Buffalo City Metropolitan Tourism Infrastructure Master Plan (Heritage)

prepared by

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PART ONE: A NEW PATH FOR HERITAGE TOURISM IN BUFFALO CITY

1. Introduction: Forging A New Strategic Direction for Heritage Tourism in Buffalo City

In October 2016, the United Nations (UN) launched its Habitat III global initiative on the future of cities at a conference in Ecuador. In preparation for this event, various research processes and papers were developed to help the world body understand and determine the current state of cities and to explore new initiatives for sustainable development. Among the many interesting findings was the recognition that culture, heritage and the creative industries now accounted for more than 20% of the global urban economy, which in turn made up more than 80% of the total world economy.

Cities that develop a distinct sense of place and are able to promote a positive sense of belonging, culture and identity, it was found, are more likely to succeed economically and socially than those places which do not develop a strong sense of place and fail to invest in cultural institutions and facilities. Investment in a place's identity and culture, which stems from its heritage, is no longer a luxury, to be embarked upon when there are surplus resources, it is a necessity in city-building.

In Buffalo City in the Eastern Cape, where tourism is declining, the Buffalo City Development Agency (BCMDA) engaged the HSRC's Place-making and Development team to assist them with an urgent assessment of the heritage sector in the city, which could be fed into the new municipal tourism master plan. As with the university-city project that had been jointly undertaken by the council and the agency, HSRC's place-making team held extensive discussions before deciding on the shape that the assignment should take. It was agreed that the new project, which began in February 2019 and is ongoing, should both review the sector and make a clear contribution to assisting the city in finding its own "unique" identity, including by recommending actions that should be taken to strengthen the municipality's "soft" knowledge infrastructure and "hard" physical infrastructure in support of the sector.

1.1 The colonial legacy and the coelacanth

When HSRC's place-making team arrived in Buffalo City in April 2019 to assess the heritage sector, it found that the East London Museum was running a special exhibition in its foyer on how it had celebrated, over the years, the discovery of the coelacanth, a curious prehistoric fish which was found off the coast of East London in 1938. In the late 1930s, when the frontiers of natural science were expanding and fascination with evolutionary thinking was at its height, finds such as the coelacanth were seen to be of enormous scientific importance globally, pointing to previously hidden evolutionary genealogies and lines of species development. There was understandable excitement at that time. Accordingly, this prehistoric fish, which was identified as special by Marjorie Courtenay-Latimer, who played a key role in the establishment of the museum, and which was classified by JB Smith, a Rhodes University ichthyologist, caused quite a stir and became the main attraction at the museum.

However, times have moved on and this fishy throwback to the age of the dinosaurs is no longer as culturally significant as it once was, notwithstanding its zoological interest. In this context, the East London Museum's effort to remember the remembrance of the coelacanth in a "temporary" exhibition which has

been in place for more than a year may be viewed as indicative of a wider crisis in the cultural tourism and heritage sector in the city-region.

At the East London Museum, the main challenge is that this institution has remained trapped by its own history. In the past, the East London museum was seen as an important educational institution which gathered, stored, displayed and contextualised material objects and artefacts related to the natural and human history of the region. The overriding narrative that defined and organised the collections and displays in this facility were and remain a colonial discourse of social and natural evolution. This discourse, with its emphasis on the importance of evolution, was anchored by the pre-historic fish in the natural history section of the museum. But this narrative has also shaped how the human history of the city-region was and is presented there. On the one hand, the museum features dioramas which show the traditional culture of the Xhosa people and other tribes. These are rendered in a way which emphasises the "timelessness" of African cultural traditions as if these are actual features of the natural landscape of the Eastern Cape rather than aspects of its human history. By contrast, the real-history makers in the museum's narrative are the 19th century German and British settler pioneers, whose ingenuity, technology, persistence and determination is presented as having brought "progress" and modernity to a troubled frontier. A quarter of a century after the introduction of democracy, a combination of chronic underfunding and some laissez-faire policies in the heritage sector in the Eastern Cape and in South Africa more widely has left this institution frozen in time – at about the moment that it became a popular attraction in the white settler-dominated city of the 1930s and 1940s – just as the contemporary city-region urgently needs to redefine its place in the country and the world.

1.2 Home of legends: The Steve Biko Centre

In September 2013, the Eastern Cape government made a decisive attempt to refocus the heritage sector with the announcement of a campaign to market the province as the "Home of Legends", acknowledging the disproportionate contribution made by the Eastern Cape to the Struggle and the country's political leadership since the introduction of democracy. The campaign focused mainly on the rural interior – the heartland of Xhosa culture and tradition – broadly leaving the city out of the narrative.

However, there was one urban site, at Ginsberg on the edge of King William's Town, which fitted well into the new approach: the Steve Biko Centre. This site, in contrast to the East London Museum, represents something of a beacon in the city-region's heritage sector. It was built as a modern, multi-purpose facility which has not only proved popular for visitors, but has also adopted an activist role within the local community. It features a conference facility, a restaurant, an auditorium, a museum and a shop – and is visited by international guests interested in the history of black histories and anti-colonial struggles in the region; by large numbers of domestic tourists from outside the Eastern Cape; and by locals, on a daily basis. Indeed, the centre has launched a range of initiatives to remain in touch with the local community. For example, it offers a business incubator to foster and support local entrepreneurs; and also airs feature films with a positive, black-empowerment theme free of charge to township residents in its open-air auditorium in the evenings.

The storyline promoted by the Biko museum is contemporary, relevant and transnational. It provides a history of Steve Biko and black consciousness in South Africa within the context of a broader history of globalised, trans-Atlantic interactions between South Africa, Africa, the US and the Caribbean. From Booker T. Washington to Malcolm X in the US; from slavery to Frantz Fanon in the Caribbean; and from

Hintsa and Maqoma to Tiyo Soga, Walter Rubusana and Sol Plaatje in South Africa, the museum engages with the complex, multiple genealogies of black consciousness at home and abroad.

The intellectual profile and function of the centre in the wider community and the city may also be seen in the book launches and public lectures which are held there, as well as its community library. In fact, one could say that the Biko Centre is almost as internationally well-connected and intellectually active as the local universities. The centre is now planning to launch a community radio station and wants to expand the suite of community projects under its auspices. And yet, there is tension between the institution and the larger heritage sector in the city and the province, with the centre's leadership complaining of poor communication with, and limited support from officials, and inertia in the sector as a whole.

The strength of the Biko centre as a model is based on its multi-functionality: it is both a place of education, connection and empowerment for locals and an exciting place to visit for tourists. As a result, the site has a charisma which captivates and engages visitors. However, it should also be noted that this charisma was not powerful enough in itself to hold their attention for a whole day – unless they are devotees of, or specialists in, black consciousness. The centre also suffered other drawbacks. Its shop had far too little merchandise in the form of books, badges, postcards, old photos, crafts and other forms of memorabilia for visitors to buy and take home. And, although it had a few, attractive Steve Biko T-shirts on display, it had none in stock, with little prospect of new supplies arriving soon – a major opportunity lost. More broadly, although a number of tours organised internationally and out of Johannesburg placed the centre on an itinerary exploring the region's black history, there have been few similar efforts on a municipal or provincial level to integrate the site into local heritage offerings. It was further found that this disconnection was symptomatic of a broader discombobulation in the local heritage sector as a whole.

1.3 Reworking the old and connecting the new

In discussions about heritage and tourism opportunities in Buffalo City, it has been argued that too much emphasis has been placed on the old cultural heartlands and not enough on the city. Current disillusionment with the management of the city and the state of democracy in South Africa more generally has fostered a politics of nostalgia which can regard the pre-colonial past through rose-tinted spectacles. However, the city-region's heritage does not have to be viewed this way; nor does there need to be such a sharp divide between the rural and the urban in the popular versions of history which are produced. For example, the East London Museum could re-contextualise its material, modernising its organising narrative, to capture the interest of, and make it more relevant to the lived experience of, contemporary residents of the city, both black and white. In this context, nostalgia for the past may not only be constructed as a longing for an (imagined) ancient, rural idyll, but also as a recognition of the integrity and achievements of earlier forms of modernity and the constructions of African nationalism that have previously been forged in the city as part of the region.

Since the end of apartheid, much has been made of the Eastern Cape as home of the founding fathers of African nationalism and of the great intellectual traditions stemming from the early mission stations which produced the constitutional traditions of the ANC. The province has embraced this history and called itself the "home of legends" – and yet it is still the coelacanth – which remains an abiding pre-occupation at the East London Museum – that prevails in the city's memorialisation of its own past. In a lengthy interview with the museum's director, Geraldine Morcom, the authors of this report learnt more about the context of the current exhibitions and the trials and tribulations of the heritage sector as a whole in the city and the region. It is underfunded as a sector. It lacks support from the new democratic government and is

managed by provincial authorities, which have no direct stake in the city and its development. Much needs to be change in the sector if it is to re-emerge as a powerful education resource for the city and the region, stimulate job creation and drive tourism.

Accordingly, this report investigates some of the main heritage sites and opportunities in Buffalo City Municipality (BCM) and considers what might be done to transform this sector into an asset for the city and the region in a context in which industrial jobs are being lost and the productive economy is struggling to create new opportunities. In this regard, the city cannot ignore the role of heritage within tourism as a potential source of growth in the urban economy.

2. Theoretical Framework for Heritage Tourism as an Aspect of Place-making in Buffalo City

In considering the contribution that heritage may make to the sustainable development of tourism and the broader economy in Buffalo City, this report places the sector within the broader context of the cultural evolution of the city-region, which includes its educational, sports and arts activities, as well as its socio-economic past.

The UN now recognises that cities which are able to develop a distinct sense of place and are able to promote a positive sense of belonging, culture and identity are more likely to succeed economically and socially than those places which do not develop a positive sense of place and do not invest in cultural institutions and facilities. Cultural investment is no longer a luxury, embarked upon when there are surplus resources, it is a necessity in city building. UN reports also indicate that creative and cultural industries attract young people to cities who can become the life-blood of new initiatives and future economy growth. Cities with a creative outlook and a focus on cultural development, it has been suggested, will be able to attract investment and talent; stimulate tourism; and appeal to visitors and city residents.

From the UN's point of the view, promoting the cultural and heritage sector is critical because it helps to develop the unique, particular identity of cities and regions, while at the same time sparking the creation of new services and products that improve the economy and create jobs. There is also a global trend for the transformation of single-purpose heritage and cultural cities – like memorial sites – into dynamic, multi-functional zones or hubs. This shift is reflected in the policies of the national Department of Arts and Culture in South Africa, which is committed to developing cultural and creative industries around the heritage, history and creative sectors. The department has realised the need to ensure that the country's heritage is not only a source of pride, encouraging social cohesion, but can also be transformed into dynamic products for tourism and the creative, cultural economy in the city.

Lew (2017) argued that tourism destination planning and marketing are fundamentally placemaking actions intended to shape the image and imageability (capacity for producing images) of a place. Place-making is an innate form of human behaviour, which is pursued in the organic and unplanned actions of individuals. People live in spaces that they transform into places, one way or another. These processes of place-making create an image which has an immediate effect on popular perceptions of the place. Buffalo City is a relatively new place-based concept which is connected to a technical process of municipal management, but which also defines a new metro in South Africa. In this regard, Buffalo City does not exist in the popular or historical imagination of the region or country. Ordinary people associate Buffalo City with the city of East London or Imonti (river mouth), and with the administrative and colonial town

of King William's Town or eQonce (the Xhosa name for the place). The two cities or towns have particular historical identities linked to the history of the region. The rural villages and settlements surrounding these towns, which are also part of Buffalo City, have histories of their own. One of the challenges that faces Buffalo City, from a heritage point of view, is how the various place-based histories within its boundaries can be welded into a unified, unique narrative, forming the basis for the development of a city-based culture and heritage tourism sector. This poses a number of challenges for Buffalo City Tourism. One is that both Imonti and eQonce are historic citadels of white colonial power in a region where African resistance came primarily from the rural areas where traditional leaders, prophets and mission-educated Africans mobilised against colonial domination. Another is the distinct, separate dynamics of these sites as centres of colonialism and English-settler socio-economic domination and, subsequently, under apartheid, as their identities as places were transformed by forced removals and the creation of the Ciskei Bantustan. A third is their separate evolution as places under a democratic dispensation since 1994, as a result of black urbanisation and their proximity, or lack thereof, to the regional hub of political power at Bhisho. In terms of ideas of sense of place,

After the frontier wars of the 19th century, Imonti and eQonce grew first as military outposts and then as administrative and commercial centres, before both cities industrialised and African urbanisation increased in the 1940s. However, no sooner had Africans arrived in these cities in larger numbers, than new apartheid laws were passed to have many removed back to their nearby rural "homelands". These colonial towns transformed in the 1950s into white apartheid cities, with dormitory commuter townships and villages located outside the city limits. City histories and heritage in this context were, before the dawn of democracy, mainly written and conceptualised as the preserve of white people, in which the pioneering spirit of English and German settlers prevailed in a hostile environment. However, such histories of colonialism and apartheid pose serious problems for tourism in Buffalo City, shaping the heritage sector both through their prior claims on knowledge and the physical infrastructure that was forged and adopted in support of these claims. Partly in response, the provincial government has sought to tag the Eastern Cape as a regional "home of legends" – the proving ground of such political and religious figures as Walter Rubusana, Clements Kadalie and Steve Biko, all of whom were active within the boundaries of the region now constituted as Buffalo City Municipality. In this context, this report seeks to investigate the extent to which there has been reform and transformation in the heritage landscape of the city since the end of apartheid. It asks whether black histories are adequately represented and explores how some of the stories about how black lives matter or mattered in the city-region are told or not told.

Lew (2017) defined place-making (an organic process) and placemaking (a planned "destination"-building process) as different ends on a continuum of options, along which most places have a mix of old and new, or local and global elements. These elements also range from the tangible (based in urban design) to the intangible (peoplescapes and imaginations). The tools of place making are essentially the same for both organic place-making and planned placemaking, but the intentions and outcomes can vary enormously. Tourism development, as an economic activity, always has a strong, planned, placemaking agenda. Organic place-making emerges through individual agency, but makes an imprint on the planned tourism landscape. An understanding of place-making and placemaking gives insight into the political economy of tourism and the roles of hosts and guest in co-producing tourism places. The key question that faces the tourism masterplan process is what kinds of placemaking interventions would be effective and appropriate to galvanise the heritage landscape of the city for inclusive socio-economic development.

3. Methodology for the Buffalo City Metropolitan Tourism Infrastructure Master Plan (Heritage)

In its methodology, this report combines situational analysis with action and desktop research, as well as a review of the scholarly literature in this area. Key heritage sites were visited by the authors of the report, who conducted in situ interviews at these sites with key stakeholders. A significant body of the research accessed by this report derives from action research previously conducted by the Fort Hare Institute of Social and Economic Research (FHISE) to re-imagine the Heroes Park precinct and in support of restitution claims lodged by black residents of inner-city townships and their descendants. In addition, a series of consultations were held, including with the Border-Kei Chamber of Commerce and the Provincial Tourism Coordinating Committee, as well as the BCMDA and key municipal officials, to tap local knowledge and expertise on the subject of heritage tourism. Finally, a two-day workshop was convened by the BCMDA on 15 and 16 July 2019 to canvas views and produce inputs into the plan proposed by this report. A number of questions were put to the government, higher-education, private-sector and civil-society stakeholders at this workshop, and the answers to these inform the findings and recommendations of this report. The questions were:

- How would you define Buffalo City's current and desired future identity as a city and as a tourist destination?
- How does this identity set Buffalo City apart in a positive way within its region? What is the city's unique selling point?
- Broadly, what kinds of strategies need to be pursued to support the transition from the current to the desired future identity?
- How should disadvantaged and marginalised groups, including township communities, be engaged in the work of developing and promoting the city's heritage?
- How should the youth, including post-school students and school pupils, be engaged in the work of developing and promoting the city's heritage?
- Considering the priority development zones/corridors identified by the municipality, please prioritise three physical areas/sites where you think a new approach to heritage tourism would be most beneficial?
- In particular, please identify/prioritise at least three themes around which you think a new approach to heritage tourism could be leveraged most effectively?
- Please envisage three specific projects for developing heritage tourism. In envisaging these, please consider:
    - What are the broad envisaged socio-economic benefit of these projects?
    - Who would these projects target (for example, local, national or international tourists)?
    - What infrastructural improvements and/or construction would be required to implement them?
    - What info-structure (soft, knowledge infrastructure) would need to be developed to implement them?
    - Which stakeholders would need to be engaged to implement them?
    - How should these projects be marketed?

4. The practice of place-making and tourism in Buffalo City

4.1 Past practices of place-making and tourism in Buffalo City

Where tourism investment and development bear little relationship to organic forms of place-making from below, it will always be difficult to market a city (or a place) experience as an authentic destination. In the past, the city of East London has relied on its natural assets, especially its beaches and natural environment to attract visitors to the city.

4.1.1 Phase 1 (1900-1945)

From the turn of the 20th century, when the city opened up a two-mile long esplanade with tram services connecting the beachfront to the city centre, the basic infrastructure for an Edwardian British-style seaside holiday was created with beach hotels, roundabouts and Punch and Judy shows. The beachfront hotel scene on the esplanade with sheltered pools, the pavilion and local beaches was supported by city-centre cinemas and shopping. For poorer white holiday-makers, municipal caravan parks, like the Beach Camp on the Esplanade, provided a cheaper option for a summer break. The key, defining features of the East London tourism market in the early 20th century were that it tried to replicate an English seaside holiday; and appealed to both middle-class tourists, who socialised at the pavilion and stayed in the hotels, and working-class visitors who camped and were also accommodated on the eastern side of the esplanade. The main focus on investment remained the esplanade where new hotels and guest houses were developed, as well as South Africa's first aquarium in 1933. The turn-of-the-century pavilion and tearoom were upgraded and modernised, together with a fun fair and other attractions for the summer season. The focus of the tourism strategy at this time was to crowd opportunities into the inner city and esplanade and ensure that the summer season was well supported by the city council and local businesses.

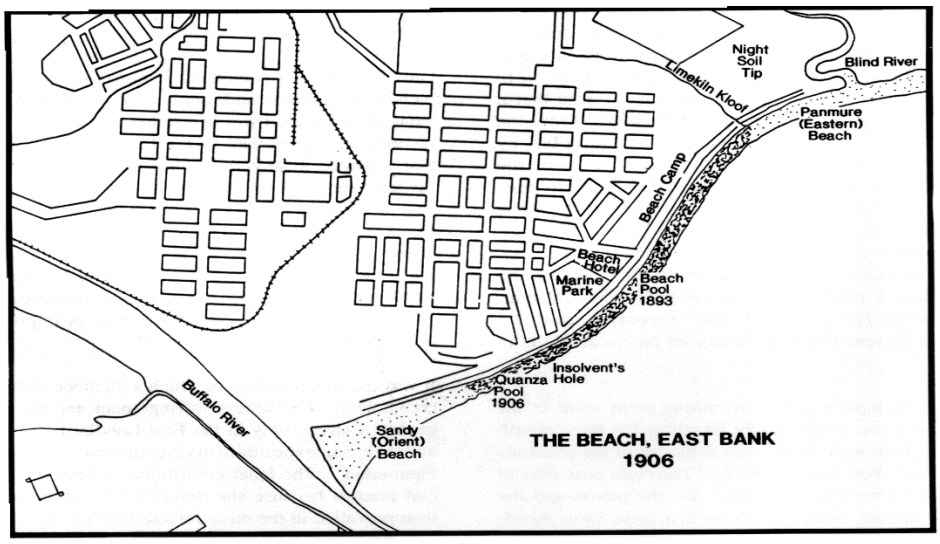

Plate 1: The esplanade as the focus for tourism development in 1906.

4.1.2 Phase 2 (1945-1970)

In the second phase of tourism development in the city after the Second World War, the esplanade hub was supplemented with other attractions. The Nahoon River mouth and beach, and other nature areas, supported by a range of new municipal camping facilities around the city, were accessed. Various kinds of sports tourism were also promoted, most notably motor racing. The South African Grand Prix was

crammed into the summer season, running over the New Year period, and became a permanent feature in the city through the 1950s and 1960s. The so-called Winter Handicap races ran in June to bring tourists into the city during the off-season. Prior to the 1950s, the city regarded trade, commerce and tourism as its main economic sectors and believed that the city had special appeal as a "lifestyle city". Industrial development stalled as a result. The East London Publicity Association, which coordinated summer and winter events, advertised East London as a tourist destination and petitioned the city council for more investment in the sector. The discovery of the coelacanth off the coast of East London in 1938 created an international tourist attraction, which motivated the city to build a modern museum near the city centre. The museum focused on natural history, but also developed a strong set of historical and ethnographic collections during the middle decades of the 20th century. The development of these collections by local enthusiasts was inspired by the resurgence of English settler nationalism in the region, in the context of a broader rise in Afrikaner nationalism (see Bank 2019). The sub-urbanisation of the city and the opening up of new beaches and estuaries with camping facilities directed some of the tourism focus away from the esplanade. Camping, surfing and fishing for automobile-owning families in nature emerged as a main attraction for the city, which focused on English-speaking, domestic tourists by packaging family fun over the summer holidays.

SEAFRONT SCENE ON RACE DAY

sands upon thousands spent the day in bright sunshine along East London's beachfront yesterday watching the Winter Handica and motor-cycle championships. This picture shows a section of the crowd at the foot of Moore Street.

Plate 2: Winter Handicap at the beachfront on race day, 1955.

At the same time that the white-settler city fathers focused on promoting East London as a destination for white families, black communities within the city increasingly claimed urban public spaces and aspects of urban culture, including East London's obsession with cars, for themselves (see Plate 4 below). This black engagement in the inner-city, which was permitted to a limited extent under the liberal dispensation of the city, is documented in the book *Imonti Modern: Picturing the Life & Times of a South African Location* by Leslie Bank and Mxolisi Qebeyi (2018) (see 5.1.2 below). It even extended to the access of public amenities on the beachfront, with the council relaxing apartheid rules about whites-only beaches

to allow local black residents to use Eastern beach – which became a popular destination for black families on Sundays after church.

4.1.3 Phase 3 (1970-1994)

During the Bantustan era, East London lost traction as a city and as a white holiday destination. The fact that it was now encircled by black ethnic homelands meant that some local (white) tourists looked elsewhere, like the Garden Route, Durban-Natal or even Port Elizabeth. Private investment in the city also declined enormously during the 1970s and 1980s as the future of the white city remained uncertain. The question investors asked was: Would it be incorporated into the Transkei or Ciskei, or would it remain part of the rest of South Africa? The fact that the summer Grand Prix moved to Johannesburg also proved to be big loss for sports tourism and the summer season in East London. In the late 1970s, a group of influential international surfers declared the Nahoon Reef surf break as one of the "best in the world". This resulted in several amateur and professional international surfing tournaments choosing the city as a preferred destination in the 1970s, even in the midst of the apartheid sports boycotts. Surfing would never replace motor racing as a summer attraction, but it did help to brand the city after the 1970s. East London was no less of a family holiday destination and won greater appeal as the "gateway to the Wild Coast", where adventure tourists could experience the Transkei, surf and smoke pot away from the controls of apartheid South Africa. The city became very popular for white students passing through to Transkei resorts like Coffee Bay and Port St Johns. Some of the old family tourism to the city continued during this period too.

Plate 3: World Surf Games at Nahoon Reef in 1978.

4.1.4 Phase 4 (1994-2019)

In the period immediately after democracy was introduced in 1994, there was an attempt to make the esplanade more exclusive as the city readied itself for more foreign tourists and a number of promises were made by Malaysian and other hotel investors. Zakes Mda's novel, *The Heart of Redness* (2000), was inspired by this upbeat discourse of new tourist investment as the undiscovered gem of the Wild Coast was opened to the international tourist market. Support for an agro-tourism spatial development corridor stretching along the Transkei coast from East London to Pondoland was declared. A few local cultural villages and game farms were developed in the vicinity of the city in anticipation of greater numbers of international tourists. However, by the mid-2000s, it was already clear that East London fell outside the main areas of attraction for foreign tourists. The problem for the city was, first, that it was not connected to an established route, like the Cape Town to Port Elizabeth Garden Route and, second, it did not have enough to recommend it to make it a destination in its own right. The city fell outside the main international tourist market and has not yet managed to make a compelling case for why tourists, who arrive in Port Elizabeth, should go the extra mile to East London-Buffalo City, rather than fly on to Johannesburg or back to Cape Town. Meanwhile, domestic white middle-class tourists have been spending their holidays elsewhere since the 1980s. The beachfront hotels have been refurbished for use by the local black bureaucratic middle class, which uses them for government workshops and special occasions. Over the past decade, the esplanade and beachfront has transformed from its historic role as a space for white recreation and tourism to a focal point for black leisure and relaxation.

Plate 4: Young people relax near the beach in the 1950s.

4.2 Present approach to place-making and tourism in Buffalo City: the 2018 Buffalo City Tourism Sector Growth Strategy

There is now a crisis in the tourism sector in the city. It has lost momentum and has suffered from a lack of leadership over the past decade. The closure of Buffalo City Tourism – the government-sponsored

agency established to market the area – during this period created anger and anxiety in the city, especially among the business community. In an attempt to address the stagnation and lack of direction in this sector, Buffalo City Municipality commissioned a major new study of the sector in 2018 in an effort to create a platform for a "new tourism master plan" to be developed for the city. This section provides a review of this tourism study and interrogates its recommendations, especially in relation to heritage and cultural tourism in the city.

4.2.1 Overview

Although tourism contributed a significant sum to the city's GDP, about R1.9 billion in 2016, and contributed 9 700 employment opportunities, the Eastern Cape is underperforming in both international and domestic tourism compared with other provinces. However, it has a large number of domestic visitors who come on an annual basis and stay for protracted periods and is quite strong in attracting European and American visitors.

In addressing the municipality's strengths and weaknesses as a destination, the 2018 Buffalo City Tourism Sector Growth Strategy focused on inclusive growth based on both domestic and international tourism markets and increased tourist expenditure, but with a particular goal of boosting domestic family visits.

Highlighting links which can be formed with marketing plans and broader development imperatives, it proposed building a transformed, inclusive tourism economy and fostering responsible and sustainable growth in the sector. A key point made by the strategy was that the supply and demand and consequent benefits of tourism are distributed in a spatially uneven manner is the absence of tourism-supporting infrastructure. In this regard, the plan noted that rural areas and urban townships are typically underdeveloped.

In order to address this issue, the plan advocated clustering activities tourism attractions, including by sharing public infrastructure and resources; forging marketing links; and linking to independent products that can add value. (This approach is supported by the findings and recommendations of this current report.) More broadly, the 2018 strategy noted the importance of Identifying comparative advantages and fostering competitive advantages in promoting and managing a tourism destination. In support of producing a competitive advantage, it emphasised the importance to such place-making of determinants such as safety; access; value-for-money; infrastructure; general services; and the deployment of appropriate knowledge, research and finance resources.

The plan noted that a responsible, sustainable approach to tourism respects and promotes the development of local cultures and understanding among cultures, as well as seeking to conserve the natural heritage and biodiversity. It emphasised the importance of forging connections among local communities, the government and the private sector in fostering tourism. However, the approach it broadly advocated was, to use Lew's terms (2017), one of place-making (destination management) rather that placemaking (organic transformation of the area's appeal in conjunction with the experience and perceptions of the local communities).

4.2.2 Tourism vision and market

In terms of the kind of tourism content that it would like to see promoted, the strategy's vision for the municipality was that it should become a leading, must-see city destination for domestic tourism in South Africa, offering authentic nature-based, sporting, cultural and heritage products. The key for this report is the strategy's inclusion of "authentic … heritage products" as aspects of the city's life that may appeal to

visitors – although such products only seem to merit a mention after “nature-based”, “sporting” and “cultural” ones. Statistics cited by the plan show that about 10% of activities for foreign visitors engage with the country’s history, culture and heritage; and the plan proposed that such tourism should be a focal point for luring overseas visitors, although it also indicated that 7% of domestic visitors list visiting museums as one of their activities.

In this regard, it is noteworthy that although the leisure and business market within domestic tourism is relatively small, with visits to family and friends constituting the vast majority of trips made, the market for intra-provincial travel and daytrips is a growth one for East London. The domestic tourists that come to the Eastern Cape may be defined according to categories developed by South African Tourism which include: spontaneous budget explorers; new horizon families; high-life enthusiasts; seasoned leisure seekers; and well-to-do Mzanzi families. Family travel groups, followed by organised tour groups, and business travellers, are the main visitor types for the municipality, with the destination predominantly attracting those visiting friends and family. The key point for this heritage report is that South African family visitors constitute a key target group.

4.2.3 Defining the region’s appeal

However, although heritage tourism is referenced as a key objective, the 2018 strategy noted that the current tourism products on offer within Buffalo City Municipality lack a significant heritage component. The strategy referenced an earlier report produced by the municipality in 2003, which identified the city’s key tourism products as: sun, sea and sand holidays; adventure holidays; hiking trails; surfing; nature-based holidays; events; sport; and conferences (BCM, 2003). In addition, the Eastern Cape Parks and Tourism Agency (ECPTA) produced a Destination Marketing Strategy 2015, which emphasised the branding of the region as “the adventure province”. Although it also acknowledged the relatively new tag of “the home of legends”, it clearly placed the emphasis on the appeal of nature and outdoor activities. Indeed, in marketing the province under the slogan “real people, real value”, the 2015 strategy explained that this meant “unpretentious value for money in the spirit of ubuntu”. The area’s living heritage, it would seem, was viewed a matter of low labour costs rather than the cultural wealth of its residents.

In addition, the report seems to adopt a static idea of “heritage”, as if it only described things that happened in the past to other people, which fails to acknowledge the idea of a living heritage – that is how the past has and continues to shape people’s lives, including through how the landscape in which they live has been shaped and through the type and kind of opportunities that they may or may be available to engage in a whole range of activities, including in the areas of sport and culture.

4.2.4 Tourism challenges

The number of domestic visitor trips to the Eastern Cape dropped 2.4 million in 2015 to 2.9 million the following year. At the same time, a lack of maintenance of municipal-managed tourist attractions has resulted in declining visitor numbers at some attractions.

The 2018 report identified the safety and security of visitors on East London’s beaches as a major concern and also noted the alarming state of the beach infrastructure, as most of the beaches are underdeveloped and the existing tourist attractions have not been maintained. The report further noted a lack of coordination among the various tourism participants in the city and the need to streamline municipal processes.

More broadly, the report identified the need for East London to improve its image as a city. In this regard, the indicator that scored the lowest among visitors to the metro was "city cleanliness", followed by "municipal services" which included water supply, sewage system and treatment and refuse collection. Personal safety was also a concern.

The 2005 Buffalo City Municipality Tourism plan identified the revitalisation of the central business district (CBD) as a key priority. It further emphasised the need to remedy the lack of a "must-see" attraction in the metro. The 2018 strategy suggested that such an attraction may take the form of a new aquarium/marine discovery centre, replacing the existing one which is in serious disrepair; and/or an automotive manufacturing museum and a grand prix circuit. The municipality's 2003 study identified a number of high priority nodes based on market attractiveness for tourism development, including: King William's Town/Bhisho; the main beachfront in East London; Mdantsane; and Nahoon beach/Bonza Bay.

4.2.5 Heritage offerings

A number of the previous tourism plans and strategies for the municipality have focused on the appeal of the natural heritage of the city and surrounding areas, focusing on its beaches and nature reserves and the range of outdoor and eco-tourism activities that may be pursued in the region. Indeed, the top attractions visited by domestic and international visitors were the beach and the ocean. During the festive season, it was estimated that 50 000 people visit the beaches each day.

However, museums were the second most cited attraction for both domestic and international visitors. A profile of the attractions within the municipality presented by the strategy also identified a large portfolio of historical and cultural draws. The main ones listed by the strategy include:

- The East London Museum and The Amathole Museum;
- A number of public and private art galleries such as the Ann Bryant Gallery;
- The area's rich colonial, early-settler, Struggle, maritime and military history and sites;
- Amathole municipality's Makana, Sandile, Maqoma and Phalo heritage routes;
- The Steve Biko Centre, which has created a gateway at Ginsberg and is the most visited heritage attraction in Buffalo City Municipality; and
- The Steve Biko Heritage Trail which was developed to connect various sites of interest around Biko's life.

In 2016, the Steve Biko Museum received 77 620 visitors; the East London Zoo, which poses a number of serious maintenance and conservation challenges, 63 669 visitors; the East London Museum, 32 228 visitors; the East London Aquarium, 23 490; the Amathole Museum, 13 188; and the Ann Bryant Gallery, 5 000. Of the four attractions analysed in detail – Steve Biko Museum; East London Zoo; East London Museum; and Amathole Museum – all experienced an increase in visitors in August, September and October. This corresponds to Schools' Week, when schoolchildren throughout the city and neighbouring regions visit the city's museums and educational sites.

It was also noted that all heritage and culture attractions in the city experienced a decline in visitor numbers in 2016 compared with the previous year, which could be linked to a change in the extent of the schools' programme in 2016 compared with previous years. In relation to foreign visitors, a large percentage visit Amathole Museum in March (40%) and October (20%). The East London Museum receives most of its foreign visitors in March (22%), November (26%) and December (18%).

The 2018 strategy noted that events can assist in the reduction of seasonality by attracting a variety of visitors based on a particular interest, sport or hobby. Many of the events in BCM are focused on residents whilst others help to attract visitors. These events include music concerts and festivals, family and sporting events. Notable events include the Buyel'ekhaya Pan African Jazz Festival, which was initiated in 2009 in East London and is an annual festival of music and fashion. It is held in December a week before Christmas and was attended by 40 000 people in 2014 (Magadla 2015). Another significant annual event is the Berlin November, which is a traditional horseracing event with live entertainment, fashion shows, craft and business stalls. More than 30 000 people attended the event in 2016.

4.2.6 Heritage challenges

The museums within the municipality were well regarded by visitors as local attractions. However, the 2018 strategy identified significant opportunities to invest in heritage tour-guiding; site preservation; route and trail development; and marketing. It further noted a need to look at developing heritage sites around: rock art; Mdantsane and Duncan Village township heritage; forts and military history tours; East London's manufacturing and automotive history especially in relation to Mercedes Benz South Africa; access to sites of historical interest in the port/harbour; and heritage trails and routes.

A key concern raised by the 2018 strategy was that many of the attractions were not well-marketed. It also expressed concerns around attraction management in relation to: maintenance and investment; safety; new exhibits; creating routes and linkages between sites of interest; gaps in the offerings around particular interests such as Xhosa history, military history, industrial manufacturing and the automotive sector; a lack of funding for arts programmes; and the need for improved maintenance and urban design and cleansing around attractions to make the environment more conducive for tourism. The strategy advised that a number of new palaeontology and historical tour products could be developed. It also prioritised the development of heritage/culture tours for international tourists – despite the clear, significant interest in such tours among especially young, domestic travelers looking to (re)discover their roots and histories.

The strategy further identified a number of key structural challenges facing the heritage sector:

- Museums have limited budget for operations and thus there has been limited focus on new exhibitions;
- There has been limited marketing of a Buffalo City Municipality historical route/trail;
- The heritage sites in the East London port/harbour are not connected with the city and not promoted;
- There are limited proclaimed heritage sites in township areas and little focus on conserving the heritage of these areas;
- The Amathole heritage routes have received insufficient funding, infrastructure and marketing support. These routes could be further marketed; and
- There is poor heritage management with many historical buildings and sites under threat from vandalism, neglect and unsympathetic redevelopment.

Separate previous spatial development framework (SDF) proposals developed by the municipality proposed that King William's Town should be promoted as a regional transport hub and that the preservation of its heritage sites should be a priority. The same framework proposed upgrading the memorial to the Bhisho Massacre of 1992, which has happened (although the authors of this report – see below – found that the site could not be readily accessed).

4.2.7 Proposed actions and products to boost tourism

A route-development approach to developing rural tourism in East London's hinterland and in the towns of King William's Town, Bhisho and Dimbaza was proposed by the 2018 strategy document. Thus, attractions would be linked by an existing or newly developed route which would be supported by appropriate signage; marketing; infrastructure investment; attraction and heritage management; activities; and products. The idea was that heritage/cultural linkages and routes should be forged to package the Steve Biko Statue and the Steve Biko Centre, as well as historic forts and places of heritage significance; and that linkages from East London's city core to Ginsberg, King William's Town, Qunu and Dimbaza should be established.

The plan also proposed developing particular precincts, in particular through significant capital investment in an integrated recreational, event, sporting and cultural space along the beachfront by 2020. The plan suggested the establishment of a Beachfront Adventure Centre and Tourism Office which would help to support the sector across the municipality more broadly. The new site could include a cultural centre featuring dancing, drumming, bead-making, etc.; an information centre and facility for safari and heritage/cultural tour bookings; and an outdoor-event space. Other proposed precincts that could be developed included: a Mdantsane sporting precinct/node/boxing Mecca; a King William's Town heritage gateway; an eco-tourism node at SANBI (South African National Biodiversity Institute) Botanical Gardens – Kwelera; and an East London sporting complex node. The strategy also proposed a drive to increase the number of nationally significant events hosted in the municipality to six, including one mega event. The beachfront area was seen as offering a space for these. In addition, it was noted that the city should be "dressed" for such events.

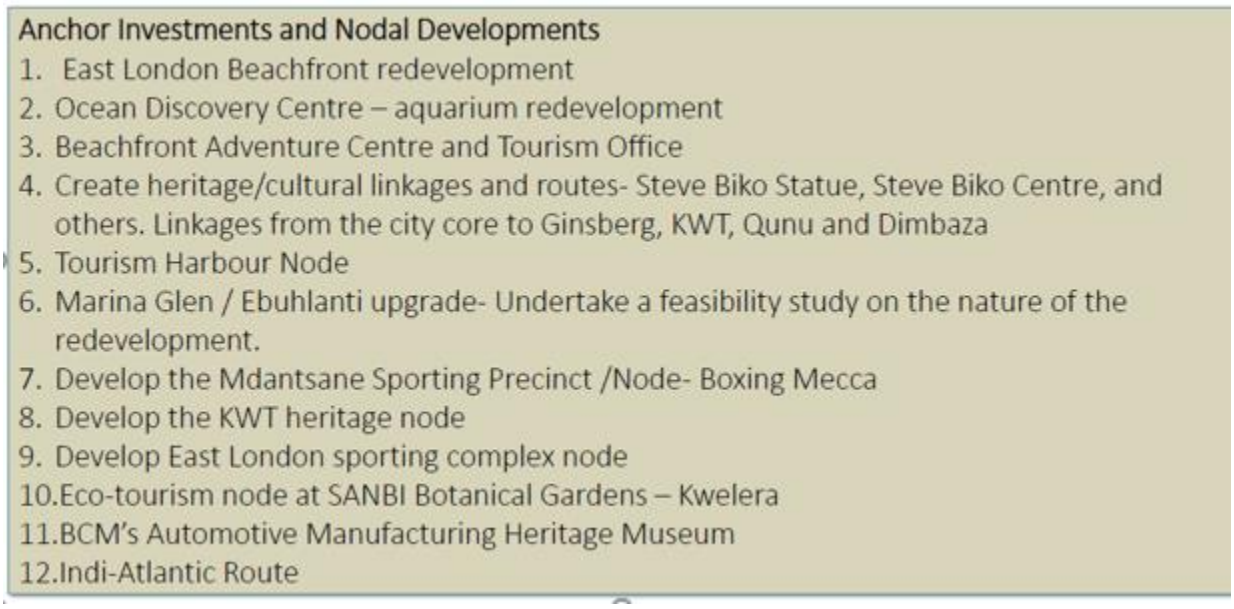

Plate 5: Table of tourism development priorities presented by Noludwe Ncokazi, head of the Department of Tourism, Buffalo City Municipality, at a workshop hosted by the Buffalo City Metropolitan Development Agency (BCMDA) in East London on 15-16 July 2019.

4.2.8 Institutional arrangements and responsible stakeholders

The 2018 plan's analysis of the institutional structure of tourism in Buffalo City Municipality found that the primary responsibility for destination management lies with the Tourism, Arts, Culture and Heritage Department under the Directorate of Development Planning, Local Economic Development in the Buffalo City Municipality. The tourism unit within this directorate is under-resourced as there are currently only two management and one coordinator positions filled. Its capacity to manage events, heritage, planning, tourism development and marketing is limited. Other key entities that are responsible for tourism products in East London include the Eastern Cape Department of Sports, Recreation, Arts and Culture through management and investment in museums, and the private sector through the creation of private tourism attractions, activities and tours.

Following the demise of Buffalo City Tourism, the government-sponsored body which was responsible for marketing the municipality to visitors, the Buffalo City Metropolitan Development Agency (BCMDA) was assigned responsibility for strategic planning in the sector but without a mandate for managing tourism marketing. Meanwhile, there is limited organisation of the private sector in the municipality, as well as animosity towards the local authority due to the withdrawal of funding for the Tourism Buffalo City entity. Private sector engagement in local tourism is extensive, including among local tour guides, accommodation providers and attraction owners. Yet the relevant stakeholders are not organised into a representative body and there are no community or regional tourism structures to facilitate the private sector's engagement in tourism locally. The Border-Kei Chamber of Commerce and its tourism working group/committee plays a key role in this regard.

The 2018 plan has little to say on the need for coordination among the diverse provincial and national government stakeholders, including the departments of science and technology, arts and culture, and basic and higher education; as well as institutions such as SANBI and the local museums, which run a number of programmes providing local socio-economic and educational support, including around heritage issues.

4.2.9 Strategic framework for tourism

The 2018 document offers a strategic framework that covers:

- Product development, including the development of a "must-see" attraction; routes; sites; precincts; and events. Indicators are included in the tourism plan for measuring the effectiveness of the proposed products, precincts and events once they have been created;
- Marketing, including branding; a "call-to-action" campaign; online media; efforts to position East London as a gateway to "the Xhosa heartland"; public relations; MICE (meetings, incentives, conferences and exhibitions) activities; and analytics;
- Infrastructure development, including improving nodes; building tourism awareness; and offering expanded visitor information services;
- Business skills and development, including through business support; training; and a focus on youth;
- Institutional strengthening, including by bolstering the destination-management function and tourism research, and encouraging partnerships;
- Sustainable tourism; and
- Safety and security.

4.2.10 Marketing

The 2018 strategy proposed that the international market should to be targeted through positioning Buffalo City as the "Gateway to the Xhosa Heartland", thus offering opportunities for promoting East London as a gateway to exploring the rural areas of Buffalo City as well as the Wild Coast, Sunshine Coast and heritage routes. The strategy noted that the destination brand proposition and slogan needed to be strengthened and that appropriate campaign imagery and collateral should be devised. Social and other media content would also need to be produced. The current heritage project, in particular the sense of East London's identity that it seeks to promote, should be fed into this – and in particular its promotion of the idea of East London as a modern city that has a continuing, close, cultural link to its rural hinterland. The 2018 strategy further proposed developing tourism awareness programmes for pupils, councillors and communities. It also noted a need to improve the visitor information network at key visitor areas.

4.2.11 Inclusive implementation

The strategy proposed that inclusive development of the sector should engage local students and unemployed youth, as well as women in leadership positions through skills development and the creation of small businesses. Relevant skills may be identified by products owners, local crafters, tour guides, staff and managers. Links between the municipality and accredited training institutions and the Culture, Arts, Tourism, Hospitality and Sport Sector Education and Training Authority (CATHSETA) should be promoted. Petrol attendants and front-line staff should be trained on customer service and tourism knowledge. The plan proposed work-shadowing in the hospitality sector for learners.

4.2.12 Implementation timeline

The strategy proposed that investment in museums and the development of rural heritage routes and a heritage node at King William's Town should take place within one to three years. The development of the Mdantsane sporting precinct/node/boxing Mecca and an East London sporting complex node should take place within three to five years. The development of a beachfront tourism centre and an automotive manufacturing heritage museum were viewed as longer-term objectives to be implemented in five to ten years' time.

5. Addressing the heritage-tourism challenge

The 2018 Buffalo City Tourism Sector Growth Strategy presents a clear analysis of the challenges facing the local tourism and the consequences of not addressing these – "stagnation" and "a lack of direction". It highlights the lack of engagement between the municipality and the private sector in responding to these, which was exacerbated by the closure of Buffalo City Tourism, which provided a forum for businesses and the local government to come together to market the city as a destination. At the same time, although the strategy places great emphasis on the goal of forging inclusive, sustainable and "responsible" tourism – in which "responsible" means accountable to local residents and their needs – it fails to provide significant detail on the kinds of coordination with local communities that may be required to shape how the city identifies itself and presents itself to foreign and domestic visitors. Broadly, the strategy document identifies a number of physical issues that need to be addressed to improve Buffalo City's profile as an attractive destination, such as concerns over safety; poorly maintained infrastructure; dirty streets; insufficient appropriate signage; and inadequate provision of key services. It also highlights the need to improve marketing mechanisms, including through greater coordination among local stakeholders. To address the challenges, the strategy proposes a top-down, placemaking approach, in which a central tourism hub at the beachfront should inform a number of "routes", with King William's

Town deserving of special attention within the municipality's spatial development framework (SDF). It also supports the establishment of a number of regular, large-scale events. In line with the tourism ethos being promoted provincially, the strategy advises the municipality to offer "adventure" and "authentic nature-based, sporting, cultural and heritage products". It also promotes a form of ubuntu as a value that will attract tourists.

5.1 Defining heritage tourism

However, notwithstanding the strategy's claim to produce "responsible" and "inclusive" tourism, it is short on solutions to what it describes as the city's tourism "crisis", in part because of its top-down approach. It also seems to divorce the idea of heritage from the current lived experiences of residents. Heritage is framed as being largely about big events and famous people – old imperial wars, the struggles against colonialism and apartheid and the "legendary" figures in those struggles – as if these had nothing to do with how people lived their daily lives in the past, or how they live them today. For example, the strategy document fails to emphasise the link between the city-region's cultural and sporting past and the contemporary sporting and cultural needs of residents.

This report adopts a broader view of what constitutes heritage and thus heritage tourism, broadly in line with that proposed by advocate Sonwabile Mancotywa, former chief executive on the National Heritage Council and former MEC of arts and culture in the Eastern Cape, at a workshop on the development of this heritage tourism plan for Buffalo City.[1] He noted that "culture is in the centre of the plan for heritage (as opposed to nature, for example). Heritage is shorthand for cultural heritage." In this regard, heritage constitutes "that which one generation transmits to the next". Culture-based education and training to support this transmission and preserve the heritage is crucial since, according to Mancotywa: "Cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature. In heritage, resides the expression of how diverse we are."

This definition views the preservation and promotion of heritage as a human right. Accordingly, it emphasises "responsible" and "sustainable" approaches to heritage-based tourism and development. "[Heritage] requires a rights-based kind of approach – [people in communities] need to be secure in every sense of the word. Tourism becomes part of that work."

In Buffalo City, this work is integrally involved with arriving at a definition of the municipality's post-1994 identity, according to BCMDA CEO Bulumko Nelana.[2] "A clear understanding of how this identity may be constituted in all its complexity allows the city to make itself as a place and, thus, to develop. To reach such an understanding it is important to understand how East London's identity as a city has evolved over time. In relation to tourism, the goal should be to harvest the city's identity from its past and the present and into the future, and celebrate this so that other people from the region, the country and around the world can come and experience it. This identity also represents an asset for the children of the city." Nelana also emphasised the importance of "creating heritage-tourism assets with respect and making sure that they are representative".

[1] Sonwabile Mancotywa made these comments as part of a presentation to a "Workshop on Development of the Buffalo City Metro Heritage Tourism Infrastructure Master Plan" hosted by the Buffalo City Metropolitan Development Agency (BCMDA) in East London on 15-16 July 2019.

[2] Bulumko Nelana made these comments while introducing a "Workshop on Development of the Buffalo City Metro Heritage Tourism Infrastructure Master Plan" hosted by the BCMDA in East London on 15-16 July 2019.

5.2 Forging Buffalo City's identity

There is much to do to get the municipality's heritage sector back on track. In the 1950s, the real drive behind the heritage revival in the city was not only the discovery of the coelacanth, but the rise of Afrikaner nationalism which threatened the English-settler identities of the white urban middle class in East London. In this context, locals volunteered to support the city to constitute its colonial heritage core around the museum. Today, Buffalo City has been transformed from a white English-settler city to a Xhosa "home-coming" city (see Bank 2019). However, the city also has a strong tradition of African and Black nationalism, which have long histories and were established in opposition to colonial domination.

After apartheid, Biko, who had not been a member of the now-ruling ANC, was selected as a political icon of the city rather than figures like Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo or Walter Sisulu. This represented an interesting statement of opposition to pervasive neo-liberalism and the ANC in the 1990s. The city leaders were stating that they had engaged with liberalism historically – whether traditional 19th century British liberalism, modern mid-20th century American liberalism, or globalised 21st century neo-liberalism – and had found little to recommend it. However, if Buffalo City today can no longer be defined in opposition to colonial and liberal whiteness, what is the source for its contemporary identity and how does it imagine its place in the modern world? If it sees itself as a "home-coming" city, what are people coming home too and how can this be expressed and celebrated in its culture and history?

The heritage challenge for Buffalo City is thus not merely one of finding a marketable set of products for the tourism industry, it is a matter of closing the gap between top-down "placemaking" and organic, bottom-up "place-making". The city needs to seriously engage with its own sense of identity and place in the world at the same time as it seeks to reconstruct its image for external consumption and investment. In this regard, a number of key challenges need to be addressed and resolved to create a new, marketable heritage landscape that may be exploited to attract both domestic and international visitors.

PART TWO: OPPORTUNITIES IN THE HERITAGE-TOURISM SECTOR

6. Hidden histories

A key element of the heritage strategy proposed in this report is the idea that the history of the city's and province's legendary political figures – from Walter Rubusana, who was one of the fathers of the ANC, to Clements Kadalie, who helped to found the trade union movement in the country, and black consciousness leader Steve Biko – should be seen as part of the city-region's socio-economic and cultural history, just as the stories of everyday lives in East London and its hinterland have been intimately shaped by the area's politics.

6.1 City of Legends: Recognising leaders

One of the main problems with the historical content of the existing exhibits in the Buffalo City museums is that they focus heavily and in a particular way on the frontier wars and the colonial conquest of the region during the 19th century. This period began with British colonial forces gathering to conquer the Zuurveld near Grahamstown just after the turn of the 19th century (1812) and ended with the final annexation of the furthermost region of the Transkei Pondoland in 1894. Throughout this period, Africans were engaged in war with Britain. The museums present Africans as tribal subjects and place great emphasis on cultural features and life-cycle rituals in the context of timeless tradition. In a sense, Africans are placed outside the history on display. Africans are also largely presented in traditional dress in rural settings, which leaves the impression that they had little to do with modernity, urban development,

nationalism and city-building in the region and the country. There is much that can be done at the existing museums to update and modernise the presentation of Africans in the region from the old anthropological schemas of the 1950s. For the current generation of learners and visitors, the story of the arrival of democracy in the country and the contribution that individuals and communities in the region played in that story requires more attention and needs to be a prominent feature of the museum narrative. A good example of making such a change would be to convert the booth at the entrance of the East London museum, which has featured a "temporary" First World War display for the past five years, into a display on legendary African nationalist figures and liberation heroes from the city. The display could feature ANC founding father and cleric, Walter Rubusana, the Industrial and Commercial Union (ICU) founder, Clements Kadalie, who moved to the city in 1927, as well as some of the leaders from the ANC Defiance Campaign in the 1950s.

The success of the multipurpose Steve Biko Centre in King William's Town presents an example of what might be achieved through a focus on city leadership. The Steve Biko Centre is an education centre; a base for community projects; and a small conference facility. It houses a shop, an auditorium, a library, a museum and a business incubator. The Steve Biko centre could be replicated in other areas, such an Mdantsane and Duncan Village, using iconic figures from the liberation Struggle as inspirational leaders.

Plate 6: Grave of Walter Rubusana in Duncan Village.

There are also white city leaders and even mayors that stand out. Donald Woods, the former editor of the Daily Dispatch could and should be recognised as a legend in the city, as well as certain civil servants. Under the English public service ethos, civic commitment was seen to be more important than political alignment. Civil servants believed it was their duty not to display party-political loyalties. Although white civil servants worked for the broader interests of the dominant regime, there were many who started projects and undertook acts of public service that could and should be properly acknowledged. In

addition, the centre of the city has several statues to the fallen white heroes of the Allied War effort, but nothing that pays tribute to the black servicemen from the city and region who went to war. Within the framework of the provincial government's focus on black legends and leaders, there is much that can be done to embrace this theme within the city. In this regard, it may be inappropriate to continue to replicate the Biko legacy, which is already commemorated by a museum, centre, bridge, statue, grave and so on, when many others could and should also be acknowledged. The city might also look to celebrate other local heroes, like Joan Harrison, the South African Olympic swimmer, or sporting stars like the many world champion boxers from the townships.

6.2 *Imonti Modern*: Uncovering hidden histories

> *Those whose lives are not valued, not given narrative dignity, cannot really be part of the solution of the abiding problems of our times.*
> Ariel Dorfman[3]

In April 2018, the mayor of Buffalo City, together with the Black Management Forum and the Buffalo City Municipal Development Agency, hosted a special gala dinner at which a new book about the social, cultural and political history of the city was formally introduced to the city and to black leadership in the region. The authors of the book, Professor Leslie Bank of the HSRC's Economic and Performance Development (EPD) unit and community activist, Mxolisi Qebeyi, from Duncan Village in East London were recognised for their contributions in restoring dignity to African communities and families that had suffered indignity and oppression through the forced removals implemented under apartheid. The book was published in January 2018 in the HSRC Press Best Read series (http://www.hsrc.ac.za/en/research-outputs/view/9169).

Imonti Modern: Picturing the Life & Times of a South African Location seeks to recount a previously untold narrative of East London's black and Coloured locations after the Second World War and before these communities were ripped apart by forced removals under the apartheid regime. Photographs, poems and oral accounts by former residents portray their public and cultural life in the city's three locations on the East and West Banks of the Buffalo River and further inland. Their stories reveal how African residents created their own styles and forms of dress, music, leisure, religion, home-making and sport to forge a unique urban culture. The establishment of what the book describes as a black "ghetto" in East London[4] also led to the emergence of radical politics that sought, in many ways, to complete the mission of laying claim to place – to the public life of the city as a whole – which the development of the locations had started but could never finish for their residents.

As a work of engaged scholarship, this volume stems from a particular motivation to enable restitution for the former residents of the West Bank and East Bank both materially and in explaining East London's past. In its form, content and agency, it challenges both the accuracy and the (lack of) inclusiveness of dominant narratives of the city's history forged by the white settlers and officials of the apartheid state who governed East London for much of the 20th century, as well as the ANC authorities which have been in charge since the introduction of democracy in 1994.

[3] Ariel Dorfman, Eighth Nelson Mandela Annual Lecture, 31 July 2010, Johannesburg.
[4] The term "ghetto" is used here to describe certain aspects of East London's locations: how they were economically and culturally connected to but separate from the surrounding city controlled by the white-run metropolitan authority and how they constituted a black world within a white world.

With its emphasis on the quotidian as viewed and remembered by the residents of East London's locations, the volume eschews totalising conceptions of culture as inadequate for describing the complexity of the urban terrain of East London's locations or for addressing the roles of the residents themselves in shaping their own lives. Rather than viewing the inhabitants of West and East Banks as tied to, and bound by, their locations, it considers how they occupied and shaped the spaces in which they lived: the public and private, the home and the street, the "ghetto" and the city beyond. It also considers their patterns and styles of consumption – the clothes, the domestic goods, the cars, the music, the leisure activities – and how these were used by the residents to make and re-make their identities, develop senses of belonging and define the potential for local citizenship. It describes how the residents saw themselves at home and at play, in the spheres of work and politics, sitting on the stoop and marching through the city. It describes how they created public spaces for themselves and occupied them at the beach, in the dance hall, on the pitch and at church and school. How they forged new social identities from the forms of consumption and sporting excellence that they found in the surrounding city. How their popular imagination was fired by the example of black America, which offered hope for greater civic participation in a modern, developing world.

The book uses a multidisciplinary approach fusing social anthropology, history and political and economic thought to tell this tale. The volume opens with a brief history of West Bank and East Bank, paying particular attention to the politics of African nationalism and black and Coloured resistance to poverty, disadvantage, marginalisation and oppression in these areas, as well as the destruction of the old locations under the forced removals. It then considers the idea of "ghetto" and how this term may be used to describe certain aspects of East London's locations, through a comparative historical study of the phenomenon in Europe and America. The book concludes by describing the aftermath of the forced removals and the wrenching experience of dislocation and cultural isolation that they wrought. This last chapter also reflects on what has become of the former communities of the locations and the visibility of their histories in the city's public culture. The main body of the book consists of 11 essays on the culture of the locations during the 1950s and early 1960s, which have largely been adapted from articles by the volume's authors originally published in the local newspaper, the *Daily Dispatch*. The first two offer an overview of the West and East Bank locations, the rest concern: music; fashion; festivals; Sundays; home-making; boxing; beaches; tradition; and political expression.

The volume tells its tale through the residents' own accounts of those days and the photos that they took and had taken. This book's compilation of memories of life in East London's locations before the forced removals is based on, and inspired by, research conducted by the Institute of Social and Economic Research in East London from 1999. After the institute was charged with investigating 5,000 or so individual claims to recompense of former West and East Bank residents under the 1996 Land Restitution and Reform Laws Amendment Act, a team of researchers set to work. The goal was not merely to provide proof of material losses but also to indicate the broader socio-cultural damage wrought by the forced removals. To this end, dozens of detailed family histories and a selection of images from the more than 2,000 photographs collected were included in the final submitted report.

Archival research, including through reading copies of the *Daily Dispatch* published between 1945 to 1965 and its special *African Edition* published from 1962, has also been conducted to substantiate the oral accounts of the former residents themselves. In addition, further interviews with former residents of the locations, including leading local political figures, were conducted to provide greater context. Contemporaneous poems by Monde Mqunqwana, who led the ANC in East Bank in the early 1960s before

being jailed as a political prisoner, are featured. The selection of photographs has also been expanded to include images from the collections of local, semi-professional studio and hobbyist photographers – most notably, Daniel Morolong – as well as pictures taken for the local newspaper. The agency of the city's former black and Coloured residents in shaping the images and telling their own stories rather than their passivity before an objectifying lens is the stuff of this tale. Accordingly, the photographs like the cultural phenomena that they reference are a kind of performance, contingent upon, but not limited by, the purposes of the actors, as well as their interpretation by the viewer. Often either taken or commissioned by the subjects themselves, the pictures indicate domains of cultural competence and how these are inhabited. Young people sprawl over the hood of a car, posing and looking into the camera with expressions that may be interpreted as displaying the relaxed confidence of ownership. Men at the beach flex their muscles in what could be seen as a deliberately self-conscious display of pride in their bodies. The subjects of the photographs dramatise their participation in the modern life of the city – and, apparently, a certain delight at the sense of freedom that this brings. By making the past available to be reinterpreted and reclaimed by its previously marginalised subjects, this volume recounts an experience of urban life in the West Bank and East Bank that cannot be eradicated with a sweep of the apartheid planners' pen; one in which the differences of cultural experience among the residents are a common cause; and one in which the dynamic of inclusivity rather than denial may be seen as having shaped the city's past and, potentially, shaping its future.

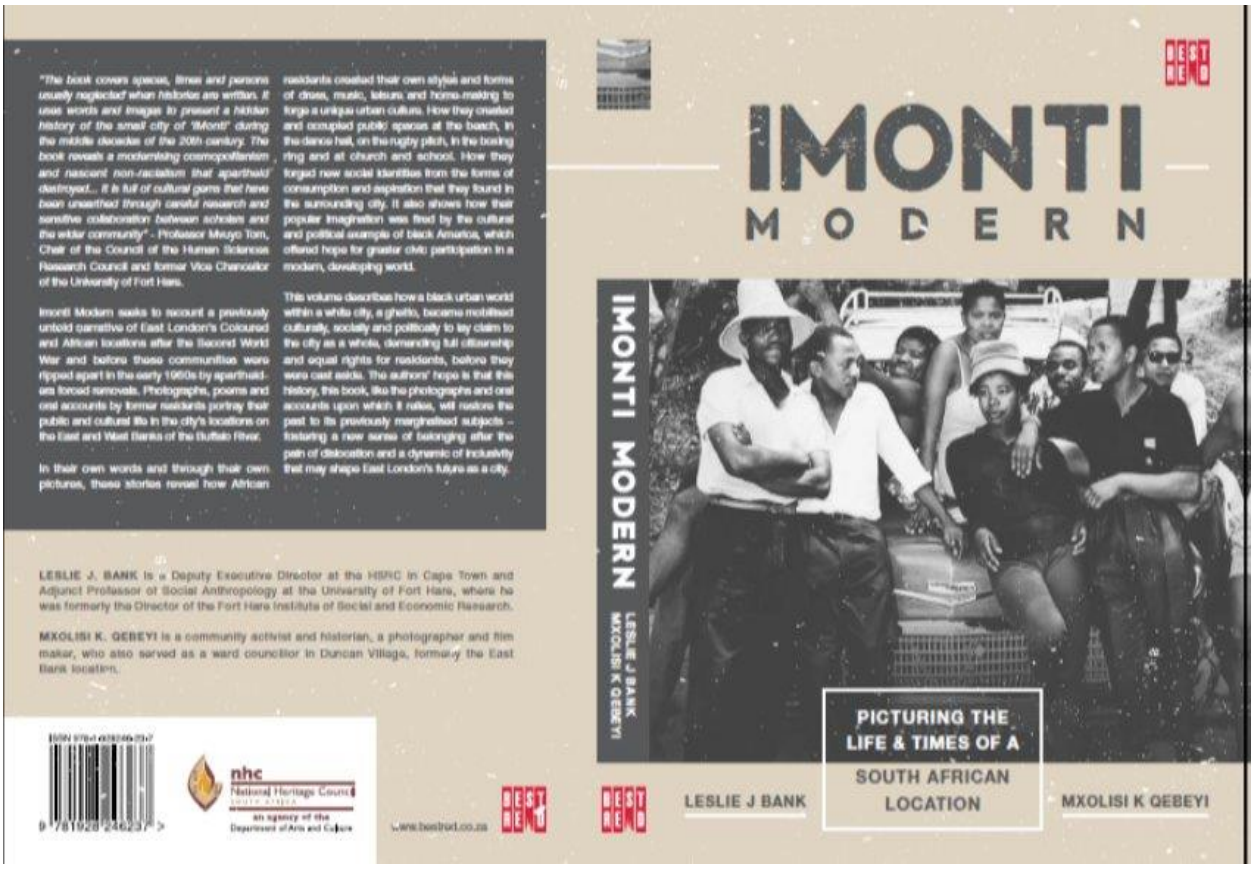

Plate 7: The cover of* Imonti Modern: Picturing the Life & Times of a South African Location *by Leslie Bank and Mxolisi Qebeyi, published by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC).

6.3 Transforming the museums and the city-region's heritage knowledge-production

There is no doubt that the building of the modern East London Museum after the Second World War was part of a broader anti-Afrikaner cultural and political project. The museum aimed to recover and celebrate the history and achievements of the white English-speaking settler community in the region. The cultural movement gained momentum with the rise of the Torch Commando, an Allied war veterans' movement in the city and region and the bitter disappointment locally with the victory of the Afrikaner nationalists at the polls in 1948. The new museum, built on the intellectual energy of local volunteers as much as that of state-appointed professionals, emerged as an ideological counterweight to the Voortrekker-led, Afrikaner nationalist story of white supremacy and domination. In the East London and Amathole museums, British colonial endeavour was celebrated and admired. It appeared as part of the history of the British Empire. While it is true that the museum embraced a natural-history agenda linked to the science of the coelacanth, its role in projecting the pride of a British settler city should not be under-estimated. The lack of fundamental restructuring at the museums over the past 25 years and the low level of financial support they receive, have left this storyline largely intact. It is not a satisfactory narrative for post-apartheid South Africa. The story of the museum itself does nevertheless show how important these institutions could be for the re-scripting of the city's identity.

In the 1950s, the white population of East London used the museum to project a particular identity for the city – that East London was a colonial British settler city made by pioneers who had domesticated what was viewed as a harsh environment. They interestingly used a regional perspective to reinforce this narrative. Buffalo City is not an English-speaking settler city today (nor was it really in the 1950s when more than half its population where black). (The problem of the one-sided versions of the historical narrative may be explored by presenting the Denfield and Morolong photographic collections together, realising and exploring the tensions between the two different ways of telling the city-building story.) Now the question is: What is the city's story for the new, democratic generation? What are the narratives that can enable success, home-making and development in the new era? How should these be represented? Is it sufficient today to simply replace the old white-centred nationalist narrative with a story of glorious African nationalism and resistance? Do histories of resistance provide sufficient affirmation and recognition to those they wish to affirm? Do they not at times risk compressing complex lives into two-dimensional conflicts between "good" and "bad"? One of the ways to confront the future would be tell the story of how and why the museums became what they are and ask local scholars and residents to engage in a project of reimagining these institutions in relation to their host cities together. In East London, this would involve scholar exhibitions and collecting stories about what makes the city what it is and how different people feel at home in the city. The proud, resilient settler city from the 1950s had become the "slummies" by the 1980s by virtue of deindustrialisation and the lack of an educated urban middle class. Today, the municipality is the home to an expanding black bureaucratic middle class but also has a reputation for poor service delivery and weak economic performance. The residents of Imonti and eQonce are also seemingly reluctant to share the same place-based identity and often compete with each other for resources and opportunities. Forging a unified city out of the places fractured by apartheid and the local Bantustan is not an easy job, but one in which the heritage sector in the city has a critical role to play.

The historical heritage perspective produced in the museums has been developed through a regional lens based on the idea of the frontier. There are settler pioneers and African tribesmen who have different cultures and traditions, and clash in a series of frontier wars, with the catastrophic cattle killing of the

1850s being presented as the tipping point in a century-long battle for land. Modern Buffalo City is not directly visible here. There are photographs from the beachfront (the Denfield Collection), as well as stories of shipwrecks on the coast, and images of the city hall and even pictures of leading African nationalists, like Walter Rubusana. But there is no story of the city in either museum. In order to strengthen the identity of a city and engage with what it means to be in that city, as a tourist or scholar would be interested in doing, there has to be a place for such a narrative. The Amatole Museum now has a Struggle exhibition, which shows how the Bhisho Massacre was the end-result of a longer historical process of resistance against the apartheid Bantustan project, which took many forms. But there are no stories of the rise and consolidation of modern African towns and cities at either the Amathole or East London museums. Such stories need to describe the people who made these cities and how these places evolved spatially through – the social, cultural and political Struggles that were part of their making.

Both the Amathole and the East London museums pay careful attention to key historical events such as the Cattle Killing of the 1850s, which is presented as a self-inflicted wound by the Xhosa people. Instead of presenting the Cattle Killing in such a positivist, apparently objective way, as a single story – the museums would do well to explore the many stories around the events which now inform the complex, varied historical interpretations of this episode. By reordering, updating and re-presenting the existing material, the museums could create something interesting and educationally valuable, enabling the Cattle Killing to be read through multiple lenses and providing students with an insight into the challenges of studying African and colonial histories and with the difficulties of de-colonising the past. Such a popular engagement would help these institutions to renew their mandates for the future. In this regard, the museums, perhaps in coordination with each other and a possible heritage hub on the beachfront, should also seek to establish tours of the city-region to explore how history may be variously interpreted.

The heritage infrastructure of the city is limited and there is not a great deal of available money in the government or the private sector for large-scale new investment. As a result, and based on discussions with stakeholders, the most appropriate strategy would be to focus on repositioning and remarketing the existing facilities rather than hoping that the provincial government will create new museums. In the discussion above, it was noted that existing displays and material could be revisited in order to update their content and repackage the way they are presented. A useful approach might be to reflect on the contested nature of knowledge production and consider the different ways in which key events in the history of the city and the regional have been interpreted. There is also much that could be done to modernise the approach to natural history collections, removing the implicit and explicit old evolutionary bias in the way things are displayed. Meanwhile, outside the existing collections there is a definite need for some new collection development to happen. It has been suggested that the city urgently needs new exhibitions on black music and jazz and on boxing in the city. Some have argued for new museums to be created to cover these themes (a boxing museum in Mdantsane, for example). This report's suggestion is that dedicated professional officers from the museums work with local enthusiasts to build collections and work towards assembling temporary displays or exhibitions. The motor history of the city is another theme that has been emphasised and certainly needs attention. But again, there is not enough physical infrastructure at this stage to consider a permanent facility. However, space can be made available in the existing museums and elsewhere in the city for special collections to be exhibited.

More broadly, a region-wide and even nationwide perspective should be adopted towards cultural history collections among the local museums. The aim should be to reimagine what and how the museums as institutions communicate. Just as SANBI has sought to rationalise the natural history collections held by

museums, so a properly funded national project could address how the humanities are presented. Such a project may be linked to the work of South Africa History Online (SAHO) and universities – particularly in terms of the production and selection of relevant materials, as well as new forms for their presentation. For example, the University of Fort Hare may play a leading role through the exploitation of its liberation archives, as well as through its academic capacity for curatorship. However, it is also important to acknowledge that the impacts of museums are shaped by the ways in which they present their collections: the texts accompanying the artefacts; the often-undisclosed decisions about what to include and what to omit; and the forms of interaction employed in the act of presentation. German philosopher Theodor Adorno (1967) noted that the term "museum-like" can be used to describe "objects to which the observer no longer has a vital relationship and which are in the process of dying. They owe their preservation more to historical respect than to the needs of the present." However, museum don't have to be like this. The French thinker Michel Foucault conceived them as "heterotopias" – places outside places although they are localisable, spaces in which ordinary cultural relations are presented afresh, surprising the viewer as the familiar suddenly appears strange (1998). For the museums in Buffalo City Municipality, such a "heterotopian" vision, which engages particularly the local visitors in a radical reexamination of their city and their place in it and presents memory as a living concern, may be realised through new forms of exhibition – and in particular through the exploitation of new interactive communications technologies. In the light of concerns expressed about the expense and relative fragility of more traditional forms of interactive technologies – such as touch- or sensor-operated video and audio displays – engagement via dedicated cellphone apps may be relatively affordable.

To this end, the installation of high-speed, wireless connectivity at the municipality's museums, perhaps linked to the new G5 cable making landfall at the East London Industrial Development Zone (ELIDZ) represents a priority. Local school pupils and university students should be engaged to help develop the relevant apps and provide original content for them. The museums, in coordination with the local universities based in the city, should also seek to exhibit beyond their four walls, helping to provide the content and technology for heritage tours within their neighbourhoods and other local urban areas. For example, the East London Museum, Fort Hare University and Walter Sisulu University could collaborate in producing a geo-located cellphone app which would overlay the present urban landscape with imagery from the area's past at sites such as Duncan Village, revealing through photographs and oral accounts the historical built landscape and how it was inhabited. Proactive collaboration with communities should also extend to engaging the schools which are planning to visit during heritage month more holistically both before and after their arrival.

6.4 Themes for leveraging heritage tourism: Music, boxing and automotive culture

Exploring the history of East London, a number of themes emerge which may be leveraged to create heritage-based tourism experiences (see Appendix 1 below for more on the history of jazz, boxing and automotive culture in the city). In the performing arts, a thriving jazz scene emerged in the inner-city locations among black and Coloured residents after the Second World War. Musicians like Eric Nomvete, William "Sax-O-Wills" Mbali and David Mzimkhulu helped the local jazz scene evolve to an international standard and also imparted their skills to township youths, who showed great enthusiasm for learning new musical styles. Classes were held at the Community Centre in East Bank from Monday to Sunday, with rehearsals in between. African and Coloured young men and boys from the Welsh High School, from the East and West Bank locations and North End all competed for places, as they took music from the streets to the halls and dances.

Plate 8: East Bank saxophonists Eric Nomvete and Mzoli Madyaka practise at home. (Photographer: Daniel Morolong, courtesy Vuyelwa Makatala)

In sport, many boxing experts refer to the Nkosana "Happyboy" Mgxaji era of the late 1960s and 1970s as a golden age for the discipline in East London. They recall the arrival of professionalism in the sport and the capacity crowds that regularly filled the Sisa Dukashe Stadium in Mdantsane, to watch Happyboy, who enjoyed a cult following. Some say he was South Africa's most popular boxer ever. Some reference the connection of boxing to township schools and how inter-school rivalry massively enlarged the level of participation and local interest in the sport in the 1980s.

Others go back further to the opening of the Golden Gloves Boxing Club at Dalukukhanya, next door to the International Boxing Club in Mdantsane, after the forced removals in the mid-1960s. They speak of the rivalry that emerged between these clubs. Going back even further to the old East Bank location, competitions between fighters from the International Boxing Club based at Peacock Hall and from the Duncan Village Boxing Club based at the local community centre drew large crowds. The tradition led to East London achieving the extraordinary feat of producing seven world boxing champions since 1990 – including Mbulelo Botile who claimed the International Boxing Federation (IBF) and International Boxing Organisation (IBO) world featherweight titles in 2000.

Plate 9: The East Bank boxing team included boxers from the International Boxing Club who took part in the South African boxing games.

In relation to the city's industrial heritage, it is difficult to imagine East London without Mercedes-Benz, the brand that now defines the city. Mercedes' perception that Buffalo City represented a logical investment opportunity was the product of the place-making endeavours of two generations of local motorsport enthusiasts. In addition to the Grands Prix before the Second World War and the post-war Winter Handicap, the city hosted a range of motor shows and events in the 1940s and 1950s. In addition, between 1947 and 1954, East London became the fastest growing industrial city in South Africa. It was in this moment of industrial expansion that the British company Exide batteries followed up on the establishment of a local auto manufacturer, Car Distributors Assembly (CDA), in 1949, with a new production facility worth more than £1 million. The city's industrial growth, particularly in the automotive sector, and its obsession with cars and motor sports led the East London technical college to offer a whole range of new courses to train motor mechanics and electricians. In 1959, with the support of Caltex, the city won the right to host the South African Grand Prix for the next decade. The emergence of East London as a motor city also had a significant influence on the urban culture in both the white suburbs and the black ghettos. It has been argued that the culture of cars instantaneously changes cities because they create a new "imagined community" of urban organisation and desire. Many black families took great pride in the city's modernising trajectory and were inspired by black urban cultures across the Atlantic. As car culture gripped East London in the 1940s and 1950s, the emotional and aspirational bonds with black America deepened in music, sport and religion. The obsession with car culture and the aspirational opportunities that it provides for new forms of leisure continues today in East London at Ebuhlanti.

6.5 Heritage connections between the city and its hinterland

Beyond the city of East London itself, heritage tourism to the hinterland is conceived only in quite vague terms despite the wealth of stand-alone sites that bear testimony to the city-region's history as a Xhosa heartland and its experience of, and struggles against, British colonialism and apartheid rule. Tourism brochures refer to the "rural heartlands" and "traditional customs". Here the Eastern Cape is often marketed as a mythical landscape of African tribes, legends, chiefs and tradition – which is strangely disconnected from more recent historical and political concerns, although the double-rooted (rural and urban) aspect of much contemporary African consciousness in the country would seem to indicate otherwise. At the same time, there is relatively little infrastructure to support a heritage tourist experience in the rural hinterland which would allow visitors to embed themselves in actual local culture, cuisine and custom and experience the more than 200-year history of colonial and apartheid government and the resistance to this. For example, there are few functional cultural villages in the city and its hinterland and most of the heritage routes to the Great Places of famous Xhosa chiefs are roads to nowhere with insufficient infrastructure and information to support curiosity and understanding of the role and functions of the local traditional aristocracy.

In addition, although the marketing focus of some provincial heritage tourism has been directed at the foreign visitor, who is imagined typically as an Anglophile with a keen interest in colonial history, the Xhosa Cattle Killing, which does capture the imagination of many foreign visitors, has not been converted into significant heritage products or experiences. There are no tours to Nonqawuse's pools across the Kei River, to the sites where the "believers" in her prophesies met, or even to the graves of those who died. The authors of this report even failed to spot a memorial to the Cattle Killing although they visited the colonial graveyard in King William's Town where it is apparently sited. There has also been insufficient focus on how the landscape of the hinterland has been shaped by more modern political history, including the kinds of agrarian settlements imposed by colonialism and the forms of spatial control and industrialization imposed under apartheid.

However, the histories of East London and King William's Town have been shaped by the ties established between these urban centres and their rural surrounds and how these have been forged within the context of a larger set of relationships with colonial Britain and, later, the apartheid government. For example, East London's history as a military outpost; wool trading and commercial hub with global connectivity; and 20th century tourism and industrial hub under white-settler rule was predicated on its crucial role in connecting its hinterland to an international political and economic order. During the colonial period, the city-region, including the urban centres in King William's Town and East London, was on the frontline of a global resistance against imperialism, the legacy of which has remained internationally relevant. Under apartheid, the kind of relationship between the hinterland and the city was also forged as an aspect of political forces external to the city-region. The interdependence between town and country in shaping the identity of Buffalo City persists today, with contemporary Xhosa home-making taking place as a form of cultural and political expression across the urban/rural divide – with one foot in the home village and the other in the city. Placing the Buffalo City rural hinterland within this context reinforces the area's modern identity across the urban-rural divide, leveraging its heritage assets to deepen its character as an increasingly cosmopolitan centre that is responsive to global commercial and political concerns. The romantic idea of the rural idyll as a site for Xhosa identity formation is brought up to date by exploring how both town and country have been, and continue to be, engaged in this process.

6.6 Heritage-opportunity recommendations

Clear packages or sets of options for tourists need to be established and integrated through refurbished site and tourist routes. Given the number and variety of important heritage buildings and sites in the city and its rural hinterland, there are many ways in which visitor experiences could be developed. In relation to this, the two main local government-funded museums with substantial collections could prepare visitors for excursions into the hinterland as well as the city itself. There is the potential to develop township tourism, which would take visitors into areas such as Duncan Village, Ginsberg and Mdantsane. Possible themes for these tours include boxing, music and politics. In rehabilitating sites, many of which are swamped in litter, lack clear signage and might be difficult to access and dangerous to visit; and producing comprehensible contexts for the exploration of these sites by visitors, the municipality must address a number of infrastructural and info-structural issues.

In order to support the Buffalo City's evolving international identity, heritage projects should focus on the city-region as a nexus for global dynamics. This may be achieved by producing projects and sites that focus on the area's industrial and trade heritage, as well as its significance in addressing national and international political tensions. At present, such initiatives are limited to a couple of routes such as one that has been established around Queenstown which is marketed as a liberation trail and focuses on the 20th century history of political Struggle and resistance. But such engagement with the meaning of the city-region's heritage may be taken much further. For example, new routes may be forged placing the traditional heritage of the Great Places within the modern political context of the struggles against colonialism and apartheid. These may seek to integrate more outlying sites included those listed in the municipality's SDF and BEPP at Berlin and Dimbaza, as well as tours of the region's forts and military sites. Providing a central hub for such heritage trails, a pan-African peace museum could be established near the beachfront in the CBD – perhaps at the old City Hall. This would place celebrate the continent's historical drive to liberation and independence, including how this was enacted locally, from the frontier wars to the Struggle against apartheid and efforts to produce a peaceful, democratic resolution as embodied by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) hearings held in East London. Leveraging the city-region's heritage, such a hub would help to identify the city as an international one that has been at the forefront of African efforts to engage the global North.

In order to implement the recommended heritage-tourism proposals, a series of priorities need to be established for investment and then connected together into clear heritage themes/routes and products which could be developed in coordination with local residents. Such development, which should be enacted through triple-helix coordination, should offer these residents employment and equity opportunities and foster value-chains by leveraging the local creative economy that may spark growth.

PART THREE: IMPLEMENTING HERITAGE TOURISM IN BUFFALO CITY

7. Planning in the heritage-tourism sector

The bare statistics on the state of tourism in Buffalo City Municipality indicate some of the challenges it faces.[5] Although R1.2 billion in income is generated by tourism, creating 9,700 employment opportunities, and the number of accommodation establishments has grown by 4.3%, issues around a lack of infrastructural investment, maintenance and cleanliness of the built environment the outflow of youth from the region and inadequate stakeholder coordination have had a significant impact on the city-region's tourism profile. At the East London aquarium on the beachfront, a lack of investment has seen a 97% drop in visitor numbers. Meanwhile, the children and grandchildren of local residents hardly visit their parent and grandparents anymore compared with the past.

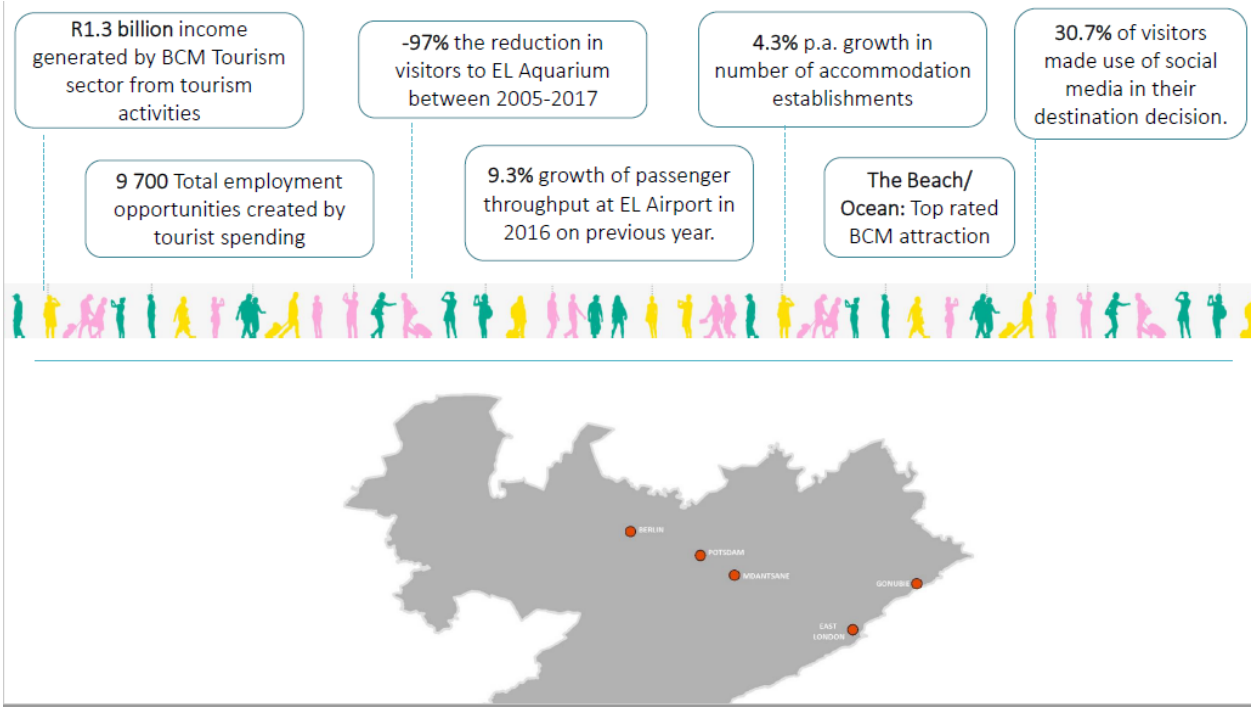

Plate 10: Tourism statistics from a presentation by Bulumko Nelada, BCMDA CEO, drawing from the* 2018 Buffalo City Tourism Sector Growth Strategy*, at a workshop hosted by BCMDA in East London in July 2019.

In responding to the challenges faced by tourism in the city-region, the adoption of integrated destination planning can leverage tourism's potential to support economic growth.[6] In adopting this approach, a number of different forms of tourism may be promoted, such as urban tourism, which may be defined as when "the variety of heritage and cultural attractions within an urban context attracts visitors to that city

[5] This paragraph is informed by a presentation made by Bulumko Nelana at a "Workshop on Development of the Buffalo City Metro Heritage Tourism Infrastructure Master Plan" held by BCMDA in East London, 15-16 July 2019.
[6] This paragraph is informed by National Department of Tourism, *Tourism Destination Planning Manual*, March 2018.

or town";[7] and special-interest tourism, which may include a number of the kinds of tourism promoted in support of an area's heritage (see below).

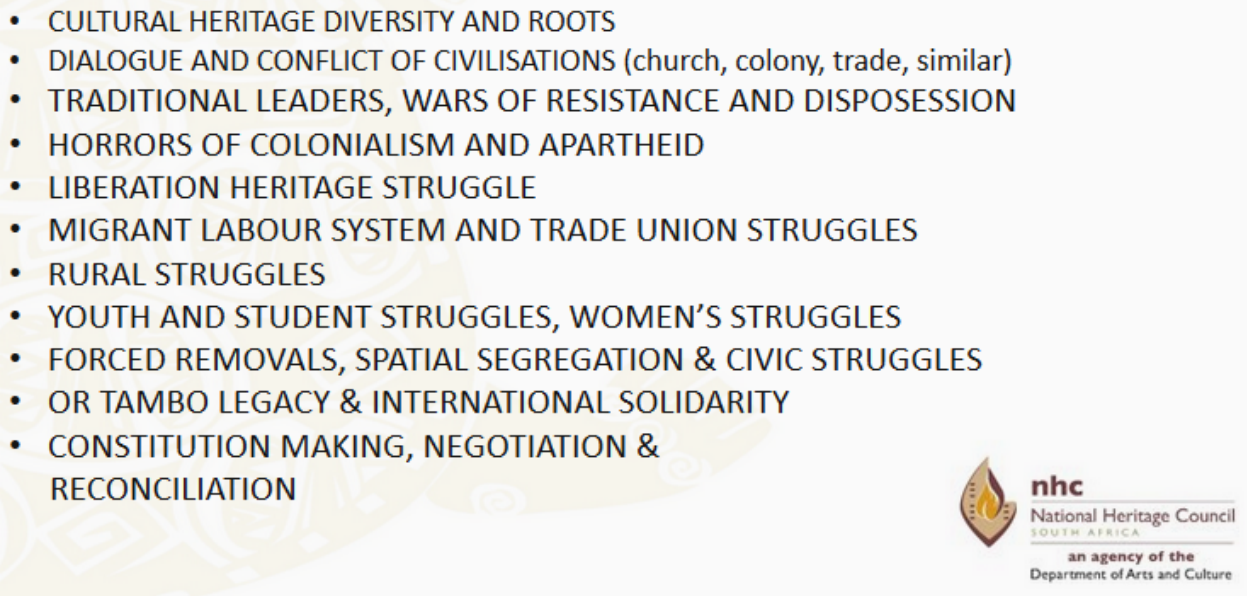

Plate 11: Forms of special-interest heritage tourism from a presentation by Sonwabile Mancotywa, former chief executive on the National Heritage Council and former MEC of arts and culture in the Eastern Cape, at a workshop hosted by BCMDA in East London in July 2019.

The destination plan should be responsive to external factors, such as markets and seasons, and should also adopt a "responsible" ethos – that is, it should be sensitive and responsive to the needs of local communities and interests. Under the Tourism Act of 2014, "responsible" tourism is defined as that which "makes positive contributions to the conservation of natural and cultural heritage and to the maintenance of the world's diversity".

Broadly, the plan should inform and be integrated into other municipal planning processes, including the spatial development framework (SDF) and the integrated development plan (IDP) which form the basis for budget allocation (see below).[8] Further, planning should be aligned at levels of the national, regional, destination, precinct and site. It should further engage all relevant stakeholders from government bodies, the private sector and communities. The actual planning should entail organisation/consultation; research; action-planning; and monitoring. Multi-stakeholder local tourism planning bodies and/or consultative committees should be established to leverage government and other funding in support of the destination plan.

The establishment of appropriate priorities and allocation of resources accordingly is crucial to effective planning.[9] In relation to heritage tourism, such planning requires the identification of the kinds of knowledge that should be preserved – for example, in the fields of architecture, food, fashion, arts and

[7] National Department of Tourism, *Tourism Destination Planning Manual*, March 2018, p.21.
[8] This paragraph is informed by the National Department of Tourism, *Tourism Destination Planning Manual*, March 2018, p.21.
[9] This paragraph is informed by a presentation made by Bulumko Nelana at a "Workshop on Development of the Buffalo City Metro Heritage Tourism Infrastructure Master Plan" held by BCMDA in East London, 15-16 July 2019.

culture, entertainment, etc. – and the kinds of physical infrastructure and infostructure that need to be established to enable such preservation and take this heritage into the future. The development of particular products, projects and events to conserve and communicate heritage should be accountable to the local citizenry, ensuring their safety (as well as that of visitors) and providing local business and skills-development opportunities. It should also entail appropriate institutional strengthening and coordination to improve governance.

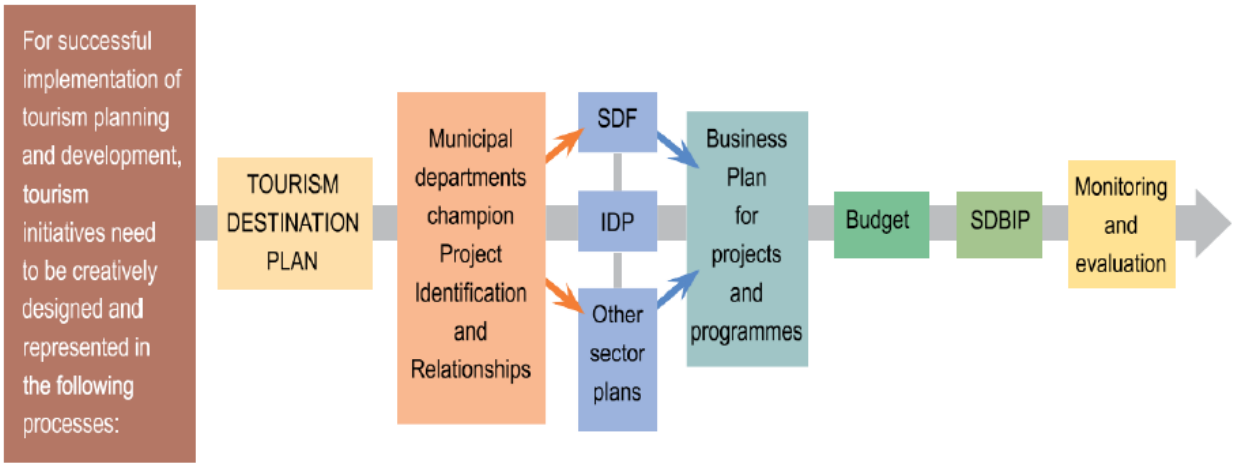

Plate 12: The key municipal processes within which destination planning should be present and well represented.

7.1 Key benefits and obligations in heritage- and cultural-tourism planning[10]

Effective tourism planning can promote cultural heritage and traditional knowledge and systems and foster development of a strong sense of pride among residents. In this regard, tourists' spending provides a source of income to support the natural and built heritage, which can produce significant social and environmental benefits. However, a downside of attracting tourists include the strain on public infrastructure and the carrying capacity of sensitive heritage sites caused by large numbers of visitors. In order to promote "responsible" tourism within communities, it is critical that local interest groups are engaged on issues around the retention and development of heritage buildings. In addition, cultural authorities should be consulted on issues of land access and ownership in relation to the promotion and development of sacred and heritage sites.

Local destination tourism planning should be informed by the National Cultural and Heritage Tourism Strategy 2013 and National Tourism Sector Strategy 2015. It is also important to acknowledge the mandate proposed for provincial bodies by the South African Heritage Resources Act of 1999, which holds them responsible for maintaining a list of local heritage resources under the auspices of the South African Heritage Resources Agency. Broadly, the National Tourism Sector Strategy of 2015 advocates leveraging "South Africa's competitive advantages in nature, culture and heritage, supported by innovative products and service excellence".[11] "Respect for our [diverse] culture and heritage" is listed as one of the values underpinning the strategy.

[10] This sub-section is informed by analysis and review of the National Department of Tourism, *Tourism Destination Planning Manual*, March 2018

[11] National Department of Tourism, *Tourism Destination Planning Manual*, March 2018, p.215.

The Tourism Destination Planning Manual is also forthright on issues of marketing and access: "A destination may have a heritage site in a local village, but unless there is information about the site (either through a guided visit or informational signage) and a means to get there (for example, roads with directional signage, or public transport from the tourist information centre to the site), a visitor cannot experience this heritage site."[12] In this regard, a community-engaged product development may entail training local residents as tour guides to provide interpretation at heritage sites in their communities.

8. The infrastructural and info-structural challenges of recovering the past

The Tourism Destination Planning Manual indicates that there are three main categories of tourism products which should be mapped:

- Experiential, such as events and activities and community experiences, as well as retail experiences and issues relating to services and safety;
- Physical, including infrastructure and accommodation; and
- Emotional, which relates to the responses to human, historic and cultural resources.

In order to leverage the tourism impacts of a particular destination, the manual advises identifying niche tourism products and developing and submitting proposals to create them. In this regard, it is important to emphasise that heritage-tourism products can be either tangible or intangible (see below) – and that consequently efforts to create them can depend on establishing both the appropriate physical infrastructure, as well as the appropriate knowledge infrastructure – what may be termed the "infostructure" – which may be fostered through community engagement. However, visitors to East London are inhibited in their engagement with the city-region's heritage products by a lack of both physical and knowledge infrastructure.

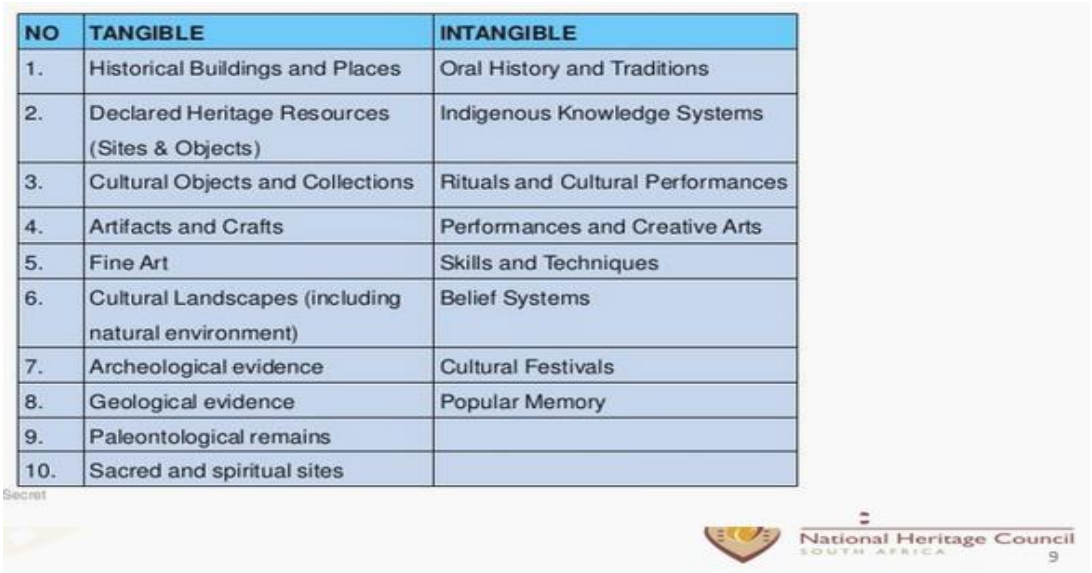

Plate 13: Tangible and intangible aspects of heritage tourism from a presentation by Sonwabile Mancotywa, former chief executive on the National Heritage Council and former MEC of arts and culture in the Eastern Cape, at a workshop hosted by BCMDA in East London in July 2019.

[12] National Department of Tourism, *Tourism Destination Planning Manual*, March 2018, p.165.

8.1 Infrastructural challenges

The view adopted by the BCMDA is that the municipality must take responsibility and plan for appropriate physical infrastructure to support the development of heritage tourism in Buffalo City. In broad terms, the agenda for such physical infrastructure includes: building and improving municipal facilities for tourists, including cultural facilities; ensuring the provision of appropriate transport and signage for tourists; cleaning and maintaining the built environment to forge attractive municipal spaces; and producing a safe environment, for example, through the provision of lighting and security features such as CCTV cameras. In this regard, the BCMDA needs to work closely with the economic development and community services departments within the municipality, which is where most of the responsibility and budgets for such infrastructure resides.

The overall goal of such building and improvement efforts is to provide the kind of physical infrastructure that will encourage and unlock greater private-sector participation in the heritage and broader tourism sector.[13] Historically, investments in culture have been seen as an expense. However, a new view holds that such investment can leverage the returns from tourism and greater socio-economic engagement within the municipality to galvanise development. In relation to previous approaches to encouraging tourism, it has been found that it is unsustainable for the municipality to devote large parts of its budget for this sector to organising large-scale events in the hope that these will effectively market the city as a destination. A more sustainable approach would be for the municipality to provide appropriate infrastructure to support the destination's current heritage and tourism attractions and facilities, thus supporting private-sector efforts to market them more effectively. It has been found that such proven engagement is required to galvanise private-sector engagement and investment. For example, the municipality may support the construction of a purpose-built performing arts venue, while the private sector coordinates with the community to put on shows there. In this relationship, the private sector is obliged to mine its marketing collateral and support the heritage heart of the city, in particular through more activist forms of community engagement. Accordingly, it is important to promote triple-helix engagement to assess the priorities for the Buffalo City as a destination, as well as those for the relevant, identified heritage nodes/sites to ensure the efficient, effective use of municipal investment in physical infrastructure as part of agreed local and city-wide spatial strategies.

Meanwhile, many of the stakeholders in the sector expressed concern about deterioriating infrastructure, cleanliness and a lack of public safety – and the damage inflicted by these on the municipality's image and attractiveness to tourists. One stakeholder described how one group of international visitors reacted to the disrepair and dirt by cancelling their tour on arrival and immediately returning to Cape Town. The view was expressed that it is impossible for the city to build a brand as a destination if it cannot manage basic issues such as rubbish collection and the repair of potholes and pavements. The Quigney, behind the beachfront, was signalled as a particular cause for concern.

Broadly, the apparent inability of the municipality to fix and maintain its built environment and keep the streets clean and safe is viewed by all stakeholders as a major obstacle to efforts to promote tourism in East London. In the eyes of many potential visitors, the city is still identified as the "slummies", a reputation that is reinforced by the current unmaintained state of many of its streets and roads, which are strewn with rubbish. To many in the private sector, potholed roads, too few or unemptied bins, and

[13] This paragraph is informed by a presentation made by Bulumko Nelana at a "Workshop on Development of the Buffalo City Metro Heritage Tourism Infrastructure Master Plan" held by BCMDA in East London, 15-16 July 2019.

broken pavements indicate a broader lack of care on the part of the municipality. There are too few sports facilities; and those that exist can be poorly maintained. For example, the city's swimming pools, which, given East London's year-round balmy climate, represent a major attraction both to family tourists and sports bodies organising tournaments and large-scale events, are often not cleaned properly and may even be shuttered for much of the year. Signage across the municipality, including for heritage sites, is inadequate. Poor street lighting and a lack of visible policing create an atmosphere of insecurity. Even the signage welcoming visitors to Buffalo City which has been erected at the airport was reportedly taken down after municipality failed to pay the bill for this destination advertising.

Tourism officials within the municipality acknowledge the challenges, admitting that since the municipality published its tourism master plan in 2005, little progress has been made – in part due to a lack of capacity with the office charged with promoting visits to the city. This concern is reflected in the present Buffalo City Tourism Sector Growth Strategy, which emphasises the need to ensure adequate transport and signage, cleaning and maintenance, and security to attract visitors.

8.1.1 Improving the beachfront

Many of challenges faced in seeking to improve the built environment in East London centre on the state of the beachfront. Stakeholder feedback and situational analysis indicate serious concerns about waste management, the maintenance of the public realm and safety along the esplanade. In answer to these concerns, consideration should be given the establishment of a city improvement district (CID) in this area. Such a CID under the aegis of the BCMDA, the municipality, and key local stakeholders, including relevant agencies, local business representatives and the South African Police Service (SAPS), would contribute funds to clean up the area; improve and maintain its fabric, including roads, pavements and verges, street furniture, streetlighting and local green areas; promote public safety; and address the area's socio-economic challenges through promotion of heritage tourism. The CID could build on the momentum created by the Call-2-Action campaign in East London to clean and green public spaces in the area, coordinating with the stakeholders engaged in this initiative. The municipality could map a plan for its engagement in the CID, including the budgetary provision that will need to be made across a number of departments. In support of such an initiative, a budget for inner-city cleaning and safety improvement should be consolidated, which would, among other actions, cover daily city clean-ups and the cost of placing and regularly servicing skips throughout the area. The project will institute pavement repair, street lighting and proper signage in these areas and attend to the local public spaces and parks. Application will be made for increased policing in the inner city. The project may be branded according to appropriate design principles as a collaborative venture established and managed by the municipality, the BCMDA and participating local anchor institutions as a "Heritage Improvement Zone". Signage marking the gateway to the CID could be erected and skips located at strategic points across the area could also be branded to support the profile of the district project as part of broader efforts to promote the city's heritage.

The CID could also be linked to a broader multi-stakeholder, multi-year inner-city "Buffalo City Knowledge and Innovation" project structured around the universities and medical institutions located there which is being promoted by the BCMDA to realise Buffalo City's potential through knowledge production and innovation.[14] The project seeks to encourage the diversification of the urban economy through a strategy

[14] See "Note on the Buffalo City knowledge and innovation project for inclusion in Buffalo City Municipality's Built Environment Performance Plan (BEPP)" produced by HSRC on behalf of the BCMDA.

which builds on numerous small, significant interventions that seek to rebrand the inner city, forging a number of development nodes which are then connected as a coherent area to help to drive the city's broader growth. The development philosophy underpinning the initiative is predicated on a "massive small" approach which focuses on many little interventions which will have a large cumulative impact on the city's image and orientation. This kind of approach also builds confidence among stakeholders over time as impacts are realised. The University of Fort Hare could play a key role in linking the "Buffalo City Knowledge and Innovation" and ""Heritage Improvement Zone" by opening its archives and volunteering its knowledge-development capacity, in coordination with the local education sector, to produce materials and modes of delivery that can effectively communicate the city's history. For example, the university and other local CUD stakeholders could collaborate on the production of appropriate branded signage and storyboards for a heritage walk along the esplanade, which would connect East London's history of place-making with its current identity as a centre of black, metropolitan modernity. Such collaboration could also extend to the contextual renaming of streets in the city.

8.2 Info-structure and community engagement

"All cities that become and remain great, leverage their niche areas, which are their heritage," according to Sonwabile Mancotywa.[15] At the same time, it has been said that East London is something of an invisible city in South Africa's national imagination. If this is the case, this disadvantage – and the city's refusal of the opportunity to be "great" – cannot be laid solely at the door of inadequate infrastructure. In heritage tourism. The physical undergirding of a site or destination can help to ensure that the visitors' experience of its past is comfortable and even pleasurable, but it is the info-structure and the agency of those who guide which engages the visitors' higher faculties – their imaginations and emotions. In this regard, heritage tourism – by its nature in seeking to forge connections between past and present lived experiences – is uniquely placed to make visitors (as well as those engaged in producing it) feel sad, angry, overwhelmed and, even, responsible. Further, by invoking such responses, it can also create change within visitors, encouraging them to take certain kinds of action – whether these are limited to purchasing memorabilia as a souvenir of a memorable occasion, or take the broader form of proactive engagement to support a local community. Heritage tourism in Buffalo City municipality, which can leverage a rich history of traditional Xhosa life in the countryside; imperialism; the struggles against colonialism and apartheid; white-settler place-making; black, urban working- and middle-class life; and democratic liberation is uniquely placed to invoke strong, memorable response from visitors.

However, in order to leverage its resources in this way, those working within the sector must both valorise and have an affinity with them – and be able to communicate this engagement more widely. So, for example, the appeal of the memorabilia that may be taken away from an experience – such as Mao caps in Beijing and Biko T-shirts in Ginsberg – derives directly from the meaning attached to these icons as this has been communicated, as well as the relevance of this meaning to the visitor. (In this regard, the commitment of the curators of the East London Museum to their coelacanth may even overcome the reticence of skeptical visitors, encouraging them to but a tiny glass model of the fish.)

In this regard, appropriate efforts must be made to promote the value to visitors of particular destinations and sites. In an ideal strategy, the value attached to particular sites should be leveraged to produce unique experiences for visitors, although these may at the same time contribute to and reinforce overarching

[15] Presentation made by Sonwabile Mancotywa at a "Workshop on Development of the Buffalo City Metro Heritage Tourism Infrastructure Master Plan" held by BCMDA in East London, 15-16 July 2019.

values which have been identified and attached to the destination as a whole. In Buffalo City's case, for example, histories of dispossession and struggle that may be told in different ways in different places may contribute to a larger narrative of the establishment of democratic governance in a modern, black city.

In promoting the value of particular sites and attractions, it is crucial that their integral value should be identified and is promoted, particularly since many visitors may be quite well versed in the city-region's political, economic and social history.[16] In this context, a half-informed tour guide or poorly produced, bland marketing materials may do more damage than good. It is also important to engage tourism value chain without disrespecting it. There are riches and niches (and secrets) in any community's history of itself – and those working in the cultural heritage must identify and distinguish between these and promote them (or not) accordingly. So, for example, not all tourism is good for local residents – certain particularly popular thoroughfares, such as Vilakazi Street in Soweto, can become busy and noisy. Spaces should be treated sensitively in line with the expressed will of local communities. In addition, certain spaces should be accorded particular respect – such as sites where the heroes of the Struggle against apartheid were killed or suffered; or sites where sacred cultural and social rituals are performed. Broadly, the key test in creating engaging experiences is to ensure the do no harm. In East London, efforts to show and tell the stories of the city – from its diverse political, socio-economic and cultural past – must be led by the residents of the communities who lived, and still live them – and who may still be seeking redress for past historical wrongs. In the same spirit, the developmental benefits of the heritage tourism that is forged as a result must be distributed fairly among them as part of a continuing process of restitution and healing. In adopting a creative approach to heritage tourism that seeks to engage local residents in identifying, shaping and promoting key aspects of the city-region's and their own families' histories, job opportunities should also be created.

8.3 CASE STUDY: DUNCAN VILLAGE

Visiting Duncan Village today and knowing something of the area's history, it is immediately evident that, in addition to destroying great swathes of the former East Bank, the apartheid programme of forced removals also eradicated many of the public facilities that provided socio-cultural and economic sustenance to the location's former residents. Down in the valley, although the Welsh High School – once the pride of liberal educators in the city – and the old post office still stand, Peacock Hall, which was the site of dance, music and a whole range of social and political get-togethers has been demolished; and knotted undergrowth near a stand of blue gum trees has taken over the site of Clements Kadalie Hall, which had been a major centre of trade unionism and other political activism into the 1950s. The site of the Bantu Square Massacre of 1952 up on the brow of a hill is now a slice of inner-city lower-middle-class suburbia, with trees and greensward bisected by a newish road. No memorial stands to the estimated more than 200 people who were gunned down on November 9 that year at the ANC protest. On another crest in the landscape, the character of Church Street, where ANC leader Walter Rubusana used to preach, and which had been the site of a community centre and creche built by Dominican nuns for the local black community in 1951, has changed beyond recognition. Following its reclassification as an Indian group area under apartheid, mosques and a Hindu temple now rise up where a row of popular black churches used to stand. Again, there is no plaque commemorating the history – the house and church in this neighbourhood where Rubusana lived and preached; while in the valley below a large "Do Not Dump"

[16] This paragraph is informed by a presentation made by Sonwabile Mancotywa at a "Workshop on Development of the Buffalo City Metro Heritage Tourism Infrastructure Master Plan" held by BCMDA in East London, 15-16 July 2019.

sign looms over the site of the Struggle hero's grave, which is surrounded by litter and overlooked by a tumbledown house.

Driving up the slope into Duncan Village itself, the sewers are overflowing and the road is in a state of disrepair. Here is the site of the 1985 massacre of anti-apartheid activists, in which 19 people died. The memories of the event and the subsequent imprisonment of activists remain fresh among the local residents. Around the back, among washing lines and corrugated iron shacks, stands the remains of The Duncan stone formerly erected at the entrance to the site to commemorate Patrick Duncan. The then Governor of East London, Duncan oversaw the granting of the land to create the settlement, which was named after him, in 1941. Near this reminder of a largely overlooked period in the city's history stand some of the original one-room houses which were built in the new settlement. Once the epitome of modern living for the black working class, the cramped, ill-serviced accommodation that they offer is now a source of anger for their residents who were promised but never received materials to extend their houses as recompense for their suffering under apartheid.

Next is a short drive along Marcus Garvey Street up to St Peter Clavier's Church, which stands at the top of the hill. In 2016, a memorial to slain nun, Sister Aidan, was unveiled here. Local activists had led the process to erect this statue of two hands raised to the sky as a gesture of reconciliation for her murder at the hands of an angry mob in the aftermath of the Bantu Square massacre. Now, a crucifix has been moved onto the site of the memorial and one of the hands of the original memorial has been broken off and left lying on the ground amid surrounding litter. Down the hill, the road passes Mrs Sontshi's house, which is famous as one of the original wood-and-iron buildings from the early days of the East Bank location. The owner reportedly charges for photos if she spots you with a camera in front of her house.

As with other well-known inner-city sites torn apart by the forced removals, such as District Six in Cape Town, one of the legacies of apartheid here has been the eradication of much of the historical built landscape. But the history of Duncan Village remains physically located, as well as being sited in the memories and lives of its residents and in the record that has been made of these (such as the images produced by local photographer Daniel Morolong and the book *Imonti Modern*).

8.3.1 Recommendations for Duncan Village

In order to present this history more vividly, a number of actions may be taken. Tours of Duncan Village should be informed by the perspectives of local residents as tour guides and in the experience itself. Such tours may be enhanced by the provision of a geo-located cellphone app made available to participating visitors, which would overlay the present landscape with imagery from the area's past, revealing the historical built landscape and how it was inhabited. The idea would be to enhance the sense of place, fostering greater understanding of the present lived environment by breathing life into the ghosts of the past. The photographs and additional illustrative and narrative material for this app should be researched and developed in conjunction with local residents, perhaps building on the archive from which *Imonti Modern* drew and historical data on the city-region held by the University of Fort Hare which has previously helped to promote local community engagement in remembrance. In addition, certain sites in the area could be improved and provided with security as entry points to the experience. Cars may then be parked and a general introduction to the tour made at these sites. They may also include an exhibition of Duncan Village then and now, which may centre around a reproduction of the photographic and newspaper record of events and lives there. Local arts and crafts may also be sold.

More broadly, it should be noted that Duncan Village cannot be developed in isolation from the Coloured and Indian communities that have taken root in parts of the former East Bank location since the forced removals were enacted from the 1950s. In this regard, the area's development also depends on that of the broader inner-city as a whole. Similarly, it is important to acknowledge that Duncan Village's appeal to tourists is also shaped by its urban context. For example, unlike Mzoli's restaurant in Gugulethu township, the popularity of which is largely a product of the broad appeal of the city in which it is based – Cape Town – Duncan Village has no access to a large pool of foreign tourists hungry for a new experience. In an austerity tourist economy, even the establishment of an interpretive centre in the area may be unsustainable. For example, unless Duncan Village captured a significant slice of the visitors' market, perhaps by becoming a feature on school history curricula, such a centre may have to depend on donations for its survival.[17]

An alternative proposal to develop the area could entail turning it into something of a commercial, creative and technology hub, establishing a theatre, a shopping centre and monuments to the former location's past as a centre of workers' and political activism and the struggle against apartheid. Under this grand plan, the local garage and car wash would be revived in memory of pan-African motors; Welch High School would be converted into a technology school; and the former sites of the Bantu Square massacre and of the meeting hall established for Clements Kadalie's Industrial and Commercial Union (ICU) would be commemorated. The site of ANC forefather Walter Rubusana's grave would be refurbished and Jabavu Street, which runs through the heart of C Section would be turned into a commercial and heritage street along the lines of Vilakazi Street in Soweto.

Plate 14: The Duncan Village entrance from the 1930s now swallowed by shacks and hidden from view.

[17] This paragraph and the next is informed by a presentation made by M Gxanyana at a "Workshop on Development of the Buffalo City Metro Heritage Tourism Infrastructure Master Plan" held by BCMDA in East London, 15-16 July 2019.

Plates 15 and 16: Township initiates dress in a contemporary version of an old style. A small bungalow from the 1930s remains on Florence Street.

9. Addressing the spatial challenge of integrating heritage tourism

Built environment performance plans (BEPPs) have been forged in municipalities across the country, with the support of the National Treasury, to enable the implementation of local development strategies. These plans attach budgets to the proposals made by the local development strategies and also outline where catalytic infrastructure projects to promote the development will take place. The aim of such projects is to produce spatial transformation that will seed greater economic engagement from private-sector and civil-society partners.

Under the BEPP for Buffalo City Municipality, five catalytic programme areas have been identified in the: central business district (CBD); along the Mdantsane-East London Development (MELD) corridor; in Mdantsane itself; on the West Bank; and along a corridor to King William's Town. Dimbaza and Berlin are also projected as important economic nodes in the larger plan. Efforts to connect marginalised communities in the area to economic opportunities form a particular focus of the BEPP for the municipality. Most of the projects proposed under the BEPP are infrastructure-related.

The focus of this heritage-tourism plan and the hub-and-spoke model proposed by the 2018 Buffalo City Tourism Sector Growth Strategy are aligned closely with the spatial strategy for development outlined by the BEPP. The tourism growth strategy proposes a top-down, placemaking approach, in which a central hub should inform a number of "routes", with King William's Town deserving of special attention within

the municipality's spatial development framework. Eight of the 12 anchor projects proposed by the growth strategy overlap with the spatial plan proposed by the BEPP (see Plate 5 above).

According to this "hub and spoke" model, it has been proposed that the tourism hub should be established on the beachfront (see the Heroes Park case study below at 4.3.1). This would act as a gateway for visitors to the larger city-region. The establishment of such a hub would be supported by the plan outlined above for improving and maintaining the infrastructure (and infostructure) along the beachfront as part of other regeneration plans for this part of the inner-city.

From this hub a number of spokes may be produced in line with the spatial strategy outlined in the BEPP for the municipality. For example, the Duncan Village project is situated along the MELD corridor; a proposed sporting precinct node/boxing Mecca would be sited in Mdantsane; a planned automotive manufacturing Heritage Museum could be situated in the West Bank economic corridor with the support of Mercedes-Benz; and a heritage route would be extended to King William's Town and Bhisho, which would also form a dual heritage node in their own right. This last route could extend further to Berlin, Dimbaza and even beyond the city-region into other parts of the Xhosa political and cultural heartland at Qunu and Mthatha.

Within this spatial strategy, the high-quality road to King William's Town and Bhisho offers a particular opportunity to foster the development of heritage tourism in this area. At present, the built environments of these two towns which offer concrete testimony to the impacts of "frontier" colonialism and apartheid Bantustan rule supplement the offerings of the key heritage sites at Amathole Museum, the Steve Biko Museum and the Bhisho Massacre memorial to provide a unique view of the country's history. The spaces themselves, where the programmes of colonial dispossession and apartheid control were actually implements, offer an understanding that cannot be acquired at the more popular urban "struggle tourism" sites in Cape Town (such as Robben Island and District 6) and Johannesburg (such as Vilakazi Street). In addition, the close connections fostered by the Steve Biko Museum and other local initiatives with the communities in the informal settlements at Ginsberg and Zwelitsha offer the opportunity to promote the local creative economy, building on the cultural heritage of the area as an historical centre for the promotion and popularization of the language of isiXhosa; and also potentially reviving the area's capacity for textile-production. These connections may also be leveraged to engage visitors in township life, such as through the kind of Shisha nyama-style experiences pioneered in other urban centres, which may include dining; local cultural and sports events; home stays; guided tours and a local car wash.[18]

It is accordingly recommended that a layer of tourism projects promoted by this heritage-tourism plan and the 2018 Buffalo City Tourism Sector Growth Strategy, which would translate into security and maintenance initiatives, bricks-and mortar, and the production of value chains, should be superimposed onto the BEPP's development map. In addition, integrated planning should ensure that the nodes and routes tagged for development – the projects which are situated in space – are serviced with the appropriate transport infrastructure to ensure their accessibility both to visitors and residents.

[18] This point is informed by a presentation made by M Bushet at a "Workshop on Development of the Buffalo City Metro Heritage Tourism Infrastructure Master Plan" held by BCMDA in East London, 15-16 July 2019

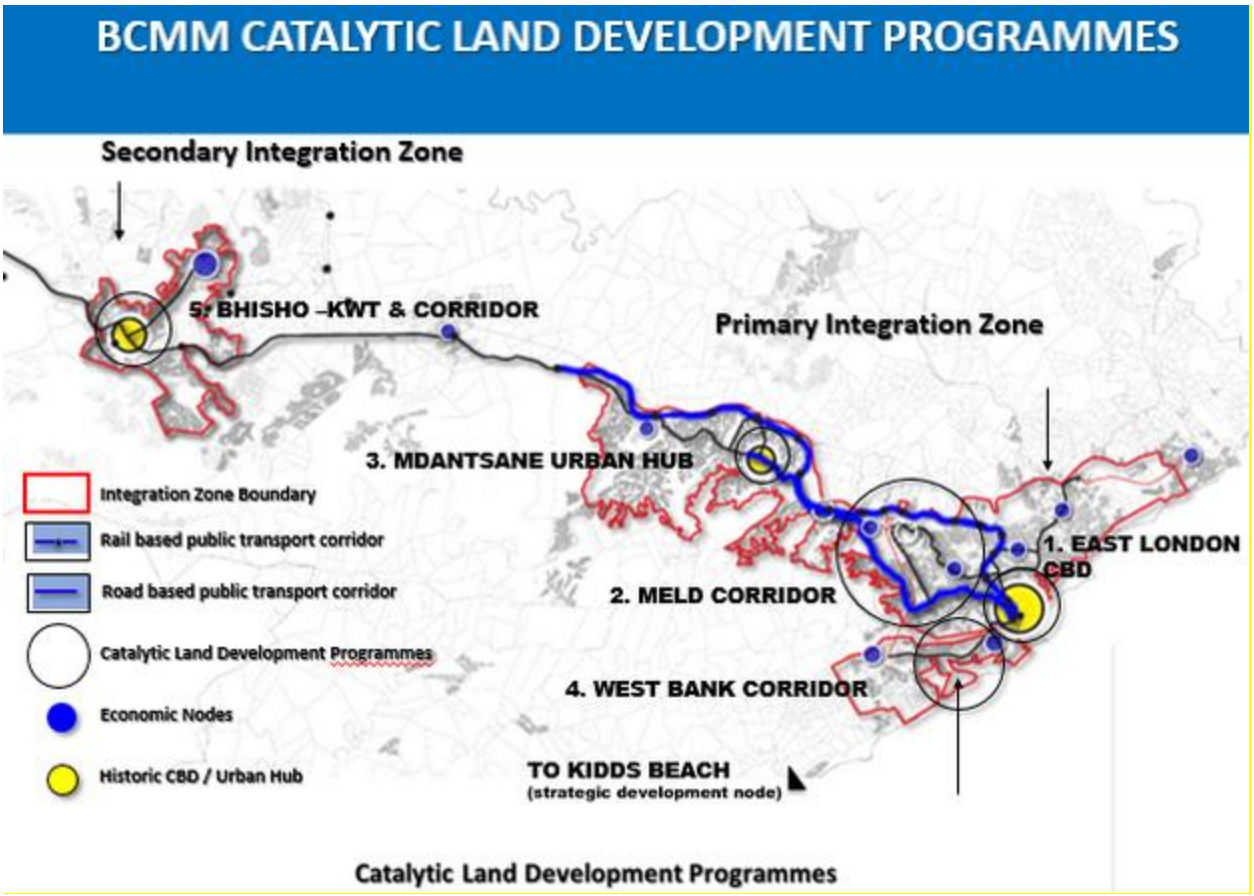

Plate 17: The catalytic land developments proposed under the BEPP for Buffalo City Municipality as presented by Sopna Kumar-Nair at a "Workshop on Development of the Buffalo City Metro Heritage Tourism Infrastructure Master Plan" held by BCMDA in East London, 15-16 July 2019.

9.1 CASE STUDY: A TOURISM HUB FOR THE CITY-REGION

The Heroes Park site is located on the esplanade next to the historical Kennaway Hotel. The land allocated to Heroes Park is in a strategic position and could serve as a catalyst for heritage development on the beach front. The original Heroes Park precinct was the brainchild of ANC stalwart Raymond Mhlaba and a group of regional and city ANC activists, who founded the site to remember and celebrate the leadership of the province. After the land was allocated in the 1990s and the project was set in motion, the clay footprints of liberation leaders and national heroes, including Nelson Mandela, were collected. Once the land was secured, the project installed a statue of "universal man" on the site and a plaque for the memorialisation of 100 Eastern Cape leaders of all races and social backgrounds. The facility embraced the spirit of the new democracy and celebrated the ideals of freedom, tolerance, wisdom and vision. It was meant as a place for quiet reflection and remembrance, where the people of the province and visitors could remember and acknowledge the road to freedom.

By the 2000s, and with the passing of the founding father of the project, Raymond Mhlaba, the park's board began to think of a second phase for the development on the site. In 2007, a proposal was drawn up for the creation of a "new museum project" on the site, celebrating Eastern Cape heroes and entrenching an appreciation for cultural diversity and the core values of the South African constitution.

One idea was to create a new museum on the city. This was rejected on the grounds that there were already a number of museums in the city and that another conventional museum would perhaps duplicate what already existed. Then, the Fort Hare Institute of Social and Economic Research (FHISER) was asked to help the steering committee re-imagine the Heroes Park precinct. The concept developed by FHISER was to use the site as a gateway precinct, which celebrated the culture and heritage of the city, while at the same time stitching together the many parts of the city and regional heritage tourism experience. The different components imagined in the FHISER proposal were similar to those that currently exist at the Biko Centre in King Williams Town. It was argued that there should be:

- An auditorium for public lectures or performances on the site;
- A coffee shop or delicatessen for light meals, as well as a museum shop, on a terrace with seaviews;
- Temporary exhibitions highlighting aspects of the city's history, such as its motor sport achievements and its boxing and music history, as well as small exhibitions on liberation histories supported by the University of Fort Hare's liberation archives;
- Digital infrastructure to allow visitors to browse the internet and assemble information on the tourism and heritage opportunities in the city and wider region. On-line booking and in-house officers should be present to assist tourists; and
- A large screen in the main exhibition halls broadcasting documentaries and other visual material related to the culture and heritage of the region. The screen would also advertise local art exhibitions, live theatre and other events of interest in the city or the region.

The concept of the digital gateway and cultural precinct was to enable locals and visitors to learn more about the city and the region through portals at the site networking into the area's heritage, educational and tourism resources. The displays and materials would guide visitors through various themes in the Eastern Cape's history, including the history of African nationalism and creativity, and the core values of South Africa's democracy and constitution.

The two main components of the project were:

(1) the development of the digital infrastructures, portals, displays and materials for the creation of a gateway facility to introduce visitors to the history and heritage of the city and the Eastern Cape; and
(2) the design and construction of a striking set of buildings (perhaps commissioned through a university-led architectural competition) offering an auditorium, restaurant, exhibition space, information centre, and so on.

One of the primary functions of the Heroes Park cultural precinct would be to bring the history of the city into focus, just as the District Six Museum does in Cape Town or the Red Location Museum does in Port Elizabeth. The exhibitions and material developed at Heroes Park would focus on the twentieth history of the city and the surrounding region. There would be a permanent exhibition of the Mandela car, built for the president by workers at the Mercedes plant in East London in 1990. The display section would also house permanent displays and material from the Defiance Campaign, the rise of African nationalism and the liberation movements in the city and the region. There would be digital and other materials on the history of suburbs and townships in the city, including the history of the beachfront and the esplanade.

Plates 18 and 19: Auto city – the Mandela Mercedes, which was produced in 1990 and has now been turned into an artwork; and the wreck of a car burnt out during the Defiance Campaign in 1952.

Plate 20: Liberation histories – the ANC Youth League marches through East London in 1951.

One of the permanent collections of material at the precinct, which would include video, photographs, letters and other materials, would concern the Defiance (of unjust laws) Campaign in East London and the Eastern Cape. Other themes and topics would be explored on a continuous basis, including the biographies of various Eastern Cape leaders. It was anticipated that the centre would be of great value to schools in the city and the region and would enable national stories to be embedded in a regional context within the curriculum.

The centre would also provide a base from which walking tours of the city and the beachfront could depart. Even in the absence of a landmark building at the site, there is a need for materials development on the history of the beachfront in this vicinity. This material would describe a history of shipwrecks, local motor racing events, hotels and social rituals, including white and black bathing and beach cultures. A series of storyboards illustrating the history could be erected on the esplanade, as has been done along the False Bay coast in Cape Town. The Heroes Park centre would also be a pick-up point where local guides collect tourists, with parking for buses and taxis.

9.1.1 Recommendation for a heritage-tourism hub on the beachfront

This report has reflected on the different heritage facilities in the city. What is lacking is a clear entry point for tourists into East London's heritage landscape. None of the museums or specialist heritage centres can really fulfil this role because they are dispersed across the city, far from the main tourist sites on the beachfront. This report proposes that the Heroes Park site on the beachfront be developed as a "hub and gateway" into the sector as a whole, both within the city and across the region. Tourists congregate on the esplanade and the site can accommodate the necessary infrastructure for such a project, including a restaurant; information centre; auditorium; exhibition space; and digital infrastructure and access to heritage and tourist materials. It is suggested that such a facility be planned to include space for temporary exhibitions, which might be updated or changed every six months. In the 1940s, the city tried to anchor the heritage sector in the heart of the cultural centre of the city, around the two main public schools and the East London College. Today it would be wise to locate the hub on the esplanade. Such a hub could link closely to its immediate urban landscape as the start of a heritage walk along the esplanade, illustrating the diverse history of the beachfront and its significance in the city's evolution, as well as in relation to its marine heritage. In relation to the latter, careful consideration should be given to the proposal to renovate the run-down aquarium on the esplanade, turning it into an ocean discovery centre.

10. Towards an inclusive marketing approach

While acknowledging that there a number of strategic thrusts to developing an effective integrated tourism plan for the Buffalo City,[19] the issue of marketing represents a major emphasis in the official municipal discourse on tourism. Within this discourse, Buffalo City is promoted as a "brand" with a number of identifiable attributes and benefits, mainly related to its ability to offer outdoor family leisure opportunities. Within this view, its values are described as "family-friendly", "value-for-money", and "cultural and natural authenticity". In essence, East London is described as "the authentic South African holiday city".[20]

According to this view, East London is regarded as performing quite satisfactorily in the domestic market given its status as a "homecoming" city. Indeed, East London was rated as the "hottest place to be in the festive season" a couple of years ago, according to local tourism officials. At the same time, though, local officials acknowledge a "need to chase the international market". Other identified priorities include a need for more marketing, including to promote the city as a sports destination, and a need to develop adventure activities and to upgrade sports facilities. The lack of a "must-see" attraction is also regarded

[19] The present tourism sector growth strategy list seven key "thrusts": product development; marketing; tourism-related infrastructure and services; business and skills development; institutional strengthening; responsible tourism; and safety and security.

[20] This paragraph and the next are based on comments and a presentation made by Noludwe Ncokazi, head of the Department of Tourism, Buffalo City Municipality, at a workshop hosted by the Buffalo City Metropolitan Development Agency (BCMDA) in East London on 15-16 July 2019

as critical and the idea of upgrading the aquarium on the beachfront at great expense has been mooted as a possible solution to this problem.

Criticism of the priorities adopted by the municipality for developing tourism has mainly centred on fears that the city-region's complex appeal is being subsumed into a master narrative of nature-based adventure tourism that at best caters to only a limited version of its actual identity. Within this narrative, even the idea of "authenticity" can become somewhat contrived – for example, "homecoming" becomes a large-scale, rolling annual party for domestic visitors, which may be viewed as an exercise in nostalgia. In part, this may be a logical result of the official focus on outward-facing marketing as the primary mechanism shaping the city's tourism growth strategy. It may also be viewed as a product of a deliberate attempt to adopt a dual marketing-position strategy. Under this, the aim is to position the city in the domestic market as "Uncrowded, value-for-money seaside enjoyment" and in the international market as the "Gateway to Xhosa heartland". A further criticism of the marketing emphasis that appears to have been adopted by the municipality is that it places the cart before the horse. In other words, apart from the nearby, relatively unspoilt coastline of the Wild Coast and a unique historical landscape, it is trying to sell products – such as a clean beachfront, top-of-the-range meetings and sports facilities, and a heritage gateway – that either don't exist or have not been developed to the required standard to attract and impress visitors.

Overall, the particular marketing approach adopted, which largely foregoes heritage tourism as a priority, seems to operate in a void, disconnected from the realities on the ground. In its focus on trying to sell the city as a destination at trade shows; through marketing deals; by coordinating with tour operators and travel agents; and by hosting travel-trade and -media guests, it overlooks how the idea of "destination" is forged – the actual "authenticity" that provides it with currency in the first place and which underpins the idea of "responsible" tourism. (In this regard, it is notable that the current growth strategy being promoted by the municipality appears to view "responsible" tourism solely as a natural-heritage, or environmental concern, rather than a human one.)

None of this is to suggest that, in order to woo tourists, the municipality should not focus on, and seek to leverage, East London's obvious natural and built advantages – a balmy climate, a scenic esplanade, a plethora of beaches for bathing in a warm ocean and great natural beauty. But rather that it should engage more proactively with local residents and interest groups in order to do this effectively. In part, the challenge faced by the municipality is one of resources – the local tourism department is very small – and, since the demise of Buffalo City Tourism, the government-sponsored body which was responsible for marketing the municipality to visitors, relatively isolated in its efforts. There also seems to be insufficient effective coordination among the relevant departments that may support the promotion of tourism to the city. For example, it was recently revealed that despite efforts to market East London as a year-round, seaside destination due to its mild climate, the main swimming pool on the beachfront is shuttered during South Africa's "winter".

On one level, the context of limited resources is acknowledged by municipal tourism officials, who admit: "Marketing is not cheap. Getting 30 seconds on TV is expensive and we are struggling to get coverage." In this regard, the exploitation of relatively cheap social media appears to have become a priority. On another level though, the focus of the official marketing efforts seems to be determinedly high-end – for example, inviting journalists to participate in a week-long golf holiday (although one assumes the resort(s) in question already had their own marketing programme; or advocating shopping as a key attraction,

although competitor analysis shows that East London scores much lower than other coastal cities – Port Elizabeth, Durban, Knysna and Cape Town – on this metric. Similarly, the benefits that may accrue from tourists disembarking from cruise liners are hyped, although the establishment of a proper terminal for such ships remains an aspiration.

An alternative approach would be to adopt a bottom-up approach to marketing the city which builds on its comparative advantages (see Plate 16): beaches and bathing; unique cultural traditions and experiences; unspoilt coast and nature; interesting surrounding region; and the area's historical sites and relics. In addition, given the clear interest in the city-region's heritage, planning to market this aspect should be integrated into the planning that markets the area's natural, outdoor appeal.

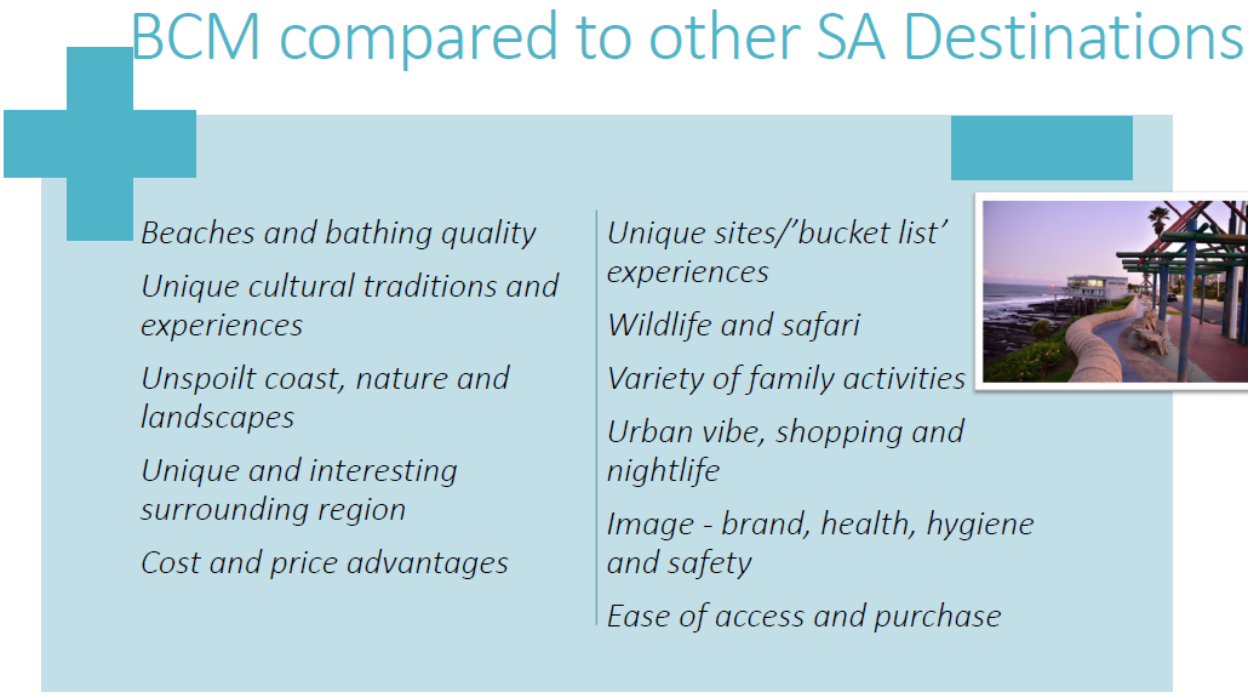

Plate 21: The results of a competitor analysis, comparing East London with other urban beach destinations – Cape Town, Durban. Knysna and Port Elizabeth – presented by Noludwe Ncokazi, head of the Department of Tourism, Buffalo City Municipality, at a workshop hosted by BCMDA in East London in July 2019.

In this regard, the "gateway" to Xhosa heartland discourse should also be interrogated. At present, the idea is that East London is an access point to relatively far-flung trips into the former Ciskei and Transkei – for example, to Kunu and Mthatha – rather than to more local and potentially similarly engaging sites in King William's Town, Bhisho and the nearby Mngqesha Great Place. The idea is further that somehow the city itself – despite its "homecoming" status – is not also an integral part of the evolution of the heartland culture.

Engaging local community, civil-society and private-sector individuals and groups to forge the appropriate heritage products and market them would require a much more inclusive approach than the outward-facing one that seems to be preferred at present by municipal officials. Such an approach would go beyond

the current social media campaign to procure content promoted by the municipal tourism department, which seeks to mount a competition targeting "bloggers and influencers. This instrumentalist approach may produce a cost-effective advertising channel, but it pays insufficient attention the actual messaging to be delivered, which is the identity of the city itself.

A more inclusive approach would be to engage local residents in a number of campaigns and activities to assess their own senses of identity in relation to the city and how these may be best expressed. Such work should involve the engagement of local museums, schools and media, as well as the local higher education institutions, such as the University of Fort Hare, which has a campus near the beachfront and holds substantial archives on the history of the city-region. Both the content and the software for local heritage apps could be developed in this way.

Similarly, the kind of support that local residents may offer in their interactions with visitors should be rooted in the residents' understanding of their own city and their place in it. At present, the view adopted by the local tourism department is that many residents are unaware of their city's tourism offerings and that if they are given some training either in person or through a public information campaign, this can be rectified. So, a number of attendants at local filling stations have been trained to be more helpful and give tour-guide advice. Although such initiatives have a practical value and inculcate a certain pride in place, the engagement and employment of local residents in tourism should go beyond this to the autonomous identification and creation of actual tourism experiences within local communities – which requires municipal and private-sector backing. Heritage tourism management by its very nature can play a crucial role in this (see Plate 17)

Plate 22: Principles of heritage management from a presentation by Sonwabile Mancotywa, former chief executive on the National Heritage Council and former MEC of arts and culture in the Eastern Cape, at a workshop hosted by BCMDA in East London in July 2019.

As an aside, it is also important that a realistic, financially sustainable and viable approach should also be adopted towards natural heritage management, as advocated by the National Heritage Council (see Plate 17). A cost-effective approach could be to produce a trail from Nahoon, which is the site of the earliest human footprints in the world through to the esplanade and the harbour – the construction of such a path would require security measures, perhaps in the form of visible policing, as well as appropriate lighting and CCTV cameras, to make it safe. Such a walk could also be deemed a human as well as a natural heritage route, with boards illustrating the history of this coastline, which in many ways also tells an important part of the story of the city itself. could walk if it was safe. Portable boardwalks may need to be installed at the end of the trail at the Nahoon nature reserve in order to address the issue of wind-blown sand continually covering the path. Another coastal activity could be to arrange trips to witness the sardine run, brought once a year by cold offshore currents. In addition, thought should be given to exploiting the break off Nahoon to organise regular surfing events.

10.1 CASE STUDY: MARKETING AT THE INSTITUTIONAL HERITAGE INTERFACE – THE STEVE BIKO CENTRE, THE EAST LONDON MUSEUM AND THE AMATHOLE MUSEUM

In the absence of a central hub providing coherence to how the disparate history of the region and thus, in a sense, the municipality's idea of itself as a place, may be viewed, the three key heritage institutions – the East London Museum, the Amathole Museum and the Steve Biko Centre – seek to address and engage their visitors in markedly different ways. At the Steve Biko Centre, which is open from 7am to 5pm from Monday to Friday, on Saturday mornings and by appointment on Sunday (although these hours are often extended), visitors are wooed through a relatively extensive marketing network. A dedicated office in Johannesburg connects to the international market, which is also supported by the centre's funding links with pan-African sponsors in the United States, as well as the British Council. (Further funding is provided by Lotto, the national Department of Arts and Culture and Rhodes University.) The centre also employs external marketers, attends tourism and heritage indabas and connects to a range of travel packages offered within the Eastern Cape and South Africa more broadly. Group visits to the museum are often part of a larger tour experience. For example, the centre may be visited as part of a journey along the Sandile Route and/or Amathole Trail, taking in Biko's actual grave site in King William's Town; the Sandile Great Place in the foothills of the local mountains; the Bhisho Massacre memorial; and the Wall of Fame and mass children's grave at Dimbaza, which was the site of mass starvation as a result of apartheid-era forced removals. Tours also often take in the township at Mdantsane.

The form of the engagement with visitors at the centre is proactive, as tour guide Sinethemba Honami explained: "With Struggle tours, there is a need to create interaction with the visitors and to prepare them in advance for the kind of experience that they will have." Honami, who joined the museum from Grade 9 as an administrator and now helps to run the centre, noted that she herself was motivated by the ethos of pan-Africanism and black self-consciousness and self-reliance that is promoted by the centre in her work and life. She emphasised the centre's role as a community resource, particularly for neighbouring Ginsberg.

Disincentives to access to the museum may include, for local people, the price of entrance, which is R25 for adults (more for foreigners). Honami also expressed particular concern that, despite the existence of the Steve Biko trail, the local authority "hasn't packaged what we have offered". She stressed the need to link up to tourist sites at Alice and East London more effectively. She also noted that although there is signage on the road from East London directing tourists to the centre, there was no signage on the roads

from Mthatha, Port Elizabeth and Queenstown. In this and other issues of coordination, she said the centre needed the support of the Buffalo City Municipality.

The Amathole museum officially opens between 8am and 4.30pm from Monday to Thursday, closing half-an-hour earlier on Friday 8am to 4pm. On Saturday and public holidays visits are by appointment only. However, the price of tickets is cheap – R5 for adults with free entry for children under the age of 16. The Xhosa museum featured 135 entries from January to April 2019 in its visitor's book, indicating significant positive feedback from tourists. In terms of outreach, as is noted above, the museum engages widely in projects with local schools, as well as the municipality. The friendly, helpful staff also offer advice on the other attractions that may be seen in the area, including a tour of the nearby Missionary Museum, which is part of the Amathole and directions to a nearby graveyard commemorating a number of British soldiers who died during the Xhosa Wars of the late 18th and 19th centuries, as well as the many local people who died as a result of the cattle killing of 1856-1857. There are also a series of leaflets with maps describing a number of local walking tours around Kind William's Town.

However, despite the warm welcome afforded visitors, the staff at the museum admitted that some days no-one comes. In addition, in the absence of clear signage indicating what exhibitions are on display inside, the assistance of the staff is required (and readily offered) to navigate the various parts of the institution. For example, unless directed it is possible for the casual visitor to completely miss the Struggle and Xhosa history galleries. Similarly, although the nearby cattle-killing memorial is clearly signposted, it is a task to find it at the site, which is actually a colonial-era graveyard.

By contrast with the friendly welcome to the Amathole Museum, the arrival at the East London Museum is a little forbidding. The gate to the museum's dedicated parking area is kept closed and is only opened upon request. A sign indicates that the museum is closed over the weekends and public holidays. Another that it accepts "cash only". The opening hours are posted as 9am to 4pm, Mondays to Fridays. Entrance costs R25 for adults and R15 for students and children, which is more than is advertised on the museum's website.

Plate 23: A sculpture of the coelacanth at the entrance to the East London Museum.

In relation to the limits on visiting times – which would effectively prevent working families from coming to the museum – Morcom explained that the employment regulations set down by the responsible provincial department prevented management from offering time off in lieu to staff prepared to work at weekends. In this regard, she noted that, internationally, it is common, best practice for museums to close on Mondays instead of over weekends. She said that, in the meantime, with the support of independent funding provided via the institution's board, the museum opened from 9am to 1pm on Saturdays and that some staff had worked voluntarily without pay over weekends. However, she urged a change of policy at national departmental level to resolve the staffing issue on a more sustainable basis.

In relation to the potentially prohibitive expense of visiting the museum for local families, Morcom noted that it sought to compensate by holding free, open days, including on International Museum Day in May, with almost 500 people coming to a recent one. She also cited a new scheme introduced for schools under which the institutions can pay R1,250, which allows all the children to enter the museum for half price. In

addition, the museum offers a special price of R10 during festivals and for special events such as night markets.

About 90% of visitors are black schoolchildren who visit during and after Heritage Month in September and October, according to museum staff. As many as 3,000-4,000 can visit during the course of a day as part of a school trip which may also take in visits to the beachfront and the nearby Hemingways shopping mall. The schoolchildren are offered an introductory lecture on the nature of the museum in neighbouring Latimer Hall and are taken on a one-hour tour. Additional security and external toilets are provided. However, these visits are described as quite chaotic and as part of a day out at the seaside rather than a serious educational effort. Some of the accompanying teachers have reportedly been drunk and the children may be left to ride up and down the escalators at the local mall while their teachers visit the shops. No real feedback is received after the visits from these schools. However, in a separate initiative, the museum conducts a number of outreach programmes, including through the private sector, to local schools, including in Mdantsane/Duncan Village. Other visitors throughout the year include those attending special events such as on-site fairs and a "night at the museum", as well as tourists who have disembarked from cruise ships. Seven buses of such passengers had recently visited the museum when the authors of this report visited in April. Ex-employees offer a number of guided tours in the city for groups of 20 or so. The museum is generally more popular during school holidays that at other times. When the authors of this report reviewed the site, the visitor's book contained 111 positive comments made since the beginning of the year.

The publicly funded museums in East London and King William's Town face austerity in their operations. Although the East London Museum received Lotto funding and a grant from the provincial Department of Sport, Recreation, Arts and Culture and receives significant additional funds through the support of its board, monthly running costs which include municipal charges of about R40,000, as well as the costs of services and security, constitute a large percentage of the budget. In this context, Morcom noted the high cost of infrastructure and equipment such as security cameras, lighting and new interactive technologies for the displays. In this context, the museum often seeks co-sponsorship of its exhibitions. For example, a forthcoming botanical exhibition on the medicinal and cultural uses of plants will be funded with R100,000 from the museum's own funds and R100,000 from the government.

The budgetary constraints seem even tighter at the Amathole Museum complex, which has a smaller staff than the 30 people, including scientists, employed at its sister body in East London. The specialist staff in King William's Town include an historian, an anthropologist, a mammal expert and the archivist of the institution's library which features a broad range of texts on colonialism, including those donated by Archdeacon Henry Kitton in the 19th century. The library is widely used to substantiate land claims, including by individual petitioners, tribal authorities and officials from departments of traditional affairs, as well as by students. In an effort to boost and synergise its research capacity the museum has collaborated with local universities. For example, its Struggle museum was established in 2014 with the support of Rhodes University.

Meanwhile, the East London Museum also, despite its larger staff complement, has capacity issues. Its collections manager and conservator posts have been cut and volunteers play an important supportive role. Its front-of-house staff appeared surprised to be engaged in dialogue about the museum and its contents – and the manager of the museum expressed delight that the topic of how to raise the institution's profile was being discussed. "You have made my year," she said. Morcom ascribed staff

capacity issues to the adoption of a one-size-fits-all management template by the provincial department for all museums in the Eastern Cape. For example, each museum in the region is allocated six general assistants, regardless. Of the 17 museums in the province, both East London and Amathole occupy the second rung in terms of size and popularity, behind the Albany Museum in Grahamstown and the Bayworld Oceanarium in Port Elizabeth. Notwithstanding their capacity constraints, both the East London and Amathole museums provide training and work placements to tourism students. This is organised in partnership with DSRAC and the Eastern Cape Tourism Board. The East London Museum coordinates with Walter Sisulu University, the University of Fort Hare, the Buffalo City Training and Vocational Education Training (TVET) College and the private Cape Midlands college in its intern programme.

In terms of the exploitation of their own spaces and marketing capacity, the Steve Biko Centre appears to be more innovative than its peers – although the shop at the centre which, at first sight, appears to offer a range of well-designed, modern clothes, including T-shirts; some well-chosen, quality handicrafts, including beadwork, jewellery, jackets and dresses; and a wide range of books on Biko and pan-Africanism, is in fact poorly stocked. The only T-shirts available are those on display since the shop's stock has not been replenished since 2014. Meanwhile, at East London, there are few items for sale – mainly postcards and a small, blue, frosted-glass coelacanth which is "made in East London" and costs R80. In addition, the souvenirs are found behind the reception counter and not easy for the public to access. The museum shop which had been located separately in the main body of the building was closed in 2014 after some auditing issues were identified. The shop at Amathole Museum, which is neat and tidy and open to the public features a selection of handicrafts, including jewellery and clothing; some local history books; and knick-knacks and postcards. However, the selection of local handicrafts is unimaginative and there are few mementos linked to the items on display in the museum itself. Significant improvements could be made in what is for sale at both the public museums, sourcing and selecting the best of local arts and crafts, as well as producing quality memorabilia related to the items on display. For example, at the East London Museum the large wirework car and trailer displayed inside as an examples of local township crafts could be reproduced in miniature form and put up for sale. In addition, the absence of coelacanth-branded T-shirts is baffling given the fish's dominance in the institutional culture.

Similarly, the use of space for the visiting public could be improved at the public museums, particularly at the Amathole Museum, which features a gloomy, dull-green tearoom, which appears unused, in the main building. Next door, the Xhosa gallery features a lovely, open-air period courtyard, which would make a nice spot for a bite to eat and some refreshments. Of the three institutions, the Steve Biko Centre has the best-designed area for relaxation – a number of outdoor spaces flowing into each other and adjoining the modern, glass-fronted restaurant, which serves meals and has a liquor licence. Meanwhile, the East London Museum has a cosy café, which is clearly a going concern, serving light meals, snacks and drinks. In addition, it makes use of Latimer Hall, which is part of the complex, for talks and events and also rents it out for meetings to earn extra income. However, the outdoor space in front of the museum is a bit run-down and the security presence, in terms of a locked front gate and private security guards on watch, is quite visible. Indeed, Morcom noted that security was something of an issue for the museum. For example, nearby Gateley House, which is a 19th-century period house preserved as far as possible in its original condition under the auspices of the museum, was closed in 2016 after its caretaker was held up at gunpoint. In coordination with local retailers, the museum is in negotiations to find a way of reopening this significant memorial to colonial settler history in the city.

In relation to broader public relations efforts, all three museums communicate via social media and run websites, although that for East London does not feature much information or appear to be updated that often. The Amathole Museum also produces an occasional newsletter. Both the publicly-owned institutions distribute pamphlets advertising their offerings. In addition, both coordinate with local print and broadcast media. The East London Museum reported recent publicity in the Daily Dispatch and East London Rising Sun newspapers, as well as Wild Coast FM and Radio Algoa. The Steve Biko Centre has produced a comic book aimed at younger readers telling the story of Biko's life. The East London Museum produces significant publicity each year to promote the annual Umtiza Festival. However, the public relations products of both publicly-funded institutions indicated little overall integrated planning, as would be evidenced in the promotion and development of certain core messages and particular kinds of events and community coordination in line with identified forms of institutional identity and prioritised modes of engagement.

10.1.1 Recommendations for inclusive marketing at the institutional heritage interface

Pupils and students coming to the museums from other parts of the region and visitors coming from elsewhere in South Africa or overseas need know more about the city as a place and explore its hitherto hidden histories. African and black histories in the city must also not be told only in the form of resistance struggles against colonialism and apartheid. There is more to tell in relation to the lives and identities of poor communities, as the *Imonti Modern* book and the photographs taken by East Bank photographer Daniel Morolong in the 1950s reveal. Similar histories of other locations and places, like Ginsberg, Mdantsane, Cambridge location and Zwelitsha need to be written. And the stories of local white middle- and working-class suburbs also need to be told. The work of Cornelius Thomas on North End is important in this regard, but his book is difficult to source in the city. Other useful local histories include the work of Glen Hollands on the history of surfing in the city and his recent book on the East London Grands Prix, called *Off the Circuit* (2019). University students should be encouraged to take on projects exploring the city's histories and given incentives to publish this work in booklets for the general reader and tourist market. At schools, pupils might be encouraged to collect their own family histories and develop exhibitions based on family photographs and oral histories. These stories and publications need to find their way into the city's museums and should also be featured at public libraries and at schools. The director of the East London Museum has expressed interest in staging such shows. The engagement of local newspapers such as the Daily Dispatch and other media, including radio stations, should be sought to promote this inclusive project, in which the residents of the city are invited to rediscover and make know their own, diverse histories. In general, recovering the city's hidden histories should be a multi-stakeholder project involving schools, university students, civil society and the business community. The goal should be to enable what Lew (2017) described as "placemaking" – an organic reimagining of the city driven by the residents themselves that would galvanise its heritage offerings, enabling the city literally to market itself.

Books with local historical content are not available at the museums, or in the local bookshops, or at the curio and tourism shops at the airport. They are also not used in local schools to support aspects of the syllabus in subjects like history, which cover colonialism and apartheid history. At museums around the world, books that relate to the core content of the museum are popular items in their shops. They are one of the ways in which visitors are able to take the museum experience home with them – buy into local authenticity. Another is through the purchase of cups, ties, T-shirts etc. In assessing the local museums, including the Biko museum, the authors of this report found that there were few products that would

enable visitors to take the experience away. The lack of stock of Biko-branded T-shirts and bags for purchase at the Steve Biko Centre in King Williams Town constituted a big oversight on the part of the management team there. Given the iconic status of Biko as a global figure in the black liberation history, King William's Town should be producing merchandise for a global market. The East London Museum had virtually no interesting memorabilia for sale – and, in fact, its former shop had closed. The Amathole Museum also clearly needed to improve its stock, offering more products tied to its actual heritage offerings. The production of heritage goods for both sites and more widely also presents an opportunity for local entrepreneurs and craftspeople, particularly given the city-region's industrial heritage as a producer of fabrics and clothing. An audit of the shops and their offerings at both the publicly funded museums should be conducted as a matter of urgency.

11. Key institutional/organisational challenges

In managing heritage and creative tourism, consideration should be given not only to the hardware and the software – the sites and the products which are forged by people – but also the "orgware", that is the kind of intra- and inter-institutional relationships, as well as those between institutions and key communities and individuals, that need to be forged to enact integrated planning and implementation (see Plate 19).

MANAGEMENT ISSUES	HARDWARE of Heritage Site & Territory	SOFTWARE of Cultural Tourism Product	ORGWARE Agents and Organization

Plate 24: Key fields of heritage management from a presentation by Sonwabile Mancotywa, former chief executive on the National Heritage Council and former MEC of arts and culture in the Eastern Cape, at a workshop hosted by BCMDA in East London in July 2019.

Aside from the crucial issue of agency, with this report advocating a bottom-up ethos, two key institutional and organisational challenges confront the heritage tourism sector in Buffalo City Municipality. First, there is an apparent lack of effective coordination among the relevant municipal departments. For example, concerns about conflicts among private-sector "tak-tak" and traditional taxi operators, which can impact on safety and comfort in the inner-city have been passed from pillar to post between the local tourism and transport departments, with the local chamber of commerce unable to gain purchase on the municipal decision-making processes. The Bhisho Massacre Memorial remains shuttered as a result of a dispute between the Department of Public Works, which was responsible for building the site, and the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC), to which it was supposed the hand management of the site. Contestation over agreement to employ local people to take care of the site has been cited as the root cause of the problem – with the Department of Public Works alleging that in response to popular agitation on the ground it needs a pledge of such employment from the DAC before it can hand over the site. Meanwhile, a private security company is being employed from the public purse to prevent entry. At the time of the workshop convened by the BCMDA in July 2019 on the topic of heritage tourism, no inter-departmental meeting had been scheduled to resolve the issue.

Meanwhile, since the withdrawal of funding for Tourism Buffalo City, which led to its demise, no effective community or regional tourism structures have been formally established by municipality to guide private sector extensive engagement this sector. The Border-Kei Chamber of Commerce and its

tourism working group/committee has sought to play a key role in this regard. However, in the absence of more formal and properly funded support, a DIY approach has tended to take hold, in which enthusiastic, willing local tourism entrepreneurs, including local tour guides, accommodation providers and attraction owners, come together to package their own routes – such as a 60km party-bus ride that takes in some stick dancing; a bit of go-karting on the old Grand Prix track; some traditional pottery and face-painting; and some karaoke. A more coordinated approach between the public and private sectors may be able to produce a more comprehensive and "authentic" experience than those produced by necessity from the current haphazard approach.

A clear issue in the management of the sector is a lack of connection between the efforts being made on the ground and those being advocated at the strategic level for the province and the municipality as a whole, and vice versa. In fact, the expertise to produce new forms of tourism is embedded in the local communities, but is not being harvested properly. A programme-management office should be established within the municipality to focus on how the actions, projects and products recommended by this report and from elsewhere in the local community can be compiled, assessed and implemented. Reference groups could be established to sift through and provide working plans for these recommendations on the basis of their theme or location. The office could also act as a centre for coordinating between the work being suggested and implemented on the "home of legends" at the provincial, municipal and site levels, providing a basis for local and regional partnerships.

12: Way forward and recommendations

The benefits of heritage tourism are often couched in instrumental, socio-economic terms, with the emphasis on sparking private-sector engagement and creating local jobs. However, the impacts of heritage as a focus area of activity are much broader than this, underpinning wider ideas of cultural and social security among residents and promoting bottom-up value chains and democratic values that can strengthen forms of good governance and inclusive growth. Nevertheless, the sector has largely remained overlooked as a development tool.

Analysis of national and municipal tourism and heritage plans; a review of key museums and heritage centres in Buffalo City Municipality conducted by the authors of this report (see Appendix 2 below); and further situational analysis of other key sites in East London (see section on *Imonti Modern* and case study of visit to Duncan Village above); as well as other place-development work conducted by HSRC and FHISER in the city, leads to a number of recommendations for action.

In this regard, the content and organisation of the sector needs regeneration and re-visioning. One of the problems is that heritage and tourism have been relatively low-level priorities in the development of the city since the introduction of democracy in 1994. Moreover, the heritage and tourism sectors have not been effectively connected in an integrated development strategy for the city or region. The focus of tourism in the city has been on marketing outdoor "adventure", the natural environment, beach holidays and game viewing (even hunting). To the extent that culture and heritage are included in the package, it is to the "rural heartlands" and the "traditional customs" that the brochures refer. In addition, there is little infrastructure or info-structure to support a heritage tourist experience which allows visitors to embed themselves in actual local culture, cuisine and custom.

Reading the available tourist brochures, it is difficult to know what one would do in the city over a few days except go to the beaches. There is no sense of a clear package or set of options for tourists to explore,

especially in the city itself. If Buffalo City and the airport at East London are to become an entry (or exit) point for foreign tourists, they need to offer something more substantial in the city-region. The city has products that can be developed: two museums with substantial collections which could prepare visitors for excursions into the hinterland and the city itself. In addition, the city has a 150-year history and has gone through many phases in its development, from being a military outpost, to a wool trading and commercial hub with global connectivity to the rise of industrial development, including automotive manufacture, and apartheid planning. There are a number of important heritage buildings in the city and many ways in which walking and driving tours could be developed for visitors. There is also the potential to develop township tourism, which would take visitors into areas such as Duncan Village, Ginsberg and Mdantsane. Possible themes for these tours include boxing, music and politics.

Across the province and in the city, a number of heritage sites stand alone, neither integrated into tourist routes nor particularly comprehensible for visitors who either manage to find them on their own or don't find them. These local sites are also sometimes swamped in litter, lack clear signage and might be difficult to access and dangerous to visit. The city has the responsibility to address these issues, but may not be able to rehabilitate all sites. Accordingly, a series of priorities need to be established for investment and then connected together into clear heritage themes/routes and products which could be developed in coordination with local residents, offering them employment and equity opportunities.

The Buffalo City Metropolitan Tourism Infrastructure Master Plan (Heritage) proposes that the heritage experience in Buffalo City should be divided into a King William's Town experience and a number of East London experiences, with an additional experience to be explored further afield in Dimbaza and Berlin. In King William's Town the main nexus for the development of products should be the Amathole museum, the Biko Centre and the Bhisho Massacre site; while in East London a beachfront heritage hub could both provide the focus for precinct development in the Quigney and CBD area, as well as offering access to the larger city and the region. Within East London, a number of site-specific experiences should also be established in line with the municipality's SDF and BEPP at Mdantsane, on the West Bank and in Duncan Village.

Addressing the key identified hardware, software and orgware issues raised by the heritage tourism report and in accordance with the municipality's spatial planning, the Buffalo City Metropolitan Tourism Infrastructure Master Plan (Heritage) focused on a number of specific sites with different stakeholders assigned potential roles. The plan prioritises a "5+1" set of sites, for which appropriate infrastructure and info-structure should be provided. The priority sites are:

1. **The East London beachfront and CBD**. A tourist gateway should be established at the beachfront. Servicing tourists, who anyway congregate on the esplanade, the site should include a restaurant; information centre; auditorium; exhibition space; and digital infrastructure and access to heritage and tourist materials. It is suggested that such a facility be planned to include space for temporary exhibitions, which might be updated or changed every six months. Such a hub could link closely to its immediate urban landscape as the start of a heritage walk along the esplanade. This area should be cleaned up and appropriate signage and heritage information boards should be installed both along the beachfront and into Quigney. This improvement work may be implemented as part of a City Improvement District (CID). This project should be extended in its second phase to improve the CBD more broadly by: helping to shape the Quigney as an identifiable food and entertainment precinct linked to a creative-industry (fine arts and fashion)

hub along Oxford Street and a pan-African peace museum, perhaps at the old City Hall, which would provide a springboard into more extensive heritage trails across the city-region.

2. **Duncan Village**. Consideration should be given to the establishment of an interpretative centre to be managed by local residents who would act as tour guides. The centre would act as a secure entry point into the township where cars could be parked. Since the built landscape of the former East Bank location, where Duncan Village was sited, which embodied the vital history of urban black community in this area was deliberately eradicated during the apartheid removals, a geo-located cellphone app should be developed to bring this past back to virtual life. The content for this app, which would overlay the present landscape with images of the area's past, revealing the historical built landscape and how it was inhabited, should be researched and developed in conjunction with local residents, building on the archive from which *Imonti Modern* drew and historical data on the city-region held by the University of Fort Hare.
3. **Mdantsane**. A sporting precinct/boxing Mecca should be established at Mdantsane building on the area's celebrated history as a producer of international boxing champions. In support of this project, content should be assembled in conjunction with local residents and schools and from the archives. This should include stories of derring-do; the gloves; and clips of fights as broadcast by SABC. The narrative should trace the sport's popularity in East London from the history of stick-fighting to the rise of the discipline in the former East Bank location to its popularity as a school and club sport in Mdantsane. Located at Sisa Dukashe stadium, the new facility should include a boxing gym that would support and expand existing training facilities and service; as well as an exhibition space. The site should, in the second phase, form the hub of a larger sporting precinct that may include facilities to manufacture and sell sporting apparel and goods. This precinct should be linked to memorialising infrastructure in Duncan Village and designed with public art celebrating the local history of boxing and its icons.
4. **West Bank.** An automotive museum and racetrack celebrating East London's heritage as South Africa's premier motor city should be established with the support of private-sector investors, including Mercedes-Benz. The historic grand prix racetrack should be upgraded to host international racing events. An automotive museum should be established, which may feature the "Mandela car "artwork, as well as displays on the city's industrial and motorsport past. Former workers within the automotive industry may act as guides and locally produced automotive themed memorabilia should be on sale. Visits to the museum may be coordinated with tours of Mercedes-Benz's present factory in the city.
5. **King William's Town and Bhisho.** A heritage route should be established offering an in situ look at the history of black consciousness in South Africa, including through the establishment of Xhosa-language radio, as well as the enactment of Bantustans under apartheid. A digital cellphone app, should be developed in support of this. The route should include the Steve Biko Museum, the Struggle exhibition at the Amathole Museum and the Bhisho Massacre Memorial, which should be made open to the public as part of this initiative. The tour should also include the seat of the former Bantustan and present provincial government at Bhisho and Zwelitsha ("new nation") township which was established as a socio-economic model under apartheid for keeping black people in their homelands. The multifunctional, community-engaged Steve Biko Centre, which faces sustainability issues, should be supported with infrastructural upgrades to the surrounding precinct offering parking, lighting and public art to produce a secure and friendly space. Efforts should also be made to integrate the centre into a local creative economy, forging

value chains to produce Biko-related memorabilia and clothing and to create a cultural hub and market offering a music and food experience in Ginsberg.

- **Dimbaza and Berlin.** East London's hinterland which was at one point at the epicentre of the colonial world and local resistance to this world and still features the physical traces of that period offers a unique location to experience and reflect on more than 200 years of conflict, engagement and dialogue between the cultures living in the area. In line with this vision, the towns of Dimbaza and Berlin need to be integrated into new routes that place the city-region's traditional heritage within the modern political context of the struggles against colonialism and apartheid. Dimbaza offers important sites to reflect on the socio-economic legacies of apartheid both at its Wall of Fame commemorating the horrors endured by the families, including former political prisoners, who were forcibly relocated there; and at the deserted industrial park that bears testimony to the industrialisation plan for the Ciskei. Berlin constitutes an important site for exploring the historical settlement of this area by Germans. It is recommended that content should be developed for a more adventurous wars-of-resistance tour of this part of the city-region, taking in the site of frontier-war forts and battles, such as that at Amalinda, as well key sites in the Struggle against apartheid. The tour could also explore the development of a fully-fledged Xhosa cultural village, as well as the exodus of the Khoi from the area. Providing a central hub for such heritage trails, a pan-African peace museum could be established near the beachfront in the CBD – perhaps at the old City Hall. Such a hub and the new routes may be developed and promoted in partnership with the province and, possible, local traditional authorities.

Broadly, the "5 + 1" infrastructure and info-structure strategy aims to produce developmentally dense precincts where public- and private sector investment would be "crowded" to leverage the benefits for economic growth. According to this view, the municipality should implement appropriate physical infrastructure, which may include offering appropriate sites, providing transport and services for maintaining and ensuring a safe, clean built environment, while the BCMDA leverages private-sector involvement by offering access to grants for socially inclusive projects and attaching community-engagement conditions to favourable land-lease deals and approvals for proposed commercial developments. The agency also seeks to promote multiple uses for its projects, for example, by siting frontline public facilities, accommodation opportunities and retail spaces within the same building or development, which can increase foot traffic that may be converted into profits by commercial partners willing to participate in and market the project.

	POLITICS &POLITIC AL HIST.	ARTS & CULT	AUTO INDUSTRY SPORT	SPORT
DIMBAZA/ BCM	X	X	X	
KWT/BISHO	X	X		
MDANTSANE	X			X
DANCAN VILLAGE	X	X		X
WESTBANK			X	
BEACHFRONT	X	X	X	X

Plate 25: Proposed Info-structure by Thematic Area by Spatial Development Zone

Adopting a heritage-tourism perspective, each site constitutes a physical aspect – the building itself and surrounding supporting infrastructure; an informational and creative aspect, which may take a range of forms including the production of digital apps or physical displays such as public art; a human aspect, which is the interactions that take place at the site; and a consumerist aspect, such as in the production and sale of memorabilia at the site. According the heritage tourism principles that have been forged at the national level, it is crucial that local communities partake in the benefits of such site development, which should provide them with employment opportunities and an equitable share of profits.

The development of the sites should be implemented to support the broader development of their local precincts. Accordingly, the priorities identified by the heritage tourism strategy seek both to consolidate existing infrastructure-development plans – such as, for example, on the beachfront and at Quigney – and extend these plans – such as, for example, in Dimbaza and Berlin. The installation of appropriate signage, which may include infrastructure indicating routes or highlighting the heritage content of particular locations, can help to consolidate the identities of particular precincts while tying them into a broader heritage narrative for the city-region. Such hard infrastructure should also be linked to digital placemaking info-structure in the form of cellphone apps.

Looking to the next implementation phase of the heritage tourism strategy, a number of thematic areas of activity have been proposed to shape precinct development in the CBD, including in the creative industry sector. Historically, investments in culture have been seen as an expense. However, a new view holds that such investment can leverage the returns from tourism and greater socio-economic engagement within the municipality to galvanise development. Such precinct development may be enacted through opportunistic placemaking which identifies and exploits opportunities for repurposing old buildings, often by creating multi-use spaces. Regulations and templates for participatory design,

engaging residents and utilising local materials and workmanship, need to be produced in support of this development model. The goal should be to establish a creative economy that can create local value chains, for example, by leveraging the local textile skills-base. The project and its products should be branded as "Made in Buffalo City".

The infrastructural site and precinct developments recommended by the heritage-tourism strategy should be supported by digital placemaking. The goal should be to create a digital city using cellphone apps, installations to augment physical spaces and social media. The content for these media forms should be resident and user-driven with input from the school and post-school sectors in the city and the support of established local media institutions. The technology for the media should also be the product of participatory local collaboration. The heritage-based cellphone apps should be citizen-narrated and their content should be the products of socially networked engagement with local communities, in which residents are asked to share their memories. Both the technology and the participatory processes for content development for the heritage-based cellphone apps may be made available on a commercial basis to inform the development of similar apps for other South African heritage sites and precincts. The virtues of digital placemaking are that it is innovative, efficient and cost-effective. Such placemaking can also help to spark larger, physical placemaking efforts. App as a hook – app idea – business opportunity to make it available for visitors.

Digital installations to augment place-making can include touch screens offering a broad menu of information and services to visitors (and residents) which may be sited at key locations, and digital mesh screens with projectors that can superimpose imagery onto the built environment at night, adding value to local cultural spaces. The images that are projected should be aligned with the existing architecture to enhance the sense of place. Such digital projections can bring areas to life at night, promoting their use and their safety. They also offer a cost-effective alternative to the installation of traditional lighting to celebrate festivals and holidays.

Social media also can be exploited to promote heritage tourism-based place-making, in particular through the production of a "what's on" events and activities diary encouraging user feedback in the form of comments and images. The content of such material may be moderated by staff from established local media outlets which could sponsor the initiative.

The technology and content to transform East London into a digital city, produce digital tours of other sites at King William's Town, Bhisho, Dimbaza and Berlin and recontextualise outdated displays at the city-region's museums may be produced at a BCMDA-sponsored innovation hub within the CBD where young technicians and creatives turn heritage into entertainment. The revenues from these products, which would come from charging for the apps that are produced, as well as patenting their technologies for broader use, may be split between the technicians and creatives and the hub.

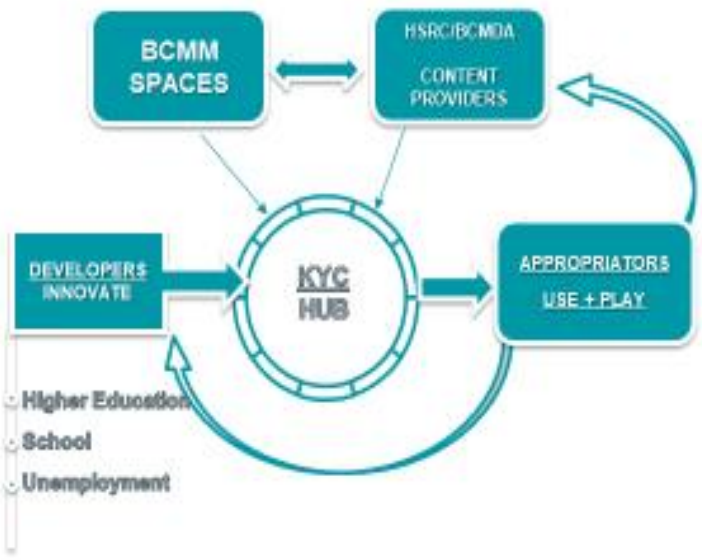

Plate 26: The economics of digital place-making in a Know Your City (KYC) model

The creation of a digital city in line with the "5 + 1" infrastructural priorities adopted by the heritage-tourism strategy leads to a number of recommendations:

- A digitised version of Imonti Modern should be made available on screens at the beachfront tourism hub and as the basis for virtual tours of Duncan Village.
- A series of heritage-based cellphone apps should be developed to engage visitors in the sites and precincts at the beachfront (showing/narrating the diverse history of the promenade); Mdantsane (narrating/showing the area's boxing history); the West Bank auto-museum and racetrack (narrating/showing East London's industrial and motor-city past); Zwelitsha and Ginsberg (narrating/showing the evolution of black urban life in these areas); King William's Town and Bhisho (narrating/showing the history of the Bantustan and the Struggle against apartheid); and Dimbaza and Berlin (narrating/showing the histories of colonialism and apartheid and the resistance struggles against these forms of control).
- A number of theme-based heritage-tourism cellphone apps should be developed to engage visitors in a number of the political and cultural aspects of the history of East London, including on the evolution of public spaces in the CBD and the history of jazz in the city-region.
- Apps should be developed to re-place the content of the East London Museum and Amathole Museum in the context of past and present urban place-making by all the city-region's residents.
- Interactive screens should be established at the beachfront hub and the airport, as well as in the CBD, to enable visitors to access tourism information and services. These could allow users to design their own routes and/or book local tours, accommodation, restaurants, etc. These screens may be funded through the marketing opportunities that they offer businesses. The

content for these should be produced in collaboratively with local education, arts and community institutions and organisations.

- Digital projectors should be installed at key sites on the esplanade at the City hall. The image content for these, which may include street art, should be produced locally.
- A strategically-placed screen should be installed at Marina Glen for Ebuhlanti to integrate the homecoming experience into the city-region's broader placemaking efforts. The material for this should be produced collaboratively – in part leveraging the content produced for Ebuhlanti.com (see below), as well as that produced for the beachfront-heritage cellphone app (see above). Sponsorship of the hardware and software may be provided by telecommunications providers seeking to influence this market, such as Vodacom.
- An Ebuhlanti.com website and social media presence should be established deploying images produced by patrons of the event under the tag "last night at Ebuhlanti" to be moderated be one or more established media outlets, such as the Daily Dispatch newspaper, which would also publish the material.
- A digital weekly events and activities diary should be produced and distributed via social media to directly engage visitors, seeking their feedback, in the form of comments and images, which should be moderated.

The methodology proposed by heritage tourism is an inclusive one. In order to produce an identity for Buffalo City as "A city for all ages" – that is an urban centre that brings together past, present and future ("all ages") to be enjoyed by the whole family ("all ages"), the city-region's must project an authentic idea of itself that is produced and serviced in large part by its own residents. It is not just that the human element in any heritage experience – such as that provided by tour guides – is local, but rather that the actual idea of the city itself is made by those who live in it. In this regard, heritage-tourism development is always shaped by the triple-helix engagement of the government, the private-sector and civil society. In Buffalo City the civil-society component includes individual residents, who live work and study in the area, as well as key institutions, such as local schools, clubs, community organisations, sports and arts centres, museums, media outlets and universities with campuses in the city, including the University of Fort Hare and Walter Sisulu University.

A number of the projects proposed by this heritage strategy thus depend on effective engagement by municipal and private-sector stakeholders with local civil society. For example:

- Local tour guides should be trained in conjunction with the municipality; community organisations; the University of Fort Hare; and the Steve Biko Centre and the other local museums.
- A schools' project should be initiated in conjunction with local and national education departments and with materials produced in coordination with the University of Fort Hare to enable pupils to explore their own family histories and the social history of their city. Such a project should also engage the local museums and media.
- Students from the University of Fort Hare and Walter Sisulu University should be engaged to place the heritage legacy at the city-region's museums within the context of black history. This project could further produce performing arts products enacted by drama-school students from the city-region.
- The universities in the city should coordinate with government and private-sector stakeholders to help forge a creative district in the CBD. Fine art students may produce the content for commercial

galleries, as well as a mobile art gallery that could tour the city-region. In addition, properties in the area could by repurposed to create multi-use spaces – for example, by housing government frontline services, retail outlets, university faculty facilities and student accommodation on different floors of the same building.

- Small, community cultural projects, which generally require significant external support to succeed, should be supported by leveraging the intellectual capital of the city's universities. Additional multiple stakeholders would also need to be involved. The focus of the projects may be directed towards local skills development and participation rather than to create a final product designed for foreigners and tourists.

In support of a decentralised process for promoting heritage tourism that ensures the effective engagement of the relevant municipal bodies and which is supported by an effective public campaign for change, it is proposed that the BCMDA seek to oversee the establishment of:

- A memorabilia working group as the beginning of a new tourism marketing agency.
- A heritage working group among the museums and other relevant stakeholders.
- A mayoral fund to promote the identification and inclusive development of heritage tourism opportunities. Grants should be issued in line with good-governance standards to incentivise networking and community-based activities, with a particular focus on developing projects that may be launched in heritage spaces.

12.2 Full list of recommendations

Taking in the proposals to develop the heritage tourism sector in the city-region listed above, the following recommendations are made by the Buffalo City Metropolitan Tourism Infrastructure Master Plan (Heritage):

12.2.1 Infrastructure and service concerns

- The municipal authority should implement appropriate physical infrastructure, which may include offering appropriate sites, providing appropriate transport and signage for tourists; and supplying the services to maintain and ensure a safe, clean built environment, including through the provision of lighting and security features such as CCTV cameras and through effective coordination with the police to ensure a visible security presence. At the beachfront such work may be implemented as part of a City Improvement District (CID).
- Given the cost of maintaining and improving the infrastructure around the city and its heritage sites and, in particular, at the main attraction – the beachfront – it may be advisable to adopt an incremental approach. This would focus on achievable gains to build confidence among stakeholders, assuring them of the practicability of pursuing the project's larger, longer-term goals.

12.2.2 A new heritage-tourism hub on the beachfront

- The city-region lacks a clear entry point for tourists into its heritage landscape. Accordingly, a site on the beachfront should be developed as a "hub and gateway" into the sector as a whole, both within the city and across the region.
- The site should include a restaurant; information centre; auditorium; exhibition space; and digital infrastructure and access to heritage and tourist materials.

- Such a facility should be planned to include space for temporary exhibitions, which might be updated or changed every six months.
- The hub should also link closely to its immediate urban landscape as the start of a heritage walk along the esplanade, with appropriate signage and boards illustrating the diverse history of the beachfront and its significance in the city's evolution, as well as in relation to its marine heritage.
- The hub should further act as an anchor to consolidate the adjacent Quigney as a walkable food and entertainment precinct.
- In its second phase the impacts of the beachfront hub could be linked to broader improvement of the built environment in the CBD and the establishment of a creative-industry (fine arts and fashion) hub along Oxford Street and a pan-African peace museum, perhaps at the old City Hall, which would provide a springboard into more extensive heritage trails across the city-region.

12.2.3 Turning sites into routes

In line with the "5+1" priorities for sites proposed under the heritage strategy plan, an addition five precinct-specific upgrades are recommended:

- **Mdantsane**. A sporting precinct/boxing Mecca should be established at Mdantsane building on the area's celebrated history as a producer of international boxing champions. In support of this project, content should be assembled in conjunction with local residents and schools and from the archives. This should include stories of derring-do; the gloves; and clips of fights as broadcast by SABC. The narrative should trace the sport's popularity in East London from the history of stick-fighting to the rise of the discipline in the former East Bank location to its popularity as a school and club sport in Mdantsane. Located at Sisa Dukashe stadium, the new facility should include a boxing gym that would support and expand existing training facilities and service; as well as an exhibition space. The site should, in the second phase, form the hub of a larger sporting precinct that may include facilities to manufacture and sell sporting apparel and goods. This precinct should be linked to memorialising infrastructure in Duncan Village and designed with public art celebrating the local history of boxing and its icons.
- **West Bank.** An automotive museum and racetrack celebrating East London's heritage as South Africa's premier motor city should be established with the support of private-sector investors, including Mercedes-Benz. The historic grand prix racetrack should be upgraded to host international racing events. An automotive museum should be established, which may feature the "Mandela car "artwork, as well as displays on the city's industrial and motorsport past. Former workers within the automotive industry may act as guides and locally produced automotive themed memorabilia should be on sale. Visits to the museum may be coordinated with tours of Mercedes-Benz's present factory in the city.
- **Duncan Village**. Consideration should be given to the establishment of an interpretative centre to be managed by local residents who would act as tour guides. The centre would act as a secure entry point into the township where cars could be parked. Since the built landscape of the former East Bank location, where Duncan Village was sited, which embodied the vital history of urban black community in this area was deliberately eradicated during the apartheid removals, a geo-located cellphone app should be developed to bring this past back to virtual life. The content for this app, which would overlay the present landscape with images of the area's past, revealing the historical built landscape and how it was inhabited, should be researched and developed in

conjunction with local residents, building on the archive from which *Imonti Modern* drew and historical data on the city-region held by the University of Fort Hare.

- **King William's Town and Bhisho.** A heritage route should be established offering an in situ look at the history of black consciousness in South Africa, including through the establishment of Xhosa-language radio, as well as the enactment of Bantustans under apartheid. A digital cellphone app, should be developed in support of this. The route should include the Steve Biko Museum, the Struggle exhibition at the Amathole Museum and the graves of the frontier wars in King William, as well as the Bhisho Massacre Memorial, which should be made open to the public as part of this initiative. The tour should also include the seat of the former Bantustan and present provincial government at Bhisho and Zwelitsha ("new nation") township which was established as a socio-economic model under apartheid for keeping black people in their homelands. The tour might be broken down into bits with shorter walking tours in the city, including one to the Mission Museum; and another to Biko's actual grave, family home and office. The multifunctional, community-engaged Steve Biko Centre, which faces sustainability issues, should be supported with infrastructural upgrades to the surrounding precinct offering parking, lighting and public art to produce a secure and friendly space. Efforts should also be made to integrate the centre into a local creative economy, forging value chains to produce Biko-related memorabilia and clothing and to create a cultural hub and market offering a music and food experience in Ginsberg.
- **Dimbaza and Berlin.** These towns need to be integrated into new routes that place the city-region's traditional heritage within the modern political context of the struggles against colonialism and apartheid. Dimbaza offers important sites to reflect on the socio-economic legacies of apartheid both at its Wall of Fame commemorating the horrors endured by the families, including former political prisoners, who were forcibly relocated there; and at the deserted industrial park that bears testimony to the industrialisation plan for the Ciskei. Berlin constitutes an important site for exploring the historical settlement of this area by Germans. It is recommended that content should be developed for a more adventurous wars-of-resistance tour of this part of the city-region, taking in the site of frontier-war forts and battles, such as that at Amalinda, as well key sites in the Struggle against apartheid. The tour could also explore the development of a fully-fledged Xhosa cultural village, as well as the exodus of the Khoi from the area. Providing a central hub for such heritage trails, a pan-African peace museum could be established near the beachfront in the CBD – perhaps at the old City Hall. Such a hub and the new routes may be developed and promoted in partnership with the province and, possible, local traditional authorities.

12.2.4 Re-imagining the museum and revealing hidden histories

- The museums in Buffalo City Municipality should seek to adopt a "heterotopian" vision, which engages particularly the local visitors in a radical reexamination of their city and their place in it and presents memory as a living concern. One of the ways to confront the future would be tell the story of how and why the museums became what they are and ask local scholars and residents to engage in a project of reimagining these institutions in relation to their host cities together. This could entail collecting stories about what makes the city what it is and how different people feel at home in the city. This project could further produce performing arts products enacted by drama-school students from the city-region exploring it diverse history.
- Popular engagement would help the local museums to renew their mandates for the future. Such engagement could take the form of classroom lessons and guided field trips. Proactive

collaboration with communities should also extend to engaging the schools which are planning to visit during heritage month more holistically both before and after their arrival.

- The museums, in coordination with the local universities based in the city, should also seek to exhibit beyond their four walls, helping to provide the content and technology for heritage tours within their neighbourhoods and other local urban areas.
- The museums should explore new forms of exhibition – in particular through the exploitation of new interactive communications technologies. In the light of concerns expressed about the expense and relative fragility of more traditional forms of interactive technologies – such as touch- or sensor-operated video and audio displays – engagement via dedicated cellphone apps constitutes a relatively affordable way forward.
- The stories of the rise and consolidation of modern African towns and cities should be shown at the Amathole and East London museums. Such stories need to describe the people who made these cities and how these places evolved spatially and the social, cultural and political struggles that were part of their making. University students should be encouraged to take on projects exploring the city's histories and given incentives to publish this work in booklets and digital media for the general reader and tourist market.
- A schools project should be initiated in conjunction with local and national education departments and with materials produced in coordination with the University of Fort Hare to enable pupils to explore their own family histories and develop exhibitions based on family photographs and oral histories, which should find their way into the city's museums and should also be featured at public libraries and at schools. The director of the East London Museum has expressed interest in staging such shows. The engagement of local newspapers such as the Daily Dispatch and other media, including radio stations, should be sought to promote this inclusive project, in which the residents of the city are invited to rediscover and make know their own, diverse histories.
- Outside the existing collections, there is a need for some new collection development, for example, in relation to black music and jazz; boxing in the city; and East London's motor history. Space should be made available in the existing museums and elsewhere in the city for special collections to be exhibited. It is therefore recommended that dedicated professional officers from the museums work with local enthusiasts to build collections and work towards assembling temporary displays or exhibitions.
- Issues of popular access to heritage sites – for example, at the Bhisho Massacre Memorial and at the Amathole Museum, which is closed on Saturdays – as well as the relative expense of visiting for local people, should be addressed.
- More broadly, a region-wide and even nationwide perspective should be adopted towards cultural history collections among the local museums. Just as SANBI has sought to rationalise the natural history collections held by museums, so a properly funded national project could address how the humanities are presented. Such a project may be linked to the work of South Africa History Online (SAHO) and universities – particularly in terms of the production and selection of relevant materials, as well as new forms for their presentation. The University of Fort Hare should play a leading role in this work through the exploitation of its liberation archives, as well as through its academic capacity for curatorship.

12.2.5 Buying into local authenticity

- Quality memorabilia, books and other materials reflecting local historical content should be produced locally and made widely available at the museums, in the local bookshops, and at the curio and tourism shops at the airport. Such books may also be distributed among local schools to support aspects of the syllabus in subjects like history, which cover colonialism and apartheid history.
- Given the iconic status of Steve Biko as a global figure in the black liberation history, King William's Town should be producing merchandise depicting Biko and other liberation legends for a global market.
- The production of heritage goods for the key tourism sites in the city-region and more widely presents a clear opportunity for local entrepreneurs and craftspeople, particularly given the city-region's industrial heritage as a producer of fabrics and clothing. "Made in Buffalo City" branded T-shirts may be manufactured illustrating the kinds of products previously and currently produced in the city.
- A multi-stakeholder working group on memorabilia should be established to audit the commercial offerings at the publicly funded museums and other key sites as a matter of urgency and to seek to create local value-chains to produce the kinds of goods that can meet the needs of the local and broader heritage-tourism sector, for example, by leveraging the local textile skills-base. The project and its products should be branded as "Made in Buffalo City".

12.2.6 Digital placemaking

- The installation of high-speed, wireless connectivity at the municipality's museums, perhaps linked to the new G5 cable making landfall at the East London Industrial Development Zone (ELIDZ) represents a priority. The East London Museum, Fort Hare University and Walter Sisulu University could collaborate with BCMDA at an innovation hub to produce the technological template for a geo-located cellphone app.
- This app would overlay the present urban landscape with imagery from the area's past at local sites, including the beachfront; Mdantsane; Duncan Village; the West Bank; Zwelitsha and Ginsberg; King William's Town and Bhisho; and Dimbaza and Berlin, producing a "digital city" that reveals through photographs and oral accounts the historical built landscape and how it was inhabited. Local university students and other residents, including school pupils, should be engaged to help develop the content for these heritage apps.
- A digitised version of Imonti Modern should be made available on screens at the beachfront tourism hub and as the basis for virtual tours of Duncan Village.
- A number of theme-based heritage-tourism cellphone apps should be developed to engage visitors in a number of the political and cultural aspects of the history of East London, including on the evolution of public spaces in the CBD and the history of jazz in the city-region.
- Apps should be developed with content provided by local university students to re-place the content of the East London Museum and Amathole Museum in the context of past and present urban place-making by all the city-region's residents.
- Interactive screens should be established at the beachfront hub and the airport, as well as in the CBD, to enable visitors to access tourism information and services. These could allow users to design their own routes and/or book local tours, accommodation, restaurants, etc. These screens may be funded through the marketing opportunities that they offer businesses. The content for

these should be produced in collaboratively with local education, arts and community institutions and organisations.

- Digital projectors should be installed at key sites on the esplanade at the City hall. The image content for these, which may include street art, should be produced locally.
- A strategically-placed screen should be installed at Marina Glen for Ebuhlanti to integrate the homecoming experience into the city-region's broader placemaking efforts. The material for this should be produced collaboratively – in part leveraging the content produced for Ebuhlanti.com (see below), as well as that produced for the beachfront-heritage cellphone app (see above). Sponsorship of the hardware and software may be provided by telecommunications providers seeking to influence this market, such as Vodacom.
- An Ebuhlanti.com website and social media presence should be established deploying images produced by patrons of the event under the tag "last night at Ebuhlanti" to be moderated be one or more established media outlets, such as the Daily Dispatch newspaper, which would also publish the material.
- A digital weekly events and activities diary should be produced and distributed via social media to directly engage visitors, seeking their feedback, in the form of comments and images, which should be moderated.

12.2.7 Special collaborative heritage and cultural tourism projects

- Local tour guides should be trained in conjunction with the municipality; community organisations; the University of Fort Hare; and the Steve Biko Centre and the other local museums.
- The universities in the city should coordinate with government and private-sector stakeholders to help forge a creative district in the CBD. Fine art students may produce the content for commercial galleries, as well as a mobile art gallery that could tour the city-region. In addition, properties in the area could by repurposed to create multi-use spaces – for example, by housing government frontline services, retail outlets, university faculty facilities and student accommodation on different floors of the same building.
- Small, community cultural projects, which generally require significant external support to succeed, should be supported by leveraging the intellectual capital of the city's universities. Additional multiple stakeholders would also need to be involved. The focus of the projects may be directed towards local skills development and participation rather than to create a final product designed for foreigners and tourists.

12.2.8 Stakeholder engagement and coordination

- In coordination with the provincial tourism committee and the tourism unit, a full range of stakeholders who may engage with the heritage project should be identified, including from the provincial and municipal departments with responsibility for arts and culture, transport and public works. In making the business case for heritage as a driver of development, it is also important to engage the local chambers of commerce, as well as key private-sector stakeholders in the tourism accommodation and services sector.
- The establishment of a council sub-committee for heritage should be considered. In addition, a programme-management office should be established within the municipality to focus on how the actions, projects and products recommended by this report and from elsewhere in the local community can be compiled, assessed and implemented. The office could also act as a centre for

coordinating between the work being suggested and implemented on the "home of legends" at the provincial, municipal and site levels, providing a basis for local and regional partnerships.

- Reference groups should be established under the office to sift through and provide working plans for these recommendations on the basis of their theme or location. Broadly, the triple-helix coordination mechanisms that are established should help to raise funding; ensure the project's implementation in line with the municipality's overarching intent; and provide forums for the accountability of the project to its key stakeholders, including civil society.
- These reference groups should include a heritage working group which would include representatives from local universities and other higher education institutions in the city in conjunction with the directors and representatives of the managing bodies of the key heritage sites. The goal of the group should be to produce coordinated plans for knowledge development and innovation in support of the municipality's heritage outputs. Such coordination may seek to support new forms of community engagement in the sector and also to produce greater scientific cooperation, particularly in the fields of climate change, biodiversity, bio-energy and marine science (perhaps in conjunction with private-sector innovators operating from the IDZ).
- A mayoral fund to promote the identification and inclusive development of heritage tourism opportunities. Grants should be issued in line with good-governance standards to incentivise networking and community-based activities, with a particular focus on developing projects that may be launched in heritage spaces.
- In order to ensure the project's success and promote its achievement, a number of clear indicators for its impacts need to be established assessing the extent and kind of the implementation of its key hardware, software and orgware aspects.

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Appendix 1 Jazz, boxing and car culture in East London

The following text on the history of jazz, boxing and automotive culture in East London is extracted from essays that appear in *Imonti Modern: Picturing the Life & Times of a South African Location*, which was published in January 2018 in the HSRC Press Best Read series (http://www.hsrc.ac.za/en/research-outputs/view/9169).

A1.1 Jazz: This is the Modern World[21]

At a municipal land restitution meeting in June 2000, former East Bank resident Ronnie Meinie blew his old Boy Scout's bugle for the first time in nearly 50 years. It opened a flood of memories about music, dance and social life in East Bank, West Bank and North End during the "fabulous fifties". He remembered: "marching, uniforms shining, trumpets and bugles blaring a call to location residents. Down Ndende Street, or along Camp Street, to Church Street, sometimes into North End to the concerts, the dances, the "socials". Everyone together, like being on the street again. The fabulous musical fifties!"

It was from such experiences in the Boy Scouts and the Boys' Brigade, and from other beginnings in church choirs and music moving between town and countryside that new sounds were heard in the East London locations. In the 1920s and 1930s, gramophone recordings and films also became important in shaping new urban music there. Afro-American styles became well established. After the end of the Second World War, returning servicemen, who had been in entertainment corps or units, began to play and teach others, thereby influencing new styles. Daniel "Kgomo" Morolong, photographer and former double bass player of the African Quavers said: "It was through people like Eric Nomvete, William "Sax-O-Wills" Mbali and David Mzimkhulu that jazz evolved in East London to an international standard.

"Both Mzimkhulu and Mbali had served in a Second World War entertainment unit as musicians. They imparted their skills to township youths, who showed great enthusiasm for learning new musical styles. Classes were held at the Community Centre in East Bank from Monday to Sunday, with rehearsals in between. African and Coloured young men and boys from the Welsh High School, from the East and West Bank locations and North End all competed for places, as they took music from the streets to the halls and dances."

New bands were formed and local jazz took root as the urban music of the 1940s and 1950s in the locations. "The African Quavers were one of the first well known bands to be formed," said Morolong. "They were followed by other good bands like the Havana Swingsters, which was formed and led by Zola Madyaka, the best and the only jazz pianist of the time; the Bright Fives led by Mthuthuzeli Ramncwana, the Hotshots, Daltons, the Four Tones, African Revellers Review and many others. It is in these bands that famous names were nurtured. In addition to Willie Sax "O" Wills Mbali, Eric Nomvete, and David Mzimkhulu, there were others like Des Ally and Potose Victor."

Boosted by the popularisation of jazz on the radio, music also crossed bigger boundaries, with lots of the big names coming to play in East London on a regular basis. Musicians not only visited East London. Some remained and influenced the development of township jazz, among them the Harlem Swingsters of Johannesburg which broke up in East London, leaving behind David Mzimkhulu, a versatile player of a

[21] This material is based on an essay originally written by Gary Minkley and ISER colleagues for the *Daily Dispatch* as part of a East Bank-West Bank connections series in 2002. It was edited and expanded for inclusion in Imonti Modern with the authors' permission.

number of instruments, Breggas "Lajambo", a trombonist; and others, who ended up playing for the local band, the African Quavers.

East London musicians also made their presence felt outside the city. In 1951, Eric Nomvete's Foundation Follies visited Johannesburg. Another band, consisting of musicians from the African Quavers, the Havana Swingsters and others, formed the African Revellers Review. They toured South Africa and Mozambique. Recordings extended this influence. The African Quavers became famous with their version of the much-loved *Majuba* which was originally recorded by the Jazz Maniacs. The 78rpm single became a hit for them in the townships in the 1950s and helped to establish *majuba* as a generic musical style which later informed the *mbaqanga* style of African jazz. Meanwhile, the Havana Swingsters helped Matham Denge from Johannesburg record her song *Ndiyazidela* at a studio in the Red Cross building on Oxford Street.

By the late 1960s, the vibrancy of the concert-and-dance era of township jazz, rooted in and part of the make-up of East London's black community, had been eroded. From the 1960s to the late 1970s, East Bank and West Bank residents were forcibly removed. Though people tried very hard to continue the culture in Mdantsane [where many were sent], things were never the same. People were scattered all over. People lost touch of who is who, people who knew entertainment were no longer there to guide the youngsters.

A1.2 Boxing: Golden Gloves and City Slums

Since 1990, East London has achieved the extraordinary feat of producing seven world boxing champions – including Mbulelo Botile who claimed the International Boxing Federation (IBF) and International Boxing Organisation (IBO) world featherweight titles in 2000. The roots of this success go back to the 1950s.

Many boxing experts refer to the Nkosana "Happyboy" Mgxaji era of the late 1960s and 1970s as a golden age for the sport in East London. They recall the arrival of professionalism in the sport and the capacity crowds that regularly filled the Sisa Dukashe Stadium in Mdantsane, to watch Happyboy, who enjoyed a cult following. Some say he was South Africa's most popular boxer ever.

Others go back further to the opening of the Golden Gloves Boxing Club at Dalukukhanya, next door to the International Boxing Club in Mdantsane, after the forced removals in the mid-1960s. They speak of the rivalry that emerged between these clubs, and of the impetus that great heavyweight champions, like Muhammad Ali, gave to local boxing. "There was a time when everyone township youth wanted to be Cassius Clay," said one local former boxer.

Yet others refer to how boxing emerged informally as a school sport in Mdantsane. Local resident Joe Kulile remarked: "The connection of boxing to township schools and inter-school rivalry massively enlarged the level of participation and local interest in the sport. The fights that took place at the schools provided grist for the mill of the gyms, which turned out talents like Tsietsie Maretloane, Mzukisi Skweyiya, Mzwandile Biyana and a host of others who won South African titles in the 1980s."

In addition, a significant historical contribution was made by the old East Bank location. The International Boxing Club, which opened up in Mdantsane in the mid-1960s, moved there from the Peacock Hall in the Tsolo Section of East Bank, where it had been operating for 15 years prior to the removals. The club was originally set up in the early 1950s by local boxing legend, Thami Nomvete, who became the first trainer and manager at the club.

After Nomvete, Mzoli Madyaka, who had been involved in boxing in Johannesburg, took over as manager and trainer. Mzoli Madyaka recalled that the club was extremely popular in the 1950s and had a stable of top boxers. In the mid-1950s a second club, the Duncan Village Boxing Club was established at the new Community Centre on the other side of the location. The leading light at the new club was Simon "Sofinga" Sali. Mzoli Madyaka recalled that competitions between the clubs now started drawing large crowds: "People used to fill the Peacock Hall and Community Centre. The fans would wear the colours of their favourite boxers. I remember that [Allister] Mahashe used to wear yellow trunks, Lawrence Ndzondo liked black and Stanley Toni wore blue. Cornett Dunjwa also wore black. The atmosphere at the bouts was electric and the boxers often got standing ovations."

Former East Bank boxer and musician Eric Gabelana remembers that the facilities were still basic in those days. "There were just four holes in the floor at the Community Centre. We used to put sticks into these holes and ties rope all around for the ring." But things changed after Simon Sali and Peter Shelton, a Coloured fighter, won the National Amateur fly and welterweight divisions respectively. The location authorities invested in new kit bags, pear balls, mattresses and weights at the Community Centre. A proper ring was brought up from Cape Town.

The improved facilities made it possible for larger fights to take place in the location and fighters from Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, Uitenhage, Queenstown and even Kimberley and Bloemfontein, now came to East London for inter-club fights and bigger individual bouts. The Duncan Village Community Centre took its place alongside the Centenary Hall in Port Elizabeth as a major boxing venue in the province.

But the sport still had no funding or local boxing board. One boxer remembered the stories the late Monde Mbangxa used to tell about the boxing scene in the 1950s. He would explain that outside promoters "would phone boxers individually on Monday informing them of a fight at the Centenary Hall in Port Elizabeth on Saturday". To participate in the fight, Mbangxa set off alone without corner staff or seconds, taking the train to Port Elizabeth on the Friday night. There was no money or officials to help out. Mbangxa said he would take to the ring with no more than a handkerchief tucked into his shorts with which to wipe his brow between rounds. On Sunday, he would board the train home and make his way back to East London, with a purse of one or two pounds.

Boxing had been practised in the East London locations long before the 1950s. In fact, white social workers and location superintendents, who saw it as a means of getting rid of stick fighting and street violence, had actively encouraged it. But it was not the white social workers that popularised boxing in the 1950s. It was the black American heavyweight champion Joe Louis, and the close connections that were forged between boxing and other sporting, social and cultural activities in the township. Boxing also appealed to all social strata in East Bank. Joe Kulile said: "It was a sport which had appeal across social classes and different backgrounds." The respect that the sport developed in East Bank was carried through to Mdantsane, where boxing became a product "of the school" and not "of the street". Joe Kulile explained: "For us, boxing has always been associated with self-improvement. It taught discipline, control and dedication and many of those who have done well in the gyms have done well in life."

A1.3 Motor City: Subversive Car Culture

It is difficult to imagine East London or Buffalo City without Mercedes Benz, the brand that now defines the city. Mercedes' perception that East London represented a logical investment opportunity was the product of the place-making endeavours of two generations of local motorsport enthusiasts. In addition to the Grands Prix before the Second World War and the post-war Winter Handicap, the city hosted a

range of motor shows and events in the 1940s and 1950s. In addition, between 1947 and 1954, East London became the fastest growing industrial city in South Africa. It was in this moment of industrial expansion that the British company Exide batteries followed up on the establishment of a local auto manufacturer, Car Distributors Assembly (CDA), in 1949, with a new production facility worth more than £1 million.

The city's industrial growth, particularly in the automotive sector, and its obsession with cars and motor sports led the East London technical college to offer a whole range of new courses to train motor mechanics and electricians. In 1959, with the support of Caltex, the city won the right to host the South African Grand Prix for the next decade. It was a decision which placed the city at the centre of the South African motor industry and did much to secure the long-term commitment of Mercedes Benz to the city.

The emergence of East London as a motor city had a significant influence on the urban culture in both the white suburbs and the black ghettos. It has been argued that the culture of cars instantaneously changes cities because they create a new "imagined community" of urban organisation and desire.

As American cars, like the Nash, rolled off the production line at CDA, East London became fascinated with the power and style of the American automobile industry and the city shifted away from its obsession with British cultural connections. The growth of suburbia and the changes in beach culture also increased the influence of American values and lifestyle ideals in the city.

Many black families took great pride in the city's modernising trajectory and were inspired by black urban cultures across the Atlantic. As car culture gripped East London in the 1940s and 1950s, the emotional and aspirational bonds with black America deepened in music, sport and religion.

The fascination of American car culture played out in different ways in East London's locations. For Peter Ray Nassau, a trickster and trade unionist who claimed to be an American, although locals said he came from Johannesburg, the car was an important accessory indicating his status and success, complementing his natty black-and-white gangster-style clobber. He drove a black Daimler with his name inscribed on the side and had his own chauffeur who wore a white suit.

In East Bank, a small minority of households owned cars, but the preference there was not for British cars as was largely the case in the white suburbs. The image of auto freedom they embraced was that of the American sedan.

Vuyani Ngaza, the son of a peasant farmer in the Middledrift area who migrated to East London in the mid-1940s to attend high school, created a series of businesses servicing the automotive sector. Originally employed as a clerk at the Frere Hospital in East London, he noted that many of the African nurses who were being trained there and who came from wealthier African households wanted to learn to drive. In response, Ngaza started a driving school in East Bank. He soon noted the demand for a filling station in the area and approached Shell, becoming only the second African to acquire a garage licence in South Africa. His business, known as Pan-African Motors, opened in Duncan Village in 1958 and proved a huge success. He distributed paraffin in the location as well as gasoline and later opened a second filling station in Maseru in Basotholand, before he went into exile in the 1960s due to his involvement in resistance politics.

Appendix 2: Review and analysis of form, content and display of materials at key museums and heritage centres in Buffalo City Municipality

A2.1 Introduction

The East London Museum and the Amathole Museum Complex in King William's Town are the two most-visited government-funded heritage attractions in Buffalo City Municipality. They received more than 32,000 visitors and 13,000 visitors respectively in 2016 with the bulk of those passing through the doors consisting of schoolchildren brought to these institutions as part of annual heritage and educational activities from August to September. Both institutions also recorded relatively high number of foreign visitors in March and towards the end of the year.

The numbers for these museums, which are run by the provincial Department of Sports, Recreation, Arts and Culture (DSRAC), nevertheless fall far short of those for the most popular heritage attraction in the municipality, the privately-run Steve Biko Centre in Ginsberg (near King William's Town), which received more than 77,000 visitors in the same year. Moreover, the numbers visiting both the East London and Amathole museums dropped in 2016 by 1% and 15% respectively over the previous year – although a comparable drop in numbers for the Steve Biko Centre of 13% indicates that the decline was across the board and could be linked to a change in the extent of the schools' programme that year.

A2.2 History and content of East London Museum, Amatole Museum and the Steve Biko Centre

Both museums display an heterogenous mix of natural- and cultural-history exhibits, although both were founded on the basis of their contributions to the development of the natural sciences. The Amathole Museum, which opened to the public in 1898, originated from the King William's Town Naturist Society, which had been founded a little over ten years earlier. Meanwhile, the East London Museum, which was establishment by a number of city notables in 1921, was effectively the creation of local amateur naturalist, Marjorie Courtenay-Latimer. She curated the institution for 42 years from 1931 – when its collection consisted of six parasite-ridden stuffed birds which had to be burnt, a bottled piglet with six legs and two dozen prints of East London and Xhosa war scenes. She retired in 1973.

The emphasis on natural history in both institutions clearly draws heavily on the importance attached to zoology and botany towards the end of and after the Victorian period in the colonial metropole. Widespread engagement in these sciences gathered momentum in the wake of the publication of Charles Darwin's *Origin of the Species* in 1859 and the popularisation of the theory of evolution. This theory was deployed in a distorted form to support the Western belief in progress and to legitimise the imperial project. For example, the idea of natural selection was exploited to claim superiority for Western cultural forms, or "civilisation", and thus the righteousness of colonial rule.

The emphasis is particularly keen at the East London Museum, which features living, or rather dead, proof of the theory of evolution in the form of a stuffed dodo – the flightless bird that became extinct in Mauritius in the 17th century. It also more famously features a specimen of a coelacanth – a large fish caught at sea in 1938 after such animals were believed to have been extinct for 70 million years, and stuffed at the behest of Courtenay-Latimer. For its part, Amathole's most vaunted display is the stuffed carcass of a hippopotamus called Huberta which was killed in the area in 1931. A leaflet produced by the museum describes Huberta as "the world's most famous hippopotamus", the wanderings of which "still captivate young and old". The importance attached to the stuffed animals that form the centrepieces of,

and that are featured within many of the diorama displays at, the two institutions seems to be reflected in the natural science focus of the research activities supported by them.

The importance attached to the two animals also speaks to institutional efforts to appeal to a broad public audience. It is not just the museums' contents that speak to an earlier era but the form and fact of their exhibition. The life and death of Huberta the hippo and the coelacanth were big news in their day – the stuff of daily newspaper front-page headlines in the 1930s. The stories of the capture and preservation of the animals are further told in some detail in the museums' promotional literature and also – in the case of the desperate attempt to have the coelacanth stuffed before it rotted away – formed a large part of the obituaries of Courtenay-Latimer published in British national newspapers in 2007. The narratives are sustained by the museums today. Describing Huberta as "synonymous" with the museum, Amathole's publicity proudly notes that, when the stuffed animal was taken to SciFest99 in Grahamstown ten years ago, it attracted "5,000 to 8,000 visitors". In East London, a temporary history of the museum which was recently installed largely features memorabilia depicting the coelacanth – baseball caps, keyrings, fridge magnets, stickers, handkerchiefs, mugs, T-shirts, souvenir teaspoons, franking stamps – which has been produced over the years. Last year, the museum celebrated the 80th anniversary of the discovery of the fish.

Continual commemoration and celebration of the erstwhile popularity of these specimens – and, in the case of East London, of the collector who found and presented them, Courtenay-Latimer – tends to amplify and justify their presence as the main attractions, but also obscures the haphazard process by which they first entered the museums' collections and the lack of currency to their claims to fame. In addition, while both may be considered as tributes to the taxidermist's art, along with the other diorama displays of stuffed animals, they tend to confirm the view of the museum as, in the words of French philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty, a "meditative necropolis". These creatures are presented in death. The exhibits use a form of representation, which, in its efforts to provide a three-dimensional snapshot of reality, offers a way of seeing similar to that provided by photography and film. However, while both arts offer the viewer a moment in time, the ways in which they are perceived, in particular by modern viewers is quite different. Photographic images show events, lives and things, which, whether concerned with life of death, actually happened (even if it is important to distinguish between the image and the reality it purports to portray). By contrast, the coelacanth, Huberta and all the other stuffed animals in their dioramas are presented in death and their claim to be part of larger stream of lived existence or history is demonstrably staged.

It is a form of exhibition that is also widely used, at least at the East London museum, to represent cultural history. A number of dioramas, illustrating scenes from rural African and urban English- and German-settler "life", are kept upstairs separate from the natural history exhibition below. Aside from the division between the natural and human worlds that this separation emphasises – acknowledged as a problem by the museum's director, Geraldine Morcom – the form and content of the dioramas, particularly in the differing narratives that they produce for indigenous and settler lives, is stereotypical.

The dioramas of settler life are organised by period for the English settlers with a series of four domestic scenes from the late Victorian period to the 1930s; and by functional space for the German settlers, with a living room, a nursery, a kitchen and a yard. In addition, objects are connected around the themes of work and commercial spaces, including a pharmacy and an office. The dolls representing humans in these displays resemble mannequins in a shop window – they are there to be dressed in the appropriate period

clothes. The settler life is also celebrated in the maritime history on display, in which the drama and perils of imperial exploration and trade and colonisation are represented by artefacts from and descriptions of a number of shipwrecks.

By contrast, the dioramas of Africans show only rural life. Indeed, there is little sign in the East London museum that black people ever lived in the city. In addition, these dioramas lack historical context. One is tagged "1950", although it is unclear whether this should refer to the date of the scene presented or the date of the production of the diorama itself. The dioramas themselves show the lives of a mix of indigenous groups – Xhosa, San Bushmen, Mfengu, Swazi and Xesibe. They are further organised by ritual occasion: the act of divination or prophecy; a wedding; an initiation. The narrative structure seems to be scenes from the stages of life – childhood, adolescence, manhood and old age – as these are traditionally celebrated. Broadly, the image that is generated is one of a settled, unchanging rural way of life, connected to the next rather than this world, in contrast with the idea of white settlers as a dynamic urban force shaping modern history projected in the nearby dioramas. In addition, the representation of some of the African figures, which are presented in a series of postures in their dioramas, is demeaning to a contemporary audience. The response of the African schoolchildren, who, according to Morcom, constitute more than 90% of the museum's visitors, to the diorama of a "bushman woman" squatting virtually naked on her haunches, may be imagined. The potential for shame is compounded by the realist mode of representation – these black figures are sculpted to resemble human figures, by contrast with the shop-window mannequins in the white-settler displays,

Nearby can be found an eclectic mix of artefacts, including some pots and beadwork; some wirework; a collection of Sotho figurines; and a list of local African authors and composers presented as a tribute to the strength of the region's black culture.

It has been noted in the literature that public museums were founded in the 19th century in the United States as "one term in an organisation of public institutions", including general hospitals, free libraries, orphanages, poorhouses and houses of correction. In contributing to the public welfare, these institutions were meant to educate and improve the local population, offering moral guidance as well as knowledge (Fraser 1991). Similarly, the history of the establishment of the museums in East London and King William's Town may be viewed as in line with the liberal tradition among the area's white English settlers.

However, the formation of the collections at these institutions and the selection and presentation of certain items for exhibition also indicates more coincidental processes at work. The predilections of former museum directors Courtenay-Latimer, an avid collector of plants, birds' eggs and seashells among other things, and shipwreck specialist Gill Vernon, would appear to have shaped the focus of the displays at the East London museum. A "temporary" exhibition of First World War uniforms, weaponry and other military memorabilia was established due to the donation of artefacts from collections held by local individuals and military veteran associations. Decorated with paper poppies, the exhibition stands within a long-standing tradition among the English white-settler community and their descendants in East London of identifying with, and celebrating, the wars fought at the behest of the metropole. It also still stands, although it was supposed to be dismantled in 2018, due to the lack of an alternative for the space, according to Morcom.

Meanwhile, the research focus of the institution also builds on its traditional interest in zoology and botany – although, as Morcom points out, with a greater emphasis on the interaction between humans and their environment. Research supported by the museum includes a P5 investigation of pre-historical

human lives on the ancient Wild Coast, which is an American-run project; a collaboration to improve the environment in the Nahoon estuary; and coordination with SANBI at its garden in Kwelera. In a similar vein the museum's principal scientist, Kevin Cole, is helping to put together a botanical exhibition which will focus on the medicinal and cultural uses of local plants. The institution's broader contribution to the natural sciences is being coordinated as part of a Natural Science Collections facility, funded with more than R50 million from Department of Science and Technology to improve the research infrastructure among the country's museums.

Clearly, much valuable work is being conducted, albeit mainly in the natural rather human sciences. But the plan of action behind the supported activities can seem more opportunistic than strategic. The institution's work in Nahoon and its support for the P5 project has been linked to the roughly 120,000-year-old fossil footprints discovered in the local dunes in the 1960s and on display at the museum. At the same time, Nahoon conservationists represent a relatively vocal local interest group; while the US dollars and free-shelving that come as part of the deal with the P5 international team are important in what Morcom describes as a "nice partnership".

Similarly, the museum's efforts to leverage volunteer support for its cultural and heritage offerings can leave it hostage to fortune and better-funded institutions and interest groups in compiling its events diary. The donation of a lifeboat from the Oceanos Piraeus cruise ship which sunk off the coast in 1991, recently led to an exhibition and presentation on this event. Engagement with a local Catholic emissary led to a show on 800 years of the Dominican monastic order. Willing local academics offer their services to present as part of the annual Umtiza (three-branched) Arts Festival that the museum holds with the Ann Bryant art gallery and Guild Theatre in May and June. Outreach from the annual SciFest in Grahamstown in March has led to educational presentations and exhibitions, most recently on the periodic table.

It is not that the museum should not make itself available to local individuals and groups with a contribution to make – indeed, its vision of itself as a community-based organisation demands that it should – but rather that, in so doing, it is implicitly making itself available to particular communities – broadly, the better-resourced, more powerful and often historically advantaged ones – and not the others. When Morcom was approached by a local pop-up market organiser she admits to having had some reservations – but went ahead anyway and held a popular Hallowe'en-themed event with a treasure hunt through the museum for the children, attracting about 1,500 people. The success will lead to further such events, although as Morcon admitted, the attendees were almost all "middle-class white kids".

At the entrance to the museum the laying of Nelson Mandela's footprints at Heroes Park on the beachfront in 2003 is commemorated alongside a plaque for the Gately Commando. The unit was one of the local armed militias in the commando system which was established by the Boers in the 19th century and disbanded at President Thabo Mbeki's behest on constitutional grounds and to counter reported racist elements among its recruits.

By contrast with the East London Museum, which may be viewed as resembling a restorationist project for a once-powerful but now marginalised white community in East London, the constituency of visitors being wooed by the Amathole Museum seems to hail from historically disadvantaged communities. The most recent edition of the institution's occasional newsletter Imvubu ("hippo") pays tribute in a number of ways to the introduction of democracy in South Africa since 1994, as well as emphasising the institution's involvement with national and provincial cultural-heritage initiatives; its school outreach projects; and its support for official efforts to support and promote local communities. The front page

features a story on the opening of an exhibition celebrating Nelson Mandela's connection to the local All Saints College; on the back page, the newsletter covers the museum's involvement in a Buffalo City Municipality-sponsored project to address the medical and legal challenges arising from circumcision as part of traditional Xhosa initiation.

The institution itself, unlike that at East London, which moved into its current purpose-built accommodation in 1950, is housed in four national monuments dating from the 19th Century – the old post office, the old public library, a Wesleyan chapel (housing the satellite Missionary Museum) and the original museum itself. And although it has a natural history section at the rear of the main building and a mammologist on staff, the first impression is that the museum's emphasis is on the area's culture and history. The main building houses displays about the history of the frontier and the more recent history of the Struggle against apartheid. Another wing is dedicated to anthropological displays, mainly focused on local Xhosa culture. In general, dioramas are eschewed in favour of carefully selected collections of artefacts, and images culled from the photographic record. The emphasis on cultural history is presented in the text of the first board: "The 'frontier' is not only physical but cultural". The presentation of artefacts appears to seek to indicate rather than prescribe the position towards them that may be adopted by the viewer. The jacket of a colonial military uniform, a flintlock, a cornet and a Xhosa spear are arranged in a display called "The land dead".

In the absence of strictly prescriptive historical narratives, displays are presented on "Business and pleasure"; "Dress: the silent language"; "Divine worship"; "Cattle killing: the dead will arise"; and "Making ends meet: colonial economy and manufacturing". Close attention is paid to the nature of political authority in the area around King William's Town and its consequent naming and renaming – from Queen Adelaide Province, British Kaffraria and the territory's annexation as part of the Cape Colony, to the Ciskei "homeland" and the present-day Eastern Cape. (The museum itself changed its name from the Kaffrarian to Amathole in 1999.)

Significant objects also constitute a key element of the upstairs show titled *Idabi lenkululeko eQonce* ("the Struggle for liberation in King William's Town"): a *Net blankes* ("whites only") bench; a uniform of the Ciskei Homeland Police; the yellowwood throne clad with leopard-skin commissioned by former Ciskei "president" Lennox Sebe to project an invented image of himself as a king; and a school desk and sports kits used to illustrate the Struggle against apartheid education and sporting structures.

However, this exhibition is also clearly different both in its design aesthetic – a concrete floor; white walls; large, blown-up black-and-white photos – and its dominant mode of presentation: a series of movement-activated oral histories of local political activism. It considers the racial (re)mapping of the area under apartheid to create a Bantustan; the Bhisho massacre of 1992 when protesters seeking to bring an end to the homeland were shot dead; the role of Christian activism in the Struggle; and the icons who led the Struggle in the region. Although the oral narratives appear to present provisional, subjective historical narratives, the white-cube surroundings of the gallery frame them as if they were works of art – sacrosanct and immutable in their power to tell a particularly modern form of truth. Downstairs the aesthetic for presenting the pre-colonial and colonial histories of the region is provided by the interior of the heritage building itself – creating a certain tension between the act of critical history that is the exhibition and the actuality of the space, which is a monument to the British imperialist project.

However, notwithstanding the different modes of presentation, both share an interest in the region's "dual nature as colonial stronghold and cradle of African nationalism", further acknowledging the

continuing impact of the area's history, including that "the vestiges of apartheid still shape the local landscape and the town's inhabitants". The point is an important one in that here, the frontier, by definition, shaped the extent of the colonial and apartheid projects. (This emphasis also marks an historical difference between the "frontier town" of King William's Town and the commercial, industrial and trade hub of East London as urban centres.) The built and spatial traces of the colonial and apartheid frontier projects are to be seen everywhere by visitors in King William's Town; at the Steve Biko museum and related sites in neighbouring Ginsberg; and at nearby Bhisho, the historical home of the homeland government (as well as that of the present Eastern Cape). In East London, the forced removals left a hole in the city centre near Duncan Village – an absence. However, in the former Bantustan itself the evidence of apartheid – the spacious brick bungalows and legislative and administrative complexes built to accommodate the "homeland" government – and the eventually successful Struggle against it – the stadium and memorial at the site of the 1992 massacre; and the sun-baked, high-rise, half-empty concrete office blocks meant to house the new, democratic provincial administration – stand tall in monumental isolation, constituting the hill-top settlement of Bhisho, visible from miles around.

The local heritage offerings in this area provide a range of responses within and to the historical political landscape. At Bhisho, the monuments of and to past are literally sited behind high fences. For example, access to the Bhisho memorial, which was opened in 2012, is strictly prevented, although it is advertised by a nearby brown sign featuring an hourglass symbol as being a stop on the official Sandile heritage route. The curved marble stone, presumably bearing the names of the 28 protesters killed here in 1992, which sits amid carefully manicured gardens next to a new two-storey facility billed as a Visitor Information Centre, could only be viewed from a distance.

When the authors of this study visited, the gate was locked and the three security guards at the site emerged only to make it clear that uninvited visitors could not enter. The guards were supported by a manager, who explained: "I cannot say the reason why we are not allowed to let you in unless you get permission to come in – then we can reveal to you why you are not allowed to come." The manager said that visitors wishing to enter had to visit the provincial Department of Public Works to register their interest. He said: "This is how tourism works across the world – you can't just go where you want." He noted that only two visitors had come to the multi-million-rand memorial in March 2019.

Sinethemba Homani at the Steve Biko Centre in Ginsberg confirmed the difficulties in accessing the site, complaining of the unnecessarily onerous obligation to email the public works department in advance in order to gain entry for tour groups. Referencing this, as well a broader disconnect between the centre's work and the marketing strategies developed provincially and within the municipality, she said: "Tourism is failing us." Like the provincial administrative centre of Bhisho with its shuttered stores, depopulated office blocks and air of a ghost town, the memorial to the massacre clearly fails to fulfil the function it purports to serve – that of a public monument – which represents a significant historical irony given the original purpose of the 1992 protest action to reintegrate the Ciskei into a new national democratic dispensation.

However, while a visit to the main official monument commemorating the Struggle may be off-limits, the Amathole Museum and Steve Biko Centre provide some alternative paths and spaces for understanding the area's political heritage. Next to the main museum at Amathole, a separate gallery traces a literal path though its space, taking the visitor on a virtual tour of Xhosa culture from prehistory via vernacular architecture (including urban shacks) and cultural and economic systems to the famous exhortation made

by local poet and early Africanist Isaac Wanchope in 1882 to: “Take paper and ink, For that is your shield. Your rights are going!”

The theme is taken up at the Steve Biko Centre in Ginsberg. With significant funding from international and national donors, the centre, which is the single most popular heritage site in the municipality, is billed in its promotional literature as part of a Biko Heritage Trail which includes the Biko Statue on Oxford Street in East London; the Biko Bridge on Settler’s Way in East London; the Zanempilo Clinic at Zinyoka; Biko’s Home in Ginsberg Township, King William’s Town; and Biko’s Office and Grave, also in King William’s Town. The centre also connects to tours along the Sandile Heritage Route. The outward-facing nature of its heritage and marketing engagement reflect its founding ethos “to utilize memory to channel local energies towards contemporary development challenges”. Established in 2012, the attractively designed modern centre features, as well as its museum, an amphitheatre, a conference and training space, a restaurant and a business incubator, which are well-used to engage with the local community, particularly in the township upon the edge of which the facility stands.

The museum itself, which is designed in the white-cube style, details Biko’s life as well as related aspects of the black consciousness movement and the Struggle against apartheid in South Africa. The emphasis in the text and photographs that dominate the space is on the development of the pan-African intellectual tradition and its activist application in the national context. The continuing wounds that the legacy of apartheid inflict on South African lives are emphasised. One display considering how the injustice of the original verdict that “no one could be blamed” for Biko’s death from a brain haemorrhage in custody is titled “No truth at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)”. Biko’s original tombstone from 1978 which has since been replaced at his gravesite by another memorial, provides “a point of reflection”. By contrast, the exhibition also mimics the space of a prison with a hanging wire-mesh cage; and that of a courtroom with an enclosed black box of space with strict instructions on where to enter and leave. The irony in the assumed form of transgressive interaction that may take place with these exhibits recalls that of the *Net blankes* bench which is placed before a large video screen in Amathole’s Struggle gallery. In various ways, the viewers at this exhibition are invited to reconsider their own agency in reading the story of Biko’s life, and their engagement or lack thereof in its activism. Unlike at the East London Museum, questions of death and memory are here presented as living concerns.