https://dspace.org/

UNESCO and its agencies' impact on cultural policy frameworks in Africa: a study of Mapungubwe World Heritage Site in South Africa

Uche-Okeke, Ijeoma

2009-04-06T11:49:34Z
http://hdl.handle.net/10539/6874

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

UNESCO AND ITS AGENCIES' IMPACT ON CULTURAL POLICY FRAMEWORKS IN AFRICA: A STUDY OF THE MAPUNGUBWE WORLD HERITAGE SITE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Ijeoma Uche-Okeke

Figure 5: Map indicating the De Beers servitudes.

A RESEARCH REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF HUMANITIES, UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG, IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS (HERITAGE STUDIES).

Johannesburg, 2008.

DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of MA (Heritage Studies) in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other University.

Ijeoma Uche-Okeke

---------- day of ----------, 2008

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research report would not have been written without the encouragement of my parents who supported my coming back to school to earn a masters degree. I am eternally grateful to them for teaching me that knowledge is power, and that as human beings we are perpetually in the process of learning, also for inculcating in me the value of intellectual growth. To my siblings for their unwavering support and encouragement. To my uncle Dr. Chuma Okadigwe, thank you for taking out time to read my draft at the initial stages of my writing and making valuable observations.

I am immeasurably indebted to my cousin Dr. Chukwudozie Ezigbalike whose moral support, encouragement and unwavering financial commitment made it possible for me to enrol in the Heritage Studies programme at the Wits School of Arts. His confidence in my abilities throughout this process has been unbelievable.

To produce a research report that is of any value it is important to have the support of an extraordinary supervisor. I am deeply grateful to Professor Cynthia Kros who guided me through the difficult process of articulating and putting down my thoughts, and for patiently reading through, and providing invaluable advice and commentary on my work.

My deepest appreciation and gratitude go to my head of programme Brett Pyper for his invaluable advice and support, for reading through the first draft of my proposal and steering me in the right direction. And for always being patient, accommodating, and responding to my one thousand emails.

I wish to express my heartfelt gratitude to the following people for their kind support, and for making themselves available inspite of very busy schedules to contribute their invaluable expertise, and knowledge of cultural heritage management to this research report: Dr. Somadoda Fikeni, Mr. Nehemani Tshimangadzo, Miss Paballo Mohafa, Mr. Edgar Neluvhalani, Mr. Kevin Moore, and Mr. Eric Itzkin. My wonderful friends David Boberg, Patricia Kyungu, Beatrice Oluwasusi, Sulaiman Salau, my ‘‘other big sister’’ Michelle O’Neal, Mr. Nicholus Nyika my ‘‘research mentor’’, and to my dearest friend and mentor, Mr. Dotun Sulaiman for his ‘‘behind the scenes’’ support and his confidence in my ability to excel.

ABSTRACT

UNESCO's World Heritage Convention of 1972 has set the standard for the evaluation, preservation and conservation of World Heritage Sites (WHS) globally. The role and function of UNESCO in the cultural heritage sector in Africa, in particular cannot be denied. However, the World Heritage Convention (WHC) site management requirements for African States that are parties to the Convention, presents challenges in terms of implementation. This is due in most cases, to lack of infrastructure, deficient national policy structures, poor legislation, bad management and poor implementation. This is particularly the case in developing countries where governments are grappling with socio-economic and political challenges. Questions are raised about who has the right to define heritage, and what kinds of parameters are used to measure World Heritage of ''universal'' value. Is it appropriate for UNESCO to recommend a set of standards that have become a lens through which global cultural heritage policy is viewed and measured? What then are the implications for African sites for being listed as World Heritage, and what are their chances of competing in the global cultural arena based on the challenges mentioned above?

This research report, through a study of the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape in the Limpopo Province of South Africa, attempts to grapple with aspects of the questions raised above, and seeks to illustrate the challenges of managing a World Heritage Site. It highlights the gaps between WHC requirements, national cultural policy legislation, infrastructural and human resource incapacity, and implementation by the management at the Mapungubwe World Heritage Site.

TABLE OF CONTENTS **Page Number**

1.	**CHAPTER ONE**	
	Background to the Selection of the Mapungubwe World Heritage Site as a Study.	**8**
	Rationale	**16**
	Literature Review	**19**
	Methodology	**24**
2.	**CHAPTER TWO**	
2.1.	**A Contextual Background of the Mission and Function of the World Heritage Convention.**	**28**
3.	**CHAPTER THREE**	
3.1.	**A Contextual Background of Cultural Policy Trends in Africa.**	**40**
3.2.	**An analysis of Cultural Policy Frameworks in South Africa.**	**45**
4.	**CHAPTER FOUR**	
4.1.	**Interviews**	**54**
4.1.1	**Interview One: Mr. Nehemani Tshimangadzo**	**54**
4.1.2	**Interview Two: Miss Paballo Mohafa**	**57**
4.1.3	**Interview Three: Mr. Edgar Neluvhalani**	**60**
	Interview Three: Mr. Kevin Moore	
4.2.	**Summary of Interviews**	**65**
4.3.	**Analysis of Interviews**	**66**
4.4.	**Most common problems faced by Management at Mapungubwe**	**69**
4.5.	**Positive Factors Cited**	**69**

5. CHAPTER FIVE

5.1. Interrogating the WHC's Integrated Management Plan. 70

5.2. Conclusion 75

6. BIBLIOGRAPHY 77

7. APPENDIXES

Appendix A: Transcriptions of Oral Interviews 85

Appendix B: SANParks Organogram 95

Appendix C: SANParks Strategic Management Map 96

Appendix D: Map of Mapungubwe National Park 97

Appendix E: Excerpts from WHC Operational Guidelines 98

ABBREVIATIONS

ACHO	**African Cultural Heritage Organisations**
AU	**African Union**
CBD	**Convention on Biodiversity**
DAC	**Department of Arts and Culture**
DEAT	**Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism**
ICAM	**African and Mauritanian Cultural Institute**
ICCROM	**International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property**
ICOMOS	**International Council on Monuments and Sites**
IMP	**Integrated Management Plan**
IUCN	**International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources**
LIHRA	**Limpopo Heritage Resources Agency**
NAHRA	**National Heritage Resources Act of 1999**
NMC	**National Monuments Council**
OAU	**Organisation of African Unity**
OCPA	**Observation of Cultural Policy in Africa**
RIM	**Robben Island Museum**
SAHRA	**South African Heritage Resources Agency**
SANParks	**South African National Parks**
SAWHCA	**South African World Heritage Convention Act of 1999**
TL	**Tentative List**
UNESCO	**United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation**
UN	**United Nations**
WH	**World Heritage**
WHC	**World Heritage Convention**
WHL	**World Heritage List**
WHS	**World Heritage Site**

1. CHAPTER ONE

1.1. BACKGROUND TO THE SELECTION OF THE MAPUNGUBWE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE AS A STUDY

This study seeks to investigate some of the tensions arising from the implementation of the United Nations Economic Social and Cultural Organisation's (UNESCO) World Heritage Convention (WHC) through an assessment of the implications for the management of a World Heritage Site in South Africa; the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape in the Limpopo Province. The intention of this study is to examine the ways in which management at this particular site implements the requirements imposed by the WHC, within the constraints of local cultural policy frameworks. It also seeks to contribute to the existing body of literature on the World Heritage Convention in particular, and UNESCO in general, addressing issues around the preservation, conservation and management of World Heritage Sites. It will identify several areas where UNESCO's WHC interventions have, to some extent, improved national cultural policy development and implementation at the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape. But it will also explore challenges to local policy infrastructural capacities.

The most significant feature of the World Heritage Convention is to link together in a single document the concepts of nature conservation and the preservation of cultural sites. Nature and culture are complementary and cultural identity is strongly related to the natural environment in which it develops. UNESCO initiated, with the help of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), the preparation of a draft convention on the protection of cultural heritage, the *Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.* Article 1 of the *Convention* defines what is considered to be ''cultural heritage'', while Article 2, defines what ''natural heritage'' means within the same context (see Appendix E for a more detailed definition). A site that combines these two categories of properties is termed as ''mixed'' and defined as a cultural landscape. The Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape in South Africa is an interesting example of a site that contains the kind of rare natural properties that is defined as a cultural landscape by the UNESCO/ICOMOS/IUCN (World Conservation Union) World Heritage Convention evaluation, which means that this site possesses ''universally significant'' natural and cultural properties, the most significant criteria to being listed and approved as a World Heritage site.

The Mapungubwe National Park and Cultural Landscape, the main subject of this report has been denoted by UNESCO as a site of international significance in human cultural history. The Mapungubwe Kingdom fairly recently acknowledged as one of the oldest kingdoms in Southern Africa, was in existence between AD 900 to 1300. At the height of its powers between 1200 and 1300, the centralised and hierarchical society encompassed at least 9, 000 people and had huge wealth and influence gained from harvesting rich natural resources and trading these, via Indian Ocean ports with Arabia, India and China. What was significant about this site is its transformation from a small-scale rural society into an influential city-state through the development of a social structure that encouraged population growth through comparatively intensive agriculture, and of a hierarchical system that produced specialisation and a trading economy. Mapungubwe had ivory and gold, and relatively easy access to the East African coast where it could trade with Arabs, Indians and Chinese. It is speculated that a mini ice age heralded devastating drought conditions that destroyed the agricultural base of the kingdom, causing the demise of the kingdom in 1300 and shifting the South African power base north to Great Zimbabwe (ICOMOS/IUCN Evaluation Document, 2002. p. 92). According to the South African National Parks (SANParks) management plan, Mapungubwe was the ‘‘home of the first black empire in Southern Africa’’ and as such represents strong historical potential for consciousness building and symbolic pilgrimage. There are also links to the San hunter-gatherers who inhabited the site before the Mapungubwe kingdom was established, in form of numerous rock paintings left throughout the park. It also contains nearby remnants of indigenous gallery forest and a large and ecologically significant ephemeral wetland (which is seriously degraded) (SANParks, 2006. p. 4).

The unique natural and cultural properties of Mapungubwe present a strong case for inscription, however, this is not the end of the story as the WHC requires certain obligations to be met prior to and after approval. As stipulated by UNESCO, the application for a site to be inscribed in the World Heritage List must come from the country itself:

> Every State Party to the World Heritage Convention shall, in so far as possible, submit to the World Heritage Committee an inventory of property forming part of the cultural and natural heritage situated in its territory and suitable for inclusion in the (World Heritage) List (…) This inventory, which shall not be considered exhaustive, shall include documentation about the location of the property in question and its significance (Art. 11.1 of the World Heritage Convention).

UNESCO makes no recommendation for listings, the application has to include a plan detailing how the site is managed and protected. The first step towards inclusion of a site on the World Heritage List, is to be included on the ''inventory of property'' described in the Convention as the Tentative List, which provides a forecast of the properties that a States Party may decide to submit for inscription. The Tentative List maybe updated at anytime.

The World Heritage Committee meets once a year and examines the nominations on the basis of technical evaluations. Two advisory bodies, ICOMOS and the World Conservation Union (IUCN), provide these independent evaluations of proposed cultural and natural sites respectively. A third advisory body, the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM), provides expert advice on restoring monuments and organizes training courses. As soon as a site is selected, its name and location are identified to be included on the World Heritage List. To be included on the World heritage List, sites must satisfy the selection criteria. These criteria are explained in the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention,* which besides the text of the Convention is the main working document on World Heritage. The criteria have been revised regularly by the Committee to match the evolution of the World Heritage concept itself. According to UNESCO:

> The overarching benefit of joining the World Heritage Convention is that of belonging to an international community of appreciation and concern for unique, universally significant properties that embody a world of outstanding examples of cultural diversity and natural wealth. The States Parties to the Convention by joining hands to protect and cherish the world's natural and cultural heritage express a shared commitment to preserving our legacy for future generations (www.unesco.whc.org).

According to the document containing the *Operational Guidelines*, the guidelines are ''periodically revised to reflect the decisions of the World Heritage Committee (UNESCO, 2005)''. At the time this research report was concluded (2008), the guidelines had been recently revised. This reflects the continued efforts of the World Heritage Committee and its partner organisations to create a set of guidelines that are beneficial to all States Parties and their stakeholders. The aim of the *Operational Guidelines* is to facilitate the implementation of the *Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, by setting forth the procedure for; a) the inscription of properties on the WHL and the List of World Heritage in Danger; b) the protection and conservation of WH properties; c) the granting of International Assistance under the World Heritage Fund (WHF); and d) the mobilization of national and international support of the convention.

The document goes further to identify the key users of the *Operational Guidelines;* States Parties to the WHC; the Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the cultural and Natural Heritage of Outstanding Universal Value; UNESCO WH Centre as Secretariat to the WHC; the Advisory Bodies to the WHC and site managers, stakeholders and partners in the protection of WH properties. The various responsibilities and obligatory requirements allotted to States Parties to the *Convention* with regards to management systems, nominations, reporting and monitoring are clearly set out in the *Operational Guidelines* (see Appendix E for relevant excerpts from the guidelines). The *Operational Guidelines* state that the criteria and conditions for the inscription of properties on the WHL have been developed to evaluate the outstanding universal value of properties and to guide States Parties in the protection and management of World Heritage properties. States Parties are also strongly encouraged to ensure the participation of a wide variety of stakeholders including site managers, local and regional governments, local communities, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other interested parties and partners in the identification, nomination and protection of WH properties (UNESCO, 2005). This is a significant point with regards to Mapungubwe in terms of participant collaboration by local stakeholders. It highlights the fact that the WHC does stress its support theoretically, for these kinds of collaborations with various stakeholders but the implementation of this particular requirement has been problematic at Mapungubwe due to the complexities in terms of ownership and previous suppression of its history.

The requirements, as set out by the *Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, imposes certain obligations on the South African government, with regards to upgrading particular aspects of the sites ‘‘situated in its territory’’ to facilitate approval as a World Heritage site. Article 5 of the Convention stipulates that to ensure that effective and active measures are taken for protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage situated on its territory, each State Party to this Convention shall endeavour, in as far as possible, and as appropriate for each country to adhere to the following guidelines;

1. To adopt a general policy which aims to give the cultural and natural heritage a function in the life of the community and to integrate the protection of that heritage into comprehensive planning programmes.

2. To set up within its territories, where such services do not exist, one or more services for the protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage with an appropriate staff and possessing the means to discharge their functions.

3. To develop scientific and technical studies and research and to work out such operating methods as will make the State capable of counteracting the dangers that threaten its cultural or natural heritage.

4. To take the appropriate legal, scientific, technical, administrative and financial measures necessary for the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and rehabilitation of this heritage.

5. To foster the establishment or development of national or regional centres for training in the protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage and to encourage scientific research in this field. This clearly implies that the management at Mapungubwe is required to comply with these requirements in order to meet the standards for preservation, conservation and presentation of the ''cultural and natural'' heritage within its World Heritage Sites (UNESCO 2004).

James (2005) notes that:

> Whilst these requirements are incorporated in the Operational Guidelines and therefore apply to all countries and sites whose national governments are parties to the Convention, the adequacy of the mechanisms actually required to ensure that adequate standards are met will very much depend upon the system in place in the country in which the particular World Heritage site is to be found (James 2005, p. 87).

This statement reflects some of the existent problems as well as the changes that have been made in terms of management at Mapungubwe National Park and World Heritage Site. Recently, a new Cultural Heritage Manager was employed at the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape, to fulfil the recommendation made in the ICOMOS/IUCN evaluation document to ― ''expand the permanent staffing of the park management team so as to include at least one full-time professional archaeologist with heritage management training'' (ICOMOS/IUCN 2002, p. 99). Another

recommendation, which is currently being implemented at Mapungubwe, is the construction of ''an integrated interpretation plan, involving the content and display of the interpretation centre, and the presentation and interpretation of individual sites'' (ICOMOS/IUCN 2002, p. 99).

Articles 6 and 7 of the Convention recognises the individual sovereignty of the States Parties, provides international cooperation and requires each States Party not to take any deliberate measures which might damage, directly or indirectly, the cultural and natural heritage situated in their territory or in other States' territories. ''Whilst there are provisions for monitoring the continuing management of places inscribed on the World Heritage List and in certain cases their deletion, because of a lack of resources actual monitoring practice is not always effective'' (James 2005, p. 5). In ''The Role of the ICOMOS in Cultural Tourism at World Heritage Sites'', a paper presented by Peter C. James (2005), the following paragraph adequately sums up some of the issues highlighted in this study:

> Whilst these requirements are incorporated in the Operational Guidelines and therefore apply to all countries and sites whose national governments are parties to the Convention, the adequacy of the mechanisms actually required to ensure that adequate standards are met will very much depend upon the system in place in the country in which the particular World Heritage site is to be found. But circumstances change, governments change and the level of interest generated by a nomination to the WHC is not always maintained. Hence the need for monitoring and continuing management and conservation of World Heritage sites. However monitoring requirements are all very well. It is relatively easy to set out in a nomination for a place such provisions as will fulfil the initial requirements of the WHC when they consider the nomination. Such provisions in most cases are put forward in good faith and with the expressed intention on the part of the national government, of the relevant country, that such protective and management recommendations would be put in place and remain in place, and that the property in question would be continually managed in accordance with these provisions (James 2004, p. 5).

The current Park Management Plan (SANParks, 2006) for the Mapungubwe National Park seeks to incorporate some of the requirements as outlined in the *Operational Guidelines* and as set out by the *Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*. In its mission statement, SANParks states that ''Mapungubwe National Park and Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape will be developed to maintain the faunal and floral assemblages, ecological processes, cultural resources and landscape characteristics representative of the area, to foster international cooperation for the establishment of a transfrontier conservation area, and other long term benefit to the people of the area (SANParks, 2006)''. It goes further to note that the explicit inclusion of the

words ‘‘Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape’’ signifies the importance of the cultural aspects of this park, which are considered by many stakeholders to represent the predominant values of the park (SANParks, 2006). Although SANParks recognises and accepts this, there is a clear intention to integrate these values into the parks’ unique biodiversity attributes. According to the new Park Management Plan, the biodiversity attributes do not oppose the cultural attributes, so that the cornerstones of the mission statement (namely maintenance of cultural and ecological attributes, transfrontier co-operation, and human benefits) can be effectively supported in an integrated way. It is important to note here that prior to the Protected Areas Act, a thorough and repeated process of public participation was followed concerning the establishment and functions of Mapungubwe National Park and World Heritage Site. This took place over the last 10 years, and is discussed in more detail in the 2003 SANParks Park Management Plan (SANParks, 2006). Certain in-house revisions were subsequently made to the detail of the biodiversity objectives in keeping with the current review of biodiversity values in SANParks as an organisation, and the full biodiversity custodianship framework. These were presented as part of an integrated proposal of a management plan at public meetings held in terms of the Protected Areas Act on 18 July and 29 August, 2006. This current management plan strives to fulfil both the mission as derived from the 2006 management plan as well as the vision generated from the 2003 management plan through public consultation and processes.

In the following chapters, these contextual issues are broadly outlined as we examine the range of values as well as the social, economic, legal and political facts, conditions and circumstances that provide the ‘‘context’’ for decisions made by management at the Mapungubwe National Park and World Heritage Site.

AIM

The aim of this research report is to examine how the possible constraints and/or opportunities provided by UNESCO’s World Heritage Convention’s Integrated Management Plan (IMP), are being interpreted and received at the Mapungubwe World Heritage Site in South Africa.

A pilot study of how staff at the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape are grappling with the implementation of the IMP within national policy frameworks, revealed the many difficulties they

face in that regard. For instance, one of the WHC requirements was the appointment of a cultural heritage manager, who had a working knowledge of archaeology as well as cultural heritage. This requirement was fulfilled at Mapungubwe by the employment of a cultural heritage manager with very minimal experience in cultural heritage management and archaeology. Similarly the position of park manager was redefined last year by the appointment of a manager with cultural heritage management experience and qualifications. Until recently, a parks manager who specialised in conservation and game park management managed Mapungubwe, which is situated within South African National Parks (SANParks). From the pilot study I conducted, it appeared that there were challenges, which I subsequently followed up on for the research recorded here. These challenges were evident in Mapungubwe's current infrastructural and human resource capacity, as well as other kinds of tensions that arise from having a World Heritage site located inside a game park.

This study intends to explore UNESCO policies' appropriateness through an examination of staffing capacity and resource management, on a World Heritage site, in this case – Mapungubwe, in relation to UNESCO World Heritage Sites requirements. There are also other aspects that the pilot study suggests might be problematic, which involve potentially conflictual ideas of heritage. Preliminary research suggested that some views that have been articulated by communities, with regards to Mapungubwe, show hostility towards what is perceived as UNESCO's interpretation of heritage. This raises questions as to the level of community involvement in the nomination process, particularly considering WHC's stipulation that communities in the immediate locality of World Heritage Sites should be closely involved in, as well as benefit from being ''host'' to the site. This raises questions about who has the right to define what world heritage is. An examination of the impact of UNESCO's WHC policies on South African local policy frameworks is also appropriate within this context.

RESEARCH QUESTION

As has been indicated above, preliminary research has shown that there were some tensions generated by the application of global policy to a local site. The main research question of this study is: How do the objectives of the WHC's Integrated Management Plan speak to the management and implementation objectives of local policy frameworks, at the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape in South Africa?

This raised the following sub-questions:

1. Do current cultural policy frameworks in South Africa address the need to safeguard cultural heritage adequately in UNESCO's terms, and what structures were put in place from the period the WHC came into being, until the present time?

2. Do administrative and management structures at this site support institutional infrastructures and what difference(s) has the introduction of WHC policies made to existing policy frameworks and its implementation?

3. Does the management plan adequately meet local cultural needs and promote development within the context of WHC policy requirements? It may be impossible to provide a full answer to this question within the scope of this study. Questions will be posed about the kinds of tensions that have emerged from such interventions.

1.2. RATIONALE

The Arts, Culture and Heritage Management programme at Wits University has given me a broader view of public culture institutions in South Africa, an in-depth knowledge of the structures that govern and manage these institutions, and opportunities to interact directly with professionals in the sector. It has also given me a grounded knowledge of the policies and legislation that affect the arts, culture and heritage sector, and the importance of interacting with and understanding how these structures work, or how they fail to work as envisaged. The Heritage Studies course in Public Culture, on the other hand, theorizes the various ways in which heritage and culture are viewed and practised by different societies. This seems relevant to the case of Mapungubwe as indicated above. In the course of my studies, a host of questions have emerged from examining what heritage means both in South Africa and the West African region, where I come from. Who is the heritage for? Why should it exist? How is it presented? Whose heritage is being represented? In the case of South Africa, there are additional questions to ask because of the inequalities that exist in the accounts of its history that were predominant until now. With reference to Mapungubwe particularly, its history was suppressed for over 60 years, as an acknowledgement of its existence

would have negated those principles of apartheid, which posited that Africans had no advanced settlement prior to white arrival.

Given this official silence during the apartheid era, with regards to African history and heritage, what has been the government's role since 1994 in promoting the growth of heritage? (Coombes, 2003). Questions that seem pertinent are; How successfully has this role been fulfilled? What are the possibilities of creating national heritage sites or symbols that are significant to and representative of all South Africans? (Nuttall, S. & Coetzee, C., 1998). Does the proliferation of heritage sites adequately address issues of redress and reparation, healing and national unity? These questions, although not directly addressing the central research aim, link to issues that will be examined in this paper with regards to the effectiveness and functionality of national policy frameworks in South Africa, with specific reference to the Mapungubwe World Heritage Site which I have chosen as my case study.

Central to my purpose for undertaking this study is the argument that the cultural policy landscape in South Africa has been reconfigured by the policies of the World Heritage Convention, particularly with regards to implementation of said policy on the particular site on which this study is based. This argument is supported by the creation of the National Heritage Resources Act (NAHRA Act 25 of 1999) and the World Heritage Convention Act 49 of 1999, legislation that directly addresses the preservation and conservation of both local and internationally recognised heritage sites situated in South Africa. Policy is our guideline to management and needs to be managed in relation to the people that are charged with that responsibility. To understand the dynamics between the WHC and existing policy frameworks at Mapungubwe, it is necessary to analyse the objectives of these policies in relation to existing management structures. Currently, there is no quantifiable or empirically verifiable data on the WHC in relation to cultural policy implementation and management in Africa. My study attempts to bridge this existing gap by exploring the tensions that arise from a site being approved as world heritage, and the difficulties experienced by the people who manage these sites, with regards to incorporating and implementing these policies into existing local policy frameworks (James, 2005).

What is the role of culture and the retention of cultural heritage to mankind in general and the African continent in particular? Anna Leask and Alan Fyall (2006) in *Managing World Heritage Sites* address this question in a way by suggesting that, we may judge World Heritage Convention guidelines as Eurocentric in spite of UNESCO's efforts ''to mobilize state actors to take the necessary measures for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory'' (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004. p. 6). If we are to designate and retain cultural heritage sites, how can we ensure that the World Heritage Committee models support policy frameworks to suit our own peculiar needs, whilst still meeting the requirements as set by the *Convention*? What is the motivation behind applying for inclusion of sites in the World Heritage List? Is the South African government embracing UNESCO's WHC guidelines because it is convinced of the need to preserve cultural heritage or is it driven by the need to gain recognition as a significant player in the global cultural arena? These questions will inform some of the theories and concepts that will emerge from this body of work, and are indicative of the importance of this study for a better understanding of policy frameworks, in terms of the opportunities, limitations, responsibilities and obligations of having a world heritage site in your territory.

The Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape in South Africa, falls within the category of *Natural* and *Cultural* landscapes, and is one of the few *mixed landscapes* as recorded by the World Heritage Convention (WHC), combining both natural and cultural properties in the world. It may be argued that this particular site is representative of a unique genre of World Heritage, and provides a good example of a site that has interacted with, and been impacted on by UNESCO's global cultural policy. Heritage in South Africa has undergone considerable changes in the past eleven years of the nation's transition to democracy. It is still, however, in its evolutionary stages and riddled with intense debates, and controversy due to the racial politics of apartheid. Generally speaking, only personalities and events associated with the dominant white ruling class were commemorated in the public domain. These monuments were safeguarded by heritage legislation. In the case of Mapungubwe, the information about its existence as a pre-colonial kingdom with a highly developed social and political system, with far-reaching trade links was almost entirely suppressed. The legacy of apartheid, presents difficulties for the present government in its attempts to ''redress these imbalances in representations of the heritage of 'previously disadvantaged' groups'', and is a particularly onerous and complicated process.

It is important, here, to highlight South Africa's relationship with UNESCO as it links to issues relating to the development and implementation of cultural policy. In accordance with United Nations (UN) sanctions on the apartheid government, UNESCO had no formal relationship with South Africa until after 1994. Its policies were administered through smaller bodies affiliated to UNESCO. Currently, UNESCO's policies appear to have recorded a significant acceleration with regards to approved World Heritage Sites in South Africa, in comparison to other countries on the continent that had access to this privilege earlier on. The increase in the number of WHS in South Africa makes it necessary to understand the ways in which UNESCO's cultural policies may have shaped policy frameworks in the country, and emphasises the need for this study and the importance of the research that will emerge, which will pinpoint areas where current policy models have recorded failure and successes in terms of legislation.

1.4. LITERATURE REVIEW

The majority of literature on the World Heritage Convention is focused on the preservation and conservation of archaeological sites, in relation to cultural tourism, and ways in which visitors can be managed to avoid damage of the cultural and natural properties of such sites. My secondary literature has necessarily included the limited number of major works that address issues relating to the World Heritage Convention with regards to managing World Heritage Sites, and cultural heritage management. UNESCO, ICOMOS, IUCN and ICCROM evaluation documents and guidelines, as well as the SANParks Management Plan generate the bulk of papers, books and documentation on the Convention. A number of these papers and books address some of the issues that are raised in this study. The absence of quantitative and empirical data makes it difficult to situate this study within a recognised theoretical framework. There are however, common trends that have emerged from the literature listed in this review, this can be noted in the arguments and debates raised by Peter C. James (in the background to the study) with regards to the ability of States Parties (particularly in third world countries) to adequately implement the requirements of the WHC. My literature review is divided into separate categories as outlined below.

1. UNESCO Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage

Since the inception of the Convention, a relatively small amount of literature has emerged. A number of these address broader issues relating to the implementation of the *Convention*

concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. David Lowenthal in *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History (2005),* argues that ''the language of heritage that suffuses the world is mainly western'' (Lowenthal, 2005, p. 5). He goes on to stress the need for an action plan that addresses some of the arguments for implementation of conservation strategies that better integrate the requirements of the Convention with international, national and regional conservation instruments, to achieve universal membership of the Convention and involve communities. Anna Leask and Alan Fyall in *Managing World Heritage Sites (2006)*, are of the view that planning and implementation are actually indicators as to how the obligations under the Convention have been met by management at World Heritage Sites, and that it is possible to evaluate the extent to which a country has implemented these requirements (Leask & Fyal, 2006).

Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004) in her chapter on *World Heritage and Cultural Economics* interrogates the notion of a global public sphere, by analysing UNESCO's efforts to define and protect world heritage. She argues that UNESCO has not fully interrogated what it means to have heritage that is ''universally'' valued. Whilst UNESCO's World Heritage Convention global cultural heritage standards could be a vehicle for conceiving a global polity, within the conceptual space of a global cultural commons, there is an imbalance already in how countries view and value their heritage. This suggests that although this objective is quite noble, it is paradoxical in that there is a lack of balance between the diversity of those who produce cultural assets in the first place, and the humanity to which those assets come to belong as world heritage (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004, p. 1). Kirshenblatt-Gimblett implies that it is not easy to create a blanket set of standards for the world as cultural heritage is valued differently by individual cultures. It also takes on new meaning based on how those who consume this heritage interpret it.

A fairly significant amount of literature exists on tourism and archaeology with regards to World Heritage sites as mentioned above, I am however more concerned with literature which deals directly with the objectives of my study. The small number of books reviewed below, are indicative of the limited number of literature that have been published on managing World Heritage sites.

2. The Nature of Heritage

David Lowenthal in *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (2005) views heritage as commodification of history, which has resulted in a distortion of historical facts offering a series of quick fixes, meaning that it provides a shallow and sentimentally appealing ''version'' of heritage that appeals to the masses. Ironically, Lowenthal observes that heritage attracts mass appeal and is here to stay due to its popularity; he admits that its reach is much wider than that of history, as audiences on a daily basis consume it. Lowenthal speaks of the different interpretations given to the word heritage, noting how different cultures see and value their heritage. For instance he says that ''to a Cameroon diplomat heritage is beyond price, beyond value; it unifies the tribe [and] is the spirit of the nation, what holds us together'' (Lowenthal 2005, p. 5). He refers to global popularity as homogenizing heritage through media diffusion and global networks. He observes that ''UNESCO protocols enthrone heritage as the sovereign core of collective identity and self-respect, a nutriment as necessary as food and drink'' (Lowenthal 2005, p. 5).

This statement points to the UNESCO declaration in 1972, which gave birth to the World Heritage Convention and its mandate to protect mankind's cultural and natural heritage. Lowenthal seems sceptical about all this fuss over heritage protection and preservation by the West. He believes that the global definition of heritage is greatly influenced by Europe and America, stating (as mentioned above) that the ''language of heritage that suffuses the world is mainly Western'' (Lowenthal 2005, p. 5). This influence is evidenced by the fact that the majority of countries, who first crafted the World Heritage Convention, were predominantly European. These debates and arguments on the different ways heritage is viewed and valued by different societies, are reflected in some of the issues raised in this study around tensions between UNESCO's definition of heritage, although intended to be inclusive, could possibly be at odds with some of the local interpretations of heritage amongst host communities at the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape.

3. Managing World Heritage Sites

Anna Leask and Alan Fyall in *Managing World Heritage Sites* (2006) critically interrogate UNESCO's World Heritage Convention; drawing out many of the key issues that UNESCO is grappling with in terms of providing effective legislation of its World Heritage global policies. The key legislative instrument, the *Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage*

Convention is thoroughly reviewed, and critically analysed with regards to the management issues encountered in terms of its implementation, at cultural, natural and mixed UNESCO World Heritage Sites. These difficulties seemed to occur more in developing countries.

This book also looks critically at the role of tourism activity, encouraging discussions around positive ways to balance tourism activities, economic benefit and cultural aspects, whilst offering possible solutions to minimizing damage to resources. Leask and Fyall (2006) highlight the importance of these World Heritage Sites (WHS) to the States Parties, and the high profile accorded them through the designation process, which underscores their ''universal significance''. The fact that these WHS are often government owned and subject to extensive political debate, as well as involving a large number of stakeholders within their management structures is critically reviewed in *Managing World Heritage Sites.* There is again the observation that the World Heritage Convention (WHC) is Western in its structure and orientation, and that its current structural capacity does not suitably address the needs of WHS in developing countries. There is a dialogue between this study and some of the issues raised in *Managing World Heritage Sites,* particularly with regards to implementation of WHC requirements by management at the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape.

Annie E. Coombes (2003) describes *History After Apartheid as*: ''an analysis of how new stories of ''home'' and ''nation'' were created in the public sphere during one of the most startling periods of political and social transformation in recent history'' (Coombes, 2003, p.1). The author addresses issues relating to defining community, public history, memory and policy. Coombes writes extensively on the challenges facing the new ANC government with regards to former apartheid culture and heritage structures and the difficulties of re-inventing and translating these spaces to reflect the values and cultural diversity of the ''new'' South Africa. Questions raised on issues around what heritage is meant to be doing, for whom it is meant and what it represents are analysed critically by Coombes. The many debates around heritage sites, who and what they represent and why they should exist, are some of the burning issues presented and critically interrogated in *History After Apartheid.*

Coombes' second chapter in *History After Apartheid* speaks to the many management issues plaguing Robben Island, another World Heritage Site situated on an island close to Cape Town. Coombes traces the historic journey of Robben Island from its different stages as a slave colony, military base, a leper colony, a prison (where Nelson Mandela and a few other struggle activists were incarcerated) and currently a World Heritage site. The Island has been plagued by controversy since February 1990, after Nelson Mandela had been transferred to another prison and subsequently gained his freedom. Some time later, all political prisoners were released, and with them the last warders and prison staff. Robben Island is representative of the many problems encountered in the culture and heritage sectors in South Africa and the gaps arising from difficulties in implementation of cultural policy. The Island is in the present situation of having to defend its position as a World Heritage Site, due to the many management problems that plague the site. The tensions between national and provincial government are very evident at the site. The situation at Robben Island is duplicated in some instances at Mapungubwe, highlighting difficulties around implementation of policy and resource incapacity.

4. Archaeology and History of the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape

Jane Carruthers in her article, *Mapungubwe: an historical and contemporary analysis of a World Heritage Cultural Landscape* (2006), closely examines contemporary and historical issues around the inscription of the above-mentioned site. She argues that the value of places is not self-evident and that significance is culturally constructed. Here, she seems to be in agreement with Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's (2004) and Lowenthal's (2005) views on the various meanings, constructions and perceptions of heritage. She traces the changes that Mapungubwe has gone through, showing how these changes occurred due to imposed concerns, aspirations and values of society at a specific time and within a specific context. Carruthers outlines the importance of the site as a contemporary economic and cultural driver. A brief history of Mapungubwe's inclusion in a national park from 1947 to 1949 is presented, as is the archaeological science, which emerged as a result of its discovery.

The relevance of Carruthers' article to this study lies in the historical and socio-political context that it provides on Mapungubwe. She addresses a number of issues raised in this research particularly with regards to the World Heritage Convention, and the requirements imposed on World Heritage

Sites. Carruthers questions the whole notion of ‘‘authenticity’’ as defined by UNESCO’s World Heritage Convention, in reference to the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape. This again speaks to the question ‘‘who has the right to define heritage?’’ She argues that though it has been emphasised that the absence of any intrusion of unsympathetic development is an essential quality of a World Heritage cultural landscape (Fowler 2003), the pre-colonial population at Mapungubwe altered this environment substantially, declaring this site a World Heritage Cultural Landscape is celebrating environmental usage which was quite unsuitable. This questions the process of designation and inscription by the World Heritage Committee and its efficacy as a global legislative instrument.

Thomas N.Huffman’s book titled *Mapungubwe: Ancient Civilisation on the Limpopo* (2005), delves more deeply into the history of the Mapungubwe Kingdom, tracing the various periods and its connection to Great Zimbabwe, as well as its relationship to the Icon, Khami and Venda peoples of South Africa. Huffman presents an in-depth study of the archaeological history of Mapungubwe describing the intricate and technologically advanced society that occupied the landscape between AD 900 and 1300. He also traces the trade routes and relationship with neighbouring countries of Zimbabwe and Botswana. Huffman highlights the reasons why the apartheid government decided to suppress information about this site, as it did not fit into the National Party’s agenda at the time. This book is again relevant to this study as it provides the background context as to why this particular site was nominated to World Heritage status, and its cultural and historical significance within the South African context.

1.5. METHODOLOGY

In this paper my aim is to interrogate the ways in which UNESCO’s global policies have shaped notions of policy in Africa by conducting a study on the Mapungubwe World Heritage Site in South Africa. My theories and concepts will be guided by a qualitative research design. Creswell has drawn attention to the complexities of qualitative research, and highlights the diversity of strategies that could be employed with ideological ramifications. According to (Creswell, 2003) ‘‘qualitative inquiry employs different knowledge claims, strategies of inquiry, and methods or data collection and analysis’’.

A pilot study conducted from fifth to eighth September 2006, suggested that the two key staff involved in cultural heritage management at the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape, the Cultural Heritage Manager and the Parks Manager, were facing various challenges with regards to the implementation of WHC requirements. I observed some of the gaps that existed between the resources available and the expectations embedded in the WHC requirements. I also interviewed these two individuals, using questions that were designed to draw out staff perceptions and understandings of what their responsibilities entailed. My aim was to see how far my observations fitted with the information given by staff.

DATA COLLECTION

My primary objective was to get a sense of how the staff at the Mapungubwe World Heritage site, interpret their duties/responsibilities. I did not envisage that this study would require a quantitative research methodology. My aim is to analyse staff perceptions of WHC requirements to establish how they are coping with carrying out their work using the resources that are available to them. My methodology will necessarily involve the use of qualitative data collected through a variety of methods.

Following Creswell (2003), I attempted to interrogate my own perspectives. I was interested in how the staff related to me as an ‘‘outsider’’ and whether this will affect their responses to my questions. The method of informal observation and interviewing did not always give the expected results, as my perceptions of how staff carried out their responsibilities, and dealt with challenges may have been influenced by my own expectations and desired outcomes.

The primary sources of data collection are divided into three categories; observations, interviews and documents. The interviews were loosely structured to give interviewees the opportunity to speak freely, so as to provide context that I may not be aware of. Interviews were evaluated in terms of what they yielded about staff experiences and perceptions. They were also evaluated against a detailed analysis of relevant documents (as indicated in the paragraph below).

I chose the above methods of data collection because I am interested in staff perceptions of challenges encountered in carrying out their responsibilities, as well as how the WHC guidelines

are being interpreted. The second stage of my research took place over a period of five days, during which I observed both the cultural heritage manager who is directly in charge of the various sites making up Mapungubwe World Heritage site and the parks manager who manages the entire park, which includes the World Heritage and the nature conservation aspects of the park. I conducted one-hour interviews with each of them.

The secondary data consists of literary sources, such as policy documents, journals, books, maps, photographs, commentaries, articles, surveys, evaluation reports, conference papers and on-line resources from UNESCO, ICOMOS, IUCN and ICCROM. My primary data was collected through on-site visits to Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape in South Africa, to observe, assess and record the activities of the staff at this World Heritage Site, with regards to implementation of WHC requirements. To understand daily management operations in relation to local cultural policy frameworks, I conducted interviews with the Park Manager Mapungubwe National Parks, the Cultural Heritage Manager Mapungubwe World Heritage site, the Heritage Resources Manager, and the Social Science Research Manager for SANParks. I also employed the use of snowballing, by using already known sources to link to people with information that is relevant to my study.

BASIC THEMES

There are two main themes that provide the focus of this analysis: 1.) an examination of the International treaty on the *Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, adopted by UNESCO in 1972, and the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, to evaluate and assess if this convention has been beneficial to the formulation and development of national policy in South Africa. It also examines the tensions between the requirements imposed by the WHC, what policy dilemmas have risen from these kinds of frictions, and the possibilities of developing a cultural policy model that can be adopted by African nations. 2.) An analysis of the various approaches to cultural policy in South Africa, and the resultant effects of interaction with world heritage policy. This required an in-depth study of cultural policy frameworks in South Africa from inception to the present day, with a view to conducting a content analysis which looks at past and present trends of cultural policy, with particular emphasis on the observation of policy trends in South Africa from 1972 when the WHC came into being to the present day.

DATA ANALYSIS

Merriam (1998), Marshall and Rossman (1998) contend that data collection and data analysis must be a simultaneous process in qualitative research. Schatzman and Strauss (1973) claim that qualitative data analysis primarily entails classifying things, persons, and events and the properties, which characterize them (Creswell, 2003). This study employs predominantly textual data. My data collection procedures involve identifying purposefully selected sites and individuals for the proposed study. This includes (according to Miles and Hubermann, 1994), the *setting* (Mapungubwe), the *actors* (key staff at the site to be observed and interviewed), the *events* (what the staff will be observed or interviewed doing), and the *process* (the evolving nature of events undertaken by the actors within the setting). Since the major focus of this study is to assess in practical terms, the ways in which the requirements by the WHC is being implemented at the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape, to analyse the texts, conduct interviews and use observational protocol to tease out not just the meaning of what is said but the particular context in which it is expressed. I triangulated different sources of information by examining evidence from the sources and using it to build a coherent justification for themes (Creswell, 2003, p. 196).

2. CHAPTER TWO

2.1. A CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND OF THE GLOBAL MISSION AND FUNCTION OF THE WHC

This chapter attempts to give a historical overview of the World Heritage Convention (WHC), why it came into being and the purpose for which it was instituted. Anna Leask and Alan Fyall, authors of Managing *World Heritage Sites* attempt to clarify the purpose for which the Convention was created by noting that;

> The key management role is that of UNESCO to identify and aid the conservation of those sites deemed to be of outstanding universal value. While the sheer variety of resources protected by the designation creates its own difficulties in the application of UNESCO practices and sustainable management of sites, a fact noted by Bandarin (2005), UNESCO recognizes this and uses its ''coveted World Heritage Sites (WHS) programme as a means of spreading best practice in sustainable management'' (Leask & Fyall, 2006, p. 6).

The relevance of the above statement to the aim and objectives of this study will be highlighted through an examination of the process of identification, nomination and inscription for WHS across the globe. As emphasised in the quote above, sites to be nominated to World Heritage status have to be of ''outstanding'' universal value. How then is this value measured? This chapter will attempt to answer this question through an outlining of the often-complex process, by which a site deemed to be of significantly outstanding worth is inscribed on the World Heritage List (WHL). It will briefly outline some of the bodies, organisations, and stakeholders who become involved in the process and the role that they play. The chapter will briefly trace UNESCO's relationship with African nations, focusing on African States Parties to the Convention. It will then raise questions around the implications of being listed as a World Heritage Site and the difficulties encountered ''in the application of UNESCO practices and sustainable management of sites'' in the context of developing nations. It will conclude with an examination of the Action Plan drawn up by ICOMOS and IUCN, which address the gaps in the designation and inscription process, with particular reference to the World Heritage List.

What is a World Heritage Site?

According to UNESCO, its mission is to encourage the identification, protection and preservation of cultural and natural heritage around the world considered to be of outstanding value to humanity (http://whc.unesco.org/en/convention). UNESCO believes that ''heritage is our legacy from the

past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations, our cultural and natural heritage are both irreplaceable sources of life and inspiration. They are our touchstones, our points of reference, our identity'' (http://whc.unesco.org/en/convention/). This recognition gave birth to the *Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.* The Convention approved in 1972, was adopted by UNESCO and came into being in 1976, when twenty countries ratified it. As at October 25, 2006, 183 States Parties are currently ratified around the world, an attestation to the importance countries attach to being listed as World Heritage. Out of the 183 States Parties, 33 are African nations, a very small percentage compared to the West and Asia.

The UNESCO website, in tracing the history of the Convention, indicates that the Convention developed from the merging of two separate movements: the first focusing on dangers to cultural sites, and the other dealing with the conservation of nature. The primary mission of the Convention is that of identifying cultural and natural heritage of ''outstanding universal value'' throughout the world, and ensuring its protection through international co-operation. UNESCO recognizes that all countries have sites of local and national interest, which are justifiably a source of national pride; the *Convention concerning the Protection of the World's Cultural and Natural Heritage* therefore encourages them to identify, and protect their heritage whether or not it is placed on the World Heritage List (WHL).

How are World Heritage Sites Designated?

Leask and Fyall (2006), clearly outline the processes involved in the designation, approval and listing of WHS, according to them:

> The Convention states that the World Heritage Committee (WHC) should coordinate the process of designating these sites through a system known as inscription, which includes an evaluation of the resources by experts against a set of known criteria. The aim is to encourage conservation of the resources within designated sites and surrounding buffer zones on a local level and also to foster a sense of collective global responsibility via international cooperation, exchange and support (Leask & Fyall, 2006, p. 7).

It is noteworthy here that designation has lead to additional legislation in a few States Parties, South Africa and Australia for example. In the case of South Africa as mentioned in the background to the study, the NAHRA Act 25 of 1999 and the World Heritage Act 49 of 1999. Once a designation is approved, the States Party accepts responsibility for the effective management of

the site and commits to adopting the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, and the systems of reactive and periodic reporting set in place by UNESCO. If the States Party fails to do this effectively then the threat of removal from the WHL is present, though it has not, to date been exercised (Leask & Fyall, 2006, p. 7). The challenges of effective implementation of these requirements from the WHC, by staff and management at the Mapungubwe World Heritage site are symptomatic of some of the issues raised in this study and highlighted by Leask and Fyall in *Managing World Heritage Sites*. It is important to note here that the intentions of the *Operational Guidelines* apparently address some of the concerns that African stakeholders may have. It also seeks to involve stakeholders in several different ways and tries to facilitate national and local commitment to capacity building. A major weakness of the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* is that it provides States Parties with the framework in which to create WH-related policies but lacks the ''teeth'' to ensure that these policies are implemented and enforced (Leask and Fyall, 2006; Hitchcock and Harrison, 2005). Within the ambit of this study it is too soon to tell whether the guidelines will be followed or not and if it will be possible to fully implement the requirements from the WHC within the next two years (2008 – 2010).

The Convention defines the kind of natural cultural or mixed sites to be nominated, ''with designation reliant on the type of criteria that they are deemed to represent in an exceptional form'' (Leask & Fyall, 2006, p. 7). By signing the Convention, each country pledges to conserve not only the World Heritage Sites situated on its territory, but also to protect its national heritage. The States Party is encouraged to integrate the protection of the cultural and natural heritage into regional planning programmes and adopt measures, which give this heritage a function in the day-to-day life of the community (UNESCO, 2005). Prior to 2005, nominations were evaluated against a set of six cultural and four natural criteria, though these have now been combined into one set of ten including:

> To represent a masterpiece of human genius or to contain superlative natural phenomena; or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance; or to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilisation which is living or which has disappeared (Leask & Fyall, 2006, p. 7).

Despite the many attempts made to clarify what is meant by terms such as ''outstanding value'', boundaries of uniqueness and the criteria themselves, leading to controversial debates and revision in recent years, evaluation is still essentially a subjective process. ICOMOS (2004) comments that ''unlike natural heritage, cultural heritage is fragmented and diverse and not predisposed to clear classification systems'' (Leask & Fyall, 2006, p. 8). This comment is perhaps indicative of some of the issues that UNESCO is grappling with in regard to formulating a set of guidelines that can effectively be implemented by all States Parties. It is important to emphasise here that UNESCO's WHC does not function as a policy but is a very broad agreement or convention between States Parties to protect cultural heritage, primarily creating a list of unique ''World Heritage Sites''. Its Operational Guidelines provide a more detailed set of guidelines on how to understand the Convention's requirements, but these requirements are not equivalent to public policy, nor are they strictly ''global policy'' since not every country is a signatory. The WHC can be described as a ''global standard-setting'' instrument. In the context of Mapungubwe, how does this translate in terms of recognising the importance of adhering to the requirements of the World Heritage Committee post-ratification?

This chapter, unfortunately, cannot accommodate an in-depth description or analysis of the designation and nomination process, nor provide a list of all the criteria employed by the WHConvention to facilitate approval and listing of WHS. However, the selection criteria for World Heritage status and the WHS inscription process will be explained in some detail. Leask and Fyall note that ''the initial step in the inscription process is for a site to be identified within a States Party as suitable for nomination. It is this stage that is often crucial and subject to a significant level of political negotiation… Each States Party should then develop a Tentative List'' (Leask and Fyall, 2006, p. 8). This is a very important observation particularly in relation to African States Parties as it raises questions as to what motivates these nations to nominate sites for inscription. Again, Leask and Fyall question the motivation for inscription by States Parties:

> Was it for the opportunity to access international conservation expertise and exchange, the true basis of the WHConvention, or the perceived benefits of economic growth encouraged by increased tourism activity and opportunity to access the World Heritage Fund? Perhaps it is

> simply to gain the recognition and prestige associated with achieving this international accolade or maybe simply a matter of political esteem and pride. The motivations usually relate to the specific governmental aspirations within a States Party, be they prestige within Europe or financial in developing countries. Whatever the reasons, they are varied, debatable in their benefits and often politically intensified (Leask & Fyall, 2006, p. 12).

This raises further questions as to what it means to African States Parties to nominate sites that are approved as World Heritage. What are the implications in terms of logistic, legislative, managerial and infrastructural capacity? Some of the questions raised above are applicable to African nations that are host to World Heritage Sites, as more often than not, these countries lack the structural and financial capacity to manage sites in their territories in the long term. A recently compiled report on Sustainable Management of Cultural Heritage Places (Africa 2009 7th Regional Thematic Seminar, Ethiopia, 2006), by the African Cultural Heritage Organisations (ACHO) in partnership with UNESCO, ICCROM and a number of other international organisations, indicates that South Africa appears to be one of the few African States Parties that has a cultural policy which addresses cultural heritage, as well as legislation that deals directly with the management and long term protection of its heritage. Despite these measures, there are existent difficulties with regards to effective implementation, as well as human resource incapacity. These are some of the issues that this study seeks to address.

The process of designation and inscription as outlined in *Managing World Heritage Sites* is a lengthy process, which in some cases takes several years before approval is granted. There are also financial implications involved. The Convention states that:

> Every State Party to the World Heritage Convention shall, in so far as possible, submit to the World Heritage Committee an inventory of property forming part of the cultural and natural heritage situated in its territory and suitable for inclusion in the (World Heritage) list. (…) This inventory, which shall not be considered exhaustive, shall include documentation about the location of the property in question and its significance (Art. 11.1 of the World Heritage Convention).

The Tentative List (TL) provides a forecast of the properties that a State Party may decide to submit for inscription in the next five to ten years (http://whc.unesco.org). In an in-depth analysis of the WHConvention's selection process, Leask and Fyall state that once a site has been selected from the TL, noting that this is a matter of extensive local negotiation in terms of priority, then the nomination document can be prepared. This outlines the criteria for inscription, boundaries of the site and buffer zone (area immediately surrounding the resource), and as much detail as possible

relating to the uniqueness and importance of the site resource. In addition since 1996, a Management Plan (MP) must be presented to demonstrate how the integrity of the site and its universal value are to be presented, covering aspects such as transport, conservation and tourism activity (Leask & Fyall, 2006, p.10).

This is noteworthy as the future protection and sustenance of the sites' natural and/or cultural heritage hinges on the successful implementation of the MP, referred to as the Integrated Management Plan (IMP). Support structures have been provided from the World Heritage Centre in an advisory capacity and through advisory bodies prior to submission. The World Heritage Centre then arranges for the nomination to be independently evaluated by an expert representative from either one or both of the two Advisory Bodies mandated by the WHC: the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), which respectively provide evaluations of the cultural and natural sites nominated. A third advisory body, that of the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM), an intergovernmental organisation, provides the Committee with expert advice on the conservation of cultural sites and training activities (Leask & Fyall, 2006, p.10).

In their examination of the designation and inscription process, Leask and Fyall (2006) clearly show the various processes through which World Heritage sites are designated and inscribed. The decision to approve a site to be listed on the WHL is an intricate process, requiring detailed investigation and documentation. There are various reports to be submitted by States Parties, such as mission reports relating to conservation and management, reports on the cultural scientific values, and consultations with specialists, to produce detailed recommendations on a site. These are then studied by special panels of the respective Advisory Bodies and at these meetings recommendations are formulated which are later presented to the World Heritage Committee. The options are to recommend inscription, deferral (to seek further detail) or to reject the nomination. The WHC agreed that it would consider a maximum of 45 nominations per annum at their meeting in 2004; this is to include any proposed extensions to already inscribed sites (Leask & Fyall, 2006, p. 10-11). The final step is for the formal inscription of the site as a WHS and committing it to being managed in accordance with the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World*

Heritage Convention. In some cases, sites are also immediately placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger, currently containing 34 WHS, when the resource is considered to be at substantial risk of damage from situations such as war, flood or industrial activity or in need of major conservation measures, and assistance to protect and maintain the values for which it was originally inscribed (Leask & Fyall, 2006, p. 10-11).

I would like to draw attention to the fact that there are currently 31 properties listed on the World Heritage in Danger List, in accordance with Article 11 (4) of the Convention (http://whc.unesco.org/en/danger/). This pre-supposes that out of the 34 previously recorded by Leask and Fyall (2006), three have been restored to a manageable state and removed from the danger list. Leask and Fyall have been quoted several times in this chapter, particularly in the section on designation and inscription, to underscore the attention that has been given to the formulation, legislation and implementation of designating WHS. The chapter also seeks to highlight the efforts by UNESCO to improve on the legislative instruments used in the application of the Convention.

It is of interest that Leask and Fyall (2006) note that inspite of UNESCO's continued efforts to ensure that States Parties are equitably represented:

> One critical flaw in the WHS listing process is that UNESCO does not nominate nor invite nominations for the sites that they deem appropriate – it is the central governments within each States Party that do this. This inevitably leads to a situation whereby some countries are not members, do not recognize membership and designation following political changes, or indeed nominate sites at all. Additionally, the politicized process of Tentative List and nomination means that it is not always the most obvious resource that is nominated…that this may be due to a variety of reasons including, social unrest, availability of exploitable resources on a site, overlooking suitable sites in error or attempts to exclude a minority's heritage … the outcomes will depend on the balance of status and power at any one time and on who among the numerous stakeholders has the loudest voice … it is an inter-subjective and highly political process (Leask & Fyall, 2006, p. 14).

This observation speaks to P.C. James's (2005) statements about how inspite of States Parties best efforts to provide adequate monitoring and management of sites in their territories, ''because of a lack of resources actual monitoring practice is not always effective'' (P.C. James, 2005, p. 5). Leask and Fyall further observe that the WHL is more biased towards sites in Europe and North America, and towards cultural sites. This is indicated by the high number of World Heritage Sites on the World Heritage List from those parts of the world.

The Global Strategy, set up in 1994 to encourage a balanced, representative and credible WHL, has an action programme designed to identify and fill gaps in the WHL, and has been effective in encouraging nominations from new States Parties and a broader range of categories, for example industrial heritage, heritage routes and cultural landscapes, but there are opportunities for improvement (Leask & Fyall, 2006). Future plans include further broadening of categories possibly to include community involvement and the engagement of young people in the process. Also to encourage re-presentation from less well represented States Parties via trans-national and trans-boundary nominations, though with a precursor that they need additional assistance with the preparation and implementation of management plans. According to IUCN, ''increasing use of serial site and trans-boundary nominations by a number of States Parties is positive but needs clearer direction and guidelines to ensure strong nomination and effective management post-inscription'' (Leask & Fyall, 2006, p.14).

This chapter has dealt primarily with the global mission of UNESCO's World Heritage Convention, using the definitive work of Anna Leask and Alan Fyall, citing their critically in-depth analysis of the designation and inscription process. I would like in this section, to briefly address the relationship between UNESCO and African member states since the late 1940s to date, and how this relationship has impacted on these countries, particularly in the education and culture sector. A number of books on the WHConvention by authors such as Peter .C. James (2005), Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2005), David Lowenthal (2005), Leask & Fyall (2006), Francesco Franconi (2007), refer to the Eurocentric nature of the WHConvention. African nations appear to have gained access to UNESCO from the disadvantaged position of needing to be ''rescued''. Given this viewpoint, it seems like a logical progression for African States Parties to aim at having greater representation on the World Heritage Committee in order to redress its disadvantaged position and make a stronger case for a ''model'' adapted to the needs of developing countries on the continent. Again, this might be viewed as a negative concept since African nations want to be recognised as adhering to global practices in matters of governance, policy and legislation. Leask and Fyall (2006) observe this ''imbalance'' in UNESCO's relationship with developing countries as opposed to developed countries, particularly with regards to WHS in this statement:

> One further future issue for UNESCO is that of adequate funding to fully support the activities of the WH Centre. The funds raised through the World Heritage Fund (WHF) are inadequate; particularly as more sites are designated in less developed countries and with the increasing cost

> of policing the now large number of sites. Calls for further research to inform the practices of the Centre would also require increased levels of funding, most effectively via ICOMOS and IUCN, which can call on superior professional and scientific advice in an efficient and effective manner (Leask & Fyall, 2006, p. 15).

It is of particular interest that the ‘‘event’’ that motivated the initiative by UNESCO, with the assistance of ICOMOS, to prepare a draft convention on the protection of cultural heritage, was the decision by the Egyptian government to build the Aswan High Dam. This aroused particular international concern, as the decision if allowed, would flood the valley containing the Abu Simbel temples, a treasure of ancient Egyptian civilization, destroying the Abu Simbel and Philae temples. UNESCO launched an international campaign in 1959, after appeals from the governments of Egypt and Sudan, mobilising donations from about 50 countries, ‘‘showing the importance of nations’ shared responsibility in conserving outstanding cultural sites’’ (UNESCO 2005). The success of this campaign led to other safeguarding campaigns, such as Venice in Italy, Moenjodaro in Pakistan and Borobodur in Indonesia to name a few (UNESCO, 2005).

Egypt is a founding member state of UNESCO, ratifying its membership in 1947. South Africa joined even earlier in 1946 but withdrew in 1956 due to its apartheid policies, which were not in agreement with what the United Nations (UN) stood for. South Africa was re-admitted in December 1994 after the democratic elections. This is significant, with regards to South Africa’s relationship with UNESCO in the present day, inspite of its thirty-eight year estrangement from the UN it has recorded accelerated progress in the number of WHS, seven in its territory, and another ten on the Tentative List, being recommended for inscription.

UNESCO’s educational initiatives on the African continent spans over a period of approximately 60 years, from the 1940s to the present day. Cultural initiatives followed soon after, and accelerated in the 1960s reaching its peak in the 80s and 90s. Out of the 53 African member states, 33 are States Parties to the Convention; most became UNESCO member states between 1946 and 1993. The first being South Africa and the last Eritrea. It is important to highlight that UNESCO’s interventions in the education and culture sectors, have contributed significantly to the formulation and structuring of cultural policy in a majority of countries on the continent. I use the term policy loosely in this instance as some countries (e.g. Nigeria, Zambia) are in various stages of reviewing cultural policy documents, while a few, using UNESCO guidelines are in the process of producing a

comprehensive cultural policy document (e.g. Kenya). There may still be questions raised as to what ways UNESCO's policies have been beneficial to African member states, and States Parties to the Convention. Again, do UNESCO's education, culture and conservation initiatives adequately address the peculiar circumstances in most countries on the continent? These questions are particularly relevant with regards to implementation of WHC requirements at WHS.

Leask and Fyall (2006, p. 15) highlight the current trend of opinions with regard to the whole process of inscription, indicating that the process has been criticized for its complexity, political bias and expense. These may represent the key reasons why some countries fail to have representation on the WHL. ICOMOS (2004) suggests that the structural gaps are the result of a ''lack of technical capacity to promote and prepare nominations, lack of adequate assessments of heritage properties, or lack of an appropriate legal or management framework, which either individually or collectively hinders the preparation of successful nominations'', and that qualitative gaps are ''associated with certain types or themes of properties''. Thus, further work is required in order to overcome these issues internationally, in identifying suitable sites and assessing their cultural assets for suitability. It may take years for a site to make it onto a Tentative List; often it is particularly difficult for regions to gain recognition on national lists. Personnel changes and budgetary controls may mean that the sheer will to push for nomination may expire. The lack of legislative power associated with designation is the key factor in much of this, both at international and national level (Leask & Fyall, 2006, p. 15). Some of these factors exemplify problems that management at the Mapungubwe World Heritage site are inundated with. The tensions between satisfying the requirements of the WHC, while at the same time implementing those requirements within national and local policy frameworks presents many challenges as will be seen in the course of this study.

WHConvention, the Way Forward

UNESCO understands that the Convention is not foolproof and still requires improvement. This is why it requested ICOMOS to carry out a study to analyse existent gaps in the World Heritage List, and draw up an action plan that addresses these gaps. The Action Plan is an attempt by ICOMOS ''to provide quantifiable evidence'' (ICOMOS, 2005) to assist with this process of ensuring that the world heritage of humankind, in all its diversity and complexity, is adequately reflected on the list.

The WHConvention is seen as one of the most successful international legal instruments ever drafted. Its success is evident in terms of the number of countries that have ratified it, the number of properties inscribed on the WHL, and in the number of nominations put forward every year for inscription. It is suggested that there is no single method by which the WHL can be analysed most effectively: rather this study has compared and contrasted three different methods, together reflecting the evolving nature of cultural heritage classification. In many regions gaps are related to the need to understand better the cultural qualities of potential World Heritage properties related to the very particular cultural responses to the environment found in under-represented areas. According to a report by ICOMOS (2005), it should be noted that cultural properties nominated in recent years are already beginning to fill some of these gaps and thus encouragement needs to be given to this process. Gaps also exist because of the lack of knowledge, resources or formal structures necessary for the submission of satisfactory nominations (predominantly in developing nations). Thus support needs also to be given to this process (ICOMOS, 2005, p. 111-110).

ICOMOS concludes its study by putting forward an Action Plan that attempts to address these shortcomings. This plan stresses the need for collaboration and strong partnerships between States Parties, the World Heritage Centre and the Advisory Bodies. While this study speaks to the gaps in the list of cultural properties, IUCN is addressing gaps in the list of natural properties. ICOMOS would like to recommend that attention be given to combining the key recommendations from both reports so that there is an overall appreciation of the challenges to be faced in delivering a more credible list for both natural and cultural properties, and of ways to address those challenges. This study and the Action Plan aim to complement the Regional Action Plans already adopted by the World Heritage Committee. The overall aim is to allow States Parties to contribute to the development of a more sustainable World Heritage List that may better reflect the cultural identity, significances and relevance of cultural properties in defined regions around the world.

Conclusion

Leask and Fyall question the effectiveness of the WHConvention whilst acknowledging that ‘‘*the key aim of WHConvention is to conserve cultural and natural heritage resources”* (2006, p. 17). However there is the question as to whether the present structure of the WHC and associated processes adequate mechanisms for addressing conservation and preservation of such sites.

According to IUCN (2004) and ICOMOS (2004) the WHConvention is an effective framework for the implementation of conservation strategies but needs better integration of the Convention with international, national and regional conservation instruments, to achieve universal membership of the Convention and to involve communities (Leask & Fyall, 2006, p. 17). There are indicators, according to Leask and Fyall (2006), based on the analysis by the above-mentioned Advisory Bodies, that the WHConvention is effective, but then again both organisations are closely affiliated with and bound to UNESCO (2006, p. 17). A realistic view needs to be taken regarding how improvements could be made to such an international, politically sensitive system (Leask & Fyall, 2006, p. 17). The following chapters will address these issues in greater depth, examining underlying questions around the efficacy of WHConvention policies in relation to implementation in practical terms at the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape in Limpopo, South Africa.

3. CHAPTER THREE

3.1. A BACKGROUND CONTEXT OF CULTURAL POLICY EVOLUTION IN AFRICA

In this chapter, I will be examining national policy frameworks, looking specifically at policies dealing directly with World Heritage Sites situated in South Africa, in the context of the recent history of post independence Africa, and the understanding of ''culture'' that has developed in this period. I will draw attention to areas where policy structures adhere to and/or have been modelled to fit into UNESCO's WHC requirements. I will also attempt to provide a brief but sufficiently detailed historical account of post-colonial policy initiatives on the Continent, with the intention of creating a contextual background for some of the contradictions that arise from the multiplicity of roles and functions that ''culture'' is called upon to perform by African States keen to distance themselves from oppressive colonial legacies and struggling to overcome considerable economic impediments to development. Although South Africa is not signatory to the 1976 Cultural Charter for Africa due to its former apartheid policies, it is faced with re-defining the meaning of culture and heritage post-apartheid as well as within the framework of UNESCO's WHC standards. It can be argued that it is the responsibility of states to formulate cultural policy and although in Africa, cultural policy has been influenced by UNESCO standards as well as national politics, it does not have an obvious connection to the process of implementing management plans. In the case of South Africa, this argument may have some relevance, however, this chapter is relevant to this study particularly because it raises useful questions about the meaning and function of state sponsored culture in independent Africa.

In the previous chapter, the various processes by which sites are approved for world heritage status have been explained in some detail. However, in attempting to unpack and analyse the ways in which UNESCO's WHC standards influence national cultural policy frameworks on the continent, it is important to define the function of cultural policy and to clarify its aims and objectives. I will begin by examining the role and function of cultural policy as defined by African governments (from the West, East, North, Central and Southern African regions) and UNESCO's assistance in mapping out strategies to define this role (OCPA, 2006).

According to the *Observation of Cultural Policies in Africa* (OCPA, 2006) report, (this is a *Compendium of Reference Documents for Cultural Policies in Africa*, published in co-operation with UNESCO, the international Organisation of the Francophony and the Swiss Commission for UNESCO), the origins of African Cultural Policies can be traced back to the colonial period during which culture was considered as a political tool, for combating the colonial repression of African culture and the negative impact of external domination, and European cultures on Africa and African Cultures. African artists and intellectuals, political groups and liberation movements looked upon culture as a powerful weapon to fight this assimilation policy and colonial cultural oppression. This led to the development of various movements (such as the association of intellectuals especially of Bantu culture, Negritude groups, Senegalese Cultural Association, etc.) and to the organisation of conferences that offered forums for reflection, such as the First and Second Congress of Black Writers and Artists, which took place in Paris (1956) and Rome (1959) respectively. By independence, there existed a set of fundamental concepts for the development of African cultural policies. All regions took active part in this process, and started to build up their cultural systems according to their cultural affinities and historical ties, as well as their political and ideological options. For example, Francophone countries assisted by France developed public cultural development policy, while Anglophone countries put emphasis on developing arts initiatives (OCPA, 2006).

As a result of the experience gained at national level, and on the basis of the reflection on Africa's cultural problems during deliberations at various meetings and initiatives, such as the Colloquium organised within the framework of the *First World Festival of Negro Arts* (Dakar, Senegal, 1966) and UNESCO's *General History of Africa* project, the participants of the Symposium of the Pan-African Cultural Festival (Algiers, 1969) were already in a position to propose a coherent conceptual framework for African cultural policies. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government, as well as the Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) (now African Union (AU)), adopted a number of declarations and resolutions concerning culture between 1963 and 2006 (OCPA, 2006). These events indicate recognition by the OAU/AU of the need to galvanise African governments into action to reverse the effects of colonialism, in line with the way thinking has evolved. The rehabilitation of African ''culture'' was seen as a viable route towards achieving this objective.

UNESCO has been actively involved in helping African nations in mapping out strategies towards developing national cultural policy and cultural industries. According to a report published jointly by UNESCO, the International Organisation of the Francophony and the Swiss Commission for UNESCO, titled *Observation of Cultural Policies in Africa* (OCPA), around 1975 to 1976, the reflection on cultural policies in the African region received a new impetus in the framework of the preparation of the Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies in Africa (AFRICACULT, Accra, 1975) and the elaboration of the Cultural Charter for Africa (1976). This report further states that in the evolution of the concepts, the above-mentioned conference constituted a major landmark. Its documents and conclusions are still considered as basic references (OCPA, p. 21, 2006). At that conference it was unanimously recommended that the fundamental principles of an African cultural policy should place emphasis on the ‘‘rehabilitation of African culture as well as on intangible values which were also defined by colonialism. Cultural policy also aimed to acknowledge social division and the need to create unity. Interestingly, there is a conscious attempt to avoid cultural stagnation, by introducing the idea of drawing on selective elements from foreign cultures and mobilising culture as a vehicle for ‘‘development’’.

The above recommendations provided the foundation on which a majority of African governments formulated cultural policy, placing emphasis on recognition of class dimensions, the nature of culture and the danger of cultural stagnation. In this process two conferences were organised on the *Harmonization of African Cultural Policies* (Libreville, 1974 and Freetown, 1975) at the level of ministers in charge of cultural affairs and their experts, called together by the African and Mauritanian Cultural Institute (ICAM, Dakar) on behalf of the Organisation for African Unity (OAU). The OAU played a pivotal role through its cultural policy initiatives for African states, in ensuring that culture played a decisive role in the economic and social development of Africa (it is noteworthy that while this intention was on the agenda it was not necessarily implemented). As it appears from the proceedings of these events (published by the *Nouvelles éditions africaines* on behalf of ICAM, Dakar), the meetings examined the following issues as priorities (OCPA, 2006. p. 20); the need to move into a more practical stage, for example, creating inventories and mechanisms of implementation. The inclusion of mass media is also noteworthy.

Significantly, in relation to this study, priority actions proposed by the conference concerning the inventory, preservation and development of the national patrimony cover both tangible and intangible heritage as well as African aesthetics and philosophy. Proposals were as follows:

- Development of legislation for the protection of sites and monuments in line with international norms and conventions.
- Development and up-dating of institutions: museums, research centre of oral tradition and African linguistics, African Culture clubs, theatres, etc., in the light of changing needs and aspirations.

Interestingly the recommendations insist on the necessity of training specialists in the management of cultural institutes and as *"animateurs"*. With regard to the determination of priorities – choice of means, the ministers recommended (a.) the promotion of public policies for culture, (b.) the adaptation of teaching programmes to development needs and national cultural realities, and recording the oral tradition, (c.) protecting and promoting national languages, (d.) protecting and promoting creators and their copyright, (e.) developing permanent research centres in the area of cultural action, (f.) increase in the budget for cultural action and research in the human sciences, (h.) sensitising and mobilising the masses through cultural action, (I.) training specialists in the various fields of cultural policy and development.

According to the OCPA report, AFRICACULT was the first regional conference to emphasise the necessity of giving full recognition to the cultural dimension of development. The adoption of the Cultural Charter for Africa constituted the other major event in the consolidation of the reflection on culture and cultural policies in Africa. It was adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), meeting in its Thirteenth Ordinary Session, in Port Louis, Mauritius, from 2nd to 5th July 1976. Until the adoption of its revised version in 2005 (Charter for Africa's Cultural Renaissance) it constituted the most important regional cultural policy reference document for African States including those of North Africa. The aims and objectives of the above-mentioned charter are to facilitate the liberation of the African peoples from socio-cultural conditions, which impede their development, and to enable the rehabilitation, restoration, preservation and promotion of the African cultural heritage. The Charter sought to combat and

eliminate all forms of alienation and cultural oppression through the encouragement of cultural co-operation, with a view to strengthening African unity as well as a better understanding amongst its peoples.

By adopting the charter, the Heads of African States subscribed to the following fundamental principles; (a.) access of all citizens to education and to culture; (b.) respect for the freedom to create and the liberation of the creative genius of the people; (c.) respect for national authenticities and specificities in the field of culture; (d.) Integration of science and modern technology into the cultural life of the African peoples; (e.) and exchange and dissemination of cultural experience between African countries in the field of cultural decolonization in all its forms.

There was a further recognition by African States of the need to take account of national identities, and to realise that the assertion of these identities should not be achieved at the detriment of cultural diversity within the State. An agreement was reached to work out a national cultural policy geared towards satisfying cultural needs, through the optimal utilisation of all available material and human resources as well as to integrate the cultural development plan into the overall program for economic and social development. As proposed in the Charter, the *Intra-African Cultural* Fund was created by the Heads of State and Government of the OAU meeting at their seventeenth Ordinary Session in Freetown, Sierra Leone, from 1 to 4 July, 1980. This event offered a new opportunity for African States to review their cultural policy priorities and objectives some years after AFRICACULT and the adoption of the Charter. It is most interesting that South Africa is still not signatory to the Charter, 13 years after democratic independence and in spite of the 2005 amendments to the Charter; also given that the principles reflected above echo some of the core objectives of South Africa's cultural policy.

UNESCO in conjunction with the OAU/AU, has since the mid '80s, launched the organisation of a series of consultations in the various regions of the continent on the problems of promoting cultural industries. The conclusions of these consultations led to the elaboration of the *Dakar Plan of Action for the Development of Cultural Industries in Africa*, adopted in July 1992, at the OAU summit. This document constitutes a basic reference for the formulation of strategies in this domain. It recommends a series of measures and actions to be taken at national and regional level, which are

still ongoing. In evaluating what progress has been made in view of interventions by UNESCO and the OAU, the OCPA (2006) report notes that most African countries have agreed on the need to promote cultural diversity and pluralism, while preserving national identity as well as the importance of keeping in balance tradition and modernity, which constitute two pillars of African cultural development. Interestingly, in spite of these common basic principles, African countries have adopted different responses to problems identified at the level of concrete policies and actions according to models inherited in French or English speaking countries, as well as to ideological tendencies. At this level the common problem is limited to the discrepancy between political declarations and the means (predominantly insufficient) made available for the implementation of declared objectives. This difference is apparent in all fields concerning cultural policy at the level of existing or non-existing cultural policy texts, administrative structures, cultural development planning, cultural institutions, efforts concerning access to and participation in cultural life, creativity and arts promotion (OCPA, 2006). It includes protection of traditional artists and crafts, heritage preservation and museum development, decentralisation, copyright and cultural legislation, cultural education at all levels, the media and cultural industries, science and technology, environment, and also cultural co-operation at sub-regional, regional and international levels (OCPA, 2006. p. 27). The discrepancy referred to above is specifically what this study focuses on; that is the gaps between cultural policy frameworks, and the available infrastructure, human resource capacity and implementation.

3.2 AN ANALYSIS OF CULTURAL POLICY FRAMEWORKS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The various conferences on culture initiated by the OAU/AU resulted in the creation of an introductory overview of objectives and priorities of cultural policies in Africa – from the Pan African Manifesto (1969) to the Charter for the Cultural Renaissance of Africa (2005) established on the basis of the recommendations and guidelines formulated by some twenty major conferences and strategic documents, adopted over the last forty three years. All these conferences and the documents that emerged from them, illustrate the intellectual effort made over the decades in the interests of formulating cultural policy in Africa. In a summary of the conceptual achievements of the series of regional conferences on cultural policies, the Mexico-City Declaration on Cultural Policies stressed that:

> In its widest sense, culture may now be said to be the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group. It includes not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs (MONDIACULT, Mexico-City, 1982).

The MONDIACULT conference, in the 80s, became a benchmark from which the reflection on cultural policies in Africa, as in other regions, continued to develop in the light of the main conclusions of the World Conference on Cultural Policies.

An examination of cultural policy trends in South Africa indicates that in spite of South Africa's separation as it were from the UN and its agencies from 1956 to 1994, these various conferences, and the recent Charter for Africa's Cultural Renaissance (2005) have served as points of reference in the formulation of South African national cultural policy frameworks. It is apparent that the aims and objectives as well as the fundamental principles of the charter, were taken into consideration during deliberations on cultural policy formulation. In terms of cultural heritage legislation, UNESCO's WHConvention guidelines are embedded in national policy. South Africa is in a peculiar position (particularly in the light of its past history of human rights violation) with regards to the role of cultural policy in the lives of its citizens and nation building. The White Paper on arts, culture and heritage drafted under the auspices of the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (1996), in defining its vision for new policies and institutional frameworks states that:

> In the context of the historical legacy outlined above, a new vision for the arts, culture and heritage is required. That vision springs from our adherence to Article 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: ''everyone shall have the right to freely participate in the cultural life of the community (and) to enjoy the arts… ''. It is the objective and role of the Ministry to ensure that this right, the right of all freely to practise and satisfy artistic and cultural expression, and enjoy protection and development of their heritage, is realised (White Paper, 1994).

It was argued that the historical legacy of apartheid policies necessitated the need for a cultural policy that addressed past imbalances, and sought redress for these imbalances. Importantly, in the case of South Africa, the development of national identity and support for a national culture of

unity were considered important elements in state cultural policy. The drive for national unity and a viable national identity was therefore one of the priorities of the post 1994 government.

As noted earlier on in this study, the state promotes particular ideologies around national unity within which cultural diversity is encouraged. This is certainly the case as stated in the objectives of the South African government's White paper for arts and culture. There may however be individual struggles on the grounds of self-realisation, which are potentially in conflict with the ideologies of the state (for example the contested meaning of heritage by indigenous groups claiming ancestral ''ownership'' of Mapungubwe). According to Peter Duelund (2003), cultural policy also reflects the tools that governments and other players use in order to promote a certain direction. These ''tools'' encompass legislation, administration and financing as well as other direct and indirect instruments that government and the state apparatus use to fund, stimulate and regulate the production, distribution and consumption of art. Unlike the private market for culture, public-sector cultural policy is subject to democratic debate (or at least to a debate which appears to be democratic). State cultural policy, at all times, must appear to be legitimised by the political process, which is why the national budget earmarks funds for culture. Governments and ministries of culture publish cultural policy reports, which reflect the governments' cultural programmes and priorities (P. Duelund, 2003. p. 14).

The way in which cultural policy is deployed, as stated above and the ways in which it plays out in the context of this study, will be seen in the following chapters, particularly with regards to the tensions between the various arms of governmental legislative instruments, host communities and management at the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape. In *The Nordic Cultural Model*, edited by Duelund (2003), cultural policy is defined in a narrow sense as being about the way art is funded in a given society at a given point in time. Dueland (2003) argues that in a broader sense, cultural policy could be said to be about the clash of interests between the different ways in which stakeholders – in society in general and in the cultural field in particular – reflect on art and culture. Dueland observes that in general, therefore, cultural policy is the outcome of the debate about which values are considered important for the individual and for a given society. There is merit in his arguments; however, I would argue that the role of cultural policy is slightly more complex. Cultural policy could be seen as the outcome of the ways in which debates are arbitrated, mediated

and settled among the various stakeholders. This point is particularly relevant with regards to whether South African policy legislation and Mapungubwe's Park Management Plan provide the proper framework in which the WHConvention's operational guidelines can be implemented. Paragraph 3 of the WHC *Operational Guidelines* (2005) as previously outlined in the introductory section to this study, states the following that there should be; a) a thorough shared understanding of the property by all stakeholders; b) a cycle of planning, implementation, monitoring, evaluation and feedback; c) involvement of partners and stakeholders; d) the allocation of necessary resources; e) capacity-building; and f) an accountable, transparent description of how the management system functions. In chapter four, some of the questions raised here are answered in part in the analysis of interviews with site management staff as well as the cultural resources manager at SANParks.

This study seeks to highlight the conflicting relationship between national cultural policy frameworks, and WHC requirements and their resultant effects on policy formulation in South Africa specifically. It can be deduced that cultural policy plays an enormously important role in mediating conflict and creating an inclusive sense of citizenship and civic responsibility. One of the issues that have emerged strongly from this study though is the conflictual relationship arising from tensions between various stakeholders. In the case of the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape, there appear to be tensions between the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) and the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT), South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA), South African National Parks (SANParks), local host communities, private landowners and businesses. Then, there are also the challenges presented by the World Heritage Convention requirements with regards to implementation. Chapter five addresses the efficacy of the Park Management Plan as well as the discrepancies and gaps that exist between theory and actual practice. As we will observe in the next paragraph, South African cultural heritage legislation pays close attention to the WHC and its operational guidelines by modelling its World Heritage policies on the guidelines. The difficulty however is how to successfully implement these requirements. It is necessary here, to examine the two pieces of legislation dealing directly with national and international heritage sites in South Africa – the National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999 and the World Heritage Convention Act 49 of 1999.

The National Heritage Resources (NAHRA) Act 25 of 1999

''Since the dawn of the new socio-political dispensation in the country, SANParks has embarked on an ambitious transformation in the conservation sector. This transformation project has now resulted in a more determined cultural heritage management and tourism programme'' (Neluvhalani, 2006. p. 94). This statement from Edgar Neluvhalani, the Cultural Heritage Resources Manager of SANParks, in a paper presented during the seventh regional thematic seminar on *Sustainable Management of Cultural Heritage Places* (Africa 2009 Conference, Ethiopia, 2006), is indicative of the ongoing transformation in South African policy making in general, and in the cultural heritage sector in particular. Neluvhalani (2006) observes that:

> After more than ten years into the new socio-political dispensation sweeping changes have been witnessed in various sectors of society including the conservation and heritage sectors. A range of new policy initiatives like the new Protected Areas Act, the National Environmental Management Act, the National Heritage Resources Act etc., have served as launching pads for a number of related public and private sector initiatives (Neluvhalani, 2006. p. 94-95).

The ongoing socio-economic and political transformation in South Africa as noted above by Neluvhalani is emphasised by his observations that throughout the country a new desire for a true African identity has re-emerged, and addressing disparities in heritage representation has been at the core of nation building these past twelve years (Neluvhalani, 2006. p. 95). This is particularly relevant with regards to Mapungubwe. At the time of its ''discovery'' in 1933, the first interpretations sought to deny its links to the indigenous peoples of Southern Africa. According to Neluvhalani, the attempted reconstruction of the story of Mapungubwe remained within the domain of archaeologists whilst the majority of South Africans were subtly kept away from the evidence and the story, and therefore could not celebrate it. Neluvhalani's observation reflects the controversial and highly contested nature of this site. The Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape has in recent years (post 1994) been used by the government in its attempt to mobilise ''inter-ethnic'' unity, as well as the desire to effectively manipulate the site as a ''national'' symbol. This is suggestive of some of the arguments that I raised previously in this chapter, around how states use culture and cultural policy to achieve political ends. In this instance however, the South African government's desire to mobilise Mapungubwe as a symbol of national unity has not been very successful.

The NAHRA Act 25 of 1999 is supposed to be symbolic of this transformation (or to facilitate it) within the cultural heritage sector in South Africa. The South African Heritage Resources Agency

(SAHRA) which administers this Act, evolved from the former National Monuments Council (NMC) of the apartheid government, which excluded ''non-white'' races, from being appropriately represented in the commemorative landscape. The first paragraph of the preamble to the Act states that:

> This legislation aims to promote good management of the national estate, and to enable and encourage communities to nurture and conserve their legacy so that it may be bequeathed to future generations. Our heritage is unique and precious and it cannot be renewed. It helps us to define our cultural identity and therefore lies at the heart of our spiritual well being and has the power to build our nation. It has the potential to affirm our diverse cultures, and in so doing shape our national character (NAHRA Act 25, 1999).

The Act aims to facilitate the protection and preservation of national and international heritage sites, buildings and/or landscapes, through the adoption of a more accountable and user-friendly management system, by promoting the concept of an inclusive ''civil society'' that is empowered both in its relationship to the resources offered by heritage; also by promoting a civil society that is responsible to future generations and perpetuates the idea of a nation with a continued life-span lasting many generations.

The Act very clearly enunciates the principles of the World Heritage Convention, as well as incorporating the principles of cultural policies in postcolonial African states. It is important at this juncture to question how effectively these guidelines are being legislated and implemented by SAHRA at Mapungubwe. Based on interviews conducted by myself with the Cultural Heritage Manager in charge of the Mapungubwe World Heritage Sites as well as the Cultural Heritage Resources Manager of SANParks, SAHRA's input has been minimal (see chapter four). There appear to be tensions between DEAT and DAC with regards to the funding and management of the Mapungubwe WHS. These tensions have created gaps in terms of providing adequate staffing and infrastructure for the site. There are also challenges arising from SANParks policies (which are undergoing transformation to accommodate cultural heritage within its parks) and its focus on nature and wildlife conservation, with particular focus on bio-diversity. This aspect of conservation (bio-diversity) is specifically what funding is provided for by DEAT for SANParks.

Cultural heritage management is an emerging sector within the parks and therefore gets less funding and lower priority. Neluvhalani refers to the awareness of this gap within SANParks when he points to a ''growing realisation of the importance of cultural heritage and a new commitment

towards the proper management and promotion of cultural heritage in National Parks'' (Neluvhalani, 2006. p. 96). To this end SANParks is currently reviewing the Integrated Management Plan (IMP), which was drawn up in 2003, and merging it with the Parks' corporate management plan to produce a single integrated document, that addresses cultural heritage needs. The various tensions and challenges mentioned previously will be explored in greater detail in chapter five, which deals directly with an analysis of the Integrated Management Plan.

The South African World Heritage Convention Act 49 of 1999

The importance and value accorded to WHS in South Africa is apparent from the attention given to legislation governing these sites. It is noteworthy that both the NAHRA and South African World Heritage Acts (SAWHCA) were formulated within the same year. It would appear that government felt that there was a need to formulate a specific law that addressed WHS within the Republic. Carruthers (2006) notes that:

> The inscription of a World Heritage Site is generally greeted with considerable publicity and expressions of national pride and self-congratulation. While this may have palled a little for some countries that have been involved in the process since the inception of the World Heritage Convention in 1972, the excitement is still very real in South Africa. Having been barred for many years from many UNESCO projects on account of apartheid; in 1997 the South African government was able to ratify the World Heritage Convention and thus became eligible to nominate sites for the list (Carruthers, 2006. p. 1).

The above statement reflects observations made by Leask and Fyall (2006) around the reasons countries put up sites for nomination. Carruthers's statement expresses South Africa's excitement at having its global citizenship endorsed. Mapungubwe was the first cultural landscape in South Africa and its fifth WHS. This is a significant point, as the importance of Mapungubwe, its uniqueness and significance as ''a spiritually and culturally uncontested landscape'' (Carruthers, 2006. p. 3), it might be argued, should be reflected in the way the site is managed as well as the policy frameworks that protect its valued assets. It is interesting that Carruthers uses the word ''uncontested'' here, as the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape seems to have become a much-contested space in recent months.

The preamble to the Act, which strongly echoes UNESCO's principles for WHS, states that:

> Recognising that the cultural heritage and the natural heritage are among the priceless and irreplaceable possessions, not only of the Republic, but of humankind as a whole; Acknowledging that the loss, through deterioration, disappearance or damage through inappropriate

> development of any of these most prized possessions, constitutes an impoverishment of the heritage of all the peoples of the world and, in particular, the people of South Africa (WHC Act 49, 1999).

The above statement fills in some of the background of the observation made by Carruthers' about the degree of excitement with which the inscription of a WHS is greeted in South Africa. The WHS is acknowledged as a valuable ''possession'' of the entire global community, with South Africa being entrusted with its protection as a kind of custodian. But it also raises questions as to whether global endorsement will cause automatic tensions. Is it possible for this site to simultaneously satisfy new South Africa's need for cultural and historical affirmation, and be opened to the whole of humanity? Leask and Fyall (2006) address some of these questions in *Managing World Heritage Sites*.

The Act integrates the Convention into its definitions, objectives, principles and implementation. Particular attention is given to the identification and nomination of sites, as well as to the processes leading to the preparation and implementation, of the integrated management plan of each World Heritage Site within the Republic. It also addresses the empowerment of Authorities (national and provincial) towards safeguarding the integrity of World Heritage Sites, and the establishment of Boards and Executive Staff Components of authorities as well as land matters in relation to WHS. The objectives of the Act are to provide for cultural and environmental protection, the sustainable development of related activities within World Heritage Sites and giving effect to the values of the Convention. It also aims to make the Convention part of South African domestic law and to create a framework to ensure that the Convention and the Operational Guidelines are effectively implemented in the Republic, subject to the Constitution and the provisions of this Act to facilitate and generate strategies for marketing WHS and promoting responsible tourism. Its aim is to create an enabling environment for investors, promote job creation and ensure that the Act conforms to the obligations of the Republic in terms of the Convention and Operational Guidelines.

The Act appears to have addressed all the requirements of the WHC as well as national cultural policy objectives. However, my findings in the course of this research, suggest that the process of implementation has not been very successful (some of the tensions are suggested above). For instance, in my interview with Mr. Edgar Neluvhalani (see full transcript in chapter four), he spoke

about unresolved issues between SANParks, host communities, and private businesses in relation to Mapungubwe. In spite of the fact that jobs have been created within the park for members of the surrounding communities, there are few individuals actually qualified enough to take up these jobs. Most do not have the prerequisite educational background. There are also tribal disputes over the origins of the people that inhabited the Mapungubwe Cultural landscape; therefore its ‘‘ownership’’ is contested. It appears that there have been failures due to lack of capacity in some cases, in others because of ‘‘ethnic’’ disputes, despite government’s best intentions, as well as different understandings of its cultural and spiritual character.

The importance attached to the South African World Heritage Convention Act, is highlighted in its fundamental principles which states that in ‘‘the event of any conflict between the principles of this Act and the National Environmental Management Act, 1998 and the NAHRA Act, 1999, the provisions of the SAWHC Act prevails’’ (South African World Heritage Convention Act 49, 1999. p. 5). This indicates that the Act supersedes the other two in authority with regards to WHS. The principles also state that actual or potential conflicts of interest between; a.) organs of state; b.) an organ of state and an Authority; c.) or Authorities should be resolved through appropriate conflict resolution procedures and the principles of co-operative government in accordance with the constitution (South African World Heritage Convention Act 49, 1999. p. 6). This is particularly relevant to this study, given the tensions between DEAT and DAC, and the gaps caused by these tensions with regards to satisfying WHC requirements at the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape. It is also apparent that a lot of attention has been given to specificities, with regards to the legislative powers of the Act. This raises questions as to why the implementation of this legislative instrument has been largely unsuccessful. In chapter four, transcripts of interviews with key management staff at Mapungubwe World Heritage Site as well as interviews with the Cultural Heritage Resources Manager at SANParks, provides some indication of existing challenges and efforts made towards overcoming these challenges.

4. CHAPTER FOUR

4.1. ORAL INTERVIEWS WITH KEY MANAGEMENT STAFF IN CHARGE OF CULTURAL HERITAGE at the MAPUNGUBWE WORLD HERITAGE SITE and in SANParks

These interviews necessarily represent individual points of view and are influenced by the fact that the interviewees often feel overwhelmed by the demands they perceive have to be met. But, even if the enormity of the task ahead has been exaggerated, this is in itself significant because it points to how much 'capacity building' in terms of management and conceptualization there is to do. The interviews are loosely structured as my main objective was to observe how staff at the Mapungubwe WHS, interpret their duties or responsibilities. I also wanted to analyse staff perceptions of WHC requirements to establish how they are coping with carrying out their work using the resources available to them. To get a sense of how these various processes interact - the human capacity, local policy frameworks and international requirements- I interviewed the following subjects; Mr. Nehemani Tshimangadzo, Park Manager, Mapungubwe National Park, Miss Paballo Mohafa, Cultural Heritage Manager, Mapungubwe World Heritage Site, Mr. Edgar Neluvhalani Cultural Heritage Resources Manager at SANParks, and Mr. Kevin Moore, Social Sciences Research Manager, SANParks, between September 2006 and July 2007.

4.1.1. Interview One: Mr. Nehemani Tshimangadzo - Parks Manager, Mapungubwe National Park, Limpopo Province

(Interview, Sept 2006) – Full details are in bibliography

Nehemani Tshimangadzo, at the time I conducted this interview had been recently appointed the new Parks Manager and had only spent four months in his new position. His appointment illustrates the ongoing reforms within South African National Parks towards incorporating cultural heritage into their corporate plan. Mr. Tshimangadzo brings with him a wealth of experience in cultural heritage management having worked both at the Cradle of Humankind and Robben Island Museum (RIM) in Cape Town, where he spent six years cumulatively. In both WH Sites he worked in the cultural heritage department, holding a managerial position in RIM as a Senior Manager in the heritage department.

During my interview with him, he indicated that consideration was given not only to his expertise in cultural heritage management but also to the fact that he had worked at two highly ranked World Heritage Sites. He stated that this would be the first time in his career that he was completely in charge of, not only a WHS, but also a wildlife park. This he sees as an advantage in the sense that he will not only be contributing to building the cultural heritage component of the park, but will also acquire new skills in conservation and wildlife management. He appreciates the challenges ahead and the differences between Mapungubwe and Robben Island historically as well as in organisational structure. I tried to get his perspective on areas where Robben Island might be encountering similar challenges to Mapungubwe but he preferred not to make any comments. I was particularly interested in his operational plan for the entire park and how he planned to incorporate the cultural heritage components into the overall management plan. As the park manager, his primary responsibility (within the short period he had spent at the Park) is to ensure that all operational systems are in place for running both the nature conservation parts of the park as well as the cultural heritage sites in line with SANParks organogram (please refer to Appendix B). As well as making sure that tourism is given due consideration and that revenue targets are met. This presents a number of challenges, the most significant being under-staffing. Administrative systems are also complex as both the nature conservation and World Heritage Sites are required to adhere to certain international conventions – the Convention on Biodiversity (CBD) and the World Heritage Convention (WHC). This means that responsible tourism should be practised in the park, particularly at the WH Sites. The parks manager is also required to ensure that the organogram is structured to accommodate the complex integration of cultural heritage and conservation within the park.

This led to my question about the various provincial, national and international legislations, standards, conventions and policies that the parks management and staff needed to adhere to and interact with in their day-to-day operations. As well as which government agencies they reported to and who was responsible for disbursing funding for operations, programmes and projects. According to Mr. Tshimangadzo, SANParks is the national management authority and the two major legislative instruments are the World Heritage Convention (WHC) operational guidelines, and the South African World Heritage Convention Act (SAWHCA). At this juncture I commented that I

had only recently been made aware that SANParks had a cultural heritage resources manager, Edgar Neluvhalani. I thought this very interesting as Mr. Tshimangadzo had earlier alluded to the organisational changes taking place within SANParks (whose core corporate values are embedded in conservation of biodiversity), due mainly to the growing number of cultural and natural WH Sites situated within national parks.

According to Mr. Tshimangadzo, the WHC and SAWHCA are currently legislated through the Department of Environment Affairs and Tourism (DEAT); but there is a bid to move the management of all national and World Heritage Sites to the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) as a majority of both categories of sites are already under that department. This has not been formalised as yet and may not come into being in the near future. However, there is strong resistance from DEAT in this regard, particularly as they are the primary funders for all national parks (SANParks, 2006). Mr. Tshimangadzo made reference to the possibility of a new legislation that allocates management of cultural sites to DAC and natural sites to DEAT. To add to the legislative complexity, the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) plays a major role in the management of all heritage sites in South Africa and administers the National Heritage Resources Act (NAHRA), which is a key legislative instrument for heritage sites. Provincially, the Mapungubwe National Park works closely with the management of the Limpopo Heritage Agency (LIHRA) and the SAHRA Limpopo provincial department. These agencies however play a more supportive than managerial role in contrast to the national agencies.

I was particularly interested in what had been done in terms of WHC requirements prior to inscription and in the present. I also wanted to know what the consequences would be in terms of exceeding the three-year time frame allowed for the implementation of these requirements. Mr. Tshimangadzo said that more work needed to be done towards meeting WHC requirements. He would like more progress to be made towards developing the interpretive centre and employing more staff for the park as a whole, but specifically staff with the relevant expertise for the cultural heritage department. At this juncture, SANParks is working on developing a park management plan as well as an integrated transfrontier park plan in collaboration with Botswana and Zimbabwe. The latter is one of the major ongoing projects and requires the creation of a tri-lateral committee that will work towards establishing this objective. As park manager he will be closely involved in the

planning and execution of this project. In terms of the Integrated Management Plan (IMP) that is a major requirement of the WHC, he says that it is already in place but is currently being reviewed and integrated into one holistic corporate management plan for SANParks. From his response I got the impression that there was no significant pressure from the WH Committee as yet with regards to meeting the three-year time line.

In keeping with WHC requirements that WH Sites should contribute to the development of surrounding local communities, he said that the closest municipalities such as Musina, Makhado, and Alldays are represented in the park forum, a representative committee of all stakeholders. A concerted on-going effort is made to employ as many locals as possible to work within the park as tour guides, cleaning staff, security or archaeological site workers. Mr. Tshimangadzo, since he resumed office has been very active in ensuring that vacancies are advertised in local newspapers and in strategic locations around the municipalities. There are a number of challenges that need to be addressed from a managerial viewpoint but he is hopeful that with the new shift in organisational values to integrate and promote cultural heritage in SANParks the facilitation of staff capacity and upgrading of infrastructure will be speeded up.

4.1.2. Interview Two: Miss Paballo Mohafa – Cultural Heritage Manager, Mapungubwe WHS

(Interview, Sept 2006) – Full details are in bibliography

Miss Paballo Mohafa at the time of this interview had been the cultural heritage manager at Mapungubwe for about eight months, only a couple of months before the park manager arrived. She took up this position as a fresh graduate from the University of Pretoria with very little work experience. She possesses the prerequisite educational qualifications and some knowledge of archaeology and anthropology. I found this very interesting given the daunting task that she has been assigned as well as the substantial challenges as expressed by Mr. Tshimangadzo (see interview above).

I started the interview by asking what was expected of her in her capacity as the cultural heritage manager. Her primary responsibilities, she stated, were monitoring the cultural and archaeological sites within the park. This refers to the WH Sites and the rock art sites which number over a

hundred documented sites. She was also responsible for drawing up plans for monitoring the above-mentioned sites as well as the four hundred and sixty archaeological sites. She said that this was a huge challenge, as she currently had to carry out these duties without any assistance. This refers back to Mr. Tshimangadzo's comment (see above) about the need for more staff.

As I deduced from my interview with Paballo, her position was a new portfolio created within SANParks, and had not really been properly defined. Given this circumstance, I wanted to know what her immediate plan of action was. Her plan is to carry out a survey of the rock art and archaeological sites that have not as yet been surveyed, as well as the cultural landscapes (comprising of both the WH Sites open to the public and those yet to be opened). There is also a need to map out and document relevant cultural sites within the park. She hopes to increase the potential in these areas and raise the cultural heritage profile, thereby increasing public awareness for the WH Sites. At this point she has no strategic plan in place as she is still feeling her way and trying to ascertain what needs to be done. One of the biggest challenges she faces is in trying to get information that provides her with guidelines as to what her responsibilities entail. When she arrived a few months ago the then park manager was about to leave, this meant that this position was vacant for a few months. With no manager to report to; she had to make do with long-distance supervision from the cultural heritage resources manager, Mr. Edgar Neluvhalani at the SANParks head office in Pretoria. She said that this made it really hard for her to make a smooth transition into her job and presented numerous challenges.

I commented to Paballo that it must be a relief to have a park manager that was experienced in cultural heritage management. She agreed that his expertise was a big bonus for the organisation as a whole and for her specifically. Particularly in terms of shaping her portfolio and providing her with much needed guidance and direction. Previous park managers had been employed for their experience in environmental management. She said that cultural heritage had not previously been a major consideration for SANParks as an organisation; however there are ongoing plans to integrate it more fully into national parks core values.

With regards to whom she reports to, the park manager is her direct boss and is her first point of contact. She is however required to send a quarterly progress report and work plan to the cultural

heritage resources manager, Edgar Neluvhalani at the SANParks head office in Pretoria. He is in charge of cultural heritage in all the national parks. Asides from these two managers, there is a regional coordinator in charge of Paballo's cluster located in Golden Gate in the Free State. If there is a problem requiring the intervention of SAHRA, she contacts the Agency directly or enlists the assistance of the park manager or the cultural heritage resources manager. She does not have any direct contact with DEAT as the ministry interacts with SANParks on the level of one government parastatal to another. SANParks presents an annual report to DEAT at the end of each fiscal year. Administratively, the lack of staff at Mapungubwe is a major challenge.

The People and Conservation Department, which cultural heritage falls under is undergoing reorganisation at present. As she mentioned earlier, cultural heritage is a growing sector within national parks but this growth has been quite slow due to the fact that the organisation was formerly predominantly focused on conservation. There are a few nature guides working with Paballo, but this presents a challenge, as they are not trained cultural heritage practitioners. There is a conflict of interest as well since they fall under the Hospitality and Tourism Department, and have to report to the manager in charge of that department.

Additionally, she is currently responsible for taking learners on tours of the cultural sites. The elementary and secondary schools in Limpopo require their students to learn about the history of Mapungubwe, and SANParks facilitates this through the people and conservation department by organising educational programmes for school groups. According to Paballo, within the month of August (2006) alone 2, 898 learners came through the park. A people and conservation officer should fulfill this role but since management is yet to employ someone, she has to fill the gap. Her responsibilities in this regard include cultural heritage education and guided tours around the WH Sites. Asked what she would like to see improved administratively, she mentioned more office space (which she says will be addressed with the building of the new interpretive centre and consortium of offices) - the need to employ a peoples and conservation officer, and more attention should be given to cultural heritage; upgrading of IT equipment and efforts made towards fulfilling WHC requirements as recommendations from the committee are yet to be implemented. She acknowledged that DEAT had provided funds for the construction of the interpretive centre, through the Poverty Relief Project but work was yet to begin in earnest. She anticipates that with all these

projects in the pipeline combined with the current organisational shift in focus, there will be positive improvements in the near future.

4.1.3. Interview Three: Mr. Edgar Neluvhalani, Cultural Heritage Resources Manager, and Mr. Kevin Moore, Social Science Research Manager, SANParks.

(Interview, June 2007) – Full details are in bibliography.

Edgar Neluvhalani and Kevin Moore have each spent about six years in SANParks. They have therefore been part of the ongoing transformations within the organisation. They provide insights into the complex dynamics of managing cultural heritage within a largely nature conservation framework. They also give interesting perspectives on the various challenges ranging from implementation, to the lack of relevant expertise in the cultural heritage sector in South Africa. Edgar had just recently returned from a heritage management programme in the United States, and he spoke enthusiastically about the need for more of these kinds of programmes in Africa. Kevin Moore has been working in the research sector of the park for a number of years and spoke about the growth and development of more social science-oriented research, particularly with the increase in WH Sites within national parks.

It is clear from the previous interviews that current human resource capacity is a major challenge at the Mapungubwe National Park and World Heritage Site. In my discussions with Edgar Neluvhalani and Kevin Moore this was reiterated and some of the contributing factors explained. With the knowledge that SANParks had put into motion plans to review their corporate profile, I asked Edgar when the decision was taken to create a more integrated corporate plan and how successful the transition has been. He responded by saying that these changes have been fairly recent, taking place over a period of two years. What has emerged from the new corporate plan is the balanced score card, which basically integrates the organisation's core conservation values with cultural heritage, which is a rapidly growing sector within national parks and can no longer be ignored. Organisational objectives have become clear cut and well defined as opposed to three to four years earlier when there was no specific corporate plan in place. The development of new policies presents new sets of challenges in terms of determining the implementation of cultural heritage

objectives as well as outcomes with regards to coordinating these different aspects into core aims and objectives.

In terms of what his responsibilities were in his capacity as the cultural heritage resources manager, Edgar says he oversees the implementation of cultural heritage programmes focusing on policy development and coordination. His role is not necessarily to implement, but to act as a facilitator in that process. The lack of staff makes it difficult to focus on implementation. Currently there are a number of projects and programmes that need to get off the ground but it is not possible to do so without adequate staff strength. He also represents SANParks on several committees dealing with heritage issues, for instance he is currently a member of the board at SAHRA working on several projects including the Transfrontier Park and the ongoing plans to rebury the remains excavated from the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape and WHS. These committee meetings are often quite time consuming as they occur frequently. His job description continues to evolve in line with changes within the organisation and the attention that is currently being given to cultural heritage; there are still a lot of hurdles to surmount and challenges continue to emerge as a result of these changes.

I wanted to know how Edgar and Kevin's jobs intersected. In response to my question, Kevin explained that his job is to promote and coordinate social science research within SANParks of which cultural heritage is only one component within a broad spectrum. Other components include sociology, anthropology, archaeology, and history. He collaborates with Edgar on cultural heritage projects involving issues around history, archaeology, anthropology and sociology. Edgar cut in here to say that his department and Kevin's fall under the People and Conservation Department that Paballo mentioned in her interview. Part of its mandate deals with community-based development, community activities, and conservation-based community projects. Environmental education is a large part of what it does and it caters to about 80, 000 learners annually from the surrounding municipalities and from communities close to Polokwane. Kevin's department is pivotal to the role of People and Conservation, which focuses on community cultural heritage and sociological issues. There is a big natural science research department in the national parks that is very well funded and well staffed. The social science department having evolved over a two year period is not as well-staffed, and Kevin has to do a lot of the work himself at present, which is a

major challenge as it involves a lot of travelling to the various research locations within national parks all over South Africa.

With regards to the research component within SANParks, Kevin stated that focus really started shifting about two years ago. Traditionally, SANParks research interests were mainly focused on the biophysical environment, subject areas such as biology, ecology, geology, botany and any of the physical sciences. In the past archaeology was regarded as a science and this was reflected in the volume of archaeological research done in the parks. Kevin surmises that the World Heritage status of Mapungubwe had a direct impact on SANParks decision to promote social science research more vigorously. The decision to encourage this type of research is a challenge in itself as it highlights the need to incorporate local human aspects into the parks landscape. Research is still strongly focused on the natural sciences despite this realisation and Kevin's role is to promote the development of other kinds of research and create opportunities for more socially focused research.

SANParks is compelled to encourage and embrace this type of research that factors in the human dimension due to the fact that DEAT, the ministry they report to, has signed certain international protocols and agreements (the CBD and WHC) that imposes the responsibility on national parks to comply. This Kevin states, has also motivated the organisation to address issues around poverty in communities around national parks with a view to providing some solutions to improve their conditions. The World Heritage status being accorded sites within national parks territories also restricts the types of research that is allowed. In Mapungubwe for example, gold-diggers not professional archaeologists carried out the earliest excavations. Parks authorities do not want any more of that kind of invasive research taking place; it is Kevin's responsibility to see that careful attention is given to minimising the impact of research activities on the WH Sites. He foresees an increase in the type of research that I am doing where researchers will come specifically because of the WH status of the sites. In this regard, he says, the World Heritage status has impacted positively on research focus within the parks.

Edgar thinks that researchers have contributed to raising the profile of the Mapungubwe WHS in particular. This has spurred national parks into making concerted efforts towards raising its profile

even more. Research has also brought more public awareness from communities around the locality and the South African public in general. Past history of suppression of information about its history and the subsequent removal of human remains, and artefacts has created a lot of tensions between the current custodians of these relics and local communities. As Kevin mentioned, the organisation is very careful about the kinds of research conducted in its parks, as they do not want to further aggravate the resentment of local communities. Tensions are heightened at present with the ongoing negotiations around issues of re-burial of human remains previously removed from the Mapungubwe sites, as well as the repatriation of the gold artefacts to the interpretive centre that will be constructed in the very near future within the park.

Interaction with the local communities seems to be quite limited, given that WHC requirements make it very clear that WH Sites should to a large extent involve local communities in the activities of the site(s), I wondered how SANParks as well as management at the Mapungubwe National Park and WHS were fulfilling this requirement. Edgar responded by saying that community participation has been very low. This is due to the low level of awareness by locals. It is a major challenge for management at the Mapungubwe National Park due to the fact that most of these communities are not located close to the park; although there has been closer interaction with communities from Alldays, Venda and Musina. Distance is however not the only challenge to greater interaction with local communities. There are also difficulties relating to the need to provide more employment for locals, lack of exposure to the WH Sites due to under-staffing, which has affected educational tours that provide historical context. In this regard Edgar says research has been instrumental in the emergence of knowledge and information on Mapungubwe. As mentioned earlier by Mr. Tshimangadzo in his interview, locals have been employed in various positions within the park particularly for archaeological site work. The Universities of Pretoria and the Witwatersrand still have archaeological sites where excavations are currently taking place. The interpretive centre is a major project for 2007/2008, and Edgar is working on promoting local craft as an offshoot of tourist activities through the centre as a way of generating employment and income for locals.

In reference to community-based projects through the People and Conservation department, Kevin spoke about the significance of Mapungubwe history to local communities. He said it was included

in the curriculum of all local schools. It was an advantage for the learners in the communities closest to the park in particular as they had the opportunity to interact directly with their history.

Edgar went on to say that in terms of community participation, there was previously an Archaeological Task Group (ATG). The group was disbanded after he started working at SANParks. This was due to political tensions and low attendance from local communities. Its members were predominantly archaeologists, the rest of the group were not archaeologists and did not understand the technical terms used during meetings. A park forum was formed to replace the ATG and it was decided that the focus should centre on researching viable projects and working on them through the forum. Edgar also addressed my question about who started the bid for Mapungubwe to be listed as a WHS. He said the ATG initiated the bid and SANParks supported it and provided a coordinator who was also a member of the ATG. After the initial proposal, which the ATG put together, UNESCO stepped in to facilitate the necessary research through experts from the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and the World Conservation Union (IUCN). The ATG was made up of archaeologists from both the Universities of Pretoria and the Witwatersrand. There were tensions between these two parties due to the fact that University of Pretoria had started the process through their many years of research in and around the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape and did not appreciate Wits University ‘‘encroaching’’ as it were on its territory. According to Edgar, this tension was instrumental in the resignation of Professor Mayer from the University of Pretoria, from the ATG. This occurred not too long after he first joined SANParks.

It is quite interesting that given the importance of the position of cultural heritage manager in the future development of the Mapungubwe WHS, such a young and inexperienced person had been appointed to this position; I asked Edgar the reason behind this. According to him, SANParks management had decided that they wanted a black person to fill the role, and it was a challenge to find a highly qualified person who was willing to go to an area as remote as Mapungubwe National Park. There were two very strong candidates both staff of SAHRA, one from the national office and the other from SAHRA Limpopo. Unfortunately both these male candidates accepted other offers. Edgar had proposed that they employ another strong candidate from Zimbabwe but management contested this. In the end the choice was to hire Paballo and to provide her with opportunities to

gain experience through interaction with the growing number of researchers coming to Mapungubwe as well as in-house training. This situation Edgar surmises speaks to the current dearth of cultural heritage managers in South Africa, and the need to encourage training in this sector to increase expertise in the field. He adds that this is why management motivated for a park manager with heritage management expertise. The question I posed was whether he will stay long enough to build human resource capacity in the park. The dual nature of his role presents numerous challenges. Edgar is hopeful that SANParks will be looking into building capacity as well as building up other areas that are lacking in the very near future.

In this discussion with Edgar and Kevin some of the key challenges mentioned by Paballo and Mr. Tshimangadzo reoccur several times. This is indicative that there are serious administrative challenges and that even though the legislative instruments are in existence implementation is a huge problem. Edgar again reiterated his earlier point about the need for more cultural heritage experts, as the experience of management at WH Sites is a critical requirement. It is also important that SANParks as an organisation continues to build on corporate understanding of cultural heritage. He had a discussion with their communications department about not only just featuring pictures of the various parks in their brochures and other publicity items, but providing the relevant literature. For instance, in the case of Mapungubwe there is no mention made of UNESCO or the role it plays through the WHC.

4.2. Summary of Interviews

The many complexities in aligning national policy to international policy are evident from the responses from the four interviewees above. The requirements by the WHC prior to listing and contingent to retaining and/or maintaining WHS status, has been marginally fulfilled at the Mapungubwe WHS. It is apparent from these interviews that there is an awareness that fulfilling these requirements is mandatory, but interpretations of the urgency of achieving this vary from one interviewee to the other. The cultural heritage manager at Mapungubwe acknowledges the need for action to be expedited in this regard, and the park manager also mentions it briefly in his interview. However there is no particular commitment in my view to set targets towards achieving these objectives. This could be because it is not directly in their power to facilitate the fulfilment of these requirements. Another requirement that has not really been fully implemented is interaction with

local communities. SANParks has policies that are already in place with regards to joint programmes with the South African government on Poverty Alleviation as well as conservation and tourism initiatives focused on community development and education. The WHC requirements have led to the modification of some of these programmes to incorporate some of the demands with regards to local communities directly associated with the WH Sites at Mapungubwe.

What comes through very strongly from the subjects interviewed is the need for increased human resource capacity at the Mapungubwe National Park and WHS. Another point, which is not explicitly stated but inferred, is the need for support from national agencies for arts, culture and heritage such as DAC and SAHRA. They do not seem to play a very active role in ensuring that the necessary infrastructure and support is given to management and staff of WH Sites. These gaps can be seen clearly in the responses given by the park manager and the cultural heritage manager at Mapungubwe. There are also organisational deficiencies within SANParks itself in its role as the management authority of Mapungubwe. The fact that natural science research is well staffed and well funded as opposed to the cultural heritage, and social science sectors within the park that suffer from lack of staffing and infrastructure is indicative of such deficiencies. The low population of experts in the field exacerbates the problem of finding experienced personnel for the heritage department nationally. This presents serious challenges in proper management of WH Sites. The issues are complex and seem to require major interventions from national government. The sections below reflect re-occurring trends from staff perceptions and experiences, as well as from my deductions from responses to questions asked during the interviews.

4. 3. Analysis of Interviews

In this section I consider the efficacy of management structures within SANParks, the role and function of national policy frameworks in relation to a WHS, and their ability to support WHC requirements through an analysis of information yielded from the interviews above. I attempt to draw some conclusions from my perceptions of how staff carry out their responsibilities and deal with the various challenges and tensions that arise from trying to fulfil WHC requirements. I conclude that there is a clear indication that management staff at the Mapungubwe National Park and WHS is facing difficult challenges relating to poor administrative capacity and insufficient support from SANParks as well as the relevant government agencies. The most significant

challenge – administrative incapacity – is engendered by the relative neglect in the past from SANParks, the key managing authority, to develop and promote cultural heritage within its national parks. The current lack of infrastructure to support the cultural heritage components within the Mapungubwe National Park is symptomatic of the conflict of interests and challenges that have emerged due to ongoing changes within SANParks, as they review their corporate aims and objectives to fully integrate cultural heritage.

The fairly recent appointment of a park manager with a strong cultural heritage background as well as experience gathered from two prominent WH Sites, speaks to the firm intent of national parks management to develop and promote cultural heritage in its parks. The general perception I got from my discussions with both Mr. Tsimangadzo and Paballo was one of firm committment to building heritage capacity within the park. In this regard, Mr. Tsimangadzo was quite realistic about the challenges and constraints but was also proud to have been given the opportunity in his capacity as park manager to develop and strengthen cultural heritage within the park. It was also clear that he was not expecting any of the changes he envisioned to be immediate, rather he saw a slow progression as he had to factor in bureaucratic processes within SANParks. The problem of human resource capacity was a major challenge for him, particularly in the cultural heritage sector of the park, as Paballo was basically the only staff in that entire department. It was apparent that he needed to provide her with guidance and direction as she had very little experience on how to run her department. The pressure on him is enormous, as he has to be creative in bridging numerous administrative gaps within the park.

There is however, a general sense that there will be positive growth in the cultural heritage sector in the very near future by all the interviewees. They believe the process of change is already in place but it will take time before it becomes apparent. It is also obvious that WHS status accorded Mapungubwe was instrumental in mobilising the ongoing attempts by SANParks towards integrating in a more holistic way the natural and cultural aspects within its parks. One thing that did not resonate in my discussions with any of the interviewees was how management both at SANParks and Mapungubwe were working towards fulfilling WHC requirements. There were allusions made to an Integrated Management Plan (IMP) being in place as well as ongoing plans to construct an interpretive centre. However, my perception was that any success in this direction was

tied to the implementation of the new corporate plan through the balance scorecard. This raises some crucial questions about these requirements from the WHC and the recommendations contained in the evaluation document for Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape. Are they biased, un-implementable or problematic? An attempt will be made to answer these questions in the next chapter.

The role of the managing national ministries, agencies (DEAT, DAC, and SAHRA) and legislative bodies were also not clearly discussed by interviewees; my overall impression was that there was limited direct interaction with these agencies by management staff at Mapungubwe. It would appear that the agencies dealt with SANParks directly and access to their services was organised through the organisation. I also sensed a certain reserve in terms of the kind of information that was given particularly with Mr. Tshimangdzo, which I assume is due to his having just taken up his position about four months before my interview with him.

The cultural heritage resources manager at SANParks, Edgar Neluvhalani who manages all cultural heritage issues within all national parks around the country, articulates the lack of human resource capacity within his department several times. This is one thing that resonates through out all my interviews with each individual interviewee, interestingly there is no immediate solution mentioned by Edgar, Kevin Moore or Mr. Tshimangadzo. Edgar did mention that finding qualified cultural heritage managers with the prerequisite qualifications was a challenge. This was demonstrated by the decision to choose Paballo, a fresh graduate with no experience as the cultural heritage manager at Mapungubwe. The lack of expertise in the cultural heritage field in South Africa is obviously a major contributing factor to human resource incapacity in the sector.

My deductions from these interviews, leads me to the following conclusions. That more consideration needs to be given to ensuring that WH Sites during and after the process of inscription, have the necessary administrative support and infrastructure in place to deal with requirements from the WHC. There is also need for a clear cut definition of the particular national agency that is responsible for the WHS, as in the case of Mapungubwe, the tensions between DEAT and DAC have created difficulties in accessing services for management and staff at the site. There is the possibility that if issues pertaining to human resource incapacity that relate to

sustainability are not addressed in the near future there is the possibility that the World Heritage status could be withdrawn.

4.4. Most common problems faced by management at Mapungubwe

- Lack of a cohesive administrative structure for cultural heritage management within the Park.
- Human resource shortage and inexperience causing the few staff employed to be overstretched
- Lack of office space and proper IT equipment
- No substantive support from DAC or SAHRA
- The difficulties of fulfilling WHC requirements because it imposes new demands, but also the need to facilitate the fulfilment of these requirements as they provide new opportunities, as seen by the new shift in focus at SANParks, to cultural heritage and a more people-oriented outlook.
- Need for infrastructure and commitment to finishing ongoing projects like the interpretive centre.

4.5. Positive factors cited by management and staff at Mapungubwe

- There is a general consensus that things will improve with the ongoing reviews of SANParks corporate plan.
- There is also a sense that cultural heritage will continue to gain prominence within SANParks which will lead to greater recognition of its importance.
- The building of the interpretive centre is also perceived as an opportunity for more community-based interaction, as well as a way of increasing awareness and disseminating information about the history of Mapungubwe.

5. CHAPTER FIVE

5.1. INTERROGATING THE WHC'S INTEGRATED MANAGEMENT PLAN

The *Operational Guidelines* state that each nominated property should have an appropriate management plan or other documented management system which should specify how the outstanding value of a property should be preserved, preferably through participatory means. It goes further to note that an effective management system depends on the type, characteristics and needs of the nominated property and its cultural and natural context. Management systems may vary according to different cultural perspectives, the resources available and other factors. They may incorporate traditional practices, existing urban or regional planning instruments, and other planning control mechanisms, both formal and informal (UNESCO 2005, p. 26). In recognising the diversity mentioned above, common elements of an effective management system could include as mentioned earlier on in this report; 1) A thorough shared understanding of the property by all stakeholders; 2) A cycle of planning, implementation, monitoring, evaluation and feedback; 3) The involvement of partners and stakeholders; 4) The allocation of necessary resources; 5) Capacity-building; and 6) An accountable, transparent description of how the management system functions. In this section we examine how the above-mentioned requirements are being translated by management at the Mapungubwe National Park and WHS. We also attempt to answer some of the questions that have been raised in the course of this study about how efficiently these WHC requirements are being translated in terms of management and infrastructure, and what the implications are for national government in South Africa.

From our findings as indicated in previous chapters, particularly from oral interviews with management at the Mapungubwe World Heritage Site, it appears that the recommendations made by the World Heritage Committee in the evaluation document are neither unreasonable nor unachievable. Some of the recommendations include providing an updated management plan, providing satisfactory progress of the formal designation of the Vhembe-Dongola National Park (now Mapungubwe National Park), of contractual negotiations with private landowners within the nominated property and of the production of the management plan. Expanding the permanent staffing of the park management team to include at least one full-time professional archaeologist with heritage management training, and reconstituting the ACTAG. A number of these

requirements have already been met within the three-year stipulated grace-period (as mentioned in the introductory section to the study). However, one of the most important recommendations – to build interpretive centres at the currently accessible Mapungubwe WH Sites is as yet unfulfilled. As was consistently recorded across all interviews, the new SANParks Parks Management Plan takes the recommendations from ICOMOS/IUCN and the requirements from the WHC's operational guidelines into consideration in drawing up their new corporate strategy. The inclusion of the Cultural Resource Management Programme in the new Park Management Plan specifically appears to be aimed at fulfilling some of the requirements mentioned above.

According to the SANParks Park Management Plan (2006), the Cultural Resource Management Programme (CRMP) informed by SANParks' policy on cultural resource management is based on the WHS designation. This necessitated, as stated by SANParks preparation of, and credible responsibility for an excellent set of principles and plans around the cultural resources of the Mapungubwe landscape (SANParks, 2006). The CRMP was developed in 2003 by Mr. Johan Verhoef (now retired) who was previously responsible for the heritage programme in SANParks. Edgar Neluvhalani the current Cultural Heritage Resources Manager became involved in 2004 when he joined the organisation. The CRMP has been integrated into the IMP, as is required by the World Heritage Committee in their *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (UNESCO 2005, p.4). The intention of SANParks management (which is evident from responses from interviewees) is to pursue the better integration of the two management plans within the next 5-year cycle, to address the needs of both the Protected Areas Act as well as the WHC in a single document. In reference to the values and operating principles guiding management of cultural resources at Mapungubwe, the SANparks Park Management Plan (2006) notes that the Mapungubwe cultural landscape values primarily follow the WH values as defined in the operational guidelines for the WHC, as well as the generic list of SANParks values (SANParks, 2006).

Edgar Neluvhalani (2006) in his paper, *Enabling the Management and Promotion of Cultural Heritage in National Parks: A Case of the South African National Parks (SANParks)*, observes that; ''being a management authority to two of South Africa's World Heritage Sites has presented a number of challenges for SANParks'' (Neluvhalani, 2006. p. 100). He further notes that a dedicated

focus on the management of cultural heritage places and in particular World Heritage Sites has in the past few years meant that the organisation should expand its scope of operation in order to respond to some of the specific issues, partnerships and management obligations created by World Heritage sites. The implementation of the new corporate plan as reflected in the document, ‘‘… poses a fundamental challenge for the organisation to develop and integrate approaches that ensure the achievement of its ‘‘public good mandate’’ (SANParks, 2006). This mandate refers to development of conservation management, and constituency building towards a people-centred approach to conservation, cultural heritage management as well as socio-economic development programmes. In addition, these objectives have to align with those of the South African government, to make national parks accessible to communities that were previously excluded from the biodiversity, cultural heritage and other experiences offered.

In the course of this study, it has become apparent that there are numerous challenges arising from the complex process of incorporating cultural heritage into what was formerly defined as an ecological landscape. It is apparent that the Park Management Plan seeks to embrace the principles contained in the WH operational guidelines, the explicit inclusion of the words ‘‘Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape’’ signifies the importance of the cultural aspects of the park. In fact the phrasing is meant to indicate that the cultural features are integral to the landscape making it not just a landscape but a ‘‘cultural landscape’’. The Plan further notes that the three pillars of the decision-making environment at SANParks are seen as the mission statement, the context, and the values and operating principles, however, translating these values into a workable action plan appears to be fraught with logistical difficulties. This raises, in my view, further questions about what considerations motivate the process of inscription on the WHL at states’ level in general, and that of the Mapungubwe National Park and WH Sites specifically. The lack of infrastructure and the difficulties of recruiting staff with relevant qualifications are a few of the significant factors that impact on sustainable management of WHS. These are some of the issues that need to be considered and critically addressed at the initial stage of the inscription process. There are many benefits to inscription relating to national pride, economic development, and international recognition (Carruthers, 2006). In the case of South Africa it is one of the signals of the country having been accepted back into the ‘‘international fold’’, and it seems there is a perceived need to consolidate international relations through an enhanced public image. But noble objectives are not

enough, since in themselves they do not necessarily ensure that the inscription process includes critical analysis and assessments of how to realistically sustain the growth and development of WH Sites in the long term. Francesco Bandarin in *The Politics of World Heritage* (Harrison, H. and Hitchcock, M., 2005) notes that while the applications for WH status are made predominantly on the basis of conservation, problems arise with relatively new WH Sites, particularly those in less-developed countries that are anxious to acquire some of the developmental benefits of being listed, such as increased tourism. Increase in tourism brings with it advantages and disadvantages; but in the end it is not (as noted in previous chapters of this report) the communities closest to these sites that benefit the most. Tourism, which is referred to but not directly addressed in great depth in this report, is one of the main sources of income generation in both the nature and cultural heritage components of the Mapungubwe National Park and WHS. At present, the nature and wildlife components of the park generate more income than the WH Sites (SANParks, 2006). According to the SANParks new management plan, income generated from tourism promotes customer and stakeholder contribution to local development.

The ‘‘Tourism Draw Card’’, designed by national parks also contributes to promoting and enhancing contribution to local economies through the creation of numerous associated business opportunities that synergises with and enhances other local attractions, particularly if promoted in partnership with local businesses (SANParks, 2006). An example of this kind of initiative is the Local Benefit Expanded Public Works Programme, which channels government funding through national parks to very poor local communities by means of biodiversity, ecotourism, and infrastructure initiatives towards achieving government Poverty Alleviation objectives. These kinds of development that aim to economically empower and capacitate local communities in close proximity to national parks fulfils some of the WHC requirements with regards to ensuring that local communities close to WH Sites benefit from having such a resource in their localities. Although there are assumptions implicit in WHS listing requirements that there are local communities that claim ascendance to the lineage of a particular site, their ‘‘voices’’ are often not included in decisions regarding this ‘‘heritage’’ by management at WHS.

What are the future implications for sustainability at the Mapungubwe WHS in the light of some of the challenges to management that have been identified in this study? It is difficult to predict future

outcomes in the long and short term despite the hopeful outlook of interviewees, within the limited scope of this study. My perception from responses given by interviewees to questions suggests some level of confidence in the new SANParks corporate plan as a mechanism for galvanising the development of cultural heritage within the Mapungubwe National Park and WHS. The purpose of the new corporate plan in this regard is not contested. What is questionable is the ability to successfully implement it, particularly in view of the impediments that are evident from this study. Some of the key constraints identified include the dearth of expertise in the cultural heritage sector, weak support from governmental heritage authorities (which obscures lines of accountability and authority rendering them ineffective), poor implementation of legislation, and the remote location of the site which impacts on the willingness of the few candidates that are experienced to accept managerial positions in Mapungubwe. Short-term solutions such as increasing staff strength and improving existing infrastructure through upgrades were mentioned in the interviews but no permanent solutions were suggested.

In chapter two of this paper, UNESCO's role is clearly defined as being to facilitate the inscription process for states parties. The director of the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, Francesco Bandarin, notes that it is UNESCO's mission to help the 190 Member States in preparing their policies while reconsidering the relationship of tourism and cultural and environmental integrity, tourism and intercultural dialogue, and tourism and development (Harrison, H. and Hitchcock, M., 2005). He goes further to state that ''…UNESCO has no ''one size fits all'' management blueprint for how this may be achieved'' (Harrison, H. and Hitchcock, M., 2005). This statement emphasises that UNESCO's role does not include assisting State Parties to sustain and develop WHS once inscribed. Bandarin makes the point that negotiation is by definition a political act but it is a necessary step in the development and exchange of management strategies that will bridge the institutional gap between what is desirable and what actually happens. This suggests that the World Heritage Centre encourages and supports inscription processes because it motivates State Parties to give priority to development of WHS through conservation, and socio-economic policy instruments. These intentions appear to address some of the concerns that African stakeholders may have, the difficulty is perhaps in how States Parties ''prioritize'' whose heritage to ''conserve'' and ''develop'', as well as how these are translated into policies and subsequent implementation of these policies.

The Guidelines do seek to involve stakeholders in several different ways and strongly encourages a commitment to capacity building; however, UNESCO's inability to enforce implementation at the national level is a crucial limiting factor. As noted earlier on in this research report, UNESCO's WHConvention is a global standard-setting tool for cultural and natural heritage management and is therefore not a policy. Within the ambit of this research report it is difficult to predict with any confidence if the requirements from the WHC will be fulfilled at Mapungubwe. Although the WHC has stipulated that certain requirements are met within a time-frame of three years, for instance the incorporation of interpretive centres at the three main Mapungubwe sites, it is apparent that compliance is not stringently monitored. There is therefore a level of awareness that these requirements need to be met but there are also more pressing site-specific considerations, which might be given priority.

5.2. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to answer the underlying research question about how the objectives of the WHC's Integrated Management Plan speak to the management and implementation objectives of local policy frameworks, at the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape. This study provides, as previously indicated, some insight into the range of values as well as social, technological, ecological, economic, legal and political facts, conditions, causes and surroundings that define the circumstances relevant to Mapungubwe National Park and World Heritage Site and the context for decisions as well as important elements of the decision-making environment (SANParks, 2006). The current situation at the Mapungubwe National Park and WHS illustrates the tensions arising from adapting national policy to integrate/align with UNESCO's World Heritage Convention standards. As I have noted several times in this report the ability to comply with international requirements depends on the efficacy of national policy frameworks. It also speaks to questions raised earlier in reference to inscription processes at states level, and how much consideration is given to ensuring that existing infrastructure can support sustainable development at WH Sites in the long term. The policies are clearly in place in the case of South Africa; they are well constructed and structurally sound. The challenge appears to lie with implementation processes, which in most cases are not clearly defined. Another significant problem is the minimal level of interaction between management at WHS and national governing agencies as indicated in interviews in

chapter four, as well as the complex bureaucratic processes that do not provide adequate guidance for proper implementation of legislation by management at Mapungubwe.

It was quite surprising to learn from the cultural heritage resources manager at SANParks that the Mapungubwe World Heritage Site had still not been declared a WHS by the South African government despite having been approved for inscription by the WHC in July 2003. What are the implications of this delayed response for the future development of WH Sites in South Africa in general and Mapungubwe specifically? What kinds of interventions are needed to increase human resource and infrastructural capacity? The current tensions between DEAT and DAC speak to the ways in which political affiliations and objectives at national and to a lesser extent provincial levels can impact on access to funding of WH Sites. These are some of the key questions and observations that emerge from this study. Another observation with far reaching ramifications is that although UNESCO plays a significant role in providing guidelines for policy development for WH Sites, its influence on how these sites are managed is minimal. Is it necessary for UNESCO to wield greater influence on how WHC requirements are implemented, or should the privilege of World Heritage status be withheld until the WHC has ensured that the necessary structures and resources are in existence and functioning effectively? And that national government is proactively involved in promoting cultural heritage? There are a lot of questions that emerge from this study that require answers that can only be addressed through further research.

This study, however, shows that despite the best intentions of national government and management at WH Sites as exemplified by the Mapungubwe National Park and WH Sites in South Africa, as well as the praiseworthy ideals of the World Heritage Convention, and the best efforts of UNESCO to standardise the management of World Heritage Sites globally, there is still a long way to go. It is quite clear that the process of inscription is only the beginning of a very complex journey towards not only formulating good policies but also taking into consideration implementation and sustainable development of WH Sites, in South Africa in particular, as well as in other African States' Parties to the Convention that are grappling with similar issues. This perhaps highlights the need for African States' Parties to begin to think about alternative measures that are locally adaptable, to enable them fulfil WHC requirements and sustain growth at WH Sites within their territories. Such measures should include but not be limited to greater government

investment in training programmes for cultural heritage managers in collaboration with higher institutions in Africa and abroad, as well as transfer of skills and human resource exchanges between African States parties to the Convention and the broader African regions. Currently, a limited number of South African universities run such programmes but there is room for further development in terms of curriculum as well as more dynamic interaction with government institutions within the sector. Cultural heritage management should also be promoted as an attractive career choice with added incentives to encourage more applicants. There is also a need for more interaction between the few cultural heritage experts on the Continent, South Africa should be open to employing cultural heritage managers from other African states and vice versa, with a view to creating meaningful skills exchanges and increasing human resource capacity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

DISCLAIMER

All information in this research report regarding World Heritage Sites is a true reflection of the situation during the period in which this research report was concluded.

Primary Sources

Oral Interviews

All interviews conducted by Ijeoma Uche-Okeke

Interview One: 6th September 2006, at the Mapungubwe National Park and World Heritage Site, Limpopo Province, South Africa.

Interviewee: Mr. Nehemani Tshimangadzo - Parks Manager, Mapungubwe National Park, Limpopo Province

Interview Two: 6th September 2006, at the Mapungubwe National Park and World Heritage Site, Limpopo Province, South Africa.

Interviewee: Miss Paballo Mohafa – Cultural Heritage Manager, Mapungubwe WHS

Interview Three: 7th June 2007, at the SANParks head office in Pretoria, South Africa.

Interviewees: Mr. Edgar Neluvhalani, Cultural Heritage Resources Manager,
Mr. Kevin Moore, Social Science Research Manager, SANParks.

Internet Sources

1. BONIFACE, P. (1995). Managing Quality Cultural Tourism: Heritage: Care-Preservation-Management. http://www.unesco.org (Accessed 14 May 2007)

2. FOWLER, P. (2002). World Heritage Cultural Landscapes, 1992-2002: a review and prospect, Cultural Landscapes: the Challenges of Conservation World Heritage 2002,

Shared Legacy, Common Responsibility Associated Workshops. 11 – 12 November 2002 Ferrara – Italy. http://whc.unesco.org/venice2002 (Accessed 14 May 2007)

3. HALL, A. & LILLIE, A. (1993). The National Monuments Council and a Policy Providing Protection for the Cultural and Environmental Heritage, South African Historical Journal. http://www.unesco.org. (Accessed 14 May, 2007)

4. IUNC World Heritage Evaluation Report (2003). World Heritage Nomination – Technical Evaluation; Mapungubwe (South Africa). http://www.unesco.org (Accessed 19 May 2007)

5. JAMES, C. PETER. (2005). The Role of the ICOMOS in Cultural Tourism at World Heritage Sites. ICOMOS. http://www.unesco.org . (Accessed 19 May 2007)

6. KERZABI, A., HACHUB, H. & GARCIA, M. A. (1986). Rock Art in the Sahara: Conservation, Methodology & Management. http://www.unesco.org (Accessed 14 May 2007).

7. MUNJERI, D. (2002). Smart Partnerships: Cultural Landscape Issues in Africa, Cultural Landscapes: the Challenges of Conservation. World Heritage 2002. Shared Legacy Common Responsibility Associated Workshops 11–12 November 2002 Ferrara - Italy http://whc.unesco.org/venice2002. (Accessed 14 May 2007)

8. SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL PARKS (2006). Mapungubwe National Park, Park Management Plan. http://www.sanparks.gov.za

9. WORLD HERITAGE CONSERVATION ACT (1999). http://www.polity.org.za/html/govdocs/legislation/1999/act49.pdf (Accessed 19 May 2007)

Secondary Sources

Unpublished Papers

1. BONNER, P. & CARRUTHERS, E. J. (2003). The Recent History of the Mapungubwe Area. Mapungubwe Cultural Heritage Resources Survey. Unpublished report commissioned by the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism: Funded by the Norwegian Government.

2. COORDINATED POLICY FRAMEWORK GOVERNING PARK MANAGEMENT PLANS. (2006). South African National Parks, Pretoria.

Published Papers/Reports

1. A GLOBAL OVERVIEW OF PROTECTED AREAS ON THE WORLD HERITAGE LIST OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE FOR BIODIVERSITY. (2000). UNEP World Conservation Monitoring Centre Cambridge United Kingdom.

2. CAMERON, C. (2005). Evaluation of IUCN's Work in World Heritage Nominations: Parks Canada.

3. CARRUTHERS, J. (2006). Mapungubwe: An Historical and Contemporary Analysis of a World Heritage Cultural Landscape. Pretoria. *Koedeo 49 (1): 1-13.* Pretoria. ISSN 0075 – 6458.

4. DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL AFFAIRS AND TOURISM (DEAT). (2002). *Mapungubwe World Heritage Site Nomination*. Pretoria: Government Press

5. DRAFT UNESCO DECLARATION CONCERNING THE INTENTIONAL DESTRUCTION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE. (2003). General Conference 32nd Session, Paris.

6. GREENE, S.E. (1998). Developing the Arts for Development: Perspectives on Ghana. Africa Notes: Cornell University.

7. ICOMOS (2003). Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape Evaluation Document.

8. LOWENTHAL, D. (2005). Natural and Cultural Heritage. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*. 11 (1): 81 – 92.

9. NATIONAL HERITAGE RESOURCES ACT 25 (1999). Government Gazette. Pretoria.

10. NELUVHALANI, E. (2006). Sustainable Management of Cultural Heritage Places. Africa 2009 Conference. Ethiopia: UNESCO.

11. SHEMDEN-SIMISON, G. (2005). The Integrated Approach in Cultural Tourism Towards Guidelines Communicating a Protected Heritage. ICOMOS.

12. THE WORLD HERITAGE LIST: Filling in the Gaps- an Action Plan for the Future. (2005) Monuments and Sites: Volume XII.

13. UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ORGANISATION (2005). Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention. WHC. 05/2. World Heritage Centre: Paris.

14. UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ORGANISATION (1972). Convention Concerning the Protection of the world Cultural and Natural Heritage.

15. VOIGT, E.A. (1983). *Mapungubwe: An Archaeozoological Interpretation of an Iron Age Community.* Pretoria: Transvaal Museum Monograph No. 1.

16. WALSH, K. (1992). The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post-Modern World. London: Routledge.

17. WARREN, J. (1993). Earthen Architecture: The Conservation of Brick and Earth Structures. ICOMOS.

18. WHITE PAPER ON ARTS, CULTURE AND HERITAGE. (1996). All Our Legacies, Our Common Future, Paper by Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Pretoria.

19. WOOD, M. H. (2005). Glass Beads and Pre-European Trade in the Shashe-Limpopo Region, MA thesis, Wits University.

20. WORLD HERITAGE CONVENTION. 1972. *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.* Paris: UNESCO.

Published Books

1. CAMPSCHREUR, W. & DIVENDAL, J. (1989). Culture in Another South Africa. London: Zed Books.

3. COOMBES, A. E. (2004). History After Apartheid, Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

4. CRESWELL, J. W. (2003). Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative & Mixed Methods Approaches. London: Sage.

5. DUELAND, P. (2003). The Nordic Cultural Model. Copenhagen: Nordic Cultural Institutes.

6. HARRISON, D and HITCHCOCK, M. (2005). The Politics of World Heritage: Negotiating Tourism and Conservation. Great Britain: Cromwell Press.

7. HUFFMAN, T. N. (2005). Mapungubwe: Ancient African Civilisation on the Limpopo. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

8. LEASK, A. and FYALL, A. (2006). Managing World Heritage Sites. United Kingdom: Butterworth-Heinemann.

9. MARSHALL, C., and ROSMAN, G.B. (1999). Design Qualitative Research. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

10. MERRIAM, S.B. (1998). Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

11. MILES, M.B., and HUBERMANN, A.M. (1994). Qualitative Data Analysis. California: Sage Publications.

12. MILLER, T. & YÚDICE, G. (2002). Cultural Policy. London: Sage Publications.

13. NUTTAL, S. & COETZEE, C. (2002). Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

14. RANGER, T. (1999). Voices from the Rocks: Nature, Culture and History in the Matopos Hills of Zimbabwe. Harare: Baobab; Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press and Oxford: James Currey.

15. SCHATZMAN, L., and STRAUSS, A.L. (1973). Field Research: Strategies for a Natural Sociology. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

16. TOURISM AT WORLD HERITAGE CULTURAL SITES: The Sites Manager's Handbook. (1993). International Scientific Committee on Cultural Tourism. Colombo: ICOMOS.

17. WALIMAN, N. (2001). Your Research Project: A Step-By-Step Guide for the First-Time Researcher. London: Sage.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

TRANSCRIPTIONS OF ORAL INTERVIEWS

INTERVIEW ONE

Ijeoma: You were recently appointed as Manager to Mapungubwe National Park from your former position as manager at Robben Island, could you please tell me what motivated your appointment and some of the issues that you think are similar to those at Robben Island?

Nehemani Tshimangadzo:

The reason why I took this job? It is close to my home. RIM (Robben Island Museum) where I worked previously is a World Heritage Site and Mapungubwe is also a WHS, which is an advantage in terms of my profile and future career development. Before working at RIM where I spent three years as the senior heritage officer, I was at Kruger National Park and the Cradle of Mankind for three years consecutively. Here I am the Park Manager of a WHS for the first time in my career, in the sense that I am in charge of a WHS that gives me an advantage in terms of taking charge of a WHS, which is a very big challenge. The other thing is that Mapungubwe is quite different from RIM, in the sense that this is a site that is about a society that lived a long time ago as opposed to RIM where people that were against the apartheid government were incarcerated and punished. It was a kingdom with a community that was not forced to leave but that disintegrated due to natural conditions, the reasons are not very clear but through archaeological research thought to be from drought or succession wars. Mapungubwe is a site that is connected to a number of other sites north of the Limpopo River. There are more than fifteen to twenty sites in this area that are dry stone walls or sacred sites north of the Limpopo River that are related to Great Zimbabwe; meaning that there is a relationship between the people in South Africa, Botswana and Zimbabwe in terms of previous settlements. It is a great opportunity to be here. I am also writing a proposal for my PhD that focuses on these historical aspects. I hope to do a lot of research in Tswane and Zimbabwe.

Ijeoma: A Parks Manager with the qualifications that are attached to that position managed Mapungubwe National Park in its former life as a national park; your experience in the field of cultural heritage is possibly one of the reasons for your appointment. Can you explain to me the responsibilities that come with your position and how this links to the World Heritage component of the park?

Nehemani Tshimangadzo:
I got this job not only because of previous experience but also qualifications. I was one of the first people with cultural heritage qualifications having studied cultural heritage management at University of the Witwatersrand and University of Pretoria. I was in the first group of students that graduated from the Arts and Cultural Management programme at Wits. I am also one of the few people that have worked in a number of WHS. Mapungubwe is a unique site (due to the cultural and natural components within the park) which is why I was appointed as the Park Manager, my qualifications and experience in two high profile WHS provides the background and experience needed for the position. My experience is an advantage because as you know SANParks is a strong conservation institution. The cultural resource management aspect is coming through strongly, although more work needs to be done to strengthen it. There is still a low level of acceptance from management of SANParks but the awareness is increasing.

Ijeoma: I understand that the three main Mapungubwe World Heritage sites are protected under the NAHRA Act 25 of 1999 and managed by SAHRA, how do you interact with these various legislations, and what government agencies do you report to?

Nehemani Tshimangadzo:
There's specific focus, I have the overall responsibility of managing Mapungubwe both as a nature park and WHS. My job is to ensure everything is in place for running a national park as well as a cultural heritage site. All systems are in place to generate revenue according to the Convention on Biodiversity in a responsible way. SANParks is the national management authority for national parks and we work in line with national and international legislations such as the WHC and SAWHCA (South African World Heritage Convention Act of 1999). SANParks reports to DEAT currently so we are under that umbrella. I work in accordance with the SANParks organogram to ensure that the site is adequately protected while promoting the cultural heritage aspects of the park. As well as making sure the structure of the organogram is suitable for managing the complex integration of cultural heritage and conservation within the park. Mapungubwe WHS is managed by DEAT but there is a move to migrate to DAC (Department of Arts and Culture), which manages all natural and cultural heritage sites in South Africa at the moment. There might possibly be a new legislation to put all cultural heritage sites under DAC and natural sites under DEAT. We work closely with the management of Limpopo Heritage Agency, as well as the SAHRA Limpopo provincial department that is a different entity from the former. Heritage sites are managed by three key agencies SAHRA, DEAT and DAC.

Ijeoma: I was not aware that SANParks had a Cultural Heritage Resources Manager - Edgar Neluvhalani - or a Social Science Research Manager until I met Kevin Moore. I read that a number of the recommendations made by the WHC are already being implemented, for instance the employment of a Cultural Heritage Manager, the Interpretation Centre which is still under construction, and providing interpretative signage for the three main World Heritage sites of Mapungubwe. How is this process evolving and what difficulties have you noted in the execution of such recommendations?

Nehemani Tshimangadzo:
In terms of the WHC requirements; we would like to accelerate development in that area. At this point SANParks is working on developing a park management plan as well as an integrated transfrontier park plan involving Botswana and Zimbabwe creating one integrated plan. We are working on a tri-lateral plan with these two countries. There are also plans to establish a transfrontier park, to do that we need a tri-lateral committee to coordinate work on that. With regards to the cultural heritage manager, I work directly with her and we are in the process of mapping out her duties. She is required to draw up a monthly schedule of duties which I assist her with and oversee its implementation. The Cultural Heritage Resources Manager also requires her to send a monthly progress report.

Ijeoma: What is the level of interaction between surrounding local communities and the WH Sites?

Nehemani Tshimangadzo:
There are municipalities and local communities in close proximity to the park like Makhado, Musina, Thoyando and Alldays. They interact with the park and we try to ensure that all communities are equally represented in the park forum. Apart from this in terms of employment, we advertise jobs in the immediate communities within our locality to fulfil the requirements by the WHC to generate jobs for local communities and involve them in the WH components of the park. I have instituted that we must advertise vacancies in the local communities first.

Ijeoma: How successfully is the Integrated Management Plan being implemented?

Nehemani Tshimangadzo:
It is already being implemented but there is a need to harmonize the Integrated Management Plan (IMP) as required by the WHC with the SANParks Management Plan, as well as plans to review the IMP to integrate Botswana and Zimbabwe's conservation plans.

INTERVIEW TWO

Ijeoma: Ms. Mohafa you were appointed the Cultural Heritage Manager in fulfilment of WHC requirements, what exactly does your job entail?

Paballo Mohafa:
Basically what I do is monitoring of the cultural and archaeological sites, meaning the cultural heritage and rock art sites within the park of which there are more than a hundred documented rock art sites. My job is to monitor these sites and draw up effective monitoring plans for the sites. There are over 460 archaeological sites situated in the park.

Ijeoma: I am assuming you have been asked to draw up an action plan, a strategy on how you will proceed, can you share these plans with me?

Paballo Mohafa:
Not really because this is a new position. I am trying to get organised and to gather all the relevant information I can, this has been a challenge as information is not readily available. My aim is to proceed from getting the information to using it to determine what needs to be done and how to go about it. My action plan is to survey the sites that haven't been surveyed yet and the rest of the cultural landscape, as well as some of the other areas that have not been documented or mapped. Also to increase the potential of cultural heritage within the park and explore the as yet untapped potential resources within the park which need to be brought to public attention.

Ijeoma: At this stage I can see that you are basically working alone; it must be a relief to have a park manager that is experienced in cultural heritage management?

Paballo Mohafa:
A big advantage because the park manager is a cultural heritage specialist. Previously, we had park managers that are more experienced in environmental management. His experience is a bonus particularly for me. Within SANParks as an organization, cultural heritage has not been in the limelight.

Ijeoma: What motivated you to apply for this job given that you don't have the required experience?

Paballo Mohafa:
I applied for the job after my honors. It was my first job interview fresh out of school. I was not really expecting to be considered. I was surprised when I got a call a couple of months later informing me that I got the job. I anticipate that there will be new developments but currently, it is a challenge to define what my responsibilities entail. I am hopeful that with the new park manager, this situation will be greatly improved. I am learning a lot and I hope to grow further as my responsibilities become more defined.

Ijeoma: What has your experience been so far in the discharge of your daily responsibilities, what obstacles have you encountered, where do you think improvements are required and what would you recommend?

Paballo Mohafa:
I report to the park manager who is my immediate boss, then to Edgar Neluvhalani who is the Cultural Heritage Resources Manager for all national parks. The parks are divided into regions – the regional coordinator for Mapungubwe is in Golden Gate in the Free State. We are within that cluster. In cases where there is a development I report to SAHRA (national agency) so they can intervene. I have no direct contact with DEAT. SANParks reports to DEAT at the end of every year. I have been here for eight months now and it has been very hard. The previous park manager left in March (2006) and was mainly a conservationist. There was no one to direct me within the park from March until June. I had to communicate any questions or problems to Edgar directly at the head office in Pretoria. The new park manager Mr. Tshimangadzo resumed office in June (2006).

This made things easier for me as I could now report directly to him. I also face the problem of insufficient staff. I am the only staff in the cultural heritage department presently. The department that I work under - People and Conservation - is being reorganized. Cultural Heritage is a growing sector in SANParks and because it has been a predominantly conservation-focused organization, the few staff working with me are nature guides. This presents a challenge for me since these guides are not trained in cultural heritage. There are conflicts as to who the tour guides report to, the tourism manager or myself.

In addition I am responsible for the school groups that participate in our educational programmes. In August alone 2, 898 learners came through the park. A People and Conservation Manager is meant to handle these groups, that position has not been filled as yet though it is in process. This means that I have to take on those duties as well. I also conduct guided tours for tourists. The cultural heritage department does not have volunteers (students on internships) like they do in the nature conservation department to assist, this would have helped to supplement for the lack of staff. We need more staff and upgrades of all IT equipment. Currently office space is a challenge but with the development of the interpretive center there will be a consortium of office blocks, hopefully this will help. Management is still in the process of employing a People and Conservation officer; I am not certain how long the process will take. More attention should be paid to the cultural heritage aspects within the park. I anticipate that there will be positive improvements in the near future, particularly in light of SANParks new corporate plan. Attention needs to be paid to keeping up the status of being a WHS and recommendations from the WHC need to be implemented. The interpretive center is yet to be built even though money has already been allocated for construction from DEAT through the Poverty Relief Project.

Ijeoma: Do you have any background training in archaeology?

Paballo Mohafa:
I did not major in archaeology but I did it as part of my coursework as an undergraduate.

INTERVIEW THREE

Ijeoma: When did SANParks begin to factor cultural heritage into its corporate plan and how has that impacted on its organisational aims and objectives?

Edgar:
In terms of the corporate plan, it is basically two years old and has become more integrated with the introduction of the balance scorecard**,** which refers to what we want to achieve as an organisation. When I came into SANParks three years ago the organisation was really focusing more on developing policies, programmes and projects that were not corporate-oriented. With the balanced score card, which emerged from a review of corporate policy we now have clear aims and objectives. This presented new challenges in terms of what we wanted to achieve as an organisation. We really started examining our values as an organisation, developing the balance scorecard as a means of incorporating cultural heritage into our conservation objectives, thus shifting the focus from conservation only to developing cultural heritage objectives and incorporating these into core organisational objectives. There is a high level of awareness of the

need to embrace cultural heritage within the National Parks, which is strongly reflected in our new corporate plan and mission statement. This awareness has contributed to our corporate profile in terms of outcomes regarding what we want to achieve with the balance scorecard. These new developments will determine present and future implementation of cultural heritage objectives. Corporately things are almost there in terms of implementing our cultural heritage programmes.

Ijeoma: What is your role as Cultural Heritage Resources Manager for SANParks?

Edgar:
My role is to implement cultural heritage programmes focusing more on developing programmes and overseeing implementation of policy requirements, not really on project implementation for now. The present lack of staff makes it difficult to focus on implementing programmes. There are a lot of programmes/projects that are yet to be implemented. These present a lot of hurdles and challenges in coordinating the various aspects of my job. I am also required to participate in a number of committees working on various projects within and outside the organisation and this is time consuming. But basically my brief is to develop policy and oversee implementation to an extent.

Ijeoma: In what areas and/or instances do your jobs intersect?

Kevin:
My job is to promote and coordinate all social science research within the organisation, of which cultural heritage is only one component. Social science research is as broad as one would like to take it. Anthropology, sociology, history, and archaeology are all aspects that I try to promote. When Edgar and I collaborate, it is obviously around cultural heritage programmes and/or projects, around history, archaeology, anthropology and sociology.

Edgar:
We fall under a division called People and Conservation, which deals with community-based development as part of its function and mandate. Projects include community activities, conservation-based community initiatives, environmental education, youth development programmes – which play a big part in what we do – and have projects and programmes dedicated to youth development and education. Over 80,000 learners come through SANParks on a yearly basis. There is a lot of research needed to develop our educational programmes, which is a key area of the division. The whole focus of People and Conservation - the sociological aspects – community, cultural heritage and sociological issues is what Kevin's department is centred on. We have a larger department that deals with natural science research that is well funded and well staffed. Kevin takes care of all social aspects of research, which is quite a challenge.

Ijeoma: To what extent is SANParks involved in the on-going archaeological research at Mapungubwe?

Kevin:
Until two years ago research focus in SANParks was centred mostly on ecology, botany and geology. Over a period of seventy odd years, archaeology was seen as a science – biophysical, environmental and ecological type of work. A lot of archaeological research has been done. Mapungubwe goes back to the 1930's.You will notice that a lot of work has been done specifically in research that was previously focused on the biophysical environment. The challenge is that we see that we cannot operate research without the human aspect. Authorities at National Parks have realised over time that we need to include a human dimension to the research component of the organisation. It is not possible to operate the parks without incorporating the local human landscape, particularly with regards to addressing the poverty in communities around our parks. As an organisation we have embraced this challenge and have worked hard to incorporate human elements within our parks systems. DEAT, the ministry we report to have signed certain international protocols and agreements that focus on some of these areas, which compel SANParks to change its focus to include social sciences. We have realised in terms of scientific research that archaeology is not entirely representative of the landscape and needs to include anthropology. We still have a strong natural science focus, my role is to open it up to other kinds of research and create opportunities for more social focused research, encouraging researchers to come in and do research around the social sciences. Related to what I was saying earlier and because of the type of research that took place earlier that was invasive and the first ''researchers'' that were predominantly gold-diggers looking for the gold artefacts that were buried on the Mapungubwe site. This I think is the fault of history. We don't want to see any more invasive types of research in SANParks. The impact on research is that we are very careful about the types of research we allow due to the WHS status. I think in time (it is still early days) your type of research will increase in National Parks, where people will come to do research (in Mapungubwe) because of its WH status.

Edgar:
I think research in that area is also related to Mapungubwe's WH status and has given a lot of exposure and encouraged initiatives to raise its profile even more. Also coupled with the history of suppression of the history of Mapungubwe and the perceptions of the communities related to the sites. Awareness about the history of the site has been raised due to the proliferation of research and due to its WH status, the implications on research is that more care is being taken now because there is the knowledge that if it is destroyed it cannot be replaced. We try to control the kinds of research that gets done, as Kevin mentioned earlier, and sometimes we have to turn down research proposals. Community awareness has also created tensions in terms of people being aware of what was there, particularly with regards to elements of unwanted memories relating to removal of human remains and artefacts. The story has not always been pretty between custodians and local communities. These issues are being addressed now with the plan to rebury human remains.

Ijeoma: I understand that the WHC requires an Integrated Management Plan, what factors were taken into consideration when it was being drawn up and how successfully is it being implemented?

Edgar:
Some of the WHC requirements are currently being addressed within our integrated management plan that incorporates the IMP into SANParks overall corporate strategy. Creating awareness and sensitising communities in close proximity to the site has been a problem. The challenge has been that communities are far-placed geographically from the park (Mapungubwe), which has meant that involvement has been an effort. It is difficult to bring communities from Venda, Musina, Alldays and surrounding environs into the park. Also destructive research and lack of information has left a sense of invasiveness among communities. These are some of the problems that have affected greater interaction with local communities in close proximity to the sites. Another factor is that we lack a specialised on-site archaeologist on the staff of Mapungubwe. Another area where SANParks faces difficulties is in providing employment for local communities in spite of the participation in terms of archaeological site work programmes, requiring employment of locals as site hands at not very high salaries but towards contributing to and creating employment opportunities. There is also not enough exposure to the sites and its history. The majority out of the communities who have access to the sites are learners through our educational programmes and initiatives. We are however short staffed presently and this impacts on our ability to provide adequate numbers of educational tours. There are plans to develop an interpretive centre – a major project for this year – as well as things like craft as an off-shoot to stimulate small-scale enterprise within the communities.

Kevin:
Mapungubwe is also in the school curriculum, which is an advantage for children in this area as they get to interact directly with their history.

Ijeoma: Who initiated the application for World Heritage Status for Mapungubwe?

Edgar:
There used to be an ATG (Archaeological Task Group) that was disbanded just after I came in due to political tensions. There was also low attendance from communities. It had a majority of archaeologists and the other members could not engage with the technical aspects of the discussion. A Park forum was formed instead that focused more on the research committee working through the park forum. The bid for WH status was initiated by the ATG; a coordinator from the National Parks facilitated this as a member of the task group. They put together a proposal that facilitated the process through research assistance from experts at ICOMOS and IUCN. UNESCO takes up the responsibility of giving support to States Parties applying for WH status through these means. Also there were tensions between Wits and University of Pretoria due to Pretoria having done a lot of the initial archaeological work at Mapungubwe. When I came in Professor Meyer had just resigned from the ATG. University of Pretoria did most of the research and started the process.

Ijeoma: Why did SANParks decide to employ a young lady fresh out of school with little experience for the position of Cultural Heritage Manager at Mapungubwe?

Edgar:
A difficult question. The challenge was that a decision had been made to put a black person in the position due to several reasons; the obvious cultural heritage aspects made it necessary to employ someone with local background, language and culture. There were very strong applicants, one from SAHRA – national agency – who got a better offer from his employer and the other one also from SAHRA, Limpopo Province. Our black candidates disappointed us, in the sense that they both declined our offer of employment in the end. I wanted to bring in a gentleman from Zimbabwe but there was a lot of in-house politics. In the end we decided to take this young lady, and create opportunities for her to learn more; gain experience on the job. We also saw that there would be a lot of research in that area (cultural aspects of the site) and this will give her opportunities to interact with researchers and gain some experience, which is a way of increasing capacity. This however speaks to the dearth of experts in the area/field of culture heritage in South Africa, and the need to train more cultural heritage managers. This is also why we motivated for a Park Manager with cultural heritage background. The question is will he stay there long and whether he will be able to build capacity. The dual nature of his role presents challenges as well. Hopefully we will be looking into building capacity and building up these areas that are lacking.

Ijeoma: Have you explored the possibilities of initiating internships in collaboration with the Arts, Culture and Management programmes at Wits University for instance?

Edgar:
This is an idea we can entertain. I am sure Mr. Moore would be interested. He is also facing challenges with his GIH programme the remoteness of the area creates a lot of challenges to getting staff. Researchers are the most keen to go there.

Ijeoma: Do administrative and management structures at this site support institutional infrastructures and what difference(s) has the introduction of WHC policies made to existing policy frameworks and its implementation?

Edgar:

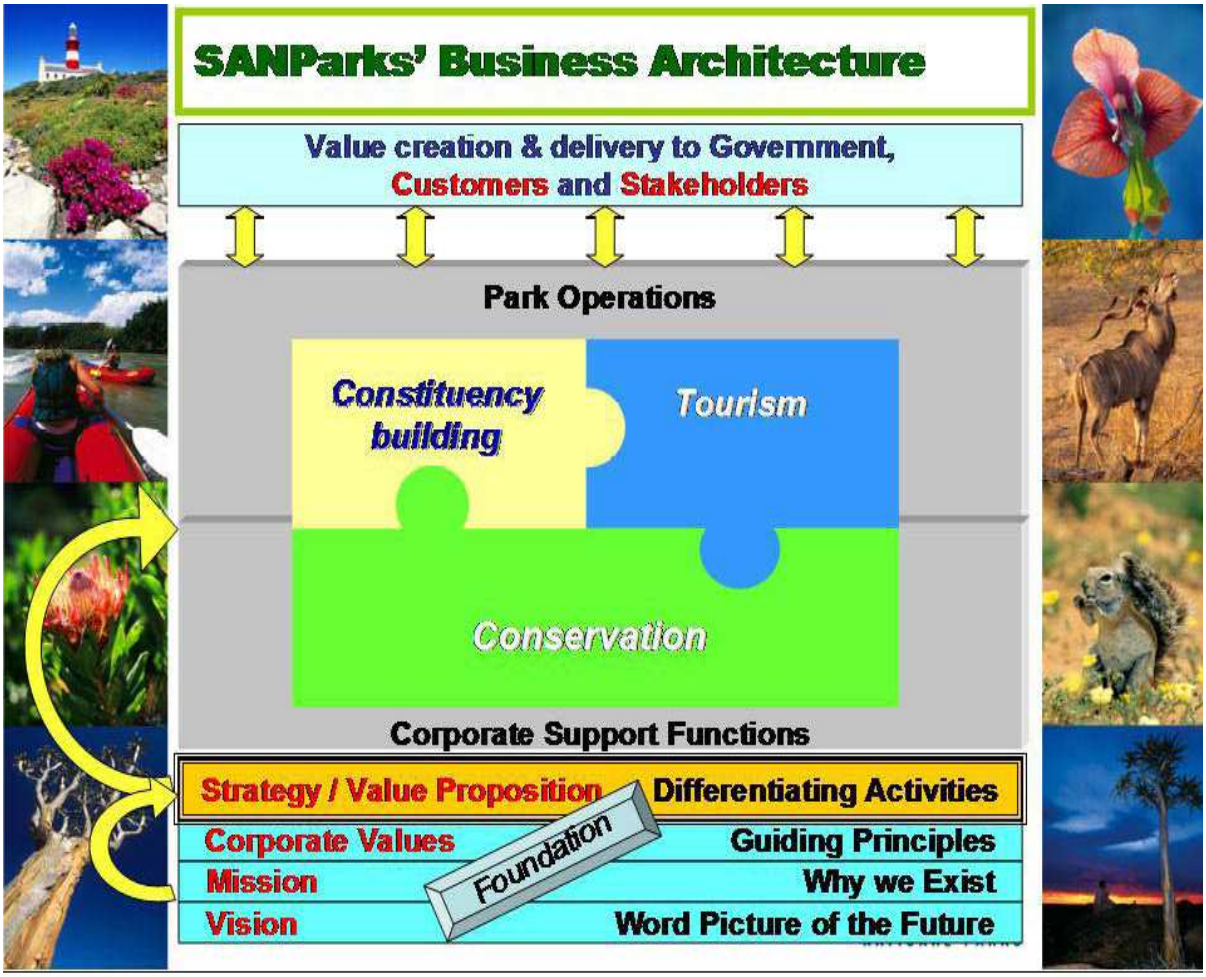
WH policies have enabled SANParks to focus more on cultural heritage management in a bigger way than before. The new responsibility for managing WHS has highlighted the need for SANParks to respond accordingly; however much still needs to be done in terms of appointing suitably qualified personnel to enable implementation of some of the management imperatives. In terms of administrative structures; issues raised earlier about experience of management is a critical one. Also in terms of corporate understanding of cultural heritage. I was having a conversation earlier today with our communications department about featuring the WHS not just the park. We don't even have UNESCO mentioned in our informational brochures.

Ijeoma: To what extent is SANParks involved in the implementation of WHC requirements and what government structures are in place to support these goals?

Edgar:
The appointment of a park manager who is a heritage practitioner and a heritage officer marks a change for SANParks in comparison with other national parks and in the history of the organization. Much still needs to be done, however.

APPENDIX B

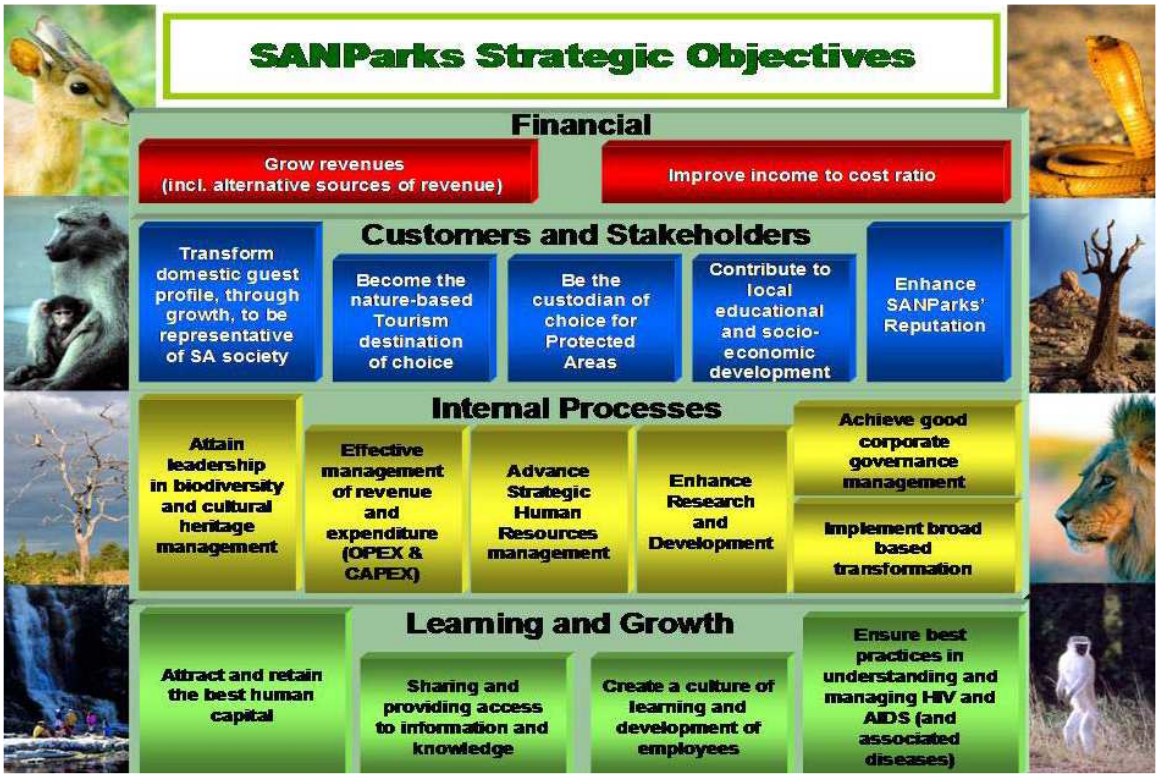
SANParks ORGANOGRAM



Reproduced from SANParks Management Plan Policy Framework, 22 July 2006

APPENDIX C

SANParks Strategic Management Map



Reproduced from SANParks Management Plan Policy Framework, 22 July 2006

The SANParks' Value Proposition has been translated into the key BSC strategic objectives. These strategic objectives are categorised into the four focus areas of the Balanced Score Card (BSC), namely:

- Financial
- Customers and Stakeholders
- Internal Processes
- Learning and Growth

APPENDIX D

Map of Mapungubwe National Park and World Heritage Sites

Figure 5: Map indicating the De Beers servitudes.

Reproduced from SANParks Management Plan Policy Framework, 22 July 2006

Map showing locations and boundaries of the Mapungubwe National Park and World Heritage Sites, including the proposed Transfrontier Park areas.

APPENDIX E

Excerpts from the Operational Guidelines for the Convention concerning the Implementation of World Heritage Sites.

Some of the key management areas addressed in the Mapungubwe Parks Management Plan as set out in the Operational Guidelines are highlighted below. In particular the definitions of the different categories that define World Heritage. The Mapungubwe World Heritage Site is defined as a cultural landscape as previously mentioned in the introductory chapter. The definition below gives further details about why it was characterized under that criterion and clarifies some of the issues that are discussed in this study.

c)	integrate heritage protection into comprehensive planning programmes;	
d)	establish services for the protection, conservation and presentation of the heritage;	
e)	develop scientific and technical studies to identify actions that would counteract the dangers that threaten the heritage;	
f)	take appropriate legal, scientific, technical, administrative and financial measures to protect the heritage;	
g)	foster the establishment or development of national or regional centres for training in the protection, conservation and presentation of the heritage and encourage scientific research in these fields;	
h)	not take any deliberate measures that directly or indirectly damage their heritage or that of another State Party to the *Convention*;	Article 6(3) of the *World Heritage Convention*.
i)	submit to the World Heritage Committee an inventory of properties suitable for inscription on the World Heritage List (referred to as a Tentative List);	Article 11(1) of the *World Heritage Convention*.
j)	make regular contributions to the World Heritage Fund, the amount of which is determined by the General Assembly of States Parties to the *Convention*;	Article 16(1) of the *World Heritage Convention*.
k)	consider and encourage the establishment of national, public and private foundations or associations to facilitate donations for the protection of World Heritage;	Article 17 of the *World Heritage Convention*.
l)	give assistance to international fund-raising campaigns organized for the World Heritage Fund;	Article 18 of the *World Heritage Convention*.
m)	use educational and information programmes to strengthen appreciation and respect by their peoples of the cultural and natural heritage defined in Articles 1 and 2 of the *Convention*, and to keep the public informed of the dangers threatening this heritage;	Article 27 of the *World Heritage Convention*.
(n)	provide information to the World Heritage Committee on the implementation of the *World Heritage Convention* and state of conservation of properties; and	Article 29 of the *World Heritage Convention*. Resolution adopted by the 11th General Assembly of States Parties (1997)

II.A Definition of World Heritage

Cultural and Natural Heritage

45. Cultural and natural heritage are defined in Articles 1 and 2 of the *World Heritage Convention*.

Article 1

For the purposes of this Convention, the following shall be considered as "cultural heritage";
- monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;
- groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;
- sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and of man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view.

Article 2

For the purposes of this Convention, the following shall be considered as "natural heritage":
- natural features consisting of physical and biological formations or groups of such formations, which are of outstanding universal value from the aesthetic or scientific point of view;
geological and physiographical formations and precisely delineated areas which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation;
- natural sites or precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty.

Mixed Cultural and Natural Heritage

46. Properties shall be considered as "mixed cultural and natural heritage" if they satisfy a part or the whole of the definitions

of both cultural and natural heritage laid out in Articles 1 and 2 of the *Convention*.

Cultural landscapes

47. Cultural landscapes are cultural properties and represent the "combined works of nature and of man" designated in Article 1 of the *Convention*. They are illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal. Annex 3

II.F Protection and management

96. Protection and management of World Heritage properties should ensure that the outstanding universal value, the conditions of integrity and/or authenticity at the time of inscription are maintained or enhanced in the future.

97. All properties inscribed on the World Heritage List must have adequate long-term legislative, regulatory, institutional and/or traditional protection and management to ensure their safeguarding. This protection should include adequately delineated boundaries. Similarly States Parties should demonstrate adequate protection at the national, regional, municipal, and/or traditional level for the nominated property. They should append appropriate texts to the nomination with a clear explanation of the way this protection operates to protect the property.

Legislative, regulatory and contractual measures for protection

98. Legislative and regulatory measures at national and local levels should assure the survival of the property and its protection against development and change that might negatively impact the outstanding universal value, or the integrity and/or authenticity of the property. States Parties should also assure the full and effective implementation of such measures.

Boundaries for effective protection

99. The delineation of boundaries is an essential requirement in

Management systems

108. Each nominated property should have an appropriate management plan or other documented management system which should specify how the outstanding universal value of a property should be preserved, preferably through participatory means.

109. The purpose of a management system is to ensure the effective protection of the nominated property for present and future generations.

110. An effective management system depends on the type, characteristics and needs of the nominated property and its cultural and natural context. Management systems may vary according to different cultural perspectives, the resources available and other factors. They may incorporate traditional practices, existing urban or regional planning instruments, and other planning control mechanisms, both formal and informal.

111. In recognizing the diversity mentioned above, common elements of an effective management system could include:

a) a thorough shared understanding of the property by all stakeholders;

b) a cycle of planning, implementation, monitoring, evaluation and feedback;

c) the involvement of partners and stakeholders;

d) the allocation of necessary resources;

e) capacity-building; and

f) an accountable, transparent description of how the management system functions.

112. Effective management involves a cycle of long-term and day-to-day actions to protect, conserve and present the nominated property.