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GALASHEWE AND THE BIG HOLE MINE MUSEUM: *'EXPLORING COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT WITHIN MUSEUM PRACTICES'*

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THIS REPORT IS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF HUMANITIES, UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS BY COURSEWORK AND RESEARCH REPORT IN ARTS AND CULTURE MANAGEMENT.

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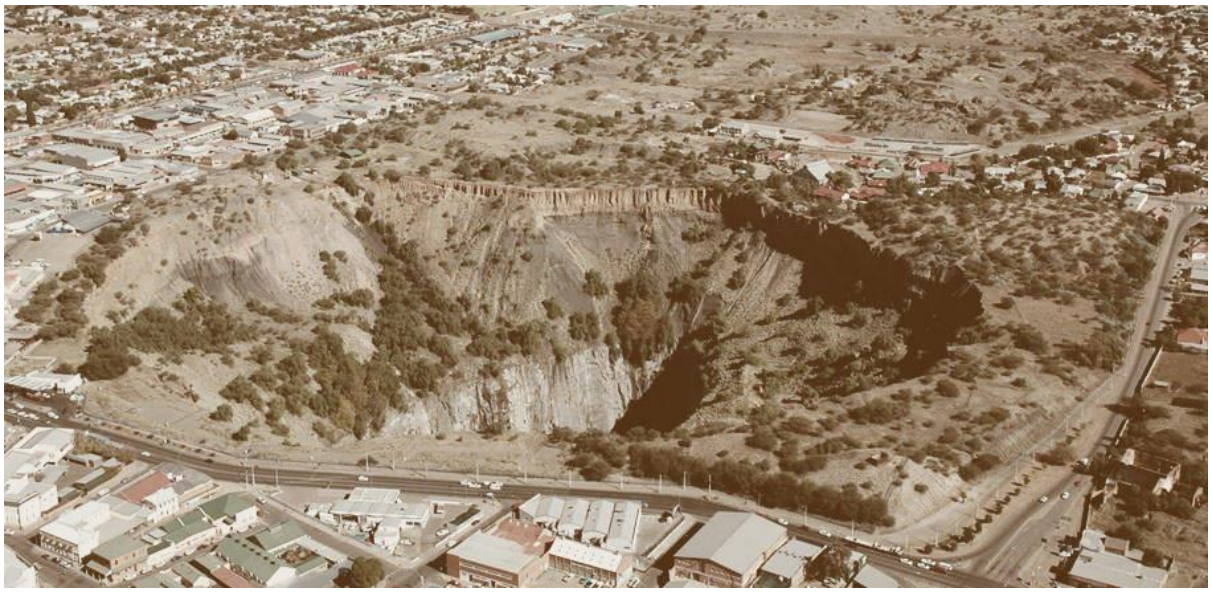
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Introduction

In the quest for buried pebble stones unfolds a story of endurance, energy, the triumphing human spirit, and a tent town which later became an industrial town called Kimberley **- Chilves Hedley**



GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION: City of Kimberley, Sol Plaatje Municipality, Frances Baard District, Northern Cape Province 1979.

The city of Kimberley has earned its status as the diamond capital and these diamonds attracted many people to the region in a desperate and chaotic quest for wealth. Some of them striking it rich and others not so fortunate but despite this, Kimberley grew into a vibrant city that has an interesting past and many intriguing stories of the people who flocked to the town. What is certain, is that the development of the diamond industry transformed and influenced the character of Kimberley, and today the “Big Hole landmark’’ has become a historical site and was converted into a museum in 1968. This landmark also serves as a visible example of De Beers’ legacy in Northern Cape region, which was referred to as the Cape Colony until the post-apartheid period.

According to the mining records, most of the mining operations in Kimberley, including the Big Hole, were part of Kimberley's Big Five[1], which were the amalgamation of five different mines that later became one company known as De Beers Consolidated Mines (Lunderstedt, 2008) . However, the historical and significant mine was the Kimberley mine that is now referred to as the Big Hole. De Beers company has been mining in Kimberley for more than 120 years, and mining operations at the Big Hole mine were carried out for 43 years, and 28 years of that period of mining entailed digging with hands. The Big Hole stopped its operations in 1941 and was set up as a museum in 1968.

This success of diamond mining caused a major shift in and around Kimberley, leading to a high demand for a fixed labour force. Because of the high demand for labour, mining companies introduced various strategies to keep workers on site, including offering them free accommodation at the compounds[2]. This was a time when the mining industry depended largely on human labour and it was primarily provided by black African men. The fixed labour system for African labourers became the foundation of an exploitative system (monopoly) for the mining conglomerates, which led to a successful industry in Kimberley and throughout the Southern Africa region. All these developments are said to have marked a distinctive phase in the South African historical narrative and should be seen in the context of industrialisation and urbanisation of Kimberly.

It has also become generally known that during the formative years of the diamond discovery, the city of Kimberley was transformed into an attractive industrial town,

[1] The Big Five mining companies includes: Kimberley mine; De Beers mine; Bultfontein mine and Wesselton mine
[2] The background and context of the Compounds is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

which was influenced by the British[3]. These influences can still be noticed in the architecture of Kimberley, such as the various old suburbs, schools and the old monumental buildings around town[4]. Most of the monumental buildings were founded or influenced by Cecil Rhodes who controlled the destiny of both the mines and Kimberley. It was his power and influence that led to the popular saying that 'Cecil Rhodes was De Beers, and De Beers was Kimberley' and his name would forever be indelibly with Kimberley (Lunderstedt, 2002: 20). For example, Rhodes's old boardroom where many deals took place, still stands, including the 'De Beers Head Office', which was built by Barney Barnato, and it is still being used by De Beers company.

> Cecil John Rhodes was one of the founding members of the amalgamation of the Big Five mines known as De Beers Consolidated Mines. He served as the second chairperson of the mining conglomerate and the first secretary. He made his initial fortunes in Kimberley and became one of the most powerful men in the world. Rhodes also served as the Premier of the Cape Colony from 1890 until 1896, he died on the 26 March 1902, two months before the end of the Anglo Boer War.

Through the centralisation of the mines, the De Beers company became the largest mining company in South Africa. As a historic landmark, the Big Hole, which is reported to be 215 metres deep, not only serves as a reminder of the diamond rush but also the company has used it as their business legacy. As part of their marketing strategy which is also linked to this precious stone (Diamond) and somehow to the company's legacy, De Beers is continuing to profit from the promotion that 'diamonds are forever' [5]. This was and still is symbolic of their position of power as a leading empire in the diamond trade and to some extent the site (place) of discovery. Although this symbolism may still stand in terms of the value of these

[3]In 1872 Griqualand West was proclaimed a British crown colony and 1873 the town was named Kimberley. It was transformed from a conglomeration of tent, wood and iron structures to a well laid out town.
[4]There are a number of 'living memorial' buildings that represent both Rhodes and De Beers company such as the famous Kimberley Club founded in 1881; Rhodes's 1897 Sanatorium now McGregor Museum and the Africana Library, which was a benefactor of Rhodes and Kimberley's only public library at the time and today it's a research library.
[5]www.debeers.com

precious stones and the wealth that they have accumulated, the great days of the diamonds in Kimberley are long gone for the local people. De Beers company has over the years closed down most of its mining operations in Kimberley. According to the company's records accessed from Africana Library and conversation with its management, the last two mining operations' shutdown happened in 2005 and that was reported as the biggest retrenchment. This retrenchment is said to have had a major impact on the local community of Galeshewe, which is the same township that forms part of the extension of the original compound where black miners were required to live since the early 19th century. Galeshewe township also bears testimony of the Cape Location or Group Areas Act that forced black people to live in specific areas.

De Beers company was the main economic trade institution in and around Kimberley at the time, and with such long-standing business, they had significant influence on the local community. It was through their influence that they were able to establish the centralisation of the black labourers and their settlement area (now known as Galeshewe location). It is this reason that prompted me to seek an understanding of the history and culture of all who lived and still live in Galeshewe (which is one of the historical placements of the mine's compound system). My research focuses on the museum's significance and how Galeshewe township[6] or the community relates to the Big Hole museum as the custodian of the mine's history and heritage. In examining the relationship of the local people of Galeshewe to the Big Hole museum, I seek to understand factors that inform their participation or lack thereof through the museum exhibition or narrative. In doing so, I assess whether **their**

[6] Galeshewe is an extension of the original compound where workers were required to live and was called Number.2 Location. For example, many community members would have had family or ancestors that spent part of their lives on the mines and were integrated into this township.

exhibitions or museum content is meaningful or truthful to the experiences of the local black people.

The reconstructed (redesigned) open air museum complex was revamped as a replication (or an attempt) of two distinct areas of the mining era, which is the diamond discovery of the 19th century known as the Diamond World and the reconstruction of the old town's character, which portrays the miners' social and working spaces and it is called the Diamond Rush. The staging of the "Old Town" gives visitors an idea of what it was like to live in Kimberley during the diamond rush in the 19th century.

Figure 2: Pictures of the Old Town

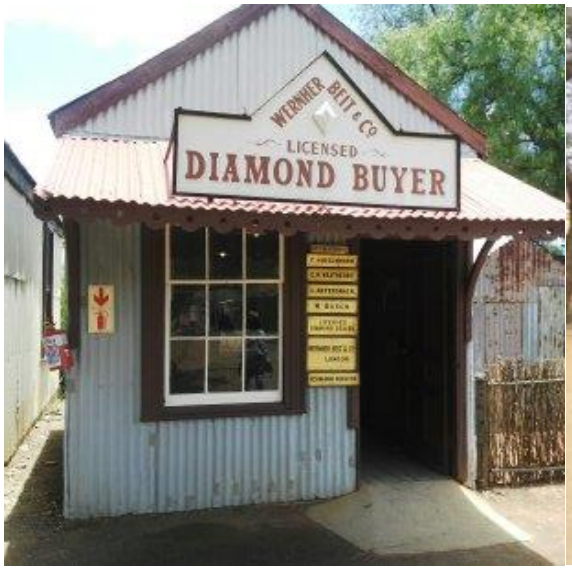


Figure 3: More building of the Old Town





Figure 4: Type of trading businesses



Figure 5: Some structure of the Old Town

Since the opening of the redesigned complex in 2006, the Big Hole museum has positioned itself more as a tourism facility than a museum, an edutainment of sort. The De Beers appointed a tourism, hospitality and leisure specialist company, Grant Thornton (2004), to model the museum in a way that will preserve the legacy of De Beers. Their main objective was to use the Big Hole's history and legacy as a favourable site in their marketing efforts instead of following or prescribing to functions of museums more generally. As such, the museum precinct is rented out for functions like weddings and conferences, while some of the outlets have been rented out to local businesses that operate daily. This business activity on the Big Hole museum premises also serves as part of the experience. The businesses and experiences that are offered are the *Occidental Bar & Restaurant*; the *New Rush Guest House* (previously known as the Australian Arms); the *Victorian Tram* ride experience and the Gemstone Surfing Pans where one can sort gravel looking for mock diamonds at a cost of thirty rand. According to the museum manager, this model has increased the interest of locals in the area.

However, despite all these activities the reality certainly paints a different picture in terms of local consumption or visits. My observation was also supported by visitor figures of the Big Hole museum, which presented very low figures except during the September/October school holidays when school groups normally visit, and this happens annually (Coetzee pers comm, 2017). According to Dirk Coetzee, who is the museum manager and has been with De Beers since 2001, the Big Hole was modelled to be a user-friendly space that had to embrace and create awareness of the pioneering spirits[7] who had made the Big Hole. How I interpret this, is that the

[7] The diggers and black labourers who managed to remove three tons of diamonds and all the wealth that made Kimberley the diamond capital.

Big Hole museum should be about the common man and his role in the Kimberley story. This kind of understanding and interaction also forms part of the 'new museum's plan, which highlights the importance of education as a way to further extend the story of the mine and to make it easy for people to interact (Granthorn, 2004). What is certain is the lack of educational experience despite that it is mentioned in both the museum's mission and vision. Again, in addition to all their educational claims, the institution does not have professional or experienced museum staff to carry out the educational programmes. They also dot not have any written policy or strategy about community participation, although based on informal conversations, museum management is keen to find ways that could draw the local community to the museum (Coetzee pers. comm, 2017)[8].

In order to understand the factors that create or inform the lack of local community participation, I further examine my main research question which is the meaningfulness of the museum's content by asking a subsequent question: how are the education programmes within the Big Hole museum being used to engage the local community?

For the purpose of this study, I refer to Galeshewe Community, which is a group of people who are bounded by locality, employment traits, ethnicity and interest (Crooke, 2007:30). This is also because the social frame of the people of Galeshewe township as one of the only remaining compounds (including how they were co-instituted), has a direct implication for understanding what value or meaning the community has to the Big Hole museum. However, I am mindful that the legacy of the Big Hole museum may have different perspectives depending on from whose experience it is viewed. This study attempts to address the ideological framework of

[8] He is currently the Curator and the Manager of the museum.

the Big Hole museum and the kind of bearing it has on the community[9], and how this bearing is hinged on the way the community has been represented inside the museum.

Exhibits of the Big Hole Museum

Figure 6: Museum Interpretation Centre

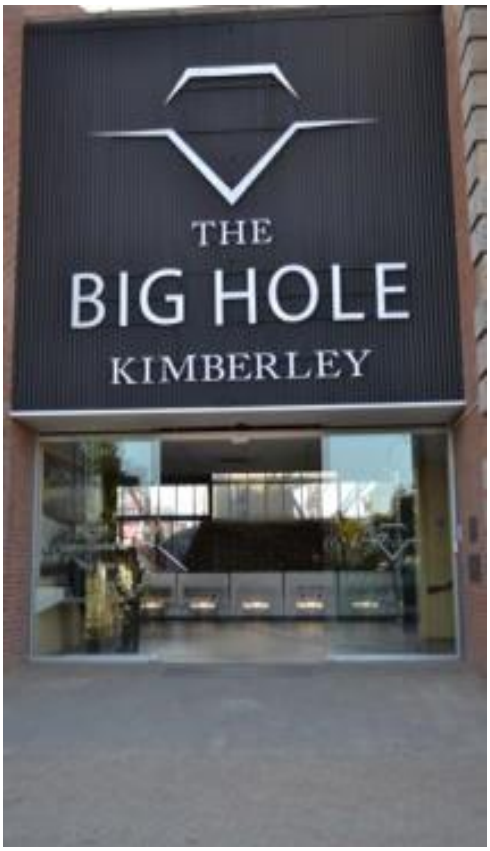


Figure 7: Viewing Deck of the Big Hole Pit





[9] Given my focus is on Galeshewe's social frame, I collapse community, culture, race and ethnicity

The Big Hole museum offers a multifaceted story through a permanent exhibition of the diamond discovery using photographs, archive material and original artefacts. The display/exhibition has quite a number of objects but with little text and in some places they offer no contextualisation. In the main, the interpretation centre consists of the story of few individual characters, including the De Beers company, who were part of the diamond empire and at the centre of it all. This also includes cabinets of all the kinds of diamonds that had been discovered in former years. Visitors can also experience a mining tour through the old jigging machines and grease tables that were used to extract diamonds from the ore during the 19th century and learn about the history of diamond mining in Kimberley.

In a way, the museum's reconstructed town and its exhibition is an attempt to portray the social setting of the mining industry and the first industrial community. However, even in its attempt of how and what the mining experience used to be like, there are missing aspects of the social history. With the museum's current setting, it is safe to say that the experience is not entirely curatorial research based but rather a curated tourism attraction. One of the key issues is that the Big Hole museum is run more like a business venture as opposed to what a museum with historical and heritage focus should be working towards. The consequence of their management model is what is limiting its potential to be relevant to the local community. It is for this reason that I employ prescriptions of "the New Museology" which is advocating that museums move away from object-based museums to a contextual approach[10].

[10] It addresses or probes the historical and social context of museums through its practices.

This move also serves as a way to clarify the past to infuse it with the present purpose that should benefit the broader community. For example, what has been attempted as displays (depiction) of Black labourers, is an incomplete manifestation of how industrialisation started/unfolded. The narration is briefly reflected in the 20-minute video/film that is played before the underground tour in the museum theatre. Part of the film shows the labourers and their social setting which is mainly their dwelling spaces including the structure of their huts. Despite the life of the diggers that is depicted, nothing is reflected about them. It is the silence that seems to raise some concerns about the mine's social, political, cultural and economic history. Therefore, by assessing what translation the Big Hole museum signifies for the locals, my intention was to examine the community's experience, thoughts and emotions, which I solicited through opinions on the museum (from the community) as a way to understand the contentions or distance that may be linked back to the exhibition's framework and narrative.

Research Methodology

This research is restricted to a focus on the community of (part of) Galeshewe Township, in Kimberley, in its attempt to understand the non-participation at the Big Hole museum. The method of gathering data was conducted through qualitative research strategy as it allowed for different knowledge claims and methods of data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2003:195). I mainly used interpretive research methods because of its emphasis on experience and interpretation for my in-depth analysis. The methods considered ethnographic approach because is founded on testimonial and qualitative based evidence such as observation; lived experience and other conducted interviews. In terms of experiential knowledge, I employed active engagement process with a group of mineworkers (a cooperative of ex-

miners) who spent a life time labouring at (one of) De Beers owned mining shafts. This was also supplemented with my own knowledge of living in the community of Galeshewe and my experience as a someone whose father had worked all his life as a mine worker. According to John Thompson, understanding social inquiry cannot be isolated from direct experiences or comments (Thompson; 1981:4). Similarly, Creswell (2003) also asserts that oral testimonies are a source of knowledge claim that should be seen as an asset to construct sensible narrative. The study is specifically intended to investigate the historical knowledge or status of the Big Hole in relation to the Galeshewe community and furthermore to examine their views of the site. It also attempts to determine some of the complexities of the museum's translation and how the community relates (or not) to this history through the displays.

My preliminary examination and analysing of the museum started with observing few full days of the doings and goings-on at Big Hole museum amongst the staff; visitors and environment. This was followed with interviews that were conducted using sample (focus) groups so as to get broader views about the kind of relationship that exists between the Big Hole museum and the Galeshewe community. I also used textual analysis to compare and contrast what I was able to gain through the interviews (and observations) in a theoretical way. The study relied on literary sources, such as journals, books, maps, photographs, commentaries, research reports and reviews done on the Big Hole and De Beers company. I also used essays that are speaking to museum participation as a way of gauging and making comparisons and to consider how its relation to the Galeshewe community should and can be encouraged. These methods made it possible to argue for an alternative narrative that the Big Hole museum can take on, such as to consider community

participation through extending its role in education and to consider an inclusive representation of the mine's history.

Data Collection

Primary data were collected through on-site visits to the Big Hole museum to observe and assess the museum activities and how the museum staff operates. I also made the effort to speak to staff of the McGregor museum and the Africana Research Library[11] about the 'History and Memory' projects they had done on Kimberley. This was to get a sense of the role of De Beers and the Big Hole in the area.

The focus group participants are all from Galeshewe township. The aim is to locate different positions on experiences by community members to unpack the meaning and relationship or lack thereof that exists between the local community and the Big Hole museum. This exploration of various experiences is a useful method for interpretive inquiry and it fosters eliciting each participant's interpretation of their experiences (Charmaz, 2006:25). However, I am aware that bias will arise as it deals with people's perceived 'realities' and as such, I incorporated documentary evidence for the validity and reliability of who is represented and also as I formed my own perceptions (Adler & Adler, 1987:14).

Interviews were conducted between 3 and 12 February 2016 and from the 22 August to 13 October 2017 with three focus groups, i.e. community members; educators and the museum management (staff). The interviews were scheduled to be held at the museum to enable a discussion of specific elements of the museum displays and

[11] McGregor museum houses early South African history (overview of 19th century and a bit of the 20th century). Part of the building houses a collection of ethnographic photos by Duggan-Cronin who used to work for De Beers as a compound manager.
Africana Research Library has been the storehouse of Northern Cape History. Its specialist areas include records of Kimberley and Northern Cape and the development of diamond mining

their encounters. However, the educators could not make it to the museum because they could not leave the school premises and had other commitments after school. As a result, interviews with educators took place at their respective schools and the participating educators were Mantele Mokgoro (Isago Primary School); Desiree Maditsi (Montshiwa Primary School) and Ezekiel Hammer (Dr. E.P. Lekhela Secondary School). Interviews were also conducted with Garth Benneyworth (Sol Plaatje University), Colin Fortune (McGregor Museum) and with Bernice Nagal, senior librarian at Africana Research Library. Interviews with the community focus group were conducted with Kagisho Lekgetho and Bennet Sekgoro. Both men are De Beers pensioners and they belong to the ex-miner's co-operative. When I was searching for participants to consider for the community focus group, I attended their (ex-miners) monthly meeting to get a sense or understanding of the cooperative. It was at this meeting that I discussed my research topic and intentions of accessing collective (family/community) experiences through interviews and open engagement sessions for an account of their experience with Big Hole and De Beers. The cooperative nominated the two gentlemen as their representatives because they felt that their personal experiences including that of their families are all similarly affected by the mine's retrenchment. At the Big Hole museum, I interviewed Dirk Coetzee (Museum Manager) and David Tlhabanelo (tour guide) and two-day visitors (randomly selected).

The interviews were mainly structured questions but they also included a number of open-ended questions, which allowed for follow-up questions in instances that required clarity. A short interview directed at random museum visitors was also conducted as a way of engaging alternative expressions. Permission to conduct focus group discussions on the Big Hole museum premises was granted by De Beers management.

In terms of archives, I reviewed literary sources, such as journals, books, maps, photographs, articles, review papers, conference papers, policy documents and on-line resources, which allowed for multiple perspectives and made it possible to make comparisons that speak to the influences or elements that affect both museums and the local community's participation. Since the major focus of this study is to assess in practical terms, how content and display are being used in the Big Hole museum's educational role, it also looks at dilemmas or tensions that have risen. Analysing the literary sources helped with a broader understanding of the past and present trends within museums, what is said and the context in which it is expressed; and what that means for the Big Hole museum and Galeshewe community.

A significant part of the information and sources are from the Africana Library, Duggan-Cronin Gallery and McGregor museum because of their valuable insights into the broader history of the diamond discovery. For instance, both the images (at the gallery) and documentary sources at Africana Library and McGregor museum support the text in telling the diamond history and that of the various settlers (communities), but all the information is nowhere to be found at the Big Hole and this raises important issues about the museum's selection in their narrative and also what it means for education. I also used the evidence to contrast the text and build a coherent justification of my argument (Creswell, 2003:196). This method of collecting, observing and analysing assisted in determining Big Hole museum's ideology (materiality and the representation of its narrative), and how meaningful its programmes are and the kind of impact it has on the community.

Chapter 1

Introduction

This chapter looks at the following three sections: history of the Mine, the history of the Museum and the History of Galeshewe. It attempts to assess the kind of relationship these three places have with one another, which is currently not reflected in the museum. In order to understand that there is a complexity in the relationship, this chapter starts by mapping the history of the mine and its impact on the community. The thread of history briefly traces the socio-political history of the mining pit (Big Hole mine) and the mining conglomerate (De Beers company), the industrial community (miners) of Galeshewe which an extension of the original establishment compound. All this historical background gives a general perspective (aspects) of the social order concerning the black miners' settlement pattern (history) in Galeshewe.

The History of Black Miners: A Testimony of Resilience

As already mentioned in the introduction, De Beers gained control of all the premier mines within the Diamond Fields including the Big Hole in 1880. This major transition of the diamond ownership into a single diamond mining company, gave the company total power and control of the diamond industry and the Diamond Field area also known as Cape Colony. With all this power, De Beers introduced rapid changes in the mining town, which had adverse results for (some of) the migration regulations. For example, one of the significant changes after the amalgamation of De Beers company, was when black miners were located in a closed compound system[12]. The compound system was not only to be a system of accommodation, but it became an integral part of how the company managed its black workers and

[12] The adoption of the closed-compound system started in the 1880s.

increased its profit margins. This was done through regulating and controlling the diamond trade, which also allowed them to determine the wages.

In his book entitled, *Capital and labour on the Kimberley Diamond Fields 1871-1890* (1987) Robert V. Turell delves more deeply into the history of the diamond discovery and the formation of De Beers Consolidated Mines Company. Turell traces the various periods of the mining industrialists and their trade routes including the intricate society that occupied Kimberley. According to Turell, De Beers was the forerunner of the compound system that gave effect to the miners' living conditions. He is very critical of this compound system and describes it as a 'terrible and super-exploitative system' (Turrell, 1987:112). Turrell refers to the control De Beers had over the black labourers, which it used as tools for its self-controlled (enrichment) diamond empire. Turrell's book provides background context that signifies the contribution of the black labour force and their settlement patterns in Kimberley. This is a key point in relation to this research because of its focus on the experiences of black people and how these experiences were mediated.

This insatiable demand of the mining companies for cheap and easily controlled labour is also illustrated by Professor Vic Allen in his book, *The history of black mine workers in South Africa* (1992). Allen is also critical of how the capitalist mode of production divided the black societies. He points to the social relations and factors that filter through their (black mineworkers) whole lives in all of its facets. These patterns or factors can be linked to the compounds, and in this instance referring to No. 2 Location (known today as Galeshewe township), which is home to many of the black miners. De Beers saw the need to establish these compounds to centralise the black miners, which also allowed them to curb illegal diamond mining, so the miners were housed in several mine compounds close to the mines (12 out of 17 were

owned by De Beers)[13], while the others resided in several locations in and around Kimberley. Most of these labourers ended up settling permanently in Kimberley and that is how Galeshewe township ultimately expanded over time[14].

There is no doubt that the diamond history in Kimberley played a significant role in people's lives and had a profound effect, which should be accounted for in the way the mining history is remembered and memorialised. This thread of history gives context of the society's social fabric because nothing can be understood about their lives without reference to mines.

Big Hole Museum

The Big Hole museum is a resemblance (or an attempt) of early Kimberley town and the 19th-century underground mining operations. The space is a reconstruction of the old Kimberley town, a collection of the original old buildings and machinery that were moved to the museum complex. It tells the story of who the key personalities were and a big part of the displays gives a sense of the mining archaeology and some architectural structures[15]. The exhibition is packed with dominant narrative of colonial account of the Kimberley mining project. Most of the material, memories and desires that are expressed are notions associated with the past (colonial) era and that is evident on how they have recycled history with notions (including memories) that are associated with the good old colonial times and

[13]The Diamond Mines of South Africa, Gardner Williams.

[14]The land dispossession created destitution within communities and that is what drove many African men to seek work at Kimberley mine. Prior to the discovery of diamonds, historical records have shown that the indigenous people worked on their agricultural land and looked after their livestock. This was an important object of colonial politics that shaped the South African society and South Africa's global position.

[16]While the Old Town consists of buildings that has been preserved or restored to its original structure, such as the diggers sleeping quarters; dentist surgery of the early 1900's; the oldest Lutheran church built in 1875 and the De Beers railway coach used by Cecil John Rhodes. The Old Town in particular is popular as a photographic venue and is open to the community at no charge. There are also various shops on the premises (restaurant, cooking school, guesthouse and shop) which are leased out to private individuals/businesses.

deliberately omitting other historical perspectives. This shows how privilege and power have influenced objects and are used as bearers of nostalgic meaning which is manifested through concealing the brutal domination of industrialisation (Rosaldo, 1989:108). Rosaldo criticises this dominant ideologies or social force that eliminates all validity that is being translated at the Big Hole museum and giving a skewed view of the experience thereby making the mining history appear innocent. The museum's narrative primarily portrays a beneficial system, which is mostly skewed towards the success and capitalist empire that was created by De Beers company. In fact, most enclosed compounds were built in the style of open-air prisons and the very first one was based at the Kimberley mine[16].

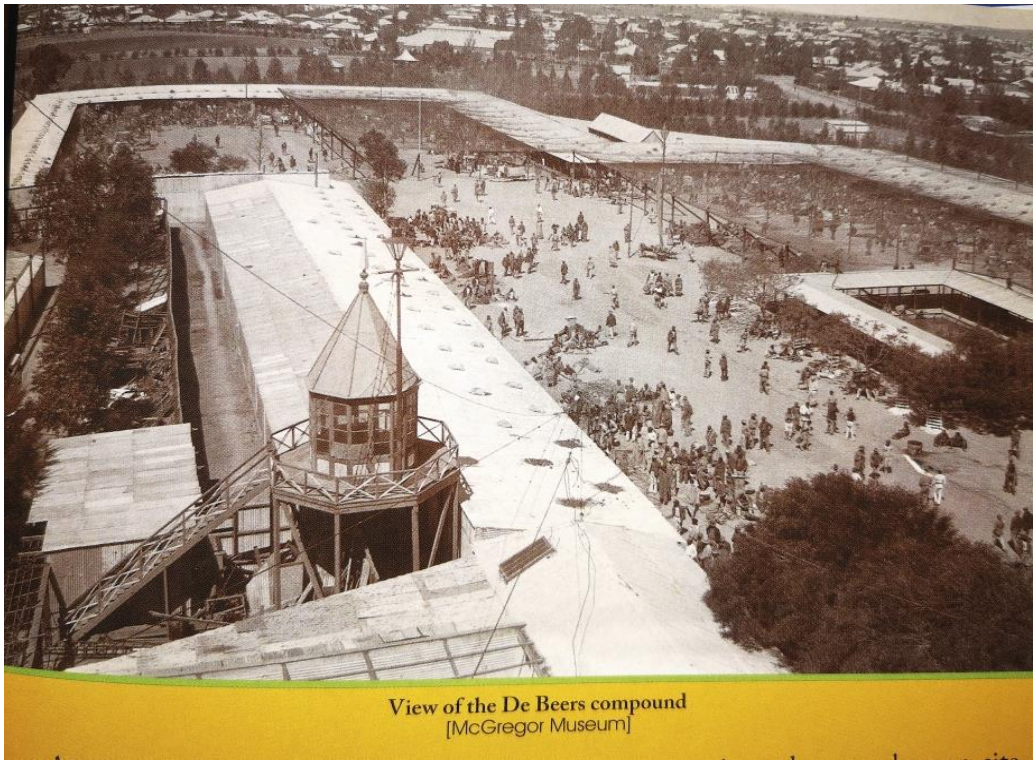


Figure 8: De Beers Compound (Picture from McGregor Museum)

[16] McGregor Museum: The struggle for Liberation and Freedom

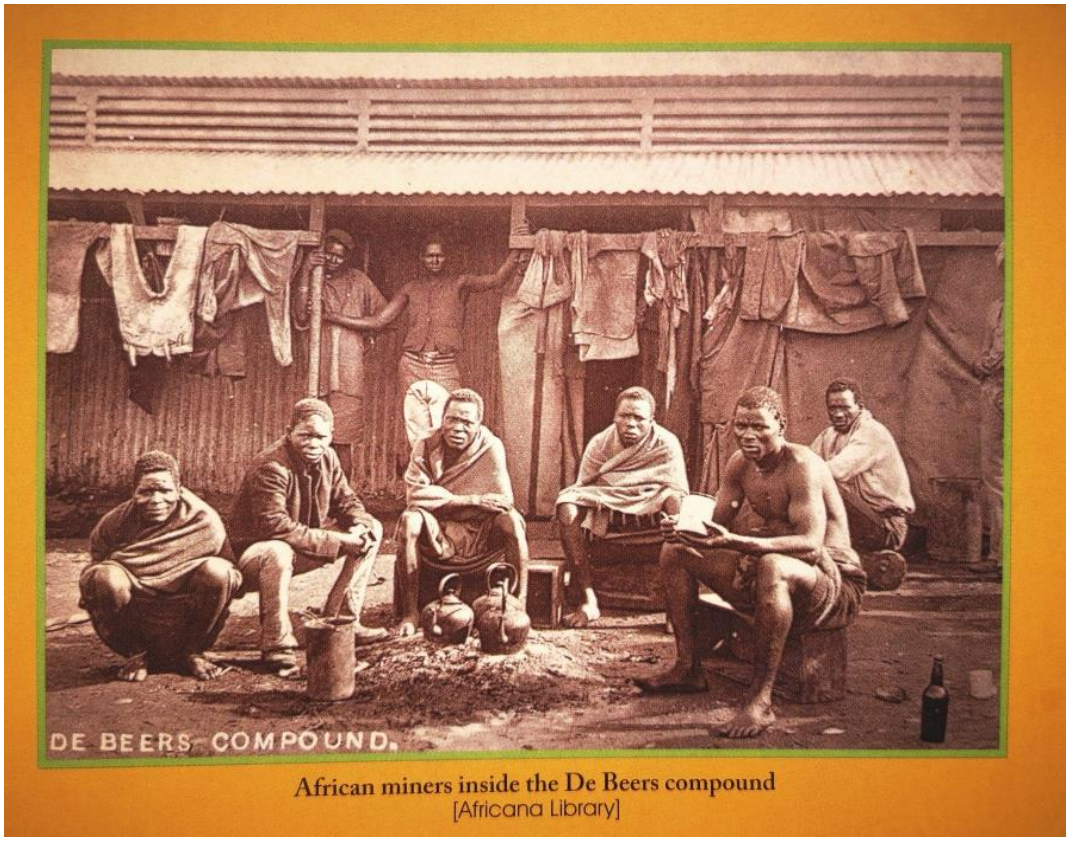


Figure 9: Black diggers living at the compounds

An example of the skewed narrative is further evidenced in the 20-minute video/film that is part of the tour. The tour is shown at the theatre which forms part of the Interpretation Centre at the Big Hole museum precinct. The tour starts with this short video of who discovered the first diamond. As far as contents is concerned, the film uses fictional characters and presents the perspective of a European commentator whose version of events lauds the likes of Cecil Rhodes and Barney Barnato. It also gives a different perspective (or account) of who discovered the diamond in Kimberley, which has always been and still is contested by some historians (Lunderstedt, 2008). The timeline of the film touches briefly on the compound and it does not give any indication or acknowledgement of the place and how it was set up. Instead, it paints a picture of the miners having a nice meal, which comes through as a short cosy story (generally as happy people) and that is where it literally stops. The reality is very different though, as much as the Big Hole mining

empire was a conquest for the British imperialist one cannot ignore the exploitative and tragic experience of the black miners. The mining project had consequences that reduced miners' lives to nothing and there are documentary sources (archives) of early Kimberley and the mining activities such as books, newspapers and maps available at the Africana Library that date back to the 1870s and address these contradictions.

There is also an extensive collection of photographs by Arthur Duggan-Cronin whose photography captured the lives of the miners at the compounds and at their homes. Duggan-Cronin was a compound manager and is said to have travelled the length and breadth photographing the miners' lives for many years. Some of his photographs are also found at Museum Africa and has been described as the most significant South African ethnography photography.

There is certainly no doubt that the Big Hole museum is a justifiable source of pride (legacy) for De Beers. However, it is also an undeniable fact that the Big Hole museum is also a heritage site that depicts a time of brutal history of the exploitative labour practice. It represents a time and place of the miners' (black and white) contribution to the diamond industry and how in turn it shaped their lives. This evidence and its effects remain in what was designed as compounds for black miners in Galeshewe township. However, despite its historical significance, gaps have remained in the history that is translated at the museum.

Another important and questionable aspect at the Big Hole museum is the inaccessible archives that are not housed at the museum, but rather found at De Beers offices in Kimberley. The records are said to contain employee records, minutes; maps; photographs and the history of the diamond mining business in and

around Kimberley. In my view, these archives are important for any kind of research in both social and educational contexts. The secrecy about these records is quite disconcerting since even the Kimberley Africana Research Library is unable to access the archives[17]. The Africana library houses many historic records from the 1870s (books, newspapers, manuscripts and maps) relating to Kimberley and the Cape Colony region now known as Northern Cape Province. According to Garth Benneyworth, who was a researcher at McGregor museum and now the Head of Department for Heritage Studies at Sol Plaatje University, these archives are quite extensive (pers comm, 2017). Benneyworth learned about these archives when he worked on the battlefield project (South African/Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902) at Maggersfontein museum and had an opportunity (under very strict conditions) to browse through these archives. Whatever the reasons for preventing access, this act neglects the education aspect of the museum and creates a crisis in social history of the place and its relevance to the broader community This further illustrates how validity is eliminated and how it influences the kind of memory that is being translated which is how the nostalgic, romantic 'western' narrative dominates. I argue therefore that the of secrecy of the records by De Beers further demonstrate how skewed and alienating the Big Hole narrative is. These factors will certainly have a bearing of some sort with the Galeshewe community.

With all the heritage significance, as well as being regarded as a site of social history; the museum has made it clear that it would not want to be regarded as a traditional museum but rather seen as an edutainment centre[18]. The Big Hole museum's core function or messaging is centred on the diamond history and as a means to preserve the legacy of De Beers. In other words, it plays a double role of both being a tourist

[17] This information was confirmed by a senior librarian at Africana library.
[18] The emphasis and awareness are more on the tourism or destination experience but not necessarily on the curatorial practices/research aspect of the museum collection.

attraction for pleasure and a site of serious historical recounts, which is usually assigned to a traditional museum. While these functions are not mutually exclusive, the museum visitors are fed a narrative that is conditioned mostly through entertainment experience. What we should be mindful of is that this kind of monopoly over the historical determination of what is counted as significant or objective for some may not be for others. As a result, part of the problems at museums is how memories and objects are or can be translated so that they can be understood in the context of the geopolitical changes. This is what prompted my interest and I ask whether the visitor's experience in relation to the museum's history and education is meaningful and valuable? What role does it play in the production of social knowledge for the community of Galeshewe, where many black communities live? This is mainly because people develop or establish a connection with museum material, whether incomplete or imperfect. In some instances, the collection and memories are at odds with the claim of its authenticity or a truthful account of history. Here, I refer to the dynamic social history that has been omitted or ignored at the Big Hole museum. The elitist narration has created contradiction of the historical facts and has to a large extent diffused black people's cultural history.

David Lowenthal in *The heritage crusade and the spoils of history* (1998) makes a good case of the commodification of historical accounts in heritage. He argues that heritage can sometimes be a distortion of historical facts that deliberately presents or provides a version that appeal to the public. Such curated versions are historical distortion that often "exaggerates and omits, invents and conveniently forgets and it thrives on ignorance and errors" (Lowenthal, 1998:120). This means that historical facts are influenced or guided through a privileged position or according to how historians select and interpret them. In the case of the Big Hole museum, there is a

great deal of ignorance and errors in their translation. The contestations are over the historical memory and display of the mining experience, which has no account of the contribution of the black diggers but instead there is an official silence about them (Lunderstedt, 2008). In contrast, what is not translated says even more about the museum and it means that people's memory contests the prescriptive history or narrative. The exclusion or forgotten role of the black miners is disapproving of their resilience and memory. Although this imperialist nostalgia may work for tourism, attracting some people (mostly out of town) it has failed to mobilise the local people, more especially by not recognising the indigenous experience in the diamond discovery.

In a new way of addressing the current ideology within museums, Susan Pearce in her book *Making museums meaning* (1992:12) argues that the role of museums is precisely to challenge these contradictions and burdens of our social history. Implying that it must be a space where "existing collections can begin to speak new voices". In my opinion even as a private museum, the Big Hole museum cannot undermine or underestimate the need for social relation or relationship because of its association with the people of Galeshewe (as custodians of the mine). Instead, social relation should be at the centre in the postmodern context, meaning that its ability to engage the community should determine its relevance in the modern society. The museum's expression of Kimberley and the mining operation (at the time) puts a spotlight on the role of the Big Hole museum as a site of memory for its community, yet its ideology is suppressed with colonial historical accounts (and in some instances contradictions) and limitations in its curatorial research, which affects or does not speak to modern society. According to Pearce, a new order within museums would mean a translation of context that may and can impart its own colour with regard to the museum's relationship with the community.

As already mentioned, the Big Hole museum is run by Compass company, a food and facilities management company[19] under a fixed contract, which is normally a five-year term. The company has been managing the Big Hole museum since its upgrade in 2006 and De Beers has renewed its contract every time it expires, the current contract expires in 2019. The fact that a food and facilities company is managing a cultural institution or the Big Hole museum is very problematic. Even with their facilities management expertise, they are not able to engage critically with the museum narrative. There is a danger that this could impede the depth of the museum in terms of its curatorial research function and particularly in the areas that have been identified. This evidently highlights critical issues of the Big Hole museum's practices that are attached to the material culture or identity. They (museum management and De Beers) are further missing the power of archives and how these displays or translations are central to people's interest. In my view, this is an indication why it is problematic for a museum to be run by a company that is not specialised or professionals in museum practice. As part of their narrow radius in the museum's management functions, the company's main objective is to get the Big Hole complex to be self-sustainable and to maintain world standards as an entertainment centre. When responding to how the museum is doing, Dirk Coetzee, whose employment contract is with Compass, is of the view that the museum is doing very well and this is based on the increased numbers of tour groups during seasonal breaks and school groups throughout the year[20]. Even with this sentiment, the current model of management at the Big Hole museum poses a risk in its purpose and the value it holds, which is being a custodian of Kimberley's heritage.

[19] As food and facilities management company, Compass provides food for prisons, hospitals and universities, as well as facility management for the Vodacom head office and De Beers head office in Johannesburg amongst a few.
[20] This was of a marketing report that presented the increase in percentages, which Dirk Coetzee showed during our interview.

One other key risk that I cannot over emphasise is the education role and in particular, research, which can assist in countering what exists.

The museum's programmes are purely to entertain and promote the 'good' leisure aspect of the mining business without engaging the historical aspect. Safe to say that visitors are exposed to a superficial experience that shifts its true significance and may have created hostility towards the local audience. In demonstrating that museums were enjoined to 'embrace the dynamic of history, Annie Coombes (2004) in *History after Apartheid: Visual culture and public memory in a democratic South Africa*, argues of how nostalgia plays an important role with the current narrative. Coombes (2004:10) addresses issues relating to public history, memory and policy and she makes a critical point of how unavoidable is dealing with challenges of memory relating to material conditions and lived experiences.

Similarly, Keith Moxey (1999) in his lecture called '*Nostalgia for the real',* which is based on the re-inscription of visual production within a historical context is helping us understand the double role of historical production from a poststructuralist[21] context. He associates post-structuralism with modernity and bases it on the notion that there is a way of basing knowledge on foundational principles, which I think addresses the issue of inclusivity and research. Although the analysis was fundamentally on visual art as historiography, Moxey's argument is emphasising that different subject positions should be recognised because subjectivity is or should be embedded in history. This means that for any kind of mutually exclusive roles, there should be mutual interdependence and an exclusion of the disciplinary boundaries. This is particularly important considering the different audiences and the kind of experience that is highlighted at the museum and how it influences the process of creating meaning.

[21] It is the underlying or shared understanding in the formation of a society.

The Link between Kimberley, the Big Hole and Galeshewe

The context of Galeshewe location and its community is based on the geographical area (settlement location) established during the successful mining period. The term 'location' in general refers to African residential areas on the outskirts of a town or city, but the term 'township' is now more commonly used (Theron, 2003:36). The system of 'native locations' served as labour reserves for surrounding farmers (who lost their land) and for the benefit of the mining industries. Whereas the white people stayed in utilitarian residences closer to the mines with modern infrastructure that were built with the wealth that had been acquired through the diggings. The British government believed that the segregated far-off location (also referred to as Vergenoeg) was a labour camp and a way to keep the labourers passive while allowing the government more control over the labourers. The relevance of the above statement demonstrates how locations, in particular Galeshewe township, were established and how it is linked to the mining compounds system. This arrangement consolidated the miners (the black labourers) into one designated area and that is how they ended up in an urban community. Furthermore, the compound system discouraged the migrant labourers from leaving the mines and to find other ways of making money (Diamond News, 1881).

De Beers managed to establish urban communities through setting up these four compounds for their black labourers, and it became locations. These settlements were numbered from one to four and of those four settlements, only "Number 2 location" is still present in the current satellite of Kimberley. All the other locations had been demolished and the inhabitants were sent to live in No. 2 location. The No. 2 location was extended to accommodate displaced people from other locations.

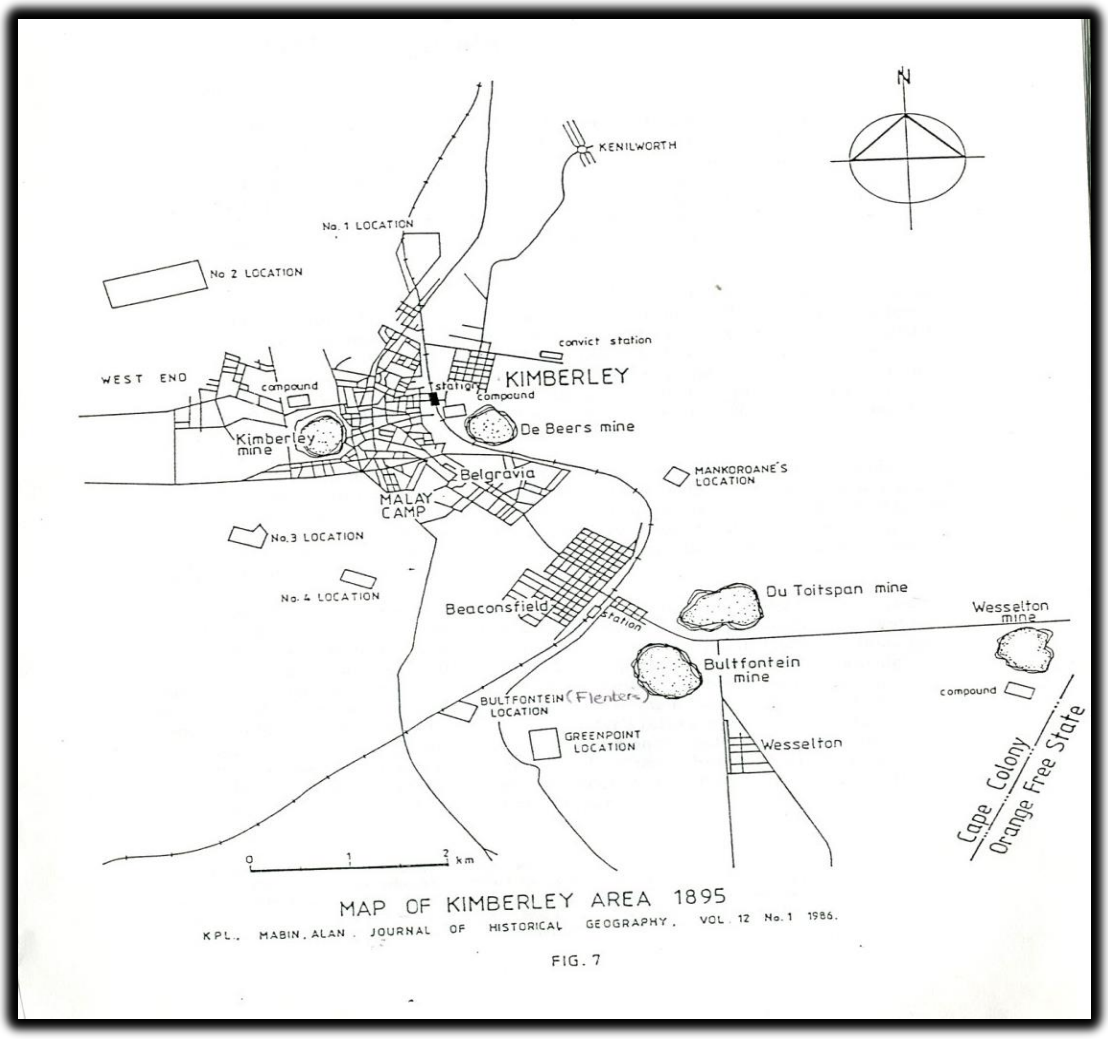


Figure 10: Picture is a map of Kimberley during the early years of the diamond discovery. It shows all the mining dumps and subsections of residential arears, including the four locations or compounds for the black labourers.

This was also a result of the Natives Land Act, which partitioned South Africa into white and black areas and the removal of Africans from their land[22]. In the later years, it became a permanent settlement with the passing of the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923 that established the location, which is known today as townships. Greater Number 2 is one of the compounds (and it expanded into Galeshewe township) that is named after Chief Kgosi Galeshewe of the Batlhaping (Tswana tribe). Over the years Galeshewe township gradually expanded and it now includes

[22] The Natives Land Act No. 27 of 1913 and the Native Urban Areas Act No. 21 of 1923 For example, Mankurwane location that was located where Cassandra suburb is (currently a white suburb) was closed in May/June 1902.

all the other various smaller settlements such as *Vergenoeg, Kwano Bantu, Retswelele, Ipopeng, Ipeleng, Club 2000, Stock-Stock and Tlhageng,* to name a few.

Despite this very rich history of the mine's living arrangements, there is very little in the history books about Galeshewe as the only remaining location. However, the municipal records and historical maps mention and reflect its existence and it is recorded as one of the oldest townships. According to the records, in terms of the Municipality Ordinance of 1879 and Government Notice No. 152 the Kimberley Municipality drew up regulations for the supervision and control of all the locations. This segregationist or apartheid ideology marked a distinctive phase in South African history, and should be seen in the context of industrialisation and urbanisation[23]. Through the segregation laws, Galeshewe became the first black township to achieve municipal status as a Bantu Board in 1983, even preceding the most famous Soweto township. The Bantu Board council was later (in 1992) amalgamated with the City Council of Kimberley, which is known today as Sol Plaatje Municipality. The municipality falls under the current Northern Cape provincial boundary which was formally established in 1994. An important aspect to note is that between 1910 to 1993 South Africa was divided into four provinces: Cape Province, Natal, Transvaal and the Orange Free State including the six self-governing homelands. Two of these four provinces, namely the Cape Province and Natal were initially regarded as British colonies in mid-nineteenth century.

[23] The apartheid governing ideology was officially adopted in 1948 by the Nationalist Party and led to the entrenchment of race-based segregationist policies under a myriad of unjust laws directed at blacks.

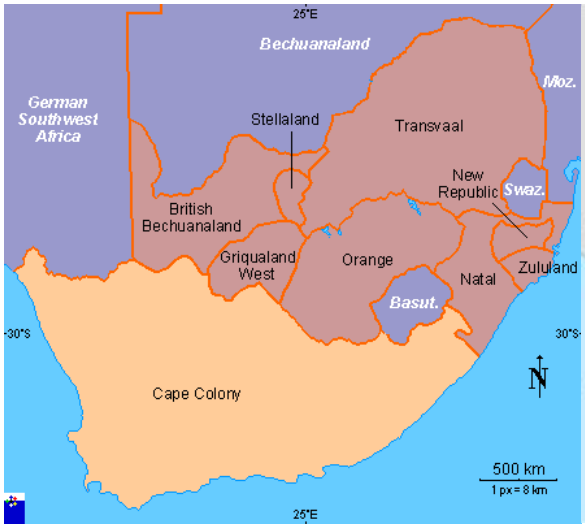




Figure 11: Map of South Africa before 1994 **Figure 12: Map of South Africa after 1994**
(South African Family History and Genealogy: Maps of South Africa-1. April 2010)

In 1994, the country's internal boundaries were changed, dissolving the homeland boundaries and forming nine new provinces. The Cape Province was divided into the Eastern Cape, Northern Cape and Western Cape. Kimberley became the capital of the newly formed Northern Cape Province. I find it necessary to make this notation because it relates to the socio-political and historical construction of Kimberley and how the Galeshewe community was established. It is also to understand and value the depth of histories of the miners who worked in Kimberley, and lived in Galeshewe.

The period between 1970 and 1990 is significant because it marks a time when the economic and the residential make-up of Galeshewe changed. One of the major turning points of the mine for the local people of Galeshewe was when De Beers implemented a new employment policy in 1973. They stopped employing migrant labourers, concentrating instead on utilising local workers, a move welcomed by the community. There continued to be positive spin-offs in terms of developments, De Beers officially opened the diamond-sorting house popularly known as 'HOH' in 1974. This was also the year that marked the official opening of the Diamond Route between Johannesburg and Kimberley. The opening of both 'HOH' and the Diamond

Route created more job opportunities for the local people. It was also the year when the largest diamond ever discovered was found at the Dutoitspan mine[24] by Abel Maratela (Lunderstedt, 2002:33). This was a 616-carat diamond and is still believed to be the largest uncut diamond in the world. Soon after all these significant events, a modern compound was developed in one of the subsections of Galeshewe, named Ipopeng, in 1975. This housing project was for the De Beers employees that provided 250 modern houses (some were double-storey flats), which was an upgrade from the inferior four- and two-roomed houses that they were used to. To many of the mineworkers it was the beginning of a better life. The area was the best and many of the families preferred it because of what it offered - it had a playground park and the first cricket field. These are facilities that black township did not have at the time, so Ipopeng suburb was conceived and is understood to be a prestige area.

Even with the development hype, the De Beers housing scheme could only accommodate a limited number of mine employees. The conditions for occupancy were dependent on the salary bracket and marital status, meaning that you could only qualify to stay there if you earned a certain amount and were married. According to Kagisho Lekgetho (ex-miner), who is one of the community members I interviewed, this condition pressurised some of the men to get married so that they could qualify for the housing scheme. However, in 1977 all the black employees were admitted to the company (De Beers) pension funds and the company also offered home ownership and bank-loan schemes to workers. These developments gave rise to many of the mine employees enjoying the benefit of home ownership. Although this history is not reflected in the narrative of museum, some of the people

[24] One of the diamond mines that make up Kimberley's Big Five.

recall this period as one of the best times. This kind of recollection of events and memory speaks of the role the Big Hole had in the community[25].

As the mining business slowed down, De Beers gradually started retrenching workers and this caused some families to lose their houses because they could no longer afford the bonds (home loans). Whilst some families stayed on, many had to sell their homes and the area was open to anyone who could afford to buy the houses on sale. This economic downturn affected the development prospects of the township (and for the miners) and as a result, the Ipopeng housing project was the last residential development by De Beers in Galeshewe. In a way, one can argue that the Ipopeng area highlights two different moments with regard to De Beers. It symbolises a hopeful time that shaped the lives of the black miners for the better[26]. Yet, at the same time it resembles a state of (a social design) reality of the retrenchment effects that left most of the mineworkers unemployed. Some of the social ills that became prevalent amongst the miners were issues such as alcohol abuse, divorce and a change of lifestyle that came as result of the financial distress that was experienced. For many miners, the area signifies a stolen past of what could have been. It is a reminder of how they were shut out and robbed of their dignity, and it marks the beginning of the socio-economic issues that are still prevalent in their current living conditions. Here, I refer to their physical welfare which is an indicator of the health issues as result of the mines closing the Black miners suffered from sicknesses that are mine related (Lekgetho,pers comms: 2017).

As the only remaining location of the original settlement of the diamond discovery, there is no doubt that Galeshewe township forms part of the Big Hole's

[25] The other distinct thing about De Beers in Galeshewe, was that the buses would drive through the area, stopping at different pick-up points to transport the workers to the various mining plants.

[26] There was just a unique way of living for families. For instance, except a playground and cricket field that the area had, the kids of that area also started a drum majorette band, which would parade through the other areas of Galeshewe township.

beneficiaries. It was once the most influential and most developed township in South Africa, but when the diamond business stopped so did the development of the city too. In seeking an understanding of the relationship between the Galeshewe community and the Big Hole, it is important to establish the connection of the mine (Big Hole) and the local people. These common connections or attributes (locality, previous and current struggles, life experiences, and interest) make it easier to understand each other. However, even with this approach I am mindful that it might create aspects of separation (Crooke, 2007:31) because experiences are not the same for everyone. Some managed to seek alternative ways of earning (re-establish themselves) and see it as a phase. Although this proves to evoke multiple interpretations and aspects of separation, but it also gives an orientation of people's social life. It is important to note that objectives and functions of the Big Hole museum should be balanced out with the museum's intrinsic purpose in a responsible way and as prescribed by the various ICOMOS charters[27]. These charters recognise both the value of the site and the public interest, which is often through their participation as an outcome or benefit and this speaks to the historical thread between the Big Hole and accounting of the lives in Galeshewe.

The compound location, which later became Galeshewe township, played a major role in the diverse cultural set-up of the area. For example, local people speak various languages in one sentence or paragraph with Afrikaans being the dominant language. This unique way of speaking became a common culture in Galeshewe and is now referred to as 'tsotsi-taal' (gang language) by people who were not from Kimberley. It also became a common language used amongst the different ethnic groups and nationalities who worked at the mine and some refer to it as 'Sefanakalo'. As way of considering inclusive representation as well as integrating

[27] The International Council of Museums Code of Ethics emphasises the need for museums to work together with the communities they serve and represent.

narrative that makes the museum more accessible and more relatable to the locals, David Koloane (1997), who is the co-founder of Johannesburg's first black art gallery, Fuba Gallery, in his article *'Art Criticism for Whom?'* talks about the exclusion of language and how context remains stifled by the 'English' language, and not languages spoken by black people. Although his article is in reference to art, this idea speaks to the museum output or functions that can address social realism of Kimberley's historical divided society. What this also implies is that the local culture or the way of speaking is evidence of the geographical and multicultural set-up.

What can be concluded is that individuals and societies draw on the past and are shaped by social pattern. This is reflected in the relationship between history, narrative, memory, and the Big Hole museum's translation. There is also a growing awareness of the repulsion at the way the Big Hole museum deliberately manipulated the narrative and its social constructionism to justify historical accounts in favour of the British cultural domination. This indication is fundamental in most museums and such practices miss a true reflection and an appreciation for the complexity of our history.

Chapter 2

Introduction

The function of museums and what they represent has become extremely important in South Africa. However, the implementation of South African museum practices has proven to be a challenge for most. The challenges in many instances are because of their displays and content, which is largely of Western conceit (McGee, 2006). McGee argues that the ongoing control of the historical content is embedded in its social power[28] and most people are constrained by its skewed narrative (2006:179). In a way, through this social power or control, museums transmit collections (information) and culture of a particular group (McGee, 2006). It also causes museums to be limited with its social relevance and interaction. This suggests that the translation play a significant role in the interactive process such as when people are viewing and what meaning they make of it. In return, such interactive role creates much greater impact in its association and broader participation (Pearce, 1992). Both McGee (2006) and Pearce (1992) are suggesting that museums should become active agencies of for all cultural groups or experiences, and this means that museums should re-evaluate (regenerate) its meaning for the local (or host) communities because its true value stems from how it relates to the public. This approach is also advocated by the 'new museology' approach which is putting emphasis on the role of education and visitor experience. According to Pearce (1992), it is where speculation about meaning and practical museum problem solving are intertwined. This concept of museology was accepted in its wider sense in the 1950s and replaced museography that was predominantly focusing on museum practice (Desvallees & Mairesse: 2009). In summary, the role of 'museology' is described as a process of responding to social relation, which is its

[28] By social power I mean the museum's inheritance of dictating ways of meaning for the society.

integration to the society through scientific research that examines man and reality. This also relates to my critique of the museum's management model which in my view is underestimating the community as the new client.

Considering that exhibitions are a fundamental feature of museums, it therefore means that its presentation or collections serve as the underlying reality of its cultural context or a contextual association of some kind. What this implies is that archival work and objects have great value in bringing new understanding from the past into the present. This includes expression of memory, which encourages the realisation of new experiences; concepts; knowledge and developing a multifaceted understanding through research, which also puts emphasis on education as a means to understand social and cultural behaviours, such as the process of learning or experiences of the assimilation of the subject or object. Examining the education programme, this chapter observes how museums manage and implement the task to preserve and educate, and the kind of impact they have on their host community. In understanding these factors and as way of addressing purpose and value it holds, it discusses different aspects of museums as cultural institutions, namely the role of museums, the South African heritage policy landscape, community engagement, museum programmes and museums in Africa.

The Role of Museums

The symbolic or representational nature of museums provides authoritative and prescriptive answers, making their collections rhetorically imperialistic (McGee, 2006). Only selected cultural products were (some still are) recognised and affirmed while omitting the others. This way of producing meaning implies that meaning(s) are often forgotten because other meaning(s) have been generated in their places. For example, most collections highlight moments and cultures that are significant,

but that also demeans, omits and obscures other groups, sites and their cultures. Nevertheless, the evolution of museums has led to a debate about the role of museums and their displays in the production of social knowledge (Bennett, 1995:185). This addresses its structure and day-to-day action (role) by looking at or redefining what meaning it holds for a multicultural, modern community and at the same time lifting the concerns of marginalised groups. According to Tony Bennett (1995), the redefined museums should be a space that regulates social routines or modern forms of culture which I agree with. This regulation is justified considering that museums have developed from being repositories of knowledge, and because they have always been elitist or open to a particular group of the society. This elitist background is part of the main elements that Coombes is interrogating in these cultural institutions. Coombes is challenging the normative status of museums so that it can appeal to a multi-textured South African society (Coombes, 2004). It is their single interpretation that has led them to be culturally biased spaces and that influenced accessibility, which also created or contributed to the black exclusion norm (McGee, 2006:180). For a more inclusive and active role, McGee is of the view that museums should become spaces of multicultural (inclusive) encounter, meaning that they should acknowledge that societies are composed of people from diverse backgrounds and origins which what I'm advocating for. I am aware that history never satisfies anyone completely, however, this notion of diversified representation in my understanding speaks to aesthetics (and language), which according to McGee should form part of how museums think through their exhibitions. It is this kind of method of considering the cultural and social context that can and will change the singular knowledge productions or representations.

Echoing McGee, Bennett (1995:209) argues that the compositions of museums should embrace broader experience, which ultimately allows visitors to wonder,

encounter and learn better. Unfortunately, these methodologies have not been successfully implemented in most museums. There are still tensions between museums, policy framework and the role of communities in some of the South African museums. These tensions are caused by the museums' desirability, which is often the primary reason why most of the black people do not visit museums (Mc Gee, 2006). What this implies is that museums, through their displays and content, should consider dialogue in creating meaningful community engagement with those museums that are un-relatable.

Drawing from the idea that museum representation is not singular, in the book *Museums and communities* (1992), writers (and editors) Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer and Steven Levine including other scholars, such as Eilean Hopper-Greenhill, Nick Prior, Charles Saumarez Smith and James Clifford have expanded on the role and the future museums have in a society. They all argue persuasively that the response from the public is influenced by what meaning museums hold and what value systems are attached to those meanings. What these scholars are implying is that, in some away or another the institution can be reformed to become a democratic medium. And this can be done by encouraging rounded views of interpretation instead of single narrow views that are often authoritative. This argument moves away from treating museums and exhibitions as though they are ideologically neutral or regarded as unproblematic spaces. To further expand on the power of context in shaping meaning, Janet Marstine (2006) in her analysis of how meanings are developed within museums in *New museum theory and practice*, is making reference to three main characteristics that fundamentally shape museums:

(1) Their functionalist existence

(2) Their structuralist role as messages

(3) Their historicity

All these practices are mutually supportive of one another and have influenced our understanding of museums in the modern society. With this understanding of the role of museums and given that the Big Hole museum is a repository of Kimberley's heritage, I think it is important to make a distinction between the perception and experience that are offered by the Big Hole museum. This means to reflect on the education and visitor experiences that will help us understand the role and intention of the museum against how it is viewed. Doing this entails assessing objects, the history narrative and archives to see what potential it holds for modern society. In a way, this speaks to repurposing museums to be an intercultural space. It would also put museums in a position to consider a multicultural approach by offering an experimental learning that appeals to the current social, economic and political context. The Big Hole museum, is also equally required to think through its identity and to engage with the other viewpoints, which is essentially the view of the miners.

Working with the three main characteristics of museums as described by Marstine (2006) and in line with the aim or concern of this research, I assess three arears which are (1) how the Big Hole museum has been embraced by the Galeshewe community, (2) what the museum is exhibiting and the context thereof, and (3) how all these influences people's participation. By addressing this concern, I employ the enlightment role of museums which are regarded as a primary educational tool that can (and should) be able to provide a full-on educational experience. This is despite their model of offering leisure or tourism experiences, which have been positioned as their core function. This trend of museums prioritising leisure has become potent in the 20th century, and by doing this, museums tend to deny or ignore the negative images of the true historical account. Coombes has also addressed the tensions that museums and other heritage structures are faced with when translating experiences. She is explicitly referring to the dual-function sites (museums and

tourism attraction) that intentionally stage experiences that devoid the human or social history, which is what is causing contestation and tensions in the education and leisure role. Even though some museums continue with the leisure part of their business, serving communities is still part of their core business function, education and diversified representation remain core function of the museum. By diverse representation in the instance of the Big Hole museum I refer to the inclusive historical narrative that is not being told and the absence of the locals. In keeping with the incorporation of the local community at museums, they are very much part of the tourism experience and that is expressed by reflecting their way of life and being part of that experience (Doswell, 1997:37). This intercultural interaction has also been expressed by James Clifford with the 'contact zones' concept (1997). Clifford regards them as spaces of intercultural exchange, negotiation and communication that are responding to the modern community. It suggests alternative ways of repurposing museums and how to find their role in relation to the ethnic groups. Although some scholars are critical of Clifford's concept, citing that it perpetuates partial notion or representation, I am drawn to the concept of the reflective and responsive approach. For instance, when applying the responsive approach, the question about who visits or does not visit the museum and why it is of importance are useful cues about the issues facing the museum and its management. These questions and considerations reflect on the emotional, experiential and symbolic dimension of museums that are guided by the social, cultural, economic and political dynamics specific to the local people of Galeshewe (Crooke, 2007:31)[29].

[29] For instance, as it stands, even if people wanted to visit the Big Hole museum, there is the issue of affordability, which relates to its accessibility.

Similarly, in assessing how responsive the museum is, during my interaction or interview with the museum manager, Dirk Coetzee (personal communication, 2016) said that the museum did not have the capacity or facilities to have educational programmes like other museums. The admission of the museum's limitations in the educational programme presents an opportunity to relook at its display and context in a way that would consider an inclusive heritage context.

The South African Policy Landscape for Museums

In exploring the values and principles underpinning museums in South Africa's current democratic landscape, I started by examining the South African cultural legislative framework, the *White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage*, which was gazetted in 1996. The purpose of this policy was to develop an inclusive sector that promotes transformative change in the heritage programmes which also makes provision for private ownership. In addition to examining the White Paper (1996), my assessment also looked at the National Museum Policy (NMP) that provides guidelines of how museums are intended to service the democratic society. I have also considered other policies including international conventions and treaties that the South African Government subscribes to, conference papers and essays that address all the dynamics of the transformation agenda that exemplifies South Africa's policy position and the day-to-day management of museums. More than just critical analytical work, my approach is based on the understanding that museums form part of the national reconstruction project that can critically engage with social issues within communities. This implies that they can play a role developing alternative practices that are culturally inclusive (National Heritage Council, 2012). Again, this is also linked to the 2005 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions that advocates

that museums can and should play their role in protecting and opening opportunities for all the diverse groups.

Despite the noble objectives of all the policy prescripts, there are still many struggles or tensions between most of the museums, government (policy frameworks) and communities on how it is being managed. It is worth pointing out that the Big Hole museum do not necessarily function within the operational guidelines of museums. This observation was made during the interviews, and these responses can be interpreted as indications of indifference to people's cultural expressions and that is what has stirred negative emotions about the Big Hole. Coombes (2004) has interrogated both the management and policy issues in *History after Apartheid* and she finds that many of the problems encountered at cultural and heritage sites in South Africa are because of the gaps arising from difficulties in implementing cultural policy. The relevance of Coombes analysis in my view lies in the identity politics of Kimberley's broader history, which is (can be) expressed by various parties through their memory, power and emotions. For example, Kimberley is reputed to be a 'melting pot' because of industrialisation and these complexities of belonging cannot be passed over. All these are social issues where policy cannot (fail to) manage despite its role of mediating tensions and to create inclusivity, but the distinction is helpful in our understanding of how different cultures have different interpretations. This (condition) further heightens the state of the existing cultural stereotypes and creates awareness that heritage sites 'has the potential to affirm South Africa's diverse cultures, even though the power to curate or classify the exhibits/displays or the collections rests on management and the owners. That is how museums influence the cultural experience, but beyond this authority it is their interactive programmes that keep them relevant. Whether the Big Hole museum is regarded as a tourism attraction or as a museum, the policy for both museums and

tourism advocates community participation as a requirement. In fact, this has position museums as an intrinsic part of the cultural experience.

Community Engagement

Based on my study interest and as described in my aim, the community of Galeshewe township is the community in question. Considering that community is a multifaceted concept which is dependent on the context and perspective from which it is used (Putnam, 2000), in terms of assessing and understanding the said community I used everyday practices found in their interactions, geographical terrain and historical sequence that brought about a specific and unique community life in the area (Crooke, 1997). My understanding of community is also based on Tony Bennett's (1995:105) analysis which is positioned towards empowering communities. Bennett's view is that cultures have been used to differentiate people into social groupings that accorded them a certain status. These social groupings are how people were (and still are) shaped by such socio-political settings and their affiliation with certain race or traits. In this way people can easily relate to the views of a place, the history and how they all connect and create meaning, which ultimately becomes people's view of museums. This is one of the reasons why museums are encouraged to develop strategies or incentives for community engagement because people seek social or cultural belonging to understand the past and how they fit into a space (Karp & Wilson, 1996).

The underlying argument here is that the role of museums or exhibitions is the production of knowledge for its community. For this reason, both museums and tourism experiences are confronted by the universal cultural thread that makes it necessary or a requirement for any host community. This is important because as explained, people's identity is connected to a place. Ridwan Laher produced a very

helpful article on how to make sense of the past at a conference held at McGregor Museum, in Kimberley from 14 to 16 September 2011. Laher who was a chief research specialist and head of the sustainable development unit at the African Institute of South Africa was part of a bigger research project on the history of the Northern Cape and Kimberley. Speakers were invited to talk about communities and the anti-colonial processes or projects. Laher's argument puts the idea of confronting the past as a necessary step for inclusivity and accountability when commemorating it. He started off by demonstrating some of the polarising debates over the substance of postcolonial identity in African states and made use of four key analytical concepts, which are all tied to integrated assumptions that are related to the feasibility of community participation. These assumptions are addressing open participation for communities and are encouraging counter narratives. The same notion can be linked to James Clifford's (1997) conception of 'contact zones' where communities intersect or interact and are mutually influenced by the encounter. This concept has a direct bearing on the Big Hole museum's translation, in particular their relationship with Galeshewe community. This has already been discussed in detail in the previous chapter through illustrating and unpacking the historical background, and the link between their interconnectedness.

Reflecting on the changes within museums in Africa, Nnakenyi Arinze, who is the co-author of the book *Museums and their communities in West Africa* is challenging the ongoing format (narrow approach) and approach in museum collection and presentation of materials. The thrust of this argument suggests that museums are oblivious to new ideas that can touch community life and make it easier and meaningful for them. The signification of this system has managed to exclude the broader community in spite of the socio-political changes. In addressing strategies for relevance within museums for their communities, Jacob Nyangila (2006) has

elaborated on ways to broaden participation and he suggests that “museum and community involvement” can be realised through active public programmes in his article ‘A case study of community collaborative initiative - National Museum of Kenya’. Taking up Nyangila on his argument, in my view this active public platform could be an incentive for the Big Hole museum to incorporate the Galeshewe community or their area as one the remaining compounds. For instance, one of the approaches can be the usage of the unique language that is associated with or influenced by the miners’ lingo, which is mixing of languages (in one sentence) when they speak.

Again, community engagement can also be linked to the “museum and community resolution” passed by the American Association of Museums (2002), which states that “museums are to define new relationships with communities based on expanded mutual understanding, common interest and a desire to collaborate for the benefit of the community”. Both these approaches refer to the interactive role of museums in their host communities. Based on this, any form of engagement or participation would require a certain degree of tolerating the history of others in South Africa’s context (Bennett, 1995:20). I argue that in order to consider community engagement for Galeshewe, community means to expand the Big Hole’s educational role.

Relating to the broader context of community engagement, there are ways to address the passivity at the Big Hole museum that can be achieved through evaluating its ethics, intentions and its fundamental value to the community. This means being reflective on the museum’s ideology against the centrality of its narrative to local community including institutional barriers of its management model. It would, however, require consensus between partners (management and

the owners) and participants, meaning that the Big Hole museum would be able to establish new institutional arrangements in its programmes. This sentiment of consensus by the authorities was demonstrated in the *Acquisition Policy of the Johannesburg Art Gallery with regard to South African Collection* by Jillian Carman and she notes that "no matter how museums may develop, it remains shaped by its owners or founders" (Carman, 1988:203). Although Carman's work was based on a gallery, she seems to be in agreement with Lowenthal's view that cultural significance is often constructed (2005). Either way, cultural belonging or the significance of places such as their heritage are a primary reason for community participation at museums.

I am mindful that in some instance accommodating all the different cultures can cause conflict and be rejected because of its multifaceted nature, which does not always satisfy everyone. However, the key point to consider here is that the kind of experience that the Big Hole museum is currently offering affecting the enlightenment notion, and that is what seems (through observation and reports) create the disconnect. The question that we ask is whether its current education purpose is for social upliftment, which lies within the museum's enlightenment role, or is it for social control, which is all about maintaining the status quo of being self-sustainable and their legacy?

In terms of self-sustainability, which most museums are striving for, Crooke (2007:43) recommended elements of social capital theory, which is how museums can sustain themselves. This strategy of social capital theory is in line with the intentions of the Big Hole museum and De Beers company, which is for the Big Hole museum to be self-sustainable. Taking on this strategy would mean to be mindful of all the risks and consider museum practices when implementing the tourism

activities, which is often what compromises the primary function of museums. One of the dilemmas and risks of the superficial encounters it generates falsify understanding of people's place in history and that is not reflective of South Africa. This ultimately becomes public history and that is how myths and consciousness are formed.

Drawing from Crooke's example in reinventing museums for the benefit of the community[30], Crooke (2007) explored the District Six museum's role within the local community and how it has incorporated previously excluded groups. This approach changed the museum to be inclusive of all races and cultures and made it meaningful for the local people. Ciraj Rassool (2004:5) shares a similar view in his book *The rise of heritage and reconstruction of history in South Africa* at the District Six museum through demonstrating the value of reconstructing postcolonial museums or heritage sites. What this demonstrates is that the changing of museum largely lies in its context; how it is perceived and what meaning its holds for the local community. Although Crooke (2007) and Rassool (2004) refer to public museums, their approach and efforts speak about the persuasive ways of preserving different viewpoints of history. This form of shared views or testimonies (social memories for communities) are in line with museum practices and could be a way to encourage local participation at the Big Hole museum. For example, as already stated, the mines influenced people's lives in one way or the other and had a significant impact on the broader community of Galeshewe. What I want to emphasise here is that the role to 'produce meaning' (Big Hole museum) and the 'authority' (De Beers company) over knowledge production is a critical factor for the museum and Galeshewe community.

[30] Crooke's book of *Museum and community ideas, issues and challenges* (2007).

Museum Education

The demand of preserving and experiencing historical attractions, has heightened the role of museum education for the modern society. As places that construct meaning, one of the demands or expectations requires that museums re-evaluate their choice of materials; the intent and context. To put it simple, museums are regarded as tools/symbols that facilitate broader understanding of the complexity of our society through their objects/collections. This kind of understanding (which is also a requirement) allows or calls for museums to engage in different histories and discourses so that their ethos reflects all groups of the democratic society. The thrust of this notion requires museums to stay relevant and demonstrate a level of consideration towards their communities through their education programmes. This puts people in a position to use museums for self-development, self-empowerment and self-directed learning (Hooper-Greenhill, 1999:68). Given the inherent heritage status of the Big Hole museum, I focus on its education role (the collection and what it stands for), which is what alters knowledge and learning, and this also helps with a broader understanding of how to make education active. The significance of such (influence) encounter is also expressed by Ivan Karp and Fred Wilson (1996), with their view that experiences at museums are not so much influenced by objects but rather by how the objects are placed or curated. By curated objects, I refer to the classification and translation of information that reinforce a particular narrative. Karp and Wilson and also other authors have demonstrated that museum exhibitions and their contexts have the resulting effect of having power over the society.

Expanding on museum education and its power, Hein (1994) in his article, *'Role of museums in society: Education and social action'* is referring to the ideas or cultural memory that is inscribed and is at odds with history[31]. It speaks to the authority or

[31] Hein's article of the *Role of museums in society: Education and social action* (1994).

power relation within some museums that has been driven by social control. By social control, I mean the need for the Big Hole museum to position itself more as a tourism attraction rather than a museum, and according to the responses and observation, this has emerged as one of the problems in the education programme. This is a significant point with regard to the power in curatorial narrative, which is determined by De Beers. It highlights the restrictions and limitations for the visitor experience, on which I expand more in the next chapter. The point that Hein is emphasising and also a key element in the education role is the importance of constructive learning or active meaning making at museums. I agree with this notion and I think there is a need for defining or rethinking what the Big Hole museum ought to be offering.

Role of Active Learning?

Active learning is at the centre of the visitor experience and it comes with a kind of feedback effect that either has an effect of admiration or rejection. Meaning that is an active process of creating meaning that could challenge the way in which history is presented and perceived at museums. David Thelen refers to it as an alternative approach of expressing history (2001). Similarly, Michael Baxandall (2007:3) describes it as preconditions of a display or translation that remains central in terms of its context. These preconditions are subjected to ideas, values and purpose, which to a large extent impact the opinion of the visitor or viewer. Ann important aspect in these preconditions to consider is that every object has some significance and everything in the environment has a meaning even when people are not aware of it (Karp & Wilson, 1996). Even with this understanding, I am mindful that the politics of representation is not singular or static including how the audience responds. What is import is whether displays are a true reflection of history, because they influence how people see the world and that is how meaning transmits. As a result

of this, the role of museum education should in a way be able to bridge any existing gap and should at all times maintain its integrity. This is because the new audience (modern society) is more interested in social action and self-discovery, and that deals directly with the objective of museum education.

Museums in Africa

Majority of museums in Africa were not established to serve the needs and interests of African people and for this reason museums continue to remain foreign institutions with little significance to their communities (Arinze, 1998:344). It is important to note that Arinze is basing this statement on Africa's political and socio-economic changes. He is of the view that there has been little change in reconciling historical or cultural information. According to him, the broader conceptual concerns regarding the classification of information and some historical facts have remained the same. This lack of representation has stifled progress and transformation because most of the museums are blind to the subtext of the objects and symbols that are displayed. It questions the museum guidelines and overall management in failing to realise that certain symbols and their context represent a deep and age-old hurt. As a consequence, this has extended itself to people's appreciation and general interest in museums.

Arinze is making two critical points about museums in Africa's post-independence. Firstly, he cites how museums were utilised as active and effective vehicles that were fostering national consciousness and political unity in the immediate years of post-independence in Africa (Arinze, 1998:345). Secondly, Arinze draws our attention to the neglect of some of these museums a few years after independence. His observation was that whilst Africa is experiencing momentous developments, museums seem oblivious to these developments. Many of them have failed to

become central sites for social redress, reconciliation, pivotal monument or just educational site (Arinze, 1998:346). The Big Hole museum shares similar challenges, it does not seem to have the willingness to respond to the community of Galeshewe. Unfortunately, most of these museums including the Big Hole museum, continue to be foreign institutions that are still utilising Western models with no significance to the community's interest. In establishing new public memories for Africa and referring to South Africa, Coombes (2007) argues that memory should be created through displays and material forms, which can have a positive and welcoming effect on all the individuals or the broader community. Coombes is acknowledging the current challenges that relate to narratives and material conditions and how to bring them into conversation with one another. Even with its challenges, translation is regarded as an effective medium for managing adequate representation. What this means is that it should be seen as an opportunity to redress (reinvent) museums so that they can present alternative ways of seeing the world. The Big Hole museum narrative records memory of the past and the historical thread has demonstrated a gap in its depiction and attribution of the miners' contribution. As vessel that influences knowledge, any kind of rescript/narrative puts dialogue, debate and research at the centre of museum education or output.

An analysis of 'Re-envisioning the Kimberley mine museum: De Beers' Big Hole project', Marj Brown is making a very good point by asking critical questions about the impact of the project on the community during its conception stage. She asks, 'how will the "new renovated Big Hole museum" reflect the history of the city, De Beers that is driving the project and the people involved'? The basis of this question is precisely because of the Big Hole's broader historical significance and its role in South Africa's industrial past. This was further compounded by expectations that an inclusive social history would be displayed given that it was post-apartheid. The

museum's concept is centred around corporate museums that offered more entertainment and were less intellectually demanding also referred to as 'edutainment'. In her analysis, Brown is cautioning the interest of business above industrial heritage and the community. Her point draws a parallel with Professor Cynthia Kros's analysis of the Gold Reef theme park attraction that is giving a carefully curated narrative instead of giving context of the miners' past[32]. The Gold Reef City theme park is staged in a way that only demonstrates techniques of drilling as if the mining operations have always been mechanised (Kros, 1992:7). Kros's analysis implies that the displays at Gold Reef City were carefully selected to present a history that was mostly fun whilst the negative effects of the gold mining and the voices (experiences) of many are absent. She refers to it as a 'past without compounds or segregation'. This argument of the romanticised experience is relevant to the Big Hole museum because it speaks to the importance and impact of the miners, particularly with regard to the Big Hole museum and what its current translation conveys. It further implies that the contextualisation of the Big Hole museum as their legacy project should not distort the 'real' experience of Kimberley's mine history. There should be a way to celebrate, preserve and memorialise the Big Hole experience in a way that does not make it impossible for people to acknowledge or imagine their own experiences or judgement. This is indicative of some of the arguments that I raised in the earlier text around how the Big Hole museum's experience is kept within the domain of the De Beers empire narrative (elite British colonisers), while omitting the contribution and history of the black miners.

[32] This paper presented to Myths, Monuments, Museums of New Premises.

Chapter 3

Introduction

To reconcile complexities of translations at the Big Hole museum, I focus on the archival material to demonstrate its power. It is also to assess how it can be used to contribute towards strengthening social ties with the local community. This is motivated by the call for reform in museums (new museology) and objectivity, which I have discussed in the previous chapter. This chapter looks at the function of archival materials as key components in museum theory. It also follows the enlightenment philosophy (Desvallees & Mairesse, 2009) that encourages us to contest structures of power that have constructed museums towards shifting them an inclusive institution and a knowledge hub.

Museum Archives: A tool for Classification and Education

What we know for certain is that the essence of the Big Hole museum is about preservation of the mine's historical archives and they both signify origins and beginnings, both documents have value in bringing some kind of understanding about the past and its present community. Examining how museums use their role as informers, the accessibility of archival records is essential for the community's cultural heritage and also for an authentic (non-curated) tourism experience. Lois Marie Fink, a research curator and author of the book *American art at the nineteenth- century Paris salon (1983)* demonstrates that knowledge and interpretation of the past will inevitably affect the museum, its administrators and the public. This means that the museum management plays a critical role and if the staff are not fully aware of the museum's full history or what is in the archives, they will be unable to respond to a reflexive approach where visitors are exposed to debates rather than single sided answers. The absence of such an approach means that the museum is missing out on the institution's strength, threats and

opportunities that may equip them to make decisions that can benefit both its relationship with its stakeholders and for its legacy. In order to present a full historical account, Susan Pearce (1999:12) argues that "existing collections can speak in new voices" and that means there needs to be a shift in management attitudes. For me this is arguably the most definitive way of addressing the underlying issue of archives and context in museums and has probabilities of attracting 'new audiences' or create interest for the community.

Memorialisation and Museum Education

In reference to the De Beers company mission and as part of their legacy and the mine memorialisation project of 'the Big Hole open-air museum', having a relationship with its community serves as a vehicle for social engagement. However, De Beers and the museum management have different ways of how they would want to draw on or engage the local community. One of the issues that has emerged during my interview with the museum staff, is the challenge of meeting the needs of all their stakeholders including satisfying their employer, Compass (facilities management company), contracted to manage the museum complex. For example, the museum management has identified not having staff to create educational programmes or facilities to have an extensive educational department as one the challenges (pers comm, Dirk Coetzee: 2017). Not having an education department limits its service offering and interaction because it is currently only appealing to the school groups and not the older generation. In my view, this is one of the dominant factors that is affecting participation at the Big Hole museum. As a heritage site, its mandate, which is safeguarding both the tangible and intangible cultural heritage (UNESCO, 2003), as reflected in the various ICOMOS charters, is essentially to balance out mutual respect among communities, but this is not really fulfilled. What the museum is currently offering to communities can be seen more as a form of

social encounter defined as a place of leisure. Considering the various kinds of visitors, like tourists; students; locals; museum or cultural enthusiasts, while at first sight, the museum evokes the atmosphere of the good old days and amazement, it also shows that something complex is at stake. One of the biggest tensions as raised by Garth Benneyworth, who is a lecturer at Sol Plaatje University, is that the experience at the museum adds no value to the students as a reference point or educational aid. Benneyworth's dispute is that the displays or material is saturated with visual imagery and symbolism that illuminate particular aspects of South Africa's societal life. It fails to be a central site or pivotal monument for social redress, scientific research and tourism, which is what it is ideally supposed to be. Benneyworth is making reference to his research on the Siege of Kimberley in the Anglo-Boer War at both the Big Hole and McGregor museum, which is replete with historical cues worth exploring[33].

The lack of action to account for the other narrative (indigenous) is what McGee (2006:181) defines as history or experiences that are constrained by colonial hegemony, which makes them un-relatable to black experiences. Some of Benneyworth's research work points to the Big Hole museum and De Beers company as Kimberley's key portal of information to a point that they are regarded as the patrons of the town. The wealth of material they own, which dates back to the 18th and 19th century, has led them to attain their status throughout the years - which is available at the Africana Library, McGregor museum, Duggan-Cronin gallery and also contained in mysterious archives of De Beers. However, even with all their accolades of being heritage patrons, Benneyworth questions the evidence and the way it is

[33] McGregor Museum is Rhodes's 1897 Sanatorium; it is reconstructed rooms used during the siege. Today McGregor has become a flagship or heritage complex of Northern Cape museums with many other museums as its satellites that offer a glimpse of the cultural and natural history of the Northern Province as part of the permanent exhibition. These satellites are Duggan-Cronin Gallery; Dunluce; Pioneers of Aviation; Maggersfontein and Wildebeest Rock Art Centre.

interpreted, written and displayed. According to Benneyworth and also as part of the discussions of his heritage lectures, for many, the expression of the discovery of diamonds and museum information would always beg the inevitable question: what about the contribution and social history of the black diggers? This question or this kind of expressions by students can be linked to Fred Wilson's (1992) demonstration in *Mining the museum* when he reflects on the uncomfortable truths and symbolic powers of museums that are drawing attention to the absence of others in his work at the Museum of Maryland in America. This approach is responding to cultural tolerance that will make museums to become relevant to its local community. With regard to the Big Hole museum, regardless of its action or inaction, the museum context is being superseded by the discourse of wealth conquest of De Beers instead of people's history (Benneyworth pers comms, 21 Sep 2017)[34]. For me this is a significant point and an indication of a gap in the museum education content that is affecting its appeal to older generations and with regard to education programmes with the research and knowledge production. Although, it might be argued that the Big Hole museum has made it clear that it does not want to be regarded as a 'traditional museum' but in particular an edutainment centre. Even so, we cannot lose sight of the fact that the Big Hole is a 'site of memory' and a custodian of local heritage. It shares a historical thread in the life circle of the Galeshewe community even though their stories got lost in translation.

[34]Dr Benneyworth worked (research and curated) at the Maggersfontein museum (Anglo-Boer and British War), this research project also had an impact on the mining history.

Collections within Museums: Engaging Education through Curatorship

Using education as an active tool, I refer to Nontobeko Ntombela's essay on '*New Engagements/ Shifting Boundaries: Curatorial as Education*', which is an attempt to work with education as a central tool towards possible ways to reimagine and reinterpret museum collections. Her views are based on her work as a curator at the Johannesburg Art Gallery (JAG). During her time at JAG, Ntombela's curated projects were tuned to archiving and education issues such as "the Grade 12 curriculum" and the Wits University curating students who were learning about curating collections whilst engaging with the Johannesburg Art Gallery's collection. It is suggestive of different ways of addressing the past imbalances of museums by looking at issues around limitations and restrictions (politics of display, historical burdens, contradiction and limitation of materials) that curators and administrators are faced with. Her approach to challenge the limitations or ideological framework within which museums considers three models of engaging curatorship, which are all set to be active and focus on being reflective, responsive and experimental.

1. Reflect on historical imbalance: how to use collections as curator to reflect on history
2. Responsive: how can exhibitions be effective to respond and educate
3. Experimental: to use the collection as experiment in education that happens indirectly, and not autocratically or by spoon-feeding.

Responding to the suggestive ways of addressing past imbalances, I ask, how can these three things be useful in thinking towards evoking multiple interpretations and also give rise to transformative change and experiences in museums. Given that the Big Hole museum is a dual attraction (serving both as a tourist attraction and cultural site), there has been growing tensions in the museum's practices when it comes to reconciling its function and purpose. The suggested models address the Big Hole museum's social mission and the different needs of its multifaceted

audiences. The relevance of the above statement is also progressing the views made by Ivan Karp and Fred Wilson (1996) that experiences at museums are not so much influenced by objects but rather by how the objects are placed or curated. Their views as cited in *Constructing the spectacle of culture in museums* means and confirms that contextualisation plays a huge role in curatorship.

Although Ntombela's essay is making reference to the Johannesburg Art Gallery (JAG), she is demonstrating how museum education can be modified to address historical complexities through curatorial practices. It looks at both the successes and failures of all three models by examining different exhibitions and situating them in a broader context. In terms of the reflective model it seeks to define its social and cultural responsibility. While the responsive model is motivated by local context or society's social circumstances. It looks at how museums through their exhibitions respond to the demands of their stakeholders. The last model encourages experimental curatorial practices that increase interaction between audiences and objects. In fact, all the models are centred on education and are pushing forward the need for curatorship to be explicit in its intentions and motivation. This way of practice is said to help audiences to understand the framing of the exhibition and in return feel included in its curatorial framework rather than a top-down situation of education as autocratic.

As a way of involving audiences in making or seeking meaning, Ntombela gauges Carlie Coetzee's writing, from her book *Accented futures: Language activism and the ending of Apartheid* (2013). Coetzee (2013:7) is making a critical point in her analysis that translation can be useful when it is understood as a concept. According to her, these concepts accent towards understanding attitudes that challenge those in power and aim to bring conflictual histories to the surface. Both Ntombela and Coetzee assert that translation can be used in dealing with the absences, gaps and

omissions found in museums. It is advancing the view that instead of museums being interpreters of collections they should rather be mediators. Coetzee mostly speaks about exchange in accentedness as being able to hear one another even in our different ways of speaking. In other words, that the viewer is part and parcel in meaning-making of the exhibition. However, in cases when the exhibition has not considered the viewer's history or has only considered one type of view, accentedness ceases to happen because only one story is told. What is implied here is, in order to change the attitude in museum education programmes, we should not only see or regard curatorial practice as an instructive tool but more as full-on educational experience. Thus, education as a curatorial approach should be understood as both a motivation for exhibitions that are to a large extent making meaning and also the curatorial concept or context.

Power and Privilege of History and Memory

Why does history matter and what purpose will its recognition serve for the Galeshewe community? This question is directed at the manner in which we remember events and learn of the past which becomes an array of our knowledge and that is what determines our collective memory. However, the nature of historical knowledge is whose memory is remembered and what are these memories especially in the context of South Africa's historical material. This has become increasingly important to consider if the museum is to address its skewed narrative. Given the silence or lack of action by the Big Hole museum to include the black narrative, one can argue that it is a way of controlling the narrative and in a way our collective memory.

To further expand on the influence of those in power and as way of mobilising people against oppression and spreading the voice of liberation through artists,

Klause Maphepha, in an article entitled, *'Culture and Politics, Creative Writing as a Weapon of Struggle'*, expands on the issue of historical supremacy. Maphepha argues that the works of any collection are influenced by ideology of the authoritarian party and that allows them to retain the dominant position while in the process the society view them as natural or not seen at all (Maphepha, 1986:27). This ideology remains the underbelly of our relationship with museums and other cultural institutions. To expand on the influences of memory, I link this statement to Professor David Lowenthal's analysis in *The heritage crusade and spoils of history* (1998) when he asks critical questions, such as "who should have rights to the past? should it be an individual, the local people, the nation state, or a super-national body?" (Lowenthal, 1998:115). These are still important questions of history and heritage ownership, particularly in establishing collective memory spaces in today's modern society. All this questions also relate to the significance of memory which lie in people's imagination; symbolism (objects) and the desire to share one's own account of memory. According to Lowenthal, a reasonable application is to review history so that it conforms to a general consensus or inclusive evidence (Lowenthal, 1998:122). What Coetzee also alludes to in her proposition of accented future, is that a full account of history must always be told, not only the victor's or victim's, but both positions from a point of self-assertion and agency. This sentiment is also at play at the Big Hole museum with the omission of the black people's history.

In terms of its illustrative brochure and map, the Big Hole museum's displays are permanent and self-explanatory. As already described, the museum offers two distinct experiences, the first part of the museum is with a tour guide who takes you through the underground mining experience of the 19th century and ends at the interpretation centre, which is also known as 'Diamond World'. The 'Diamond Rush' or 'Old Town experience' is an independent encounter. The brochure and the map

are primarily for the 'Diamond Rush' and are to help visitors navigate the 'Old Town' experience. Each building has a number that corresponds with the description of the structure on the map. Interestingly, even with the numbered buildings on the map, there is no number and description referring to the structures used by the black miners. Another thing is that the huts or shacks used by the black miners are located in an obscured area, right at the end of the courtyard with no reference. I therefore argue that the 'promised experience', which is the Big Hole's marketing phrase on the website, is in contrast to its offering and it fails to present an opportunity of getting a glimpse of or the 'whole' experience of the mining days.

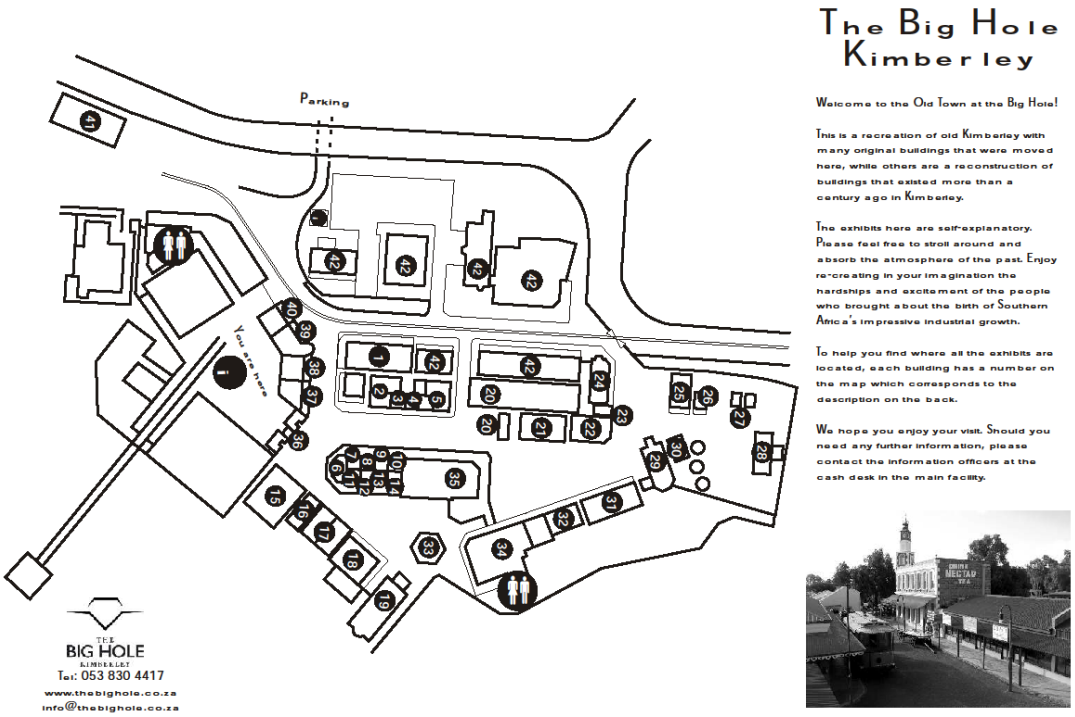


Figure 13: Brochure/Map which is provided for Old town for self-discovery excursion

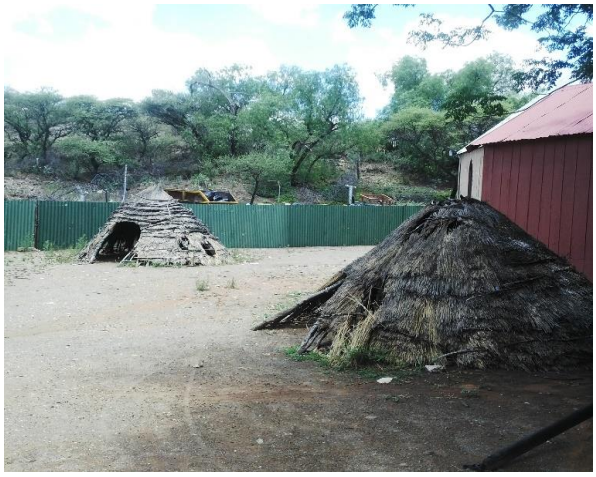


Figure 14: Example of Living structures of diggers



Figure 15: Different structure of Black diggers



Figure 16: White Man's House with a Description Plaque 'Old Town Experience'

If one compares the pictures of Figure 14 and 15 to Figure 16, it shows the inconsistency, there is no description board of these houses or any information about to whom they belonged, while the white man's house (Figure 3) offers a description. This demonstrates the socio-political construct of the museum, and how it excludes relevant merits of history. This is the major bone of contestation that has surfaced and is what Benneyworth is referring to regarding the validity of

its information and displays. This again reinforces the power dynamics that Maphepha was speaking about, implying when history is being devalued, how can the community celebrate or appreciate the Big Hole museum (1986). What people make of places is connected to what they make of themselves as members of the society (Basso, 1996:7). Basso refers to place-making as a key factor in constructing the past, which means that museums can or should construct reasonable and acceptable human history. What should be noted, is that these facts or ugliness of the past will not disappear simply because it is ignored or suppressed. In fact, it becomes the basis of what I call the relation patterns between remembering and forgetting. I argue that historical facts will always determine people's perceptions and behaviour towards museums because as demonstrated, every situation or life itself is expressed through individual encounters, time and space including the circumstances of history. Based on this, an important question to ask is can the Big Hole museum exercise their functions as cultural production and tourist attraction at the same time? In what way does it reconcile the two functions?

In establishing collective memory or looking at how to reconcile the community's memory, Julie McGee (2006) identifies 'transformation ideology' as an alternative for change. She writes about the challenge faced by current (Western) ideology at the South African National Gallery (SANG), arguing that black South Africans should be afforded an opportunity to reshape and make an input of their social memory at museums, this is what she means by transformation ideology. It also refers to the much needed change that requires the Big Hole museum to consider transforming itself and make meaning for the Galeshewe community by focusing on the extraordinary contribution of ordinary people. In this way, the central story-line will put forward how people were able to rise against a system of severe and inhumane conditions while others lived better lives. It will further show the contradictions and

oppressive history of apartheid and colonialism, and it will tell the story of victory of how they (diggers) managed to survive. This 'victory' demonstrates the tenacity of the black miners (against all odds) and can be aligned to the mine's 'conquest legacy' narrative. Although this might be an alternative or supplementing narrative, McGee's observation of the South African Art Gallery's need for transformation is what is necessary for the Big Hole museum too. She further probes the question of 'who acts as a jury', which is relevant for the Big Hole museum. As mentioned in my earlier text, the structural powers that are in place and the conception of information are entirely dependent upon the De Beers company. This leaves the Big Hole museum management with no power of decisions in the curation space, which means no one can be held accountable for how the museum displays the history. What is interesting in this set-up is the superiority pattern of the De Beers company of maintaining and advancing their 'own notion' of history. De Beers has constructed the experience at the Big Hole in a way that would maintain their social status without taking account of their role in history, yet continuing to benefit by social status that is fraught with misrepresentations. This kind of power of owning and managing history where certain aspects of history are not told or information (archives) is not made available promotes misunderstanding and disconnection with the local community. It is also a devastating result to the kind of education it may be yielding or fostering. How can this museum be called to account for not only misinforming its general viewers but also mis-directing them, which is seen to advance a culture of no debate and dialogue? The next chapter will attempt to address this question by assessing the museum current position in order to situate existing issues around its ideological framework.

Chapter 4

Introduction

This chapter focuses on some of the local views about the Big Hole museum, which have emerged during the interviews. It considers perceptions, feedback and my observations of the focus groups (museum staff; educators and Galeshewe community members) experience with the Big Hole museum. Although the interviews were primarily scheduled to be semi-structured, some of the questions were framed around experiences that are relative to their individual encounter of the place, what they read and know and the essence of the Big Hole museum. Regarding the museum staff, I was particularly interested in their operational plan and systems, and how they work around issues of active participation. Sociologist John Thompson provides an excellent overview in this conception of social inquiry when he states that 'the problem of understanding cannot be divorced from considerations of responses or comments even when it's critical' (1981:4). This means that oral testimonies are a source of knowledge claims and should be seen as an asset that can construct sensible narrative for the community (Creswell, 2003).

In terms of evidence and feedback, this chapter is two-pronged because of the different encounters and feedback of the participants. It gives a perspective of people's social attitude, beliefs and opinions of the museum. The responses from the community focus group have highlighted some of the contrasting experiences with the information that is displayed. They find the ideological framing of the museum very different in comparison to their lived experience and have shown some dissatisfaction, but they have also stressed its significance. The other focus group (educators) on the other hand had given mixed responses, the school teachers appreciate the museum and are keen to utilise it as part of their class curriculum.

While the university lecturer was very critical of the displays and material. Benneyworth, who is the Head of the Heritage department and a lecturer at the University of Sol Plaatje draws a distinction between the museum's heritage status and its content of displays, highlighting the unavailable archives. All the feedback from the focus groups presents different interpretations and perceptions of the Big Hole museum, including interesting aspects of the museum and the legacy of De Beers.

Perceptions and Feedback of the Galeshewe Community Members

Interview with the community focus group: Peace Kagisho Lekgetho and Bennet (Ben) Sekgoro

Peace Lekgetho and Bennet Sekgoro are both De Beers pensioners and have worked for the De Beers company for more than 20 years and are now De Beers pensioners. When I was asking around for ex-employees of De Beers to get a first-hand account of their views, I was referred to the ex-miner cooperative. The cooperative is a vehicle set-up to assist with employment opportunities. Lekgetho is the secretary and Sekgoro is the chairman of this cooperative. In my pursuit to get a sense of what meaning the Big Hole represents to them and how they relate to the museum, I had arranged for the interviews to take place at one of the offices at the museum. My main objective was to observe how they respond and interact with the museum. However, a surprising indication shortly into the interview with these two gentlemen, is that it was their first time at the museum since its reconstruction in 2005. This information changed the course of the interview because we could not really get a true reflection and response about the 'new' museum. Coetzee (museum manager) learned that is was their first time at the museum since the reconstruction and he offered us a complementary tour. For a last-minute arranged tour, David Tlhabanelo (tour guide) set the tone for what became a very emotional experience.

I observed how the two gentlemen got drawn in and excited about the memories of their time of employment at the mine. This came through during the walk-about when experiencing the aesthetic mining space. The tour started with the 20-minute film, which gave a brief overview of the colony and the fields. The video tells the story of the diamond discovery and who the key players were (the likes of Barney Barnato & Cecil Rhodes) and how the first diamond was discovered. It was followed with the underground tour. This encounter allowed us to discuss their personal (lived) experiences. The ex-miners shared their experiences, both about their life as mine employees and their social life outside work, each one expressing personal meaning and unique response of the place. There was also a time when they showed some level of dissatisfaction during the tour, and that was after they had watched the video.

Both Lekgetho and Sekgoro expressed their experience of the underground tour, which was a different version of their experience in comparison to what the guide was telling us. For example, they explained why and how certain mining machinery was used during the underground tour and that was information the tour guide did not know. What they further cited was that the mine's working system paved way for upskilling where necessary and that became the cornerstone of job reservation. While upskilling was a good incentive, it was also an exclusionary model which overlooked black miners in most of the wide range of skilled job opportunities. The training intake also depended on the period of time spent on the mines, and consequent majority of the mineworkers became specialised and skilled mine workers. Another factor that was linked to the length of time spent working on the mines, was also the opportunity for an increase in wages.

Given all the years of labouring at the mine, there is no sign or acknowledgement of their contribution or the scope and intensity of their work. This kind of experience or translation was rather a bitter pill to swallow to learn that after all the years of blood and sweat, all that matters are the wealth and the elite people (mining tycoons) that seem to be the main story and yet they experienced was the least suffering. To quote Mokgoro, "it becomes increasingly difficult to appreciate or even go through this tour, because it is not a true reflection of what we went through and what it's all about" (pers comm, Sep: 2007). While he commends the changes, his view was that their experience and contribution to the mine will never be known because changes in mining environment (everything such as machinery, technology, labour and health and safety laws) were only introduced from the year 2000 and soon thereafter they were retrenched. Unfortunately, their children will never know the inhumane suffering that they endured. Lekgetho said "many of us suffer from ill health because of the mine conditions we were exposed to, some colleagues have died and some suffer from chronic conditions because we don't have the means for medical care'' (pers comm, Sep: 2017).

This kind of experience or oral testimonies, in my view, highlights the social and institutional context including the shortfalls of the museums display. It certainly calls for a genuine reflection in the current ideological framework of the Big Hole museum in relation to its full history and to create space for the black miner's experience. This consideration rests on the concept that oral history is created through dialogue and not collected like artefacts (Field, 2008:181). What is critical for the museum to note is the value of the black miner's contribution under such exceptional harsh realities. The reality is that these workers have given a good proportion of their working lives (for some their entire life) and physical strength labouring at the mines. It is the exclusion of these kind of lived experiences that has

led to the perception, contention and disconnect between the local community and the Big Hole museum. This points us to the arguments cited by Coombes (2004); McGee (2006) and Bennett (1995) who are all challenging the normative status of museums for only considering single interpretation of historical narrative. All scholars are appealing for a more inclusive and active role. When reflecting and applying the responsive approach about issues facing the Big Hole museum the main challenge lies in "reducing public expressions to monolithic representation or un-located notion or experience" (Coombes, 2004:10). In light of the responses, there is no doubt that what is really questioned is the skewed narrative in the Big Hole historical representation. It highlights the underlying issues of the historical context, and when history is not representational it becomes what Moxey (1999) refers to as a crisis in post-structuralism. In light of the museum's curatorial framing and considering the feedback from interactions with the focus groups, the extent of such crisis can be observed with the current disconnect with the locals and its irrelevant status as educational centre. Based on Coombes (2007) argument that memory is borne out of subjective and collective experiences including shared social processes, then their (Galeshewe community) collective memory will always be dependent on mediation and representation.

In his book Native Nostalgia (2009), Jacob Dlamini is confronting memories of apartheid and is making a point of conceptualising or locating a specific way of thinking about memory (in South Africa) that would reflect and determine a lost past. This nostalgic inquiry uses fragments drawn from the past to look at lived experiences and the kind of effects of memory in contemporary South Africa especially where it intersects with debates over the 'truth' in relation to history.
Dlamini is differentiating between restorative nostalgia and reflective nostalgia as a way to determine a lost past. He is asking or addressing two critical question that

are directly related to the Big Hole museum's historical representation and community's memory: (1) what does it mean to remember a (black) life under apartheid with fondness and longing? (2) how do we explain the fond memories that people have of what has come to be consensually regarded as a history that condemned those very same people to suffering? Both these question are necessary to signify ways of considering and re-writing the museum historical context. Dlamini is offering ways of dealing with these questions and one of them is in a sociological way which identifies and uses symptom to diagnose and explain the underlying social malaise.

When I asked them why they didn't think of visiting the museum before, including encouraging their family members:

The response was that the revamping of the museum took place while they were still employed and just a year before the opening of the 'new museum' the mine was closed down. According to them, what had emerged was that De Beers (their employer) had sold the mine to Petra Diamonds and through the sale or change of ownership most of the workers were retrenched. In their view, the retrenchment process was very deceitful and that caused them both their life savings and dignity. This experience ultimately created resentment towards De Beers and it also created all kinds of negative perceptions of the Big Hole museum for them as beneficiaries and their families. After the opening of the "new museum" most of the miners learned by word of mouth what the story line or context of the museum was all about, and that immediately put them off and caused the lack of interest for most of ex-miners and their families. This feedback shows how the museum is perceived (at least from a distance) and the reputation it has extended itself over the years. This points to Karp & Wilson (1996) concerns regarding museum exhibitions and

their context, that everything or object has a meaning even when people are not aware of it.

With both revelations of being their first time visiting the museum and how their working relationship was concluded, I ask if they will visit again and if they will recommend it to their families?

Their response was that as much as they do not agree with the way the story is being told, it is still important to them. They want their children and grand-children to know that they were once worthy and part of this giant called the 'Big Hole'. With this response, I think it is safe to say that the experience brought a sense of pride and joy, and it allowed them to travel 'in memory' to a place and time when they were regarded as 'Dinatla', meaning Strong Giants. In fact, one of the streets in Ipopeng location was also named 'Dinatla'. It was a time when they could provide for their families and had dreams, unlike now when they have to worry about their next meal. These comments reveal the conditions or social struggles that most men (ex-miners) find themselves in. It means, after decades (20 and 30 years of working experience) of working at the mine (underground) and with mining being the only skill and life they know, they found themselves unemployable and distraught. However, what is interesting is that the underground experience in a way helped to shed some light on and can help society understand why most of them are so sickly, depressed and alcoholics.

This is a positive indication for participation, although the socio-economic conditions that were expressed pointed to the issue of affordability because of unemployment. Despite the sad state of affairs of the ex-miners, the evidence suggests that there is interest to participate at the Big Hole museum and I have summarised the feedback as follows:

- What is certain is that they do regard the Big Hole museum to be necessary of their life history despite the hostility they felt because of the retrenchment.
- Affordability of people being able to visit the museum and paying the entrance fee is a major factor given the socio-economic conditions.
- While this is a site of memory of their past, the story that is being presented is not a true or balanced reflection of the mineshaft experience.

The importance of the miners' encounter of the museum and their feedback is an indication of the social reality that is confining general interest and participation. In my view, the promise of the Big Hole museum is necessary and yet disappointing at the same time. By this I mean the activities or experience do account for something but there is a missing story. I therefore argue that De Beers is still reinforcing notions of segregation at the museum. The museum experience and its content show that they (De Beers) are only concerned about their legacy and have failed to consider the community, which is by extension the ex-miners and their families as stakeholders. What we should remember is that "power cannot exist beyond social relations, rather it is constitutive of social relations" (Westwood, 2002:2). In other words, the power that De Beers has over the Big Hole museum is useless if the community is excluded. Therefore, either way you look at the museum collection/exhibit, you need people to interact with the museum, especially as the host community.

Feedback from Educators Focus Group:

Educator Mokgoro (Isago Primary School); Educator Maditsi (Montshiwa Primary School) and Educator Hammer (Dr. E.P. Lekhela Secondary School); Garth Benneyworth (Lecturer at the Sol Plaatje University). The two elementary schools were on the Big Hole museum's list of school groups that visited the museum, while the secondary school was a random selection. I called the schools and explained my interest and requested for an appointment with the teachers. Both schools were very open and welcoming and they referred me to the teachers. In responding to the question of their experience at the Big Hole museum:

The participants are educators from three government schools that are in Galeshewe township. School groups visit the museum because the Big Hole is considered to be an educational site for scholars that gives a practical sense of the origin of the diamonds and the life in Kimberley decades ago. Most of the visits are not done voluntary, educators take them for various reasons but one of the most common and important reason is that it enhances the curriculum in Life Orientation/Skills programme and Science. Both primary school educators (Maditsi and Mokgoro) indicated that they visit the museum as part of the Life Skills Programme, which focuses on children's memory, observation and ability to think and reflect (the ability to relate what they saw and experienced). The educators also feel that most kids would ordinarily not be able to visit the museum because most of the black parents do not visit museums and they regard it a social outing and motivation. Being a regular visitor (school's annual visits) and for the number of children they bring, they normally get a discounted fee of R10 per child and R30 for the teachers.

When asked what were the key areas or resources at the museum, Hammer, who is a secondary school educator (and Principal), indicated that all the teachers have never taken learners to the Big Hole museum but he has visited the museum with his family. The reason for not taking learners for museum visits is largely because of the institutional challenges of the school. He conceded that not being able to explore or visit the museum is a disservice to the learners as the Big Hole museum does support their class curriculum and which can provide them with valuable historical information. For example, the grade eight Social Science learners are being taught about the diamond discovery in South Africa, and the focus is on the machinery that was used then. Therefore, taking the learners to the museum will make the learning experience more exciting and it can encourage or develop interest in engineering and science.

In terms of museum resources available for education purposes, the museum does not have enough guides to assist when one just randomly visits the site. Visitors are only attended to when they are part of a tour, in fact they give group tours priority. For both the Sol Plaatje University students and lecturers, it can be very discouraging when they want information to help with project portfolios/research or to prepare for a class lesson. Garth Benneyworth (Heritage lecturer) and the heritage students have expressed similar challenges when conducting research at the Big Hole. The disadvantages that they face involve lack of material, no staff to attend to them and no space to debate concepts or ideas. This gap of resources or limited knowledge of the full history and archival records certainly limits the museum to be reflexive and it goes against its role as informers. Considering the fundamental function of museums which is extended through its collection, this signify the complexity or contradiction of institution and that is what is expressed by the students and lecturers of Sol Plaatje University.

As a space that regulates knowledge and developing a multifaceted understanding "collection should always be seen as an agent through which continuous examination of curatorial endeavours are explored; equally, that these explorations should be reliant on viewers as active participants in the making of meaning. This is based on the understanding that learning does not happen in an environment of autocracy but rather an understanding that different audiences also carry a set of tools and knowledge that works towards evoking multiple interpretations" (Ntombela, 2005:132). Even though such an understanding of a full account is a significant element to modify complexities of museum representation, and is an approach I'm advocating for, I do not trust De Beers company with the education and community engagement given its current ownership model. Instead, it should be seen and used as an engagement hub or resource centre that should surrender its control for diverse stakeholder.

Sol Plaatje University has placed heritage as the foundation of their institution, and this is exposing the historical gap with the Big Hole museum's education programmes. Such extension and focus in the heritage could be an opportunity to present a number of interactive educational programmes. In fact, Sol Plaatje University (under anthropology course) started a project in collaboration with artists Francois Knoetze, musical performance by the Amandla Dance Teatro and an exhibition by the students. Knitting together practice, theory and alternative research and narrative methods this project intervened on alternative, ordinary and sometimes contested stories. It was set out to seek counter narratives and in a way attack the current historical airbrushing of the Big Hole narrative. Combining a series of visual and performance intervention, the project went along to disrupt odious colonial narratives that romanticize the town's history of diamonds extractions. In contrast, it highlights the myriad ways in which diamonds have cursed Kimberley as

oppose to the story of the diamond rush from the winner's perspective as reflected at the Big Hole museum that "the visitors centre tells the multi-faceted story of diamonds, of the people that sought them, the tolls they used and they generated". It points to the carefully selected words which focuses on the successes of colonialists like Cecil John Rhodes and Barney Barnato, while avoiding the reality of the exploitation and systematic dispossession of black miners. In addition, the project has developed a short film made to document the model of the city being decimated by volcanic lava pouring out of the Hole and over the surrounding buildings. Archives shots of the rich wearing diamonds are intercut with scenes of the harsh reality of mine life under Apartheid. The film skilfully includes the participation of community members, with a great scene of teenagers visiting a casino and wisely concluding 'diamonds are money and make people mad'. This presents a unique opportunity of ideas and how alternatives ways of engagements can be leveraged from events of associated with the industrial development. It is also a great example of how socially engaged other art forms can tackle the traumatic and unresolved past. This way of engaging objects and experiences are useful to reflect on the emotional, experiential and symbolic dynamics which are facing the museum and its management and how it affects the local people of Galeshewe (Crooke,2007).

As an institution that is still holding back valuable historical records and has not accounted for the exploitative practices in the past, it is questionable if the Big Hole museum is best suited to be responsible for the alternative or counter narrative. In-fact it might be argued that such a programme would only extend the paternalism the De Beers is famous for and the museum's proxy in the city. However, given the symbolic or representational nature of museums, such alternative education programmes are very much needed and should be regarded as primary educational

tool to address Kimberley's historically omitted history. It can also be seen as applying the three main characteristics of museums in shaping meaning which are its functionalist role; structuralist role and their historicity, and are used as mediums for understanding (Marstine,2006).

Similarly, this responsive approach can also be linked to Basso's (1996) theory which has demonstrated how place-making is a key factor in constructing the past and experiences. This implies that the Big Hole museum which attracts various interested persons (conservationists, museum enthusiasts and ordinary people/tourist)) should provide a full account (expand context) of historical experience and allow for interactive programmes. Such interactive programmes (characteristics of museums) that has been analysed and in some instances demonstrated to influence knowledge and address its limitations and restrictions, are central tools for the educational programme of the museum. To expand more on the reflection approach, it would mean that the mining history is an important pillar of Kimberley and the expanded context or history will no doubt expand its relevance for the people Galeshewe (including ex-miners) and for the education programme of the museum. Even when applying the reflection approach, it addresses issues of its responsiveness and looking at its function as knowledge production and representation, the Big Hole should be a space that deals with the existing contestations or gaps. This will position museums as mediators instead of being interpretation centre (Coetzee, 2013:7).

As the only institution that holds the most extensive archives of Kimberley including all the mining activities from as early as the 17th century and also the fact that the information is prohibited from the public, there is a risk of information disappearing or remaining inactive (either deliberately or accidentally). Colin Fortune, the

chairperson of McGregor museum and one of the associate researchers at McGregor museum (which is a provincial heritage site) said that De Beers had recommended that the social history, particularly the life of the diggers, be housed at McGregor museum. The reasons that was given was that 'the social history of the early diggers was negative and does not fit into the 'new Big Hole museum complex'. De Beers even donated the building that houses the Duggan-Cronin collection and all his glass-plated negatives to McGregor museum. Duggan Arthur Cronin was a photographer and took some of the most famous photos when he was a compound manager at one of the De Beers mine pits, some of his photographs are found in museums like Museum of Africa. The motivation that De Beers gave at the time, was that their concept and business model for the new museum was for people to have fun and not be depressed. This was also motivated by the 'old museum' target audience which was mostly people from outside of Kimberley and they (De Beers) were responding to their needs and expectations (pers comm, August: 2017). However, taking up this role would mean McGregor museum was going to present a broader interpretation of the social history for which they needed necessary funding. The outcome was that De Beers was not willing to grant them access to all their archives and they also wanted to have a say with regard to the content and how the history was going to be presented. To date, more than 10 years since the opening of the renovated museum, no agreement has been reached between McGregor museum and De Beers and the story of the black miners is still not being told. This is unfortunate, but it does present an interesting possibility to re-invent the museum to the benefit of all. This implies that De Beers has deliberately placed the importance of the museum on corporate legacy and commercialisation over its authenticity. This places great challenge on the social history of the indigenous people and raises important concerns and questions regarding what value does its heritage have for the Galeshewe community?

Feedback from the Big Hole Museum Staff: Dirk Coetzee and Lesego Tlhabanelo are both Employed at the Museum under Compass Company

Dirk Coetzee has been working at the museum since 2001. He started working as technician and later became a curator. In 2013, the then manager got diagnosed with cancer and resigned on short notice[35]. Coetzee being the most senior person was appointed the interim manager. He was later appointed permanently assuming responsibility both as the Curator and Facilities Manager. My interaction with the Big Hole museum has been on an ongoing basis but my first interview with Coetzee started when I was working on my research proposal from March 2016 and it was followed up with emails and telephone calls. As part of the questions that I had asked about the museum's practices, he indicated that "the Big Hole museum is not a museum in the normal sense of the word". What he meant was that even though they have exhibitions it is run like a business. He further stated that they do not have staff (professionals) to start educational programmes nor do they have facilities to have an extensive programme such as employing an archive person, a library or conservation programmes.

One can assume that the museum is getting away with this ideology because they have a permanent exhibition and offer no other form of cultural activities. However, even with offering the same exhibition (permanent) since its opening, the museum still attracts reasonable numbers of school visitors during September and October[36]. This is something that I witnessed for myself also during my visits. What Coetzee did assert though was that their priority is to establish creative ways of attracting more locals to participate. Keeping with their strategy to attract locals, when I asked what programmes they have for the community, his response was that there is no

[35] Coetzee didn't mention the ex-employee's name.

[36] This report was presented through a graph or chart during my one-on-one meeting with Coetzee.

programme or policy to reach out to them. From the museum's perspective, what they consider as reaching out to the community is the jobs that are created through or on their premises. According to him, all these job opportunities are made possible through the tourism footprint and its spin-offs made possible by the museum. He also referred to the popularity of the Old Town division of the museum, which is a popular photographic venue, especially for weddings, and it is at no charge. This for him, is an act of goodwill by the museum for the local community.

When asked to comment or give feedback about the gaps that exist:

Coetzee replied by saying that there is not much that they as management can do about this, the main objective is to get the facility in a position to break even and become self-sustainable. From this it is clear that the facility is managed on strict business principles, which are to make as much money as possible and reduce costs as far as possible while maintaining world standards for a museum as an edutainment centre. Unfortunately, the standards do not seem to consider ethical practices. Another way of supplementing income for the museum complex, they rent the facility out as a function venue for weddings, conferences and other functions. They also have various shops on the premises, which are owned by private individuals running businesses for their own profit. The idea of reaching out in this manner may well be because of their strategy, but then again it may also be coincidental. To get a better understanding, I also interviewed the tour guide, Lesego Tlhabanelo. His commentary was that the tourism aspect of the museum is doing very well. In his tenure of four years at the museum, the high volume of visitors has always been from visitors outside the Province and country. Considering

that he resides in Galeshewe township, when he asked people and his immediate family members why the lack of interest, they cite the costs as the problem[37].

For me, this is an indication of the social setting that affects local participation at the museum. There is every reason to believe that the question of affordability is fuelling the non-participation of the community. The argument or observation is whether the Big Hole museum serves as a learning and heritage experience or leisure attraction for tourist at all, and how are they balancing this act? More especially when its proposition or 'value' as stated in its mission and vision is to be for education, public welfare, and appreciation or celebration of heritage. It would mean that everyone in any circumstances should be able to visit the museum, which is seen as a medium for all people including their different material circumstances[38].

What we are talking about here is the cultural business of museums, which has become a common practice and some scholars also refer to it as the experience economy (Thelen, 2003). This trend is mostly practised in private museums and is because of the private business rights institutions or businesses hold, which do not oblige them for public accountability. However, with the Big Hole museum's status as an archaeology and heritage site it is a requirement that they create access to the communities they serve. The central issue is that the Big Hole museum's heritage status carries a great deal of authority in influencing people's views, and it is regarded as the number one tourist attraction in Kimberley. In my view, in order to make sense of the existing gaps in the museum experiences, it is important to consider the specifications or approaches of its dual function. This implies that both

[37] The Admission Fees are as follows: Adults: R100 | Students: R80 | Children: R60 | Pensioners: R80 |Family Groups: R320 (this is for two adults & two children under the age of 12 years).

[38] www.thebighole.co.za

functions as ‘museum’ and ‘tourist attraction’ should consider its value chain roles and pay attention to the professional (sector) functions. For museums, the focus should be on the aesthetic attainment, research (information classification) and its context. Another key area to consider is that staff should have professional curatorial experience and possess research skills. In all these considerations, management will have sight of the community needs and can make necessary changes. These are all very important for tourism as well because in retrospect cultural tourism must be visual, sensational, and educational (Ivanovic, 2008:248). In contrast, the concerns posed by tourism put at risk the core function and values of museums, which lead them (owners & museum management) to lose sight of the local people.

When asked about the intended and unintended experiences or circumstances at the museum: According to Coetzee, one of the key things that impact the museum negatively is when it’s very busy like during December holidays. Tour groups are just often too big and some areas especially the underground experience (mine shaft) was not designed to accommodate large groups. They only have two trained tour guides on site but they often make use of extra guides through internships for local students, especially during the December holidays. Both of the tour guides are trained in the tourism sector and have no knowledge of curatorial practice and heritage understanding. The kind information they provide during the tour is what they have been trained on or provided with. In fact, there is no one who has a professional museum qualification or experience except for Coetzee. Between himself and all the other staff members, they are responsible for all the interaction (managing the museum displays and tourism experience); including maintenance of the buildings and garden. He stressed that there is not much that they can do except the normal tours that they offer and that they have inherited both the historical

narrative and space. This is kind of environment speaks to the historical supremacy that is carried out by the De Beers on the Big Hole's collections which influenced by their own selected narrative (ideology) to retain its dominant position or the status quo as a leisure attraction instead of a museum (Maphepa 1986). With all its contradictions in its ideology, Coetzee was adamant that the museum shares universal values in its purposes and carries material or aesthetics which are the soul of the museum. This further proves the growing tensions and management's inability to reconcile its function against the current business model.

Reflecting on all the comments, it is worth pointing out that in spite of the universal values in its purpose, the Big Hole museum is unfortunately still constrained with notions associated with the colonial era. This is evident in the assessments and comments made about the representation of its display (symbols) and context that amplify isolated reflections of the diamond history and instead emphasise their status. Safe to say that these factors reveal the extent to which appearances are not only deceptive but sometimes they can be totally misleading. In summary, one can say that the Big Hole museum and its management practices are at odds with ICOM's fundamental standards that guide museums, which are useful cues of mediating or managing an inclusive (balanced) representation[39]. This certainly demonstrates how content affects the museum's relational issue with the community of Galeshewe. It also raises question about the monitoring of museums in South Africa that has been a challenge that ICOFOM[40] or policies have not been able to manage or control. With such institutional barriers one questions the museum's universal value and its aesthetics that is intended to be the soul of the museum, where does it place people who need or want to interact with the museum?

[39] International Council of Museums.
[40] International Committee for Museology is devoted to the daily work (management) that is undertaken by museums.

Chapter 5

Introduction

Drawing from the notion that cultural participation is a social context within which a relation or connection is established, I have attempted to link the community habits, experiences and perceptions about the Big Hole museum as a way of understanding relational patterns and what cultural meaning it holds. This chapter also draws on the comparisons of text, concepts and case studies that present possibilities of a more active experience, education outreach and heritage reflection that encourage local community participation.

The Significance of the Big Hole Museum as a Heritage Site

In terms of its role, museums educate and encourage people to reflect about historical experience through research, collection and curatorship. Although people's views and beliefs are influenced through what is translated at museums, the problem is its relevance. The evidence which has been illustrated through the historical analysis, experiences and perception of the Big Hole museum sheds light on how social relation and social forms has taken root in this reality. The practical application or the foundational role of museums are to validate people's historical knowledge but for many it creates confusion and a sense of a void because they do not relate to the displays and information. In light of the Big Hole's history, it is simply not possible to give a perspective or analysis of the diamond discovery and the Big Hole without making reference to the cruel and inhumane experience of the diggers. More importantly for the purpose of this study, this experience (for the community) is engraved in the unique elements of memory which is described in 'Native Nostalgia' as nostalgia that is reflective of remnants, the patina of time and history, in the dreams of another place and another time (Dlamini, 2009). This kind of reflection does not take the past for granted. It confronts memories or life within

the very instruments of the mining experience and the relative order of how Galeshewe township was set-up which are factors that are impacting people's views. To further expand on the relationship between history and heritage, Edward Carr (1962) argues that nobody can truly access a full picture of the past through disregarding some of the historical knowledge. This means that even if information or historical evidence is subjected to interrogation, there will always be limitation when evidence is used, which is often in an underhand way because historians are shaped by what they are exposed to or the world they live in. One of the main conflicts and challenges is that each individual's perspective is dependent on their background and effects of some relationship of their life or experiences they face. So in addressing a broader perspective and for the purpose of heritage, history should be an unending dialogue between the present and past instead of being objective (Carr, 1962:24).

With regard to the Big Hole's significance as a museum and heritage site, Bert Lord from the University of Dundee, has provided a good analysis of a reformed approach for museum and describes them as postmodern spaces which rely on the enlightenment value. Although the enlightenment value is an old-age understanding of industrial revolution in Europe which is steeped in notions of class and an exclusion system – Lord argues persuasively for a 'good enlightenment' effect which should be considerate of the present day values and cultural pluralism that speaks to the multiplicities of history (Lord, 2006:159). Such alternatives of engaging the whole picture or extended narrative can open a new perspective of how and what to co-create or supplement with other facets of our history. Looking at the various facets of history, a critical question in understanding the reason for the disconnect- is how does Galeshwe's community appreciate and celebrate a history if they do not fit into or share what meaning and understanding is inscribed because people's past

is who they are and they make sense of the world through their reality. In so far as the mining history is concerned, there is no doubt that it was the diamond discovery that precipitated the advent of industrialisation and urbanisation of the Galeshewe community. Therefore, an important factor to consider in the historical thread as discussed in the earlier text (Chapter 1), is the extend of relationship of Galeshewe township for the Big Hole museum. Following the common reasons cited in the establishment of the compound system which was primarily to have full control over the diamonds and miners (Turrell 1982), I have illustrated their link and how the labour market played an essential part in the centralisation of controlling black labour throughout southern Africa. It remains a major example of people's patterns of settlement and the establishment of Galeshewe township. However, in spite of this close relation with Galeshewe 's historical structural design, not much attention has been paid to this aspect of the mine and black diggers' lives. What we know for certain is that there is sufficient evidence of mining history in Kimberley which is contained in De Beers archives, the Africana Research Library and at McGregor Museum. Even with all the available information, the Big Hole's version of history has disregarded all the evidence and heritage that the museum holds. If the heritage and experience that is translated presents a censored experience for both the local community, then this raises the question of of the role museums as institutions entrusted to preserve and educate and this leads me to ask who has the right to convey our heritage?

Expanding on museums as institution entrusted to preserve, Historian David Thelen (2001) is challenging us to reconfigure our understanding of history through individual experience and is calling for a different credibility of expression at museums which is linked to the objective of my research study. If we are to look at broader perspectives of history, I ask how is history and heritage levelled because

both are dependent on material selection and interpretation? My question is directed at curatorial practitioners for their classification of information and the historians who work at the Big Hole museum because they are responsible for shaping the historical discourse which ultimately influenced which facts are included and which are not. The point I am trying to make is here is that either way of accessing historical facts must be subjected to interrogation and such interpretation is regarded as the life-blood of history and our heritage. In view of this, some of the complexities that has come to light in the way the Big Hole museum is portrayed and what it means which is why it is frowned upon by the community. It shows the extent to which its representation is misleading because the Big Hole museum is more than just the industrial conquest and the elite characters that are currently the focal point.

The Big Hole museums must come to terms with the issues of its interpretation that has limited people's equal footing in its memory and experience. McGee (2006) has made the same argument of how some of these cultural institutions are still trapped in Western value systems and continue to produce unbalanced historical narrative. This also relates to my earlier text about what Klause Maphepha (1986) illustrated in his article entitled *'Culture and Politics'* on how the unjust laws impacted and influenced their work or position. Similarly, Carlie Coetzee is also describing how historical distortions have infused these conflict views in exhibition practices (2013). Coetzee (2013:7) is critical on the inequalities in exhibition practices and is suggesting that translation should (or can) be used to accent people's understanding of these existing conflictual history. Both Maphepha and Coetzee's views have demonstrated how these colonial dominant notions have created social divides and stereotypes in knowledge production. Today, the consequence of this system has become a social evil for both the society and the owners. For museums, it has yielded consumption patterns that affects their bottom line, which is a direct

opposite of their (De Beers) business model. In my view, this practice has made it difficult, if not impossible, for most of the Galeshewe community to visit and enjoy the museum. Progressive dialogue about social discourse and museums are best placed to facilitate debates through their programmes and this would mean curating shared experiences to constitute ways to co-exist and encourage active community participation. As also as demonstrated at Sol Plaatje University's Anthropology department, it can be achieved through an invitation to share, debate and have the uncomfortable discussions (alternative narrative) about our history. This kind of engagement also presents an opportunity for research to evolve, redress and the museum collection to grow.

An example of ways and spaces that helped people understand the complexity of the past, the Lwandle Migrant Labour museum, which is based in Cape Town has exhibited or replicated Hostel 33, which is a remnant compound during the apartheid era in Cape Town, in South Africa. The replication of the migrant labourers' experience or past is said to have evoked active involvement for communities. It has also opened archival practices and reflective articles that have unpacked multiple inconsistencies and contradictions of the migrant labourers' journey. What they conceded during this process is that everyone had a story to tell, even though their stories carry different manifestations. This has proved that people's recollection of memory can create awareness of South Africa's mining past in a way that does not compromise its authenticity (Murray & Witz, 2014). Through this process, people were willing to participate and that connected them directly or indirectly to the migrant labour history. The replication simply considered the missing link because "oral history exposes the fallacy of written narratives" and that makes history writing a never-ending process (Carr, 1962:25). This alternative

narrative helps people to integrate, learn more about the community's diverse history and reconstruct or expand on some of the relevant historical narrative.

Collective Memory: A Tool for Community Participation

In order to open the Big Hole museum for more understanding and involvement, I want to focus on people's memory in response to the museum. Sociologist Maurice Halbwach (1950) in his work *"On the Collective Memory"* suggests that historical interpretations and patterns arise from the interplay of collective memory. Halbwach views collective memory as a social phenomenon that acknowledges an existing relationship amongst people. He defines it as a set of practices that are found in narratives and relations established through interactions, images, places and language (1950:75). This means, people's social and psychological perception informs (provides context) all what they do. Halbwach's argument is asserting that memory is a social subject and therefore any exclusion will be tantamount to both cultural disappearance and deprivation of historical identity and knowledge. This statement emphasises that the essence of museums or cultural sites is precisely to evoke, preserve and celebrate our history through curatorial display. In some instances, these cultural sites are even referred to as memorials. This means how memory influences behaviour is significant to Galeshewe community's experience of the Big Hole museum. It can emulate what meaning is attributed to the Big Hole museum and this could also be in relation to their social memory. What this implies is that people's behaviour is produced within the context of familiarity and that encourages social interaction.

In a similar way, *Memorialising migrant labour's past in Lwandle* museum in Cape Town also considers various initiatives in the creation of new and alternative narratives. While these two museums differ in terms of Lwandle being a public

museum and the Big Hole a private business and partly a museum, they both tell the story of mining in South Africa. Both museums are regarded as tourist sites but Lwandle museum has prioritised its educational resources as a memorial to the migrant labourers. One of their initiatives of memory is achieved through photographic essays that are used to convey a sense of connectedness with the place (museums) and how all the various relationships were interrelated in some way. This would paint a picture of the reality of the miner's life in crowded hostels or compounds.

According to Wulf Kansteiner's (2002) analysis in *Finding meaning in memory: A methodological critique of collective memory studies*, he cites that the makers of memory are those who selectively manipulate and adopt the forms of remembrance. This is what ultimately reflects the kind of meaning that is attached to the past and is still one of the most under researched and methodologically problematic areas in the field of memory. Even with the methodological challenges that Kansteiner is pointing out, my focus is on the intended meaning of the Big Hole museum. By intended meaning of the museum context, I refer to the intention of just celebrating diamonds instead of telling the whole story. I think with all the past and current debates, and with all the censored material or resources, there is an opportunity to expand museum programmes. UNESCO has also recognised the importance of social memory as forming part of intangible heritage, and it is through recognising the untold stories of the previously oppressed communities. This proves that as a way of reconstructing our (excluded people) reality or historical memory, we have to be aware of things in the past that depict various aspects of our cultural experiences.

Linking the community's pattern of behaviour to the existing relation and explore how connection can be established, the question of whether the community of Galeshewe respects or rejects the Big Hole museum helps us to reflect on the people's expressions that are born out of this relationship (or non-existing relationship). I am aware that behaviour is composed of a variety of shared expressions, but what is important in this regard is the community reaction and perception. As it stands, the interaction or relationship with the locals is quite limited despite their (both the De Beers and the museum's) intentions of being about the common man and their role in Kimberley's history[41]. These sentiments or intentions of the museum are also expressed on their website, which states, "come and experience a day in a miner's life, explore a 'hole' new experience"[42]. This is unfortunately the opposite of what the museum is offering. What has come to light in most of the commentary, reports and my own assessment is that the Big Hole museum has recycled the apartheid social setting, which is in direct contrast to the experience they are promising. The full picture or an understanding of the mining revolution including the miners' efforts, does not live up to its promise. Instead, it is destroying the memory of the place. The significance of these memories is that they can be linked to the past, to the present and even to the future, and are able to give people a reason to interact with those memories. This means that there is no sense of shared or social solidarity in the Big Hole museum's historical narrative and it is further fuelled by the conditions of De Beers' biggest retrenchment in the year 2005, which is what caused hostility amongst the Galeshewe community. One can argue that the evidence and feedback regarding some of broader social conditions were (in most instances) created directly or indirectly by the mines.

[41] The 2004 Big Hole museum business concept mentions the intentions of contributing to South Africa's previously excluded people through the education value. The museum would in particular offer a logic to better understand the pioneering spirit that made the Big Hole.
[42] www.thebighole.co.za

How can Museums and their Roles Contribute to Society

Looking at the museums' predicament or their identity crises, which are all about the disconnect that exists between their collections and the contexts in which they are currently located, a good example is the Wits curating students who collaborated to produce an exhibition (Ntombela,2005). This approach of collective curating or shared curatorship demonstrates how to achieve common understanding/ground in translation. This kind of display that presents a single voice in an exhibition is called authorship and is based on authenticity and ethical intentions of seeking and presenting new displays or materials. In a way it is opening up alternative narratives and also encourages participation or attracts new audiences. This kind of intervention or strategy considers all three models of being reflective, responsive and experimental as active tools.

Another example of reflecting on community participation, is how Ciraj Rassool (2000:5) has expanded this practice in his work with the District Six museum. He used heritage collectables and people's social history to demonstrate different viewpoints of the community of District Six. This was done through acknowledging and recording historical memory and stories of ordinary people of a time gone by. This new experience strategy has proved to entice a 'new audience' by giving visitors a glimpse into that time period. The District Six museum is a memorial of the forced removals of 60 000 inhabitants (in the 1970s) of various races who were located in the same residential area of the original District Six, in Cape Town, South Africa. Another example of experimental participation is through historical memory at Constitutional Hill. The museum is a former prison and military fort that tell the story of South Africa's turbulent past and its journey to democracy. Similar to the District Six museum, they have collected voices of (both famous and ordinary) people who were incarcerated on the site to present experiences of all those that have come in

contact with the fort. In some instances, the people who were incarcerated are now employed on short-term contractual arrangement as tour guides and they tell their own experience, which makes it very personal. Although both museums are public institutions, the context of these sites and their stories help people to draw closer to the museums because they serve and build curiosity that develop interest for experience, debate and to learn. For me, this is a true act of experiential learning and active participation that reconfigure our understanding of place (museum), based on experience. What is certain is that time and place shape what people experience either as conventional or unconventional. It also demonstrates that infusing historical teaching with human experience can help us deal with the past and use it as a tool to learn and engage the present. This text addresses one of the problematic issues of the Big Hole's history and the censorship or the mystery and censorship of their archives. Meaning, if the role of a museum is to be followed, with regard to openness, whether be it science and innovation, anthropology and history it will help to foster significance and relevance. In other words, the relevancy between museums and tourism lies in the museum material because museums can convey to the public an intellectual, aesthetic and valuable feeling, and make them absorb and learn happily. Therefore, in the discussion of the participation, these connotations should be covered because they can present an opportunity to extend to or be inclusive of the representation of historical accounts while addressing the counter narratives. Sean Field, Director of the Centre for Popular Memory of University of Cape Town also demonstrates the significance of different oral sources and their credibility. According to Fields, the significance of memory "may not lie in its adherence to fact but rather from imagination, symbolism and the desire to share one's own account of memory'' (Field, 2008:185). All these voices bear testimony to people's recollection and experience of the place.

Conclusion and Recommendations

There is no doubt that the tensions at the Big Hole museum stem from its ideological framing. The main problem lies in the museum's context which presents a skewed (single) representation of history and which is to some extent the complete opposite of the miners' lived reality. Some of these discrepancies are reflected through museum narrative, the choice (or absence) of material and the silence of the full account of Kimberley's social history. This report started showing how the museum is disconnected from the local community and from meeting the expectation and mandate of what a museum with a historical and heritage focus should be working towards. The report begins with a detailed introduction which offers an important historical location of the black miners within the history of the diamond mining in the Kimberley region and Galeshewe area. It provides significant evidence of the mine's influence that gave effect to the miner's settlement area and living conditions relationship which is almost absent in the Big Hole museum's exhibition. The report further analyses and critiques the management or the business model of the museum and attempts to establish a shift in their engagement approach through education which could address its relationship with the community of Galeshewe. It considers the local views and perceptions including observation in relation to its displays which play a significant role in the interactive process such as what meaning people make of it. For instance, the question about who visits or does not visit the museum and why it is of importance are useful cues about the issues facing the museum and its management. These questions and considerations reflect on the emotional, experiential and symbolic dimension of museums that are guided by the social, cultural, economic and political dynamics specific to the local people of Galeshewe.

As an institution that alters people's perception it is important to locate where the narrative and display overlap, how they influence community.

The Big Hole museum's dual role of being museum and tourist attraction has turned a blind eye to the real historical experiences of the diamond mining, despite the museum legislative prescripts or responsible tourism mandate. What they seem to miss in their commercial interest of punting tourism, is that tourism is all about providing visitors with honest and reliable information and experiences.

What can be learnt from the historical thread and the gaps in the curatorial practice and how can education address it?

Considering that there are no history museums that present the full account or social history of the mining activities in the Kimberley area, the Big Hole museum is an important site that carries the local's history including the history of South Africa's Industrialisation. Using archival material as key components, there are many alternatives that should and could be constructed in tying specific insights into the displays because the legacy of both the mine and De Beers has many angles that can be used to re-orient itself. This is motivated by Colin Fortune's comments that De Beers had intentions to house or place the mine's social history at McGregor museum but it never happened. Given that the museum has proven to be relevant for the elementary and secondary schools, although it's not relevant for tertiary education and neither for community engagement purposes- It means that the foundation of museology is a critical element to be considered. If one has to incorporate community engagement, whether through museum practices or tourism programmes, either way you need people to interact with the museum experience. The museum should therefore consider to offer itself as an engagement hub which should allow different stakeholders debate, research and add diverse input. It should also consider the local community (beneficiaries of the mine) more especially women and children who were directly affected to share their nostalgic representations of the 'good old days' of the mine's.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Galeshewe Community members interview schedule

1. Can you tell me about your experience at/of the Big Hole Museum?
2. What is your reflection concerning the visitation or participation of the local people?
3. How easy is it to access the museum?
4. What do you regard as most valuable with the museum experience? What are the advantages and disadvantages?
5. What changes do you think can motivate the local people to participate or visit the Big Hole Museum?

Appendix 2: Educators interview schedule

1. Can you tell me about your experience of the Big Hole Museum?
2. Did the exhibits spark the curiosity of the learners?
   Follow-up question: please give examples or details
3. Does the visits and museum material support classroom curriculum?
4. In your opinion, what are the most key areas or resources that you find most interesting about the museum?
5. What do you see as advantages and disadvantages?
6. What would recommend should improve?

Appendix 3: Museum Staff interview schedule

1. Please tell us about programmes and the kind of activities that the museum offers?
2. Do you think the programmes are valuable for the visitors? What are the advantages and disadvantages?
3. What are your views on local (community) participation?

   Follow-up question: How do you manage requirements or concerns of visitors and the company (De Beers) expectations?
4. How do you attract people/audiences and how do you assess general participation?
5. What do you think can motivate local participation?

Appendix 4: Random Visitor Survey (Students & tourist)

1. What motivated your visit to the museum?
2. Was there anything in particular you planned to see?
3. Did the exhibits and experience meet your expectation?

   Follow-up question: what did you enjoy the most? And what did you not find interesting?
4. What do you think can be improved?
5. Would you recommend the museum to others?

   Follow-up question: If yes, who do you think will enjoy of find the visit valuable? And if no, what are the reasons?