAM, as they are never consulted about the projects of the museum. This is a challenge as other heritage sites in South Africa have been able to act as means to economically empower their local communities.

As mentioned in the literature review chapter (see Section 3.5), decolonisation and transformation of archaeology and heritage management is about providing opportunities to Black communities thereby uplifting their living conditions (see Nemaheni 2002; Chirikure & Pwiti 2008: 468, Abungu 2016).

6.5 Challenges and opportunities in the management of KOAM

Theme 4 sought to explore the challenges and opportunities in the management of KOAM by specifically assessing the level of community involvement. My research data identified a number of challenges in relation to how KOAM is managed. For example, the results have revealed that KOAM is under-resourced and requires more funding as discussed in the previous Chapter (see Section 5.2.4.2). The results have further revealed that KOAM is marred by both operational challenges, and the related inability to engage the local community in their programmes. These challenges were raised by the interviewed community members and KOAM officials as discussed in detail in Chapter 5 (see Section 5.4). Furthermore, the officials of the museum indicated that as much as the legislation (the NHRA) is clear on how the state heritage resources should be protected and promoted, its implementation remains a challenge due to lack of resources. My research results in Section 5.2.4.2 demonstrate how KOAM officials are frustrated with working in an environment that is under-resourced.

This problem in not unique to KOAM, as Deacon (2015) and Mlilo (2016) emphasised. They point out that SAHRA is not equipped enough to effectively manage the heritage resources of the country. Findings of this study (see in particular Section 5.2.4.2 in the data analysis chapter) has shown the inability of SAHRA and PHRA-G to support local authorities due to limited financial resources to appoint sufficient personnel.

Similar to many other heritage sites, KOAM is associated with several communities with a range of diverse interests which are difficult to satisfy (Chirikure & Pwiti 2008; Pikirayi & Schoeman 2011). Chirikure *&* Pwiti (2008) further contend that at times the involvement of local people in archaeological or heritage projects generates unforeseen challenges. For example, when different communities with multiple interests are associated with one heritage resource, the involvement becomes difficult (Chirikure & Pwiti 2008). This is the case at KOAM; my interviews left me with the impression that some voices of members of the interviewed local community are more dominant than others. Furthermore, Section 5.2.4.2 of the data analysis chapter demonstrates how difficult it is to implement community archaeology without adequate financial resources (see also Deacon 2015; Abunga 2016; Pikirayi 2016). The officials of KOAM have confirmed that insufficient funding of KOAM is contributing to the operational challenges confronting KOAM.

6.6 Community archaeology as a transformation tool

The literature review chapter explored how community involvement in archaeology and heritage management can be used as a tool to transform the archaeology and heritage sector both in South Africa and in other African countries (see Shepherd 2002; Chirikure *et al* 2010; Ndlovu 2011; Deacon 2015). The interviewed local community members, as I have discussed in detail in Chapter 5, have demonstrated their level of dissatisfaction with respect to how they are side-lined in the management of KOAM. This narrative of excluding local communities in managing their heritage is corroborated by the observations of scholars such as Deacon & Deacon (1999), Chirikure & Pwiti (2008), Chirikure & Ndoro (2009), Ndlovu (2009) and Pikirayi & Schmidt (2016). The interviewed local community argued that the current situation at KOAM undermines the ideals of the Freedom Charter, which is about government for the people by the people.

As was the case during in the colonial and Apartheid times, local communities still find themselves at the periphery of how their heritage is managed (see Shepherd 2002; Deacon 2015). The results of this study highlighted the extent to which local communities of Kliptown feel excluded from KOAM-related development initiatives. It is clear that

without the goals of radical economic emancipation, perhaps through tourism as discussed in Section 6.4, heritage sites, and the associated transformation of the discipline will remain meaningless to the Black community. Ndoro (2001) and Chirikure *et al* (2010) have highlighted that community archaeology in southern Africa is still a developing concept and that more research is necessary. This point is accentuated by Ndoro (2001) and Ndlovu (2011) who argues that more research in community archaeology is essential in ensuring that local communities participate and benefit from their heritage resources. Other scholars such as Marshall (2002), Funari (2010), Chirikure *et al* (2010) and Ndlovu (2016) have identified fundamental gaps on community archaeology as there is no blueprint that explains how local communities should be involved when we practise community based archaeology. These challenges have revealed themselves in this Research Report and how it's affecting the growth of KOAM as a heritage resource.

6.7 KOAM heritage management plans

As discussed in Chapter 2, KOAM has operated without a Conservation Management Plan since it was opened to the public in 2006. CoJ is using its Johannesburg Heritage Policy (JHP) as the main policy for managing all heritage resources under their authority with the exclusion of Johannesburg Art Gallery (JAG). JAG has a Conservation Management Plan which was adopted in April 2018 and one can only hope that such plans will be developed for other heritage resources within CoJ boundaries. This situation is problematic as each heritage resource is unique and requires a special plan to ensure its growth and protection (Chirikure *et al*. 2010). This position is echoed by scholars such as Chirikure *&* Pwiti (2008), Pikirayi & Schmidt (2016) and Ndlovu (2016) who point out that each heritage resource is different and therefore its management plans should be unique. Therefore, the one-size-fits-all approach that is being applied in CoJ to manage their heritage resources through JHP without a Conservation Management Plan for each of their heritage resources is problematic.

Clearly, CoJ should develop Conservation Management Plans for each of their heritage resources in compliance with Section (47) (2) of the NHRA. I suggest that these Conservation Managements Plans should include guidelines on how CoJ will involve local communities. This exercise will go a long way in addressing the tension that currently exist between the local residents and KOAM officials. Importantly, KOAM officials must engage local communities when they develop these guidelines and all stakeholders must have a sense of ownership over these guidelines and policies.

6.8 Summary

This chapter discussed the findings of the study, structured into the four themes which emerged in the results. Theme 1 examined the perception of KOAM officials and the Kliptown local community regarding the significance of KOAM as a heritage resource. The results of the study indicated that both KOAM officials and interviewed members of Kliptown community regard KOAM as a significant heritage resource that should be conserved and protected. Theme 2 discussed the involvement of local communities in the management of KOAM and highlighted challenges and confronting KOAM. Theme 3 outlined the potential of KOAM as an economic hub. This theme interrogated the relationship between transformation and economic opportunities in archaeological and heritage management. It was found that transformation without economic opportunities is meaningless. Theme 4 focused on the challenges facing heritage management in South Africa by using KOAM as a case study. The main result emerging is that without adequate funding, proper management of heritage resources remains a dream. The last section of the chapter examined the JHP and NHRA to establish their effectiveness regarding community participation in the management of KOAM.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes the study. It starts with a summary of the Research Report, which is followed by an overview of key insights gained. Next I present recommendations and further research possibilities.

7.2 Summary

This Research Report is structured into seven chapters, the first of which introduced the study topic and area. My research objectives and rationale of the project were also articulated in this chapter. Chapter 2 reviewed the JHP and sections of the NHRA. Specific attention was paid to the NHRA and JHP, assessing whether these pieces of legislation make sufficient provision for active community participation in the management of KOAM. Chapter 3 reviewed literature related to community archaeology.

Chapter 4 outlined the project methodology. I employed qualitative research technique using purposive and snowball sampling to select informants. The data acquired through interviews and questionnaires were analysed using thematic data analysis technique. Chapter 5 presented the findings of the research.

Chapter 6 discussed the findings of the study. Research evidence demonstrate the need to involve the Kliptown local community in the management of KOAM. Challenges regarding the institutional and legal framework of the management of heritage resources in South Africa where also discussed in this chapter. The results of this study highlighted some of the weaknesses of the three-tier system of governance at the national, provincial and local levels. This chapter concluded by providing key insights and recommendations and suggested further research possibilities.

7.3 Key insights

This study demonstrates that the application of a community-involved approach in archaeology/heritage management should be treated as a context-dependent practice; it should never be understood as homogeneous or uniform. The practise of archaeology in Africa remains untransformed contributing to the difficulty in getting community archaeology and heritage management to flourish. Two decades after the abolition of Apartheid in South Africa, limited progress has been made in terms of transforming

archaeology/heritage management. “Access to our heritage resources is still defined by affordability rather than cultural rights” (Ndlovu 2011: 32).

The primary objective of community archaeology is about involving local communities in archaeology and heritage projects. On the other hand, Chirikure *et al.* (2010: 31) argues that the involvement of local communities should go beyond engaging and involving local communities and “give local communities power in all aspects of heritage, including research and management” (Chirikure *et al*. 2010: 31; Moser *et al*. 2002).

In some instances, local communities believe that their views should be regarded as the ultimate truth of their past without considering views from the archaeologist or heritage managers (Chirikure *et al*. 2010). This position is problematic in the context of KOAM and is not in line with the desires expressed by the community. Giving power to one stakeholder will perpetuate the very same problem of excluding other stakeholders. This is what community archaeology and heritage management seeks to dismantle. Instead, both parties at KOAM expressed the desire to work in partnership through holding of regular meetings and engaging on what needs to be done regarding the management of KOAM going forward. This aligns with the position put forward by Schmidt (2014) and Ndlovu (2016), who hold the view that government, local communities and archaeologists should share equal powers.

This study demonstrates that community participatory approaches in heritage management in South Africa is not yet a fully developed concept. The implementation of community-involved heritage practices in South Africa is marred by a number of challenges. These challenges range from institutional frameworks to operational challenges. Some of the prominent problems associated with the community participation approaches relate to the definition of community, coupled with the association of heritage resources with different communities or stakeholders with different interests making it difficult to please them all. I argue however, that the assessment of community-involved heritage practices should not only be based on the positive stories, but also appreciating that disagreement and conflicts that normally arise between heritage managers and local communities (see Chirikure *et al*. 2010; Abungu 2016: 99).

Thus, it should be noted that conflicts between community members, government officials and heritage managers will in most cases emerge during implementation of community-involved heritage projects (see Chirikure et al. 2010). This situation calls for continuously redefining the measures to minimise these conflicts. However, these challenges should

not take away the positive aspects that come with community-involved heritage management practices. Community participatory heritage management practises are necessary in South Africa, and in other southern African countries. This is particularly important considering the history of colonial and apartheid policies that alienated Black Africans from their own heritage. Therefore, I argue that the involvement of communities in the management of their heritage is in itself a transformation initiative, paving the way for effective and inclusive heritage management approaches for the future.

Defining the term "community" is problematic (see Marshall 2002; Tully 2007; Funari 2010; Chirikure *et al*. 2010; Pikirayi 2011; Jopela 2011). Trying to define the term without linking it to a site and assessing the situation on the ground is self-defeating (Pikirayi 2016). The reason for this is that each heritage resource is unique and therefore the application of community archaeology should be context-dependent. Consequently, there is no blueprint that explains how local communities should be involved in archaeological or heritage work (Atalay 2012).

The institutional and legal frameworks for the management of heritage resources in South Africa remain a challenge (Deacon 2015). Section 13 (1) (e) of the NHRA promotes the involvement of local communities in the management of their heritage. However, this study highlighted the consequences of declared heritage sites not having guidelines on how they should involve local people in the management of their heritage resources. Furthermore, there is a need for budget allocation to enable implementation of the planning including the involvement of local communities.

In closing, this dissertation demonstrates the desire of local communities to be involved in archaeological and/or heritage projects. In line with Ndlovu (2016), I argue throughout this dissertation that the involvement of local communities should not be done as a "feel-good" exercise, or for compliance reasons. Rather it should be done on the basis that better archaeologies can be achieved when multiple voices are considered (see Marshall 2002; Fontein 2006; Chirikure & Pwiti 2008; Ndlovu 2016). By partnering with local communities, heritage practitioners get an opportunity to engage the present generation and therefore make archaeology and heritage management relevant to present society.

7.4 Recommendations

Based on the research findings discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, I suggest the following to address the current challenges experienced by KOAM. Additional recommendations will suggest strategies on how KOAM can involve Kliptown communities in their programmes.

7.4.1 Meetings of the people

My data suggests that the tension that currently exists between Kliptown local community and officials of KOAM can be addressed through improved engagements and communication. Both parties' responses have touched on the issue of lack of communication between KOAM management and the Kliptown local community. Drawing on successes elsewhere, as discussed in Chirikure & Pwiti (2008), Ndlovu (2009,2016), Chirikure *et al*. (2010), (Abungu 2016) and Pikirayi (2016), quarterly public meetings can be held where both parties can share ideas on how KOAM can be managed as suggested by community members. Noting the context and the views expressed in the interviews, I suggest that these meetings be organised in such a way that they replicate the Congress of the People event when the Freedom Charter was adopted.

7.4.2 Local definition of community participation

According to Marshall (2002), Atalay (2010) and Chirikure *et al*. (2010), community participation is the involvement of communities both for planning and implementation of archaeology or heritage projects. Chirikure *et al*. (2010) and Schmidt (2014) go further to say community involvement should be a way of acknowledging voices of the marginalised communities and giving them decision-making powers in all aspects of their heritage. It is against this backdrop that I recommend that the management of KOAM engage Kliptown local communities as equal partners, rather than doing it for achieving compliance. As I have described in the previous chapters, community participation takes different forms depending on the uniqueness of the site in question. In the case of KOAM, I suggest that a more practical approach be developed by allowing stakeholders to jointly decide on the participatory methods that will be most beneficial to both parties (Atalay 2012).

7.4.3 Strengthening the relationship between KOAM and local business people

There are a number of informal traders and other local businesses around the KOAM precinct; for example, there are local crafters selling arts and craft souvenirs as discussed in Chapter 5. For effective management of the site, I suggest that these local businesses be involved as key stakeholders in the management of KOAM. Their input should not only be in the form of funding but also how their businesses can contribute towards promoting KOAM as an economic hub.

7.4.4 Funding in heritage management

Funding in heritage management remains a challenge in South Africa, as well as in Africa in general (e.g. Deacon 2015 Abungu 2016). With KOAM experiencing the same challenges, I propose that KOAM explore partnerships with the private sector to bring in much needed funds. For example, KOAM has a public square, which in size is equivalent to a soccer ground. In this square a number of business people and local people book space to hold events. A memorandum of understanding (MOU) could be signed between CoJ and these businesses to use the square free of charge, provided that they financially sponsor programmes, or events of the museum. It has also been suggested elsewhere that other businesses are willing to fund heritage projects as part social responsibility (see Macdonald & Cheong 2014). Liliesleaf Heritage Site, which is located in Johannesburg, is an excellent example in this regard. This heritage site commemorates the Rivonia trialists, and has been turned into a private museum, with the private sector funding the entire operation of the museum (Mlilo 2016).

7.4.5 Tackling the reality of inadequate personnel at KOAM

In dealing with the issue of inadequate personnel in the museum, I suggest that KOAM request local people to volunteer and work in the museum. Once the financial situation improves, volunteers could be paid stipends. This is another form of involving local people in the management of KOAM. The CoJ may also provide internships as part of skills development through funds annual funds they annually receive from Sector Educational and Training Authority (SETA).

7.4.6 The practicality of the three-tier system

This Research Report demonstrates the shortcomings of the three-tier governance system as defined in the NHRA. The failure of this system has been discussed widely (Ndlovu 2009, 2011; Deacon 2015). Noting the general resource scarcity in the heritage sector, a review of the act and management structures is overdue. For example, it would be more financially prudent if all heritage resources in South Africa were managed by the national structure such as SAHRA without delegating authorities to provincial MEC to establish and fund PHRAs (also see Ndobochani 2012; Deacon 2015; Mlilo 2016). Even if the central authority was to have provincial offices or local offices, these should report directly to the national office. In this way the central authority would have power to monitor and evaluate the performance of its provincial or local offices.

7.6 Further research possibilities

This study has shown that community-based heritage management is still a developing concept in South Africa and Africa in general. This concept is confronted with many theoretical and institutional framework challenges as discussed in Section 7.3. These challenges necessitate more research in community participation approaches in archaeology and heritage management. As discussed in Chapter 6, most heritage resources are associated with multiple communities with different interests. More often than not, this situation creates unforeseen problems; therefore, the continuous assessment of these heritage resources is important because it will ensure that we reduce conflicts that may arise in the future.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview Questions

Section A: Socio-Demographic Data

1.1 Age

18-30 Years	
31-40 Years	
41-50 Years	
51-60 Years	
61-70 Years	
71 Years and above	

1.2 Gender

Male	
Female	
Other	

1.3 Marital Status

Single	
Married	
Separated	
Widow/widower	
Divorced	

1.4 Educational level of the participant

No formal education	
Primary school	
Secondary school	
Tertiary education	
Other, please specify	

1.5 Occupation of participant

Informally employed	
Formally employed	
Unemployed	
Other, please specify	

Section B: Heritage Management Approaches

1.6 Is Kliptown Open Air Museum significant to you? Please explain your answer.

1.7 Are you interested in being involved in the management or day to day operations of the museum? Please explain your answer

1.8 Do you have any suggestions on how the local community of Kliptown should be involved in the management of Kliptown Open Air Museum? Please explain your answer

1.9 Are you satisfied with how the museum is managed or looked after?

1.10 What is important for you in the management Kliptown Open Air Museum? Please explain your answer

1.11 Who is the local community of Kliptown? Do you form part of this community?

1.12 Do you want to take part in telling the stories of this museum?

1.13 Do you want to help to look after the museum objects?

1.14 Do you know which objects are inside the museum?

1.15 Is it important to you that the museum looks neat and presentable?

1.16 Does the management of Kliptown Open Air Museum currently involve local communities in the operations of the museum?

1.17 Do you know any local community member or members who are currently involved in the management or day to day operations of the museum?

1.18 Do you have suggestions or plans regarding the management of Kliptown Open Air Museum along community lines?

1.19 Are community views taken into consideration looking at how the museum is currently managed?

1.20 Do you think there are any laws protecting this special place?

1.21 Any other issues of interest regarding the management of Kliptown Open Air Museum?

Appendix 2: Prior Informed Consent Form

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Mr Vele Muhadi, a student from Wits University enrolled for MSc in Archaeological Heritage Management. As part of this programme, I am conducting a research under the supervision of Dr. M.H Schoeman and Prof Sarah Wurz at the Department of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies, Wits University.

The aim of this research is to examine the level of community participation in the existing heritage management plans of Kliptown Open Air Museum. This research is about understanding how the model of community participation in heritage management is serving, or is failing to serve, the community of Kliptown.

This letter serves to request Educated Prior Informed Consent from residents of Kliptown including the officials of Kliptown Open Air museum. Your participation is voluntary, and you can withdraw from participating at any stage without any negative consequences for your wellbeing and personal dignity. Furthermore, a complete confidentiality is assured, this simply means that the contents of this questionnaire is for research purposes only and it will not be divulged to anyone to prejudice you in a personal capacity.

The results of this research will be available from Wits University library or by direct communication with me. Should you require a feedback on the findings of this study, please mark with an "X" on the appropriate space provided

Yes	No

I would be extremely grateful if you could find time to participate by completing the questionnaire. This questionnaire seeks to examine the level of community of participating in the management of Kliptown museum. The information collected by this questionnaire will be analysed and findings will be made as to whether community participation in Kliptown museum is serving or failing to serve the community of Kliptown. This study will enable both Kliptown residents and Kliptown museum officials with an opportunity to start a conversation of how best the museum can be managed. To enable an accurate assessment, it is important that all information requested in the

questionnaire be provided as completely and accurately as possible. It will take about 30 minutes to complete.

Should you have any question regarding this, please do not hesitate to contact me at 081 7676 604, velem@joburg.org.za

Please sign herein below as confirmation that you are providing consent to be a participant for the study to be undertaken

Thank you in advance

Yours Sincerely
Mr Vele Muhadi…….....
Date……...

CONFIRMATION OF EDUCATED PRIOR INFORMED CONSENT IS PROVIDED BY COMPLETING AND SIGNING HEREIN BELOW SO THAT THE RESEARCH CAN BE UNDERTAKEN.

By signing this letter, I am giving a **Prior Informed Consent** to the Researcher to proceed with the research project.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Appendix 3: Participant Information Form

Participant Information Sheet

Study title: Community Participation in Heritage Site Management: Challenges and Opportunities in the management of Kliptown Museum, City of Johannesburg Municipality, Gauteng Province.

Locality: Kliptown Open Air Museum; Gauteng - Soweto

Lead investigator: Vele Muhadi

Contact number: 081 767 6604

Contact email: velem@joburg.org.za or stonemuhadi@gmail.com

Supervisor: Dr Alex Schoeman and Prof Sarah Wurz

Contact email: Alex.Schoeman@wits.ac.za and Sarah.Wurz@wits.ac.za

Dear Participant,

My name is Vele Muhadi and I am a Masters student at the Witwatersrand University in Archaeological Heritage Management registered for 2018 academic year. As part of my studies I have to undertake a research project, and I am investigating Kliptown Open Air Museum.

The aim of this research project is to examine the level of community participation in the existing heritage management plans of Kliptown Open Air Museum and understand how community participation model is serving, or is failing to serve, the community of Kliptown.

The project that I am embarking on is titled *"Community Participation in Heritage Site Management: Challenges and Opportunities in the management of Kliptown Museum, City of Johannesburg Municipality, Gauteng Province".* The significance of this project lies primarily on your participation and you are encouraged to respond to all questions to the best of your knowledge.

This project entails an in-depth analysis by the researcher of the heritage management plans of Kliptown Open Air Museum and assess whether their plans are serving or are failing to serve the community of Kliptown.

Heritage Management refers to the conservation, presentation and improvement of a place protected in terms of National Heritage Resource Act of 1999. Currently, Kliptown Open Air Museum is protected by the National Heritage Resource Act of 1999.

I invite participants to take part in this study which will be conducted through a series of semi-structured interviews. My role as researcher will be to gather information, particularly the viewpoints and perceptions of the local people of Kliptown with regards to how the Museum is managed in particular looking at community participation issues.

Requirements of participants will entail a face-to-face interview and the filling of a questionnaire.

Participants will not be required to give any personal information about themselves and will only be required to give their opinion regarding the specified topic. The interview will take approximately 30 minutes.

Participation in the study is voluntary and will not result to any harm or loss to the participants of any benefits.

The participants may reject to respond to any questions and are allowed to withdraw from the study at any time if they so choose.

The information from the interviews will be used in my Masters dissertation under the results section, and this information will aid in examining the level of community involvement in the management of Kliptown Open Air Museum.

I as the researcher promise to maintain the confidentiality and anonymity of the research participants of this study.

Yours sincerely,

Researcher: Vele Muhadi
Email: velem@joburg.org.za / 081 7676 604

Appendix 4: Spread Sheet Analysis Document

Informants	Is KOAM significant	Is the community of Kliptown involved in the management of KOAM	Do you want to be involved?	Is KOAM an economic hub?	Are you happy with how KOAM is managed?	Gender	Employment Status
1	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Male	Unemployed
2	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Male	Unemployed
3	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Male	Employed
4	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Male	Unemployed
5	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Male	Unemployed
6	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Male	Unemployed
7	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Female	Unemployed
8	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Female	Employed
9	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Female	Unemployed
10	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Female	Unemployed
11	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Male	Employed
12	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Female	Unemployed
13	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Male	Employed
14	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Male	Employed
15	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Female	Unemployed

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16	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Male	Unemployed
17	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Male	Unemployed
18	Yes	Idk	Yes	Idk	Idk	Female	Employed
19	Yes	No	Yes	Idk	Idk	Male	Unemployed
20	Yes	Idk	Yes	Yes	No	Female	Unemployed
21	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Male	Unemployed
22	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Female	Unemployed
23	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Female	Unemployed
24	Yes	No	No	Yes	Idk	Female	Unemployed
25	Yes	Idk	No	Yes	Idk	Female	Unemployed
26	Yes	No	No	Idk	Idk	Female	Unemployed
27	Yes	Partially involved	Yes	Yes	No	Female	Unemployed
28	Yes	Partially involved	Yes	Yes	No	Female	Unemployed
29	Yes	Partially involved	Yes	No	No	Female	Unemployed
30	Yes	Partially involved	Yes	No	No	Female	Unemployed

This spreadsheet represents views from interviewed community members of Kliptown regarding the management of KOAM

Idk = I don’t Know