South African museum strategies

Post-Apartheid mission and goals

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Post-Apartheid South Africa is in a transitional justice period. Transitional justice refers to a period where judicial and non-judicial reformation steps are taken after massive human rights abuses. Social reform is the country's top priority in order to balance unequal power relations. South African museums are non-judicial spaces where the unequal power dynamics of the past and the present are being renegotiated. Within this context, established museums have to reform and new museums are being built to include previously marginalised groups. The museums of South Africa are adapting to meet the needs and fantasies of both South Africans and foreign tourists. The needs of the population are met by the museum's ability to contribute to shaping identity, but also the museum's peripheral function as an economic mechanism. Museums of South Africa function in a loaded context that needs to address inequalities that span across the board.

What strategies do museums apply in order to contribute to the shaping of identity and social development in post-Apartheid South Africa?

Introduction

South Africa is a country in a period of transitional justice and in this turbulent time identity and new museums are being built and renegotiated to the needs of society.[1] A transitional justice period refers to a time after massive human right abuses have taken place, such as during the Apartheid regime. Under this regime, a large part of the population's identity, heritage and history was explicitly repressed. A variety of judiciary and non-judiciary policies attempt to rectify these abuses. The reformation of museums and their strategies is a form of non-judicial rehabilitation. Museums in South Africa have to consider complex external socio-economic and political contexts within their internal exhibition strategy. They do this in order to meet the needs, desires, and fantasies of the new democratic South Africa, according to Martin Murray.[2] Richard Sandell states that if they fail to do so, they run the risk of their value becoming obsolete to society.[3] Sandell champions museums' ability to combat social inequality.

In order to address these inequalities, museums can play a role. According to museum theorist Rosemarie Beier-de Haan, museums are safe spaces to explore the different histories, identities and heritage of a fractured nation.[4] Reflexive engagement with the community is the key concept in museum rehabilitation in post-Apartheid South Africa. Museums in South Africa are renegotiating not only a nation's identity, but remodelling themselves to fit a unique South African context. The anthropologist Flora Kaplan reasons that museums and identity have been and will continue to be intertwined in the 21st century.[5] Kaplan adds that these two terms are being renegotiated and as a result will define the direction museums will take in the future.

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[1] Carrol Clarkson (2014) makes use of the term transitional justice, rather than post-Apartheid South Africa. Understanding post-Apartheid South Africa through this term has positive implications. Instead of understanding the new democratic South Africa as an immediate turnover from its past one acknowledges the progression between a regime and true democracy. During a period of transitional justice, true democracy is muddled by policies that aim to address previous human rights abuses. An example there-of is the quota systems implemented in companies in their management and staff, or the quota of players in national sports teams, and educational grants.

[2] Murray 2013, p. 3.

[3] Sandell 2002, p. 21.

[4] Beier- de Haan 2012.

[5] Kaplan 2012.

In renegotiating the term museum, museums need to interrogate different ways of thinking about the museum and its space in society.[6] Kenneth Hudson suggests, in his quest to define museums in the context of rapid social changes as in South Africa, that museums should ask themselves several questions:[7] "Why do they exist? How relevant are they to the needs of the society in which they exist? What are their main tasks? How do they measure their success?" These questions should lead to help museums better their strategies. Hudson concedes that the answer to these questions will differ vastly between the public's answer and the private answers made by museologists. These answers are deeply dependant on which country a museum operates in.[8] The matter in question is further complicated by the audience the museum wishes to address.[9]

In South Africa museums are torn between two main audiences. The first audience type is the new born free generation of South Africans and the second is the (international) tourist. These audiences are catered to by those who have lived during Apartheid. Both 'perpetrators' and 'victims' of Apartheid are to be found - as professionals or as a community- representing identity, history and heritage in museums. These professionals and communities are steered by different motivations in order to cater for themselves, the nation and its two audiences. Museums' two main audiences also enter the museum with previous expectations and knowledge. However, expected outcomes for the two audiences differ. The born free generation needs to be educated in a more inclusive heritage and history, while tourists bring important income that aids in job creation. Museums are thus simultaneously partaking in identity making and their peripheral function as an economic mechanism. Both these functions aid social development.

The strong focus on the museums' peripheral function relies on their ability to contribute to social reform through economic empowerment of the previously disenfranchised in society. The museums' educational character continues the historical trajectory of museums as a valuable social mechanism that can lead to social rehabilitation and empowerment. At the heart of both strategies is the importance of empowerment and the different roads that

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[6] Mpumlwana *et al* 2007, p. 245.
[7] Hudson 1999, p. 375
[8] Ibidem.
[9] Kaplan 2002, p. 162.

lead to it. This thesis attempts to identify the different strategies museums employ in their exhibition of South African history, identity and heritage, within the context of a fractured nation's immediate and long term needs. What strategies do museums' apply in order to contribute to the shaping of identity and social development in post-Apartheid South Africa?

Methodology

In order to explore how museums' strategies contribute to the shaping of identity and social development of South Africa, an exploration of Museum Studies literature is required. This literature study aims to narrow down the issues that impact the strategies of South African museums. Post-Apartheid South Africa is a complex site of exploration. There is a large body of Western discourse that deals with issues museum face in the 21st century. Many of these such as social development, community, repatriation and tourism, are also issues South African museums deal with. Western discourse will be examined together with the growing body of recent South African literature. The site specific literature also helps to identify specific trends and contexts in post-Apartheid South Africa.

The literature will then be applied to three museum case studies in the following chapters. Within these case studies, the museum's exhibition strategies will be explored in relation to the history, development, content, strategy and visitors of the museums. These are the tools and constrictions museums have that influence their engagement in identity formation and social development. The approach in each case study will vary, as museums have very different issues at play in regards to these categories. In the case studies, one will see that I make use of an unusual source. The website allows a vast amount of autonomic visitors comment on their museum experience. This data echoes that provided by the valuable visitors' books kept by museums.

The first case study will be of the South African National Gallery (SANG) in Cape Town, followed by the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg, and lastly the District Six Museum (D6M) in Cape Town. The SANG will be analysed in chapter two as it is an established

museum.[10] The SANG is arguably the oldest South African national art gallery. This museum is under pressure to reform in the current socio-political climate of South Africa, after weathering two periods of colonialisation. The Apartheid Museum is analysed in chapter three and is an example of a new museum built in post-Apartheid South Africa. Most new museums in South Africa are either government initiated or corporate sponsored, and the Apartheid Museum is a mix of these two. Lastly, in chapter three the D6M is will be analysed as it is example of a world renowned successful community initiated museum. The D6M and other community initiated museums are sometimes referred to as fringe museums. This term is used for museums instigated outside the state's official development programmes. The D6M was founded in attempt to attract attention to its community, but has grown into so much more.

The D6M and the Apartheid Museum are both new, post-Apartheid, commemoration museums. They were chosen as they are the most often explored in literature outside South Africa.[11] Using these often cited examples, together with arguably the oldest, traditional model of a national museum (SANG) allows for the exploration the different types of museums found in South Africa. Memorial museums and cultural museums both share a basic challenge, according to Paul Williams. Both types of museums face the challenge of measuring "civic uplift" created by the museums existence.[12] All three museums are also funded differently and have different heritage issues to incorporate into their development strategies.

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[10] Sometimes the SANG is referred to as ISANG, short for Iziko South African National Gallery. Iziko is an umbrella museum association in The Western Cape province; that in their own words "operates 11 national museums, the Planetarium, the Social History Centre and three collection‑specific libraries in Cape Town. The museums that make up Iziko have their own history and character, presenting extensive art, social and natural history collections that reflect our diverse African heritage. Iziko is a public entity and non-profit organisation that brings together these museums under a single governance and leadership structure."

[11] There are many more interesting collections in the South African landscape. For more collections and museum initiatives, I recommend looking into the Nelson Mandela Museums (three locations) or the Constitutional Courts collection. The Constitutional Court collection is present in the whole building incorporating the whole of the South African art spectrum and people. Carol Clarkson makes an in depth reading of this collection in her book *Drawing the line: towards an aesthetic of transnational justice* (2014). Or the AfricanaMuseum in Johannesburg as explored by Sara Byala (2013).

[12] Williams 2012, p. 102.

1. Theoretical context

"There is no escape from the politics of our knowledge."[13]

Museums are spaces where identity can be shaped, which can be used as a tool in many ways to aid social development. To understand how museums do this in the South African context a number of theories will be looked at. In order to understand what a museum is the theories of the anthropologists Kaplan and Clifford are key. Both authors look at the shaping of identity in a museum. Clifford's theory on contact zones, in particular, will be referenced, as it offers insightful tools for analysing a museum that deals with identity.

As identity contributes to the shaping of heritage, history and memory, the museums social role has to be considered. Identity needs to be defined. Peter Davis, Rosmarie Beier – de Haan and Nigel Gibson's analysis of identity will aid in this.

How museums shape identity has an effect on social development in the country. Richard Sandell and Davis will offer valuable insight into this. From their work one sees that social issues of inequality and a museums' role in society are not only an important aspect in South Africa. The United States, Britain, Australia and museums all over the world are dealing with issues that stem from historical unequal power balances. South Africa as a country in transitional justice is a space where these issues demand immediate redress.

In the context of South Africa, the social development of museums can be tied to the terms 'community' and through tourism that forms the economic mechanism of a museum. To understand how community and tourism around a museum has impact on social development Elizabeth Crooke, a professor of museum and heritage studies, offers a Meta framework of communities and museums. The South African communities' needs are highlighted by the conglomerate of authors who wrote "Inclusion and the power of representation: South African museums and the cultural politics of social transformation". The historian Leslie Witz will enable us to understand the function of tourism in museums and larger social development in South Africa.

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[13] Witz 2006, p. 119. Citing the anthropologist Greg Dennings quoted on the wall of the SANG, during the 1996 exhibition Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of Khoi and San History and Material Culture.

Once these key terms and ideas are mapped out, it is time to zoom even more into a South African context. Politics, emerging South African museum discourses and their impact are needed to understand the choices museums make in their strategies. Crain Soudien offers insightful take on South African museum identity strategy and eventual pitfalls.

Lastly issues of racism, historicity and academic stance will be touched on.

The museum

The International Council of Museums (ICOM) defines a museum as a "non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment."[14] This is what all present and future museums should strive for, regardless of museums past, content or geographic location. This definition is historically linked to Western and Eurocentric knowledge systems,[15] but in this current form allows for a wide interpretation of what a museum is.

Historically in the nineteenth and twentieth century museums have been a nation's heritage repository.[16] Heritage is defined here as cultural heritage; the traditions, achievements, beliefs, etc., that are part of the history of a group or nation.[17] In this thesis cultural heritage often takes the form of objects in a museum, but heritage can also be tied to a place where events happened.[18] These places become a connection to immaterial cultural heritage. To incorporate all human cultural heritage in post-Apartheid South Africa the traditional museum definition and narratives have increasingly been tested, defied or discarded.[19] However, the definition of a museum has always been fluid.

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[14] ICOM 2007.
[15] Mpumlwana *et al* 2007, p. 245.
[16] Canninzo 2002, p. 382.
[17] Web. 'Heritage'. Merriam Webster Dictionary.
[18] Web. 'Cultural heritage'. UNESCO.
[19] WEB: 'About'. District Six Museum.

Kaplan and Clifford argue that museums and their definition are negotiable. That is why they continue to exist, even as an imported concept in Africa. Clifford offers four interlocking and negotiable factors.[20] The activity of collecting, displaying and entertainment in whatever form is arguably a wide spread human activity, according to Clifford. He continues that, these systems and activities can be accommodated by museums, as museums are excellent spaces for articulating identity, power and traditions. As the museum is able to adjust in order to celebrate and interpret the community it defines.[21]

Contact zones

Clifford uses these four interlocking features in his argument for museums to be understood as contact zones. Contact zones, such as museums, are spaces of where people previously separated by geography or historical disjuncture meet. Museums as contact zones, stress that there is a co presence and interaction between different groups and times. This factor allows all people to partake in the renegotiation of identity. They act and react towards each other and in this relationship to each other suggest that there are interlocking understandings and practices.

Under Clifford's contact zones theory, exhibiting different identities becomes less about discovering and more about negotiating relationships between different groups.[22] In South Africa during and post-Apartheid there has been a deep difference in experience, and therefore ideas and identity. That is why it is important to accumulate and acknowledge the vastly differentiated experiences in South African history. When these vast amounts of experience are collected, it can be exhibited for all. Museums thus become the contact zones to understand the different histories, ideas and ideologies of the widely differentiated groups in South Africa. Hopefully this will facilitate a better understanding between groups as well as strengthen identity formation within the country's different communities. Gibson argues that South African needs to "move towards a sense of a collective ownership of the

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[20] Clifford 1999, p. 453-454.
[21] Ibidem.
[22] Idem, p. 450.

past, the present, and the future".[23] This Gibson concludes will allow the nation of South Africa to move towards a collective national identity.

Unequal power relations are at play within the context of interlocking practices and differentiated experiences.[24] Historically in the context of uneven power relationships, there is often the issue of exploitation, while Clifford adds that exploitation should be understood as a complex relationship.[25] Unequal power relations will inform much of the political and other external factors that influence South African museum strategies. Clifford's contact zones acknowledge that museums and their locations are set in geographic and social barriers. Some people are therefore barred from visiting and reforming the museum by historical and political barriers. These barriers are in place in all human interactions with the museum in their audience, but also within management, which continues to affect the heritage sector's ability to redistribute power.

Contact zone theory "argues for a local/global specificity of struggles and choices" museums face.[26] The South African museum landscape that has developed over the last twenty years coincides with Clifford argument for more decentralised circulations of museums.[27] Decentralised means, that museums are no longer only based in concentrated places such as central cities, but also spread less concentrated over the peripheries. He reasons that large established museums should not be seen as the only form of intervention. Plural visions at the privileged sites should always be questioned, according to Clifford.[28] However, Murray argues, that in reality when commemorating a fractured and diverse nation's past, some stories are being glossed over whilst others are memorialised into mythical status. The creation of many museums leads to conflict about consensus of what should be remembered from South Africa's Apartheid past. Clifford's argues that decentralised initiatives can counter established museum hierarchies.[29]

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[23] Gibson 2009, p. 617.
[24] Clifford 1999, p. 438.
[25] Idem, p. 441.
[26] Idem, p. 452.
[27] Ibidem.
[28] Ibidem.
[29] Ibidem.

Countering established hierarchies that affect identity is an important priority in a transitional justice period. Especially as these hierarchies affect identity formation. In unequal power relationships between different groups, Kaplan asks how museums will respond to these complications: "will museums continue to be the purveyor of knowledge and the unifier of nations [...] or will they represent a collectivity or multiplicity of competing groups in a physical space?" The first option Kaplan gives us is a museum that presents one grand narrative. The second option Kaplan gives is that museums will be places where there are several competing narratives in the same space. Are these the only two options museums have when renegotiating the terms *museum* and *identity*? The South African museum landscape proves a synthesis of Kaplan's two options. Identity is being shaped by every possible option.

Identity

Identity can be understood *"that the social and cultural world is held to be composed of segments, memberships and in these terms individuals must define themselves [...] or be defined by others."[30]* This excerpt from the 'Encyclopaedia of social and cultural anthropology', this highlights the importance representation when identity is being renegotiated. The South African author Gibson argues that identity should move past racialized conceptions. Gibson describes identity during Apartheid as "simplified lines of perceived racial and cultural differences".[31] This was a crude definition and, Beier- de Haan and Gibson both surmises that today identity can be better understood as complex, flexible and subject to multiplicity.[32] Both authors also advocate for the exhibiting of diverse identities, which will ultimately enrich each other.

This is a reflexive position of identity in post-Apartheid South Africa. However, multiplicity produces tremendous amount of social, political and psychological tension, according to Murray.[33] He argues that this tension generates conflict,[34] and he surmises that

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[30] Byron 2002, p. 292.
[31] Gibson 2009, 595.
[32] Gibson 2009, p. 595. Beier – de Haan 2012, p. 189.
[33] Murray 2013, p. 2.

conflict arises from having to satisfy different interpretation of said identity.[35] Murray incorporates the notion of fantasy and interest together with needs when identity is renegotiated. Identity is therefore not only what is real, but also the myth around it. Identity connects to the individual and the community and influences heritage, history and memory.
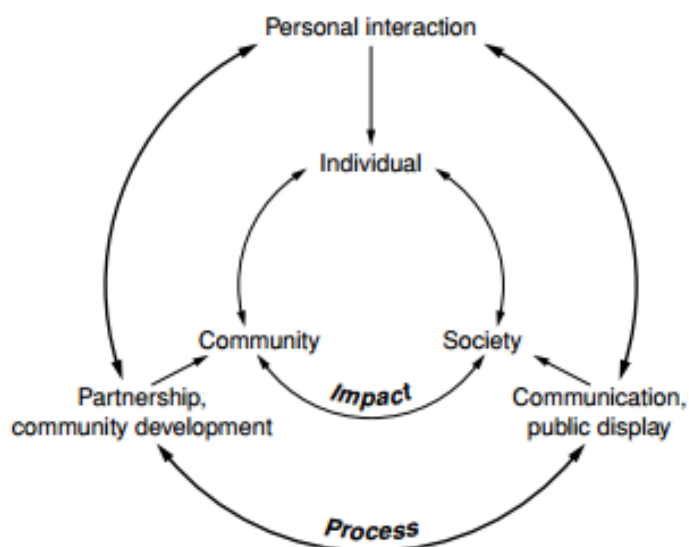
Social development

Figure 1: 'Museums and the combating of social inequality: impact and process'. Taken from R. Sandell. "Museums and the combating of social inequality: roles, responsibility, resistance." Museums, society, inequality. Ed. R. Sandell. London: New York: Routledge. 2002, p. 5.

The relationship between a museum and its ability to foster social development is not easy to quantify. Even so, the museum's ability to foster positive social change has over the last decades become an integral part of the museum's continued existence.[36] The focus, according to Sandell, has in the past been how museums have constructed political and social identities, rather than how identity is perceived or produced. The latter way of researching identity formation is advocated by many South African authors. In Figure 1 the

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[34] Idem, p. 6.

[35] Murray (2013, p. 3) is actually talking about collective memory, but associated ideas and terms are cultural identity, subjective experience and popular consciousness. He actually argues that one should be careful of entangling memory with these terms, but to an extent these terms do overlap. I do not make use of memory, but history, both are all encompassing terms without precise meaning.

[36] Sandell 2002, p. 3.

complicated interaction between a museum and its society is mapped out. In this figure, community is but a small aspect of a larger development. As one can see the community is part of the process as well as being impacted by museums.

In the following section we will be looking at community as well as tourism. Tourism and museums and communities are linked together in a relationship that provides economic, social and cultural interaction. This interaction can have many positive social developments for the immediate communities around a museum. In this thesis the museum's impact on identity formation takes the front seat. However how this is used for the community and financial implications are two important factors in social development and the specificity of how identity is being moulded in South Africa.

Community

When the museum is driven by a community, it refers to interaction with the community who is being presented in the museum, and/or the museum's immediate environment community. The community is important to consider during identity formation in post-Apartheid South Africa. Community inclusion is posed as the antithesis of the professional curator and the practice of how identity was presented in South Africa's past. In the 20th century museums social exclusion might not always have been deliberate, according to Davis,[37] but in South Africa it definitely was. That is why museums in South Africa have to take active steps to include the community.

The definition of community depends on the context, but can be considered as 'thick' or 'thin' attachments of people to a place.[38] Crooke uses this understanding of the sociologist Gerard Delanty to consider museums and the community. Thus, instead of looking at a community as inclusive or exclusive, it looks at the community as an attachment of people that can deeply be rooted or casual. The individual's relationship with a community can be fleeting or long term, in thought or in action, in a global or local context. For example, museums can be spaces for highly committed individuals to visit and work or for the curious

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[37] Idem, p. 65.
[38] Crooke 2012, p. 172.

passer-by. In the end both form the ongoing community of a museum. Both 'thin' and 'thick' attached communities must be considered when exhibiting identity. Both members partake in the cultural exchange that shapes identity.

Cultural exchange goes together with the museum's ability to foster greater understanding of the fractured history, identity and heritage of South Africans. Beier-de Haan argues that by staging exhibitions, regarding the navigation of identity, allows those presented with "knowing (one's own) history – confirming one's own 'roots' – helps absorb uncertainty, and makes the negative sides of individualization (that is lack of ties, loss of home and shared experience, and so on) more tolerable."[39] She continues to asses that "the end of [A]partheid is still too recent for the individuals to embark on a search for identity on their own." In her opinion, museums are a safe space to explore identity as well as absorb uncertainty. Exhibitions that showcase strong identities can help individuals cope with changing times, as experienced during modernisation. However, museums from before or during Apartheid are seen as largely irrelevant or even offensive by a large part of the population.[40] This feeling however does not detract from the museum and exhibitions' ability to navigate national and community identities. It does mean that the museum in itself has to be redefined for South Africa and the needs of her people.

Communities must become the driving force behind museum strategy, in order to bridge the gap between communities and museums. This is also the official South African government advice for museums in South Africa.[41] The need for museums to become more community orientated is a global museum trend. However, defining the term community has often proved elusive. The only concept that has held true over two hundred years of defining community is that it always deals with people.[42]

South African museums should become people focused as opposed to object focused. Focussing on the community's needs is what will make museums truly integrate into real

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[39] Beier-de Haan 2012, p. 196

[40] Gore 2004, p. 68. And Mpumlwana *et al* 2007, p. 247. '*For the majority of South Africans […] museums at best had little or no value to them. At worst, these institutions were seen as agents that helped reproduce and maintain the status quo of inequality, controlled by and in the service of, dominant cultures.*'

[41] Mpumlwana *et al* 2007, p. 258. Quoting the government issued "The White Papers on arts culture and heritage" (1996) .

[42] Rapport 2002, p.114.

African institutions, according to the conglomerate of authors Mpumlwana *et al*.[43] The programme and stance taken by these authors highlights the importance of the inclusion of people, their needs, ideas, and feelings above the museums traditional role of displaying objects.

Some museums also positively represent and include community stories, as argued by Sandell, Davis, Crooke and Gibson. These museums' attract pilgrimages to their specific locations, therefore stimulating local economies. The trend of small scale commemoration also allows for complicated remembering in a period where a large part of the nation has had first degree experience with Apartheid. The inclusion of many voices and stories, through multiple museums has a wide range of strengths and weaknesses. In this period of transitional justice the assets of small community museums outweigh long term restructuring of history. Specific and personalised community experience still has to be addressed, before the simplified version can be cemented. It is also in these small scale commemoration that the characterization of a museum is evolving the most. Identity and information is not presented with scientific neutrality or aesthetics from previous centuries.[44]

Tourism: money and representation

Davis argues that museums and tourism are part of a symbiotic relationship,[45] not unlike Clifford's concept of contact zones. Tourism plays an important role in representing identity. On the one hand tourists are an audience to be catered for and on the other hand they bring in much needed income for museums and communities. Williams notes that memorial museums, such as those that are being built post-Apartheid, often turn to domestic and international tourism after the initial wave of local interest has passed.[46]

All museum strategies are affected by the periphery function of job creation for societal change in South Africa. The most rapid growing job sector is tourism. Tourism accounts for

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[43] Mpumlwana *et al* 2009, p. 258.
[44] Clifford 1999, p. 453. Interpreting Neil Harris 91990).
[45] Davis 2007, p. 69.
[46] Williams 2012, p. 105,

5% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and employs almost six hundred thousand individuals.[47] For every eight tourists visiting South Africa, one job is created.[48] Having a job translates to economic power and therefore societal transformation. The museum's core function therefore is commercial tourism, according to South African researcher Leslie Witz.[49] This suggests that art and other objects take the backseat to economic strategies. Or as others argue, the museum is appropriating the needs of society.[50] The museum is changing to answer societal needs.

This construction can put museums in a dilemma. By packaging South African history and heritage for tourists they continue to invoke the colonial journey, instead of discarding colonial history. This means museums may not be reflecting a new national past in its policies and exhibitions, according to Witz.[51] South African museums are not free from external factors influencing their exhibition strategy. Beier-de Haan, amongst others, points out that the synthesis between museums and the leisure industry is also a global trend.[52] Beier- de Haan continues that museums are not only facilitating spaces and content to learn, but also provide an experience.[53] This has a positive effect on the locality's economy, knowledge of self and pride, according to Davis.[54]

None the less, museums in South Africa are under pressure to "'dance to the tune of tourism'", according to Witz. [55] Witz summarises other authors' conception of museums as international tourist sites. Namely that tourists have massive implication of how they develop and redevelop, which some have surmised leads to heritage becoming unthreatening-, sanitized-, and superficial histories for tourists.[56] Witz counter argues that this is not the case as this assumes an unknowing and unthinking tourist audience. The most

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[47] Witz 2006, p. 114.
[48] Ibidem.
[49] Idem, p. 109.
[50] Mpumlwana *et al* 2007, p. 252-253.
[51] Witz 2006, p. 110.
The issue of 'African authenticity' pops up often. This is a complex discourse issue created by anthropologists over the course of the 20th century. What African authenticity entails is can surmised as a colonial fantasy.
[52] Beier- de Haan 2012, p. 196. Davis 2007, p. 69.
[53] Beier- de Haan 2012, p. 196.
[54] Davis 2007, p. 66.
[55] Witz 2006, p. 126.
[56] Ibidem.

well visited exhibitions are most often those that delve into a tainted and messy past.[57] All museums, according to Clifford, presume an external audience and "selling the art of 'us'".[58] Tourist influence the language used by museums to exhibit identity. The language used is born from a symbiotic relationship between place and audience.

Museums should be aware of how they are viewed by outsiders and how this affects their strategies. Eurocentric discourse and knowledge systems continue to dominate African institutions and identity, either by adding to the narrative around the museum or structuring the museum to resemble traditional European museums. There are a range of motivations for tourists visiting (memorial) museums, "from the curious to the deeply committed", according to Williams.[59] South Africa and its museums are convenient field sites for the study of culture and the politics of transition, as noted within this thesis.[60] The search by academics and graduates for spaces of engagement in South Africa can be seen as a highly specialised form of tourism.[61] South African students, scholars and academics become convenient 'native' informants, according to Mpumlwana *et al*.[62] The authors continue that this type of highly specialised of tourism also continues to perpetuate an ethnographic encounter with the natives.

Nevertheless, tension between locals and tourists that visit authentic places of commemoration is still playing in the background. No matter if the tourist is deeply committed or not, tourists expect a space of commemoration untainted by the present and kept 'authentic'.[63] However Williams continues locals may depend on tourism to actually revitalize and rebuild the economy.[64] There does not need to be a chasm between the demand of representation between local groups and international tourists.[65] Museums and heritage sites are constantly mediating their collections representation.

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[57] Ibidem.
[58] Clifford 1999, p. 454.
[59] Williams 2012, p. 113.
[60] Mpumlwana *et al* 2007, p. 256.
[61] Ibidem. The authors refer to the District 6 Museum as a specific space where scholars attempt to study the impact of social tension in South Africa.
[62] Ibidem. Authors own parenthesis.
[63] Williams 2012, p. 104.
[64] Ibidem.
[65] Witz 2006, p. 113.

Visitors do not necessarily need to know in what context of the community these museums operate.[66] Knowledge of this context, could ultimately detract from the 'authentic African' experience. Eventual tension between tourist and indigenous South Africans arises from the success of the cultural exchange. In other words, is everyone happy with how the interaction took place? Without an audience, voices go unheard and unsupported. This makes tourists (and other visitors) an important part of the museum. They serve as a witness for the history of South Africa as well as a financial supporter of the identity shaping.

Politics and discourse

Identity is being negotiated in unequal power dynamics and from different motivations. The deconstructive narrative of Soudien allows identity to be shaped and negotiated with all stakes on the table as identity is being shaped that will ultimately privilege some more than others.[67] All motivations, histories and relations should be laid bare in order to properly analyse identity shaping.

Kaplan argues that these clashes are inevitable. Whereas, Clifford uses these clashes as examples of how communities negotiate the boundaries of different group's geographic and social segregation. These clashes are not example of culture wars, but examples of where different interests and needs are being negotiated and met with varying levels of success. Mpumlwana *et al* frames Clifford's clash of culture as engaging in the politics of culture.[68] How different communities react to the shaping of identity in museums can be understood through a political lens.

On any scale of community within South Africa, there will be different interest groups. Often the critique levelled at museums can be better understood through the political mind sets in South Africa. These political ideologies can be divided into three camps. These political camps used to understand land reformation policies can be used as a lens to

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[66] Byala 2013, p. 91. Byala poses in her thesis that if we did know the biography of a museum, it could greatly influence the museum experience, for better or for worse.
[67] Soudien 2012, p. 398.
[68] Mpumlwana *et al 2007,* p. 247.

understand the South African heritage sector. Edward Lahiff a specialist in land reformation, roughly sketches these political camps as; radical populism, modernists and neo-liberals.[69]

Radical populists want to change the social structure, no matter the cost. This is what we see happening when art is burnt on campus, like in October 2015 at the University of Cape Town.[70] The modernists believe in making everything new and starting fresh in context of the current political and social trend. With the added notion of focusing on maximalising capitalistic endeavors. The Apartheid Museum can be seen as an example of this, whereby tourism is as much as part of the museum's business model as the collection and narrative presented. The Neo-liberal camp overlaps with modernists, but focuses on liberalizing markets and removing 'distortions'. Distortions are political interference, such as measures taken during a transitional justice period. The South African National Gallery is an institute that wishes to stay autonomous from political or other interference. These economic and political distinctions influence institutions, government bodies and visitor reactions towards the heritage sector.

Soudien has analysed the different discourses that have become apparent in post-Apartheid South African museum. These discourses are influenced by the politics that underpin them. In turn these discourses influence how identity is being shaped in museums. They consist of the discourse of nostalgia and the discourse of re-imagination.[71] The last discourse he divides into empirical multiculturism and triumphalism and deconstruction. These narrative discourses overlap in the sense that they all pertain to history and the remembering thereof. Nostalgia refers to the yearning to the past that is seen as better than the present. The discourse of reconstruction refers to the attempt to rebuild what is lost or fragmented. It is however, in the discourse of reconstruction or re-imagination of history that will result in future difficulties, according to Soudien.[72] It is also this discourse of re-imagination that is pushed by political agendas. Therefore the focus will be on Soudien's theory of re-imagination and the three secondary divisions.

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[69] Web. Lahiff 2010.
[70] Web. Raborife 2015.
[71] Soudien 2012, p. 399.
[72] Idem, p. 398.

Empirical multiculturism is where museums attempt to show the public what they have been denied before. Triumphalism refers to the epic narrative of victory over the oppressive Apartheid regime. A deconstructive narrative is in essence attempting to understand how an official or personal story or experience of events came to be. Deconstruction consists of analysing what was presented and what was omitted and the subsequent goal of this narrative. Most museums, old, new and emerging make use of empirical multiculturalism. Post-Apartheid museums often also include a healthy dose of triumphalism. Triumphalism can be seen as the hopeful new beginning akin to the pan-African trend after liberation in the 1960s.

Biography and academic stance

When studying the historical context of South Africa the focus is usually on "Africanism and racism, occluding from our view of South Africanism", according to Byala, who champions a thorough biography of heritage objects and places.[73] Kaplan argues that focusing on a museum's biography often leads to "museum bashing".[74] However, Soudien argues that by studying the historical and social dynamics in which the country's history is set a broader understanding of the nature and impact of racism and the effect it has on heritage places emerges.[75]

These issues are embroiled in a wide web of interconnected relationships and identities. One needs to understand "the conditions in which racism was produced, reproduced and intensified in South Africa, taking into account its interconnectedness with other modes of power and inequality such as gender and class".[76] History should not merely be revised by the current state of understanding, but it should delve into the complexity and interconnectedness of different groups and power relations for a full reading and understanding of South African life.

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[73] Byala 2013, p. 100. Quoting Saul Dubow (2000).
[74] Kaplan 2012, p. 166.
[75] Soudien 2012, p. 399.
[76] Ibidem.

The tactic of remembering the past in order to build a solid future, is most often the stance taken by custodians of heritage.[77] More and more of South African (academic) literature calls for an in depth representation of the history, not only of the people in South Africa, but its heritage objects.[78] Even if this knowledge is only used for the restructuring of older heritage spaces. Apartheid is not South Africa's future, but many of the issues of today stem from this period. Byala maintains that history in its complexity "has the power to shed light on the truth", and understand the roots of what is happening now.[79] It is only through thorough examination and representation, that museums and their exhibitions can be renegotiated. This allows for a complicated, inclusive representation of history, heritage and identity in South Africa.

This academic debate is complicated by nuances in a fragmented society. Abstracting the problem to include the larger complexity of the problem has been argued as a way of rationalising the current plight many South African still living in abject poverty face.[80] This acknowledgement of nuance is argued to be an example of Eurocentric distancing to the dire predicament many South African are living in. On the other hand taking historical complexity into account makes individuals face issues they would rather not know or forget. Thus, by taking the stance of complexity one is in direct opposition of many whom wish to sweep the unpleasant details of history under the rug, which allows many 'perpetrators' and 'victims' to have selective amnesia of the past.[81] Selective amnesia allows official and personal recollection to conjure up the past that serves their needs and fantasies. A selective view of the past can and will complicate issues in the future.

Academics are not structuring their discourse around meeting the needs or fantasies of its society. Academics are advocating for a complex reading of history, heritage and identity to allow for healing and greater understanding within South Africa. South African academics are trying to continue in the trajectory of creating spaces where the indigenous population's

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[77] Murray 2013, p. 7.
[78] Byala 2013. Soudien 2012. Mpumlwana *et al* 2007. Gore 2004.
[79] Byala 2013, p. 104.
[80] Williams 2012, p. 103. Williams notes that witness testimonies allow for more personal contact with the larger debate. Often victims get abstracted and lost in the larger narrative. Especially when onlookers have no personal relation to the tragedy, the 'story' of atrocities become the focus and the individuals affected by it tragic minor characters.
[81] Ibidem.

trauma, life, identity and hurts can be heard and listened to, but also acknowledge all history. These voices, however, continue to be limited by political, social and economic barriers. The distribution of resources regarding media attention and funding have an impact on what stories are told.[82]

Summary

Museums in South Africa can be summarised as sites that collect, display and entertain for political, economic and social power. The effort to redistribute power takes place in a steep power imbalance between collector and collected. Museums in South Africa are places where different worlds meet. Tourism plays an important role in universalising the language museums use to communicate their identity. In turn community shapes the museum from its own unique identity.

Through these theories of the museum as contact zones where identity is being renegotiated through myth forming or deconstruction. The exhibition of identity has impact on social development of communities. Either through economic stimulation or identity rehabilitation. Communities are also partaking in forming the museum and identity to suite their own needs. By shaping identity through the needs of the community, redefines what 'identity' and a 'museum' are in the 21st Century. This can have a positive impact on social development of the community and country as a whole. How museums partake in this exchange of identity formation and social development will be mapped in the following case studies.

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[82] Clifford 1999. P. 452.

2. *South African National Gallery*

Figure 2: 'Iziko South African National Gallery Building'. Photo by Iziko National Gallery.Web. N.d.

The South African National Gallery (SANG) is an established South African museum. It is a conventional museum that has a history tied to its exhibition strategy and collection. Since opening its doors in 1930, the museum has gone through three different collection strategies and two periods of colonialization. The SANG has an extensive collection of art work collected prior to 1994. Therefore the SANG's origin and current collection strategy will be discussed, before looking at how this is affected by its history and the audience of the museum.

McGee's work on Cape Town museums is important in this analysis, while Mpumlwana *et al* provide a broader critique of established South African museums. Botha & Tietze as well as Gore have analysed the SANG in regards to its historicity. Soudien has analysed the SANG as a 'key post[-]apartheid museum initiative.'[83]

Origin

The South African National Gallery is arguably one of the first 'national' museums of South Africa, [84] founded before the establishment of the Republic of South Africa. Only later due to *ad hoc* Apartheid government decisions was the museum classified as national,

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[83] Soudien 2012, p. 397.
[84] Gore 2004, p. 29. McGee 2006, p. 179.

according to Mpumlwana *et al*.[85] The museum was built to hold forty-five paintings that were initially donated in 1871.[86] The museum opened relatively late compared to the library and other natural history collection institutions,[87] which, according to Botha &Tietze, arguably informs one of its relative perceived importance.

Botha & Tietze argue, that the SANG, like all other contemporary public institutions, was set up in accordance with 19th and 20th century European policies of civilising and educating the masses.[88] In the 19th century, high culture was exhibited to the masses, whereas in the twenty first century, previously denied culture is exhibited for the same audience. Soudien shows that the SANG continues in this trajectory, of showing the masses what they have previously been denied. This is what Soudien labels as empirical multiculturism.[89] However, according to Botha & Tietze this happened in a much less formal institutional setting as in Europe or other commonwealth countries such as Australia.[90] In these countries, national museums where widely visited and government sponsored. In South Africa, the museum was sponsored by the people.[91] The authors continue, that the SANG was slow to open and the initial exhibitions failed to attract attention as elsewhere in the British Empire.[92] The SANG in many ways still fails to grab a wider national attention in 21st century South Africa, according to McGee.[93] Her critique of the SANG has a historical trajectory is thus not a new failure, but an ongoing institutional trajectory.

Collection

The museum's exhibitions are based on the rotation of a large and expanding collection of cultural objects. The SANG holds these collection groupings; African Art, Modern Painting

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[85] Mpumplwana *et al* 2007, p. 248. Quoting Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology's "White paper on arts, culture and heritage: all our legacies, our common future" (1996).
[86] The initial donation of forty-five painting was made by English magistrate Thomas Butterworth Bayley in 1971 according to the museums website.
[87] Botha & Tietze 2014, p. 1177.
[88] Botha & Tietze, p. 1178.
[89] Soudien 2012, p. 398.
[90] Botha &Tietze 2014, p. 1186.
[91] Idem.
[92] Idem.
[93] McGee 2007, p. 180.

and Sculpture, Historical Painting and Sculpture, Sir Abe Bailey Bequest, Contemporary Art, Painting Conservation.[94] The vast size of the collection allows for the juxtaposition of the country's peoples and views. For example, SANG exhibits the work of the Afrikaans artist Jacobus Pierneef (1886 – 1957), as well as work from the group *Car van guard*, who made a video installation of drunken dancing on Pierneef's grave.

The museum's collections include visual objects from communist Russian immigrants, photographs, classical paintings, 'craft' work, installations, sculptures, and contemporary art. The museum also has access to the repositories of other museums under the Iziko umbrella.[95] These diverse collections attempt to showcase the diversity of people in South Africa. The museum's choice to exhibit such a diverse collection, usually thematically, allows visitors to build knowledge about the country's present and past through visual objects.

Through the current self-reflexive tone the museum suggests that it has gone through a very large paradigm shift from their colonial past. The acquisition policy and exhibition strategy suggests a vibrant and reflexive museum rhetoric. The museum continuously presents fresh exhibitions, with different groups, themes and objects being highlighted and framed. One such is the exhibition: 1910-2010 *From Pierneef to Gugulective: 100 years of South African art*, that attempts to a chronological canon of South African art.[96] Important artists and artwork from different periods, political agendas and styles are exhibited next to each other, as seen in figures 2 and 3. This is an attempt at an integrated and shared artistic history.

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[94] Web. 'Collections'. SANG.
[95] Web. 'Home'. Iziko.
[96] 1910-2010: From Pierneef to Gugulective. Started: Apr 15, 2010. Ended: Sep 15, 2010. South African National Gallery

Figure 3: 'Exhibition garden view of 1910-2010 From _Pierneef to Gugulective: 100 years of South African art'._ Photo by Iziko South African National Gallery. Web. 2010.

Figure 4: 'Exhibition garden view of 1910-2010 _From Pierneef to Gugulective: 100 years of South African art'._ Photo by Iziko South African National Gallery. Web. 2010.

Another SANG exhibition, _Decade of Democracy,_ was analysed by Soudien. Soudien recognizes the SANG's attempt to grapple with issues of sexism, racism and poverty in the

South African context.[97] Soudien argues that "the [decade of democracy] exhibition offered an opportunity for deconstructing the homogeneity of the new South Africa".[98] Soudien continues, that this exhibition was playful as well as provocative. The exhibition was light, but provocative in the sense of the use of human figures as well as alluding to more troubling questions regarding identity in the new South Africa. Figure 4, which is the cover of the exhibition catalogue, showcases an interracial couple in the pose of Auguste Rodin's (1840 - 1917) statue of *The Kiss* (1889). This is a shocking image, as interracial couples where illegal during Apartheid, where the black man would be jailed and charged with rape in such a case. This image in its nudity is provocative, but also delves into questions about race and sexuality.
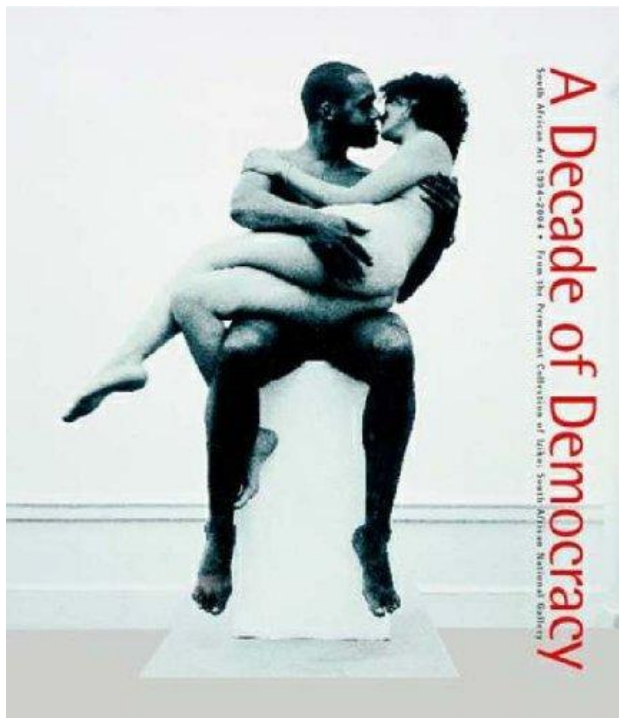

Figure 5: 'A decade of democracy', Ed. E. Bedford. Cape Town: Double Story Books: Iziko South African National Gallery, 2004. Book cover.

Another exhibition in 2012 *Ever Young features* the photographer James Barnor. He is a Ghanaian photographer, but his work was well published in the 1960's in Africa and abroad.

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[97] Soudien 2012, p. 404. Soudien uses this exhibition as an example of a good deconstructive narrative in post-Apartheid South Africa, but the SANG does not acknowledge this exhibition in their internet archives. The SANG did however, publish a book on the exhibition 'A decade of democracy: South African art 1994-2004 : from the Permanent Collection of Iziko South African national art gallery (2004)

[98] Ibidem.

His DRUM magazine cover photographs are an example of rehabilitated African images. Commercial photography is exhibited as large portraits and shows a rich visual representation of a black African lives full of beauty, fashion and commerce. However, this exhibition of Barnor's work was not instigated by the SANG. His work was rehabilitated from commercial to artistic by the curatorial practices of the London based Autograph ABP already in 2010, before being presented in the SANG in 2012. Although, Autograph only exhibited the same exhibition in London in the summer of 2013.[99] The SANG is also a platform where other professionals can rehabilitate images of self.

Strategy

The SANG's collecting and exhibition policies can be split into three periods. The initial core collection was at first art imported from Europe by wealthy sponsors. The collection strategy was informed by the science and politics which dominated the 19th and 20th century, namely, British Imperialism, biological evolution and education. Until the 1980's the museum continued to buy art from abroad as its main acquisition strategy. At this time the museum's acquisition policy shifted to collecting South African Art. The museum explains that at this point 'the extraordinary vitality and significance of the art that began to emerge in South Africa in the 1980s', which prompted a shift in collection strategy. Additionally, this shift might have been related to the international trade sanctions levelled at the Apartheid government. Since the 1990s the museum has been trying to acquire art from all groups and artists of the last century in South Africa, especially art which was not purchasable during Apartheid.

SANG current exhibition strategy is made up of newly collected or reframed objects, as well as incorporating well-known artist that have already been 'discovered'. Collected objects such as old donated posters, public images and so forth are reframed as cultural objects. Which on the one hand is smart, the museum is incorporating different art objects and traditions, but also including aesthetics of everyday life. This is financially attractive as well as aiding in the rehabilitation 'low' art forms and, which Soudien argues is so important

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[99] Web. 'Exhibitions: James Barnor Ever Young.' Autograph.

for shaping a full deconstructed identity of the past. Allowing for a full varied view of the past allows for complicated remembering, which Soudien argues is important. This way complication that arises from a simplified view of history is negated.

The SANG's tactic of reframing all human made objects from South Africa in an art gallery tackles financial and aesthetic issues in the museums operations and in the global art world. Such as 'craft' objects that were collected as ethnographic objects initially being reframed in an artistic context. However, the reframing objects to be included in where they were previously excluded, are often met with irritation or outrage. Soudien also sees the 'add on' tactic as not being good enough for any museum.[100] Whilst Mpumlwana *et al* argues, that the reframing of (ethnographic) objects described as a 'sleight of hand', that seems like an easy fix for greater issues.[101]

Mpumlwana *et* al simultaneously critiques established museum's failure to deconstruct the narrative behind objects and confronting the legacies of classification, ordering and appropriation.[102] Most indigenous human made objects since 1652 has been collected as ethnographic objects. Thus, the museum has a very large repository of human made objects, but cannot use them; due to the context they were initially collected. If these objects cannot be used, their narrative cannot be deconstructed.[103] The halfway point between the criticism levelled at the museum and the restriction placed on their archive, are overcome by the reframing and inclusion of an abundance of newly collected visual objects from South Africa's past. The SANG is thus able to simultaneously address aesthetic and political narratives within their financial means.

Kaplan states that museums are increasingly having to find a balance between politics and preservation.[104] This is exactly the situation the SANG finds itself in. It attempts to be autonomous, but falls in the category of Neo-liberalism in regards to how it wishes to run the museum. Whereas the conglomerate of authors critique is somewhere between radical

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[100] Soudien 2012, p. 398,
[101] Mpumlwana *et al* 2007, p. 257.
[102] Idem, p. 258.
[103] Gore 2004, p. 24.
[104] Kaplan 2012, p. 163.

populism and a modernist approach. They champion museums with a fresh, while heavily critiquing old hierarchies. [105]

The SANG's strategy for dealing with this issue is a humble acknowledgement, tempered with idealism and optimism and caution, according to McGee. This frame of mind allows the museum to be self-reflexive and humble in its self-created discourse.[106] The museum itself attempts to acknowledge its colonial and Apartheid past and attempt to deconstruct the cause and effect this has on their exhibition content. They fail however to apply the same reflexivity to their internal management. On closer inspection the SANG still perpetuates old structures from its colonial past, according to McGee. This has an impact on who can help shape the exhibitions and therefore identity in this museum.

However, when one speaks to South African artists, such as in McGee's interviews and the McGee *et al* 2003 film 'The luggage is still labelled', it often comes up that artists want to be seen as contemporary artists.[107] The artist do not want to be considered black, or in regards to their tribal affiliations. Here the SANGs focus on the international art market, institutional hierarchy, mode of presentation and collection plays a positive impact. The museum serves as a gateway for artists to international museums. The SANG's mode of representing its collections allows artists to be considered the way they desire.

McGee criticises the SANG for this mode of representation as it is essentially a Western European defined epistemology. This supposition, she continues, excludes or can only awkwardly include arts outside this normative.[108] Beier de-Haan argues that commonality does not have to be achieved normatively, modern exhibitions allow for the personal and subjective to be deployed.[109] Beier –de Haan continues that wonder and experience are valid elements of contemporary museum exhibitions and of the shaping of identity.

Visitors

[105] Soudien 2012, p. 401.
[106] McGee 2006, p. 180.
[107] Idem, p. 186. McGee *et al* 2003.
[108] Idem, p.181.
[109] Beier- de Haan 2012, p. 196.

The museum concept is a traditional institution many would recognize, but offer visitors a unique collection. McGee's analysis describes several structural problems in the SANG. The ones that impact visitors are the museums inability to finance an education outreach programme and its inability to market outside their donor lists. Unfortunately, this negates the impact of the SANG's positive representations.

Those who visit this museum are those who have always visited the museum, namely those who are affiliated with it financially or socially. The museum does not attract any significant interest outside this affiliated group. This is reflected back in the international tourist community. Out of 281 noteworthy places to visit in Cape Town, the SANG falls at number 73 place, between the natural fog phenomenon at Devil's peak and the Cape Point Ostrich Farm. [110] For further comparison, the South African Jewish museum, which is right next door to the SANG, is listed as the number 19 best place to visit in Cape Town.[111] The museum does not attract that many visitors in the international sector when one looks at the log book of TripAdvisor,[112] despite being labelled as a/the national art museum. Those that do visit rate their experience at the museum as high.[113]

In order to address the restricted visitor community multiple papers have proposed that: South African museums should be "people based, not object based if they are to stop being alien space, places where 'dead things' are stored".[114] This was already noted in the South African government commissioned paper *White Paper on Arts and Culture* in 1996. The SANG needs to orientate herself to people and not the objects. When the SANG shift its focus away from the objects they might realise that these objects and exhibitions, no matter how spectacular, are failing to reach that many visitors. The current *modus operendus* of the museum might be object based, but even that is rendered as obsolete when no one sees it. The objects are not considered in relation to people and the lives they have led. This also denies the connection to people, places in events.

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[110] Web. 'Cape Town (Centre) - TripAdvisor Ratings'. TripAdvisor
[111] Ibidem.
[112] Ibidem.
[113] Web. 'Iziko SANG ratings'. TripAdvisor.
[114] Mpumplwana *et al* 2007, p. 258.

What the SANG does however do is acknowledge a differentiated audience. Davis argues that acknowledging a differentiated audience has had a profound, albeit slow, change in museums strategies.[115] A shift that has given rise to its many exhibitions. At first the change will only be cosmetic, before museums achieve a complete metamorphosis. In South Africa such a slow change will be unacceptable to many critics, including McGee and Mpumlwana *et al*.

One of the SANG's first big post-Apartheid exhibition, however did attract large crowds.[116] The exhibition *Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of Khoi and San History and Material Culture* in 1996, was the SANG's attempt to rehabilitate objects from the South African Museum, which held dioramas of indigenous Khoi-San people.[117] They also attempted to deconstruct the history, politics and violence involved in the representation of the Khoi-San. However, the critique was that they had in fact continued to perpetuate the same issues that they attempted to deconstruct.[118] In 2006 McGee and in 2007 Mpumlwana *et al*, continue to critique the museum in the same way. The SANG fails to truly deconstruct its own institutional background.

Sandell suggests a constructivist approach to shape unpredictable visitors' responses.[119] Visitor responses, even those of academics, are based on previous knowledge systems. Sandell argues that meaning is constructed through your surrounding social-, life and network and museums should provide experiences that invite visitors to make meaning by extending their existing knowledge in the visitor's preferred learning style. In this way, visitors can test their own knowledge hypothesis against the museums narration.[120] Understanding the target audience and the community the museum is in can help museum exhibition strategies better exhibit identity. The museum can shape their exhibition strategy towards the different interest groups.

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[115] Davis 2007, p. 66.
[116] Witz 2007, p. 119.
[117] Much like the Smithsonian's diorama's depicting different ecosystems, and periods.
[118] Witz 2007, p. 119.
[119] Sandell 2002, p. 13.
[120] Ibidem.

Currently however, the SANG is a safe contact zone for individuals to come into contact with the rest of South Africa. The museum has not been able to function as one of Clifford's democratic contact zones where identity is being negotiated. Instead identity is being presented and discovered by those who visit, instead of being negotiated between different groups.

As for the born free generation, the SANG makes several appeals on their website to parents during the summer months.[121] In the summer holidays period of December and January, many families flock to the coastal area. The SANG directly appeals to parents budgets and the heat in order to attract more visitors. As the museum has no educational outreach budget to facilitate school visits, this is the closest the museum gets to targeting the born free generation.

Conclusion

The SANG has started with its metamorphosis in acknowledging a wide audience and becoming more community orientated. The institution, despite its lack of radical reformation, has had many successful exhibitions.

The museums main issue is the lack of a wider audience. These problems arise from historical segregation, financial difficulty and slow transformation. The exhibition strategy attempt to constantly engage with the country's entire past and present. However, artists are still only being viewed by the privileged few. The people and communities, who arguably can profit the most from the presentation, are still not addressed in the larger picture of the museum strategy.

The museums exhibitions might be inclusive, but its management and institutional reasoning is dated and alien to the needs of South Africa according to analysis. This is an issue a lot of established museums face. However, the museum is exactly the institution that contemporary artist need in order to breaking into the international art market. The museum object focus perpetuates Eurocentric knowledge systems. Exhibiting the objects

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[121] Web. 'Drive into our heritage' Iziko SANG, 2010 summer campaign.

factually perpetuates (academic) distance that can work internationally in its favour. However, nationally exhibiting objects this way can creates distance between experience and memory of people. The museum thus fails to address the social issues which are indeed the subject of many of its exhibitions. The SANG is a very cautious institution, that wants to keep its autonomous institutional distance and deal with societal issues on its own terms.

3. *Apartheid Museum*

Figure 6: 'The Pillars of the Constitution'. Apartheid Museum. Digital Images by P. de Bas, Web. N. d..

The Apartheid Museum was built in direct contrast to established South African museums, such as the SANG. Memorial museums such as the Apartheid Museum and the District Six Museum face the same issues 'cultural' museums face according to Williams. Both these type of museums have to think about their non-quantifiable moral duty of "civic uplift" within their broader community.[122] The museum was built to incorporate new voices in the heritage and history landscape. The museum strategy was first conceived before its content was realised. Even though the museum is a commemoration museum, it makes use of architectural and visual installations to enhance the exhibition narrative. Therefore, the Apartheid Museum will be considered in the following order; origin, strategy, content and visitors.

Origin

The Apartheid Museum is a memorial museum that opened in 2001. It was created with the aim of telling the story of Apartheid and the freedom fighters struggle to end it.[123] The groundwork for the museum started in 1995 when the new democratic government set up a

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[122] Williams 2012, p. 102.
[123] Web. 'About'. Apartheid Museum 2016

bidding process for a casino license. To gain this license, bidders had to pitch and fund an idea that would attract tourists and stimulate economic growth. The museum concept was most likely chosen due to the provocative nature of its content and the real need for a testimonial to the period of Apartheid. The consortium Akani Egoli (Gold Reef City) won the bid and built the museum on an adjacent piece of land from the casino. The museum is an economic mechanism as well as being regarded an important memorial museum of the Apartheid period.

Strategy

The Apartheid Museum incorporates western museum language into its exhibition whilst following the documentary trend of South African museums post-Apartheid.[124]Soudien describes a documentary style museum as an empirically posed narrative that attempts to exhibit "transparent or objective facts within the horror of oppression and persecution".[125] Unlike other commemoration museums, this style of museum is not for the social and psychological rehabilitation of those subjugated to Apartheid rule. The museum is instead modelled on Holocaust museums, where the focus is on the experience for visitors.[126] The museum's format is part of its strategy to help visitors better understand the notion of living under Apartheid. The museum deals with the start of Apartheid and the events that lead to its fall. The museum does not incorporate historical events that lead to the Apartheid regime.

The museum's strategy is based on that of successful international museums in the field of exhibiting atrocities. Most notably, it follows architect Daniel Libeskind's integration of architecture into exhibition strategy, as analysed by Rankin & Smit.[127] The Holocaust Memorial in Berlin and The Jewish Museum are prime examples of this exhibition strategy.[128] The architecture and installation are supposed to evoke emotion instead of specific events. Facts and figures cannot completely convey the atrocities of the time, thus

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[124] Soudien 2012, p. 389.
[125] Ibidem.
[126] Rankin & Schmidt 2009, p.77.
[127] Ibidem.
[128] Ibidem.

the museums make use of installations and architecture that evoke the senses. This theory would seem to contradict Soudien's concept of the documentary style museum. However, the museum attempts to synthesise documentary style facts of Apartheid with the emotional aspects of Holocaust rhetoric.

The time that has passed between the Apartheid and the Holocaust is the main reason why there is a difference between Libeskind's Holocaust strategy and the Apartheid Museums. As most of the events portrayed in the Apartheid Museum took place in the recent past, emotion is not as keenly played on as in the museums in Berlin. The works are not triggers for specific emotions, but rather metaphors of past events. None of the exhibitions are too graphic, either dealing with known media images (Sharpeville Shooting), or metaphorical installations of, for example, political executions or violence.[129] The noose installation (fig. 6) is a symbolic representation for the people that were politically executed. One is not only recounting history, but sympathises with it.[130] This strategy follows the contemporary shift in museum emphasis on contexts, understanding and emotions above pure factuality.[131]

This abstraction of violence may also be for the benefit of educating the youth of South Africa. Williams notes that child focussed exhibitions, tend to abstract the nature of violence.[132] Williams shows that often in this abstraction, there is no attention paid to who is responsible and the contextual history. This is not the case in the Apartheid Museum. Many of the installations are abstract, but also acknowledge the political ideologies that led to the creation of the Apartheid regime.

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[129] The museum does have an age policy. Children under the age of 11, in school groups, are discouraged, due the graphic exhibitions. The policy for family visits is unknown.
[130] Rankin & Schmidt 2009, p.77.
[131] Beier-de Haan 2011, p.187.
[132] Williams 2012, p. 100.

Figure 7. Political Executions. Apartheid Museum. Digital Images by P. de Bas, Web, N. d..

The Apartheid Museum is an example of a myth forming museum. The museum attempts to present the facts of apartheid transparently, in order to encourage acceptance of the facts. The use of Holocaust memorial rhetoric also acknowledges the emotions of different audiences, whatever they may be. The difficult origins of the new democratic South Africa are memorialised in its installations. In the Apartheid Museum capacity as a myth-forming commemoration, the museums attempts to be the type of museum Kaplan describes as purveyors of knowledge and unifiers of nations.[133] Identity of the nation is not being negotiated as it would be in a democratic contact zone, but it is being presented to be discovered by the unknowing visitor.

According to Soudien, triumphalism is the official South African state memory.[134] He argues that the tale of redemption has achieved sacrosanct status, but reduces the complexity of life, race, gender and class during Apartheid. A mythical origin story of the new democratic South Africa does not allow for the contradictions of memory to take place.[135]

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[133] Kaplan 2012, p. 168.
[134] Soudien 2012, p 398.
[135] Murray 2014, p. 48.

The AM is an example of an institution showcasing an origin myth. Soudien argues that this type of exhibition narrative prioritises the "great and good" and the extraordinary identity of legendary individuals. Myths, Murray argues, create platforms for constructing heroic figures.[136] Visitors can only come to one didactic conclusion through this museum strategy, namely that good triumphed over evil.[137] Such myth creation tends to omit "the intensely complicated social structures, relations and habits that surround, precede and follow the horror of oppression and persecution" by reducing complicated issues down to an experience.[138] These exhibition strategies and narratives impact on the public perception of the history and heritage of South Africa, as triumphalism is the narrative onto which individual stories and memories are hitched. According to Soudien, critical memory can only stem from a deconstructive narrative, in order to negate future complications.

Triumphalism while denying complexity has a mythical function. Murray uses Roland Barthe's theory on myths. Barthes is often used when analysing myth, however he positive impact of a myth, according to Barthes, was best communicated through Hanneke Stuit's analysis of myth within Tertius Kapp's play 'Rooiland'.[139] She explains, when one is confronted with a myth one immediately reject or accept it. Each choice has an impact on the individual's story. An accepted myth is a performative act that aids in the construction of history. Myths need to be actively appropriated in history and memory, otherwise there is no possibility of moving forward. When one understands myth this way, Stuit continues, then one understands that accepting a myth is an act of survival and a way of moving forward.[140]

Stuit explains that a myth allows for the normalisation of history to the point where there is no room to question the facts of history. A myth is the simple fact that is no longer questioned, but accepted part of history. The motivation behind the fact is irrelevant. According to Murray mythical foundation stories does allow for "'blissful clarity'".[141] For Stuit, myths should not be understood as primitive stories that will immediately be replaced

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[136] Murray 2014, p. 60-61.
[137] Soudien 2012, p. 401.
[138] Idem, p. 399.
[139] Stuit 2016. 'Rooiland'
[140] Ibidem.
[141] Murray 2014, p. 60.

by empirical evidence. Soudien's deconstructive narrative with all the facts explains gut feelings whereas a mythical origin story of triumphalism allows for abstract emotional and ideological alliances. In this way myth takes into account more than just legitimate facts, but also normalise gut feelings into history. Stuit interprets myths and the function of mythology as a selection process for historical discourse.[142] Accepted myths can be understood as a positive long term effect on the receiver, according to Stuit.

Triumphalism in the AM accepts that the author is dead. Soudien and other authors, on the other hand advocate interrogating and deconstructing the text based on intentions and historical context. One needs to remember that until the end of Apartheid the plight of many had been supressed and ignored. The telling and remembering of histories was actively supressed and this had to be addressed. The first step of the new government was to set up the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The TRC was a platform where previously suppressed stories could be told.

What Soudien suggests is that after these stories had been told, digested and maybe healed, they should be placed in the context of their time. Placing these stories in the context of their time is not an attempt to justify the reality, but rather interrogate the implication it has had for those affected by it. During the TRC trials, women did not voice their own plight, but rather that of their sons or husbands.[143] This is an example of gender issues that had not been addressed. These issues should be circled back to and not be closed off by a simplified narrative, such as that presented in the AM.

A deconstructive narrative allows for a reflexive approach when dealing with South Africa's past. Many power imbalances might not be apparent at first, and a deconstructive narrative allows for these issues to be revisited. Myth formation poses a problem to this reflexive strategy. When the nation's origin myth is formed, as it is here in the AM, and it is released to the nation, the nation needs to react. Individuals can accept the myth and frame their identity accordingly. When this happens before deeper issues of gender imbalance, habits and social structures have been examined, they continue as before. The myth then

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[142] Stuit 2016. 'Rooiland'.

[143] Web. 'South Africa: TRC and Gender'. Truth and Reconciliation Commission 1996. This paper is a call to amend the way the TRC's hearings are formed so that women feel comfortable reporting cases of human rights abuses.

continues to perpetuate ongoing structures of inequality. These myths can also give rise to new forms of "identity privileging and disprivileging".[144] This calls for another revolution or deep investigation. Soudien advocates a deconstructive narrative, which can also be used in an attempt to deconstruct the myth presented by the AM.

Content

The building design integrates architecture with the content of the museum. It was designed by Mashibane Rose Associates.[145] The association was set up in 1995 and predominantly focusses on museums and cultural heritage sites. They are the architecture firm that helped develop a number of important South African heritage and museum sites, such as Robben Island and the Mandela House Museum. The firm designed the museum to have a fixed route through the museum complex. The route takes one through twenty-two installations and sculptures, alternating between indoor and outdoor sites. The architecture and surrounding nature add to the atmosphere of the installations and sculptures.[146] The fixed exhibitions are followed by a temporary exhibition space which thematically always relates to the Apartheid era (1941-1991/1994). These themes include, artists, writers, other movements, such as Women's liberation movements and segregation in the United States of America.

The content of the museum relies heavily on the interplay between art, architecture and the surrounding landscape to convey its message. The facts of Apartheid are portrayed through the play between visual sensory didactics and the written word. The museum is able to portray more than petty Apartheid facts, it also attempts to evoke the Apartheid experience. For example, the entrance installation created by the ticketing system. The system assigns a 'black' or 'white' race to the visitor. Visitors can only enter the museum through the entrance specified for their 'race'. The installations separate and steer visitors into the unknown, offering a glimpse into the separated system. This installation based on

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[144] Soudien 2012, p. 398.
[145] Rankin & Schmidt 2009, p.77.
[146] Bremmer 2002, p. 37.

the identity card tactic employed by the US Holocaust Memorial Museum.[147] The architecture and use of land can also be more metaphorical. Symbolically the new constitution columns, at the entrance, cast a shadow offering protection from the harsh African sun.

When the visitor has finished the tour of the museum, they can contemplate all they have encountered. "A journey through the Apartheid Museum takes you into the heart of the darkness of evil, and out again into the light. It is an emotional journey designed to encourage visitors to empower themselves with knowledge to prevent such horrors from happening again. The museum gardens offer visitors a space for reflection. The landscape is South African, and conveys the harsh beauty of our country." [148] This poetic explanation perfectly captures what Soudien describes as, the sacrosanct status of the triumphant narrative.

From this excerpt, the educative purpose of the museum is also made apparent. According to Williams, all memoriam museums' moral goal is to educate and thus prevent such human rights abuses ever happening again.[149] Soudien argues that the AM triumphant narrative tends to omit "complicated social structures, relations and habits that surround, precede and follow the horror of oppression and persecution".[150] This questions the Apartheid Museum's ability to actually convey the identity of Apartheid, through this chosen exhibition narrative.

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[147] Williams 2012, p. 108.
[148] Web. 'A Place of Healing'. Apartheid Museum.
[149] Williams 2012, p. 113,
[150] Soudien 2012, p. 399.

Figure 8: Students at the 'race classification' entrance. Apartheid Museum. Digital Images by M. Gilian, Web, N.d..

Visitors

This narrative strategy at the Apartheid Museum has several implications for visitors. Soudien describes the AM as a museum that attempts to produce an uncomplicated narrative of subjugation, denying the complexity and context of the country's history.[151] The museum also fails to create a language in which one can continue a dialogue about

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[151] Soudien, p. 400.

Apartheid, according to Soudien.[152] He continues that this type of narrative may result in complications in the country's dialogue about itself later on.[153] This uncomplicated presentation of history can pose problems in the future, according to Soudien.

There are two groups who this museum caters for. Arguably, all museums in South Africa cater for the education of tourists and nationals. The first group visit the museum on their own initiative as individuals, couples, families or friends. The second group, the 'born free generation' visit with their schools or with their parents. The first group is attracted to the museum as a cultural and historical space to understand a certain part of the history of the country in their spare time. The second group of students are motivated by their elders, educators and politicians to visit and better understand the history of their country. The museum is not a reconciliation space for the 'survivors' of Apartheid, but more for people to who did not live or know the whole story of Apartheid.

The tourist

Williams notes that commemoration museums often turn to national and international tourism after initial local interest in their own experience has passed.[154] Since 2008, 2,772 international and national visitors have voted and left commentary on their museum experience and it is highly recommended.[155] Those who visited the museum often found it engaging, interesting and very educational. Some visitors muse on humanity and history and others have picked up on the experience and sensory side of the museum.

Of the almost three-thousand visitor comments, twenty two visitors voted the museum a 'terrible' place to visit. There were three main lines of reproach . The most frequent complaint was about the facilities not being up to standard or that the restoration detracts from the experience. The second most frequent complaint was that the exhibition was a

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[152] Soudien 2012, p. 400.
[153] Ibidem.
[154] Williams 2012, p. 105.
[155] The oldest rating dates back to 2008. Activities in greater Johannesburg area. Tripadvisor.
The Apartheid Museum is the second best activity in the greater Johannesburg area. The number one activity is the transportation system the Gautrain. The Gautrain is a combination of the province Gauteng and train, as it covers many kilometers within the province. It fulfills a similar function as a metro in European cities.

racist tourist trap and did not reflect the current political situation in South Africa. The third, and only complaint of this kind, was that the visitor did not appreciate the link made between Apartheid and the Holocaust.

The first issue is not relevant in relation to identity or social development. The second critique is more difficult to address, as it relates to the transparency of the museum. The visitors who commented on this were according to their TripAdvisor profiles all white male. [156] This reaction from this specific group is to be expected, according to Rankin & Schmidt.[157] Often, Williams states, commemoration museums are not built to address the issues of 'perpetrators'.[158] Rankin & Schmidt continue with a constructivist argument, that each visitor brings their own individual knowledge to the museum and the tension between victim and perpetrator could be triggered.[159] The museum's reception will be determined by individual reaction to its content and architecture.[160] The Apartheid does explicitly deal with issues of identity of perpetrator or victim of Apartheid.

The exhibition is an example of what Williams calls a tempered memorial museum.[161] The abstract documentary style approach attempts to assign culpability to political events and not specific people. Apart from heroic freedom fighters and evil politicians, individual culpability is not assigned, but might be felt.

On the other side of the coin, the Department for Art and Culture debated whether the Apartheid Museum was 'overly-Eurocentric in the depiction of many events'.[162] They did not deem the museum as a misrepresentation, but argued it still perpetuated a Eurocentric nuance. The fact that the museum is under private ownership despite the importance of the museum within the context of South African history, also calls the museum's credibility into question. [163] The commentators are right in that the museum was built as an economic

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[156] Web. ' Apartheid Museum. Terrible Reviews'. TripAdvisor.
[157] Rankin &Schmidt 2009, p.77.
[158] Williams 2012, p. 101.
[159] Rankin &Schmidt 2009, p. 80.
[160] Idem, p. 79-80.
[161] Williams 2012, p. 100.
[162] Web. 'Draft five-year Strategic Plan 2014/2015'. Department of Art and Culture 2014.
[163] There are a number of questionable factor regarding the instigation of the museum. The two brothers behind this consortium built their financial empire by selling skin bleaching beauty products marketed at black South Africans, during Apartheid. Needless to say this attracted some critique, but by the time it was noted, the

mechanism to attract tourism, but this does not overly detract from the museum's didactic message. However, this plays in the background of the museum experience. Most international visitors do not have this knowledge and neither is it explicit in the content of the museum. But this may deter local tourists, those who are supposed to bring their children to learn about the facts of Apartheid.

Lastly, one American tourist was furious about the museum's comparison of Apartheid to the Holocaust.[164] The man angrily wrote that the genocide of a race could and should not be compared with the decades long subjugation of a race. Apartheid is often referred to as the apartheid holocaust by politicians. A holocaust is the word used to describe a large number of people who have been killed violently.[165] The death toll or severity of each of these periods is not however what the comparison is based on. Instead the association between these two human atrocities is largely based on how to best communicate a dark period in history. The Jewish Holocaust discourse informs the apartheid holocaust discourse in its attempt to recount history. Telling the story of Apartheid, a dark part of the history of South

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museum had already been built. Also there is the question of stolen intellectual property. The museum was initially conceived by Mike Stainbank as a pure testimony to the end of the Apartheid era (Stainbank 2007). Stainbank has been pursuing litigation for over thirteen years against the financers of the museum for stolen intellectual property. The case is ongoing and has not had any repercussion towards the museums standing. Both these issues are related to identity and has impact on the shaping thereof.

None of these two above mentioned issues are apparent when one visits the museum. The museum complex and content is run by a board of trustees and not by the consortium, Akani Egoli. The consortium leases the museum, to the non-profit Apartheid Museum Company. The non-profit museum is distanced this way from the for-profit consortium and the ethical grey area behind its conception and financing. If the government were to build its own Apartheid testimony museum, these issues can pave the way to discrediting the museum place in society. The museum is often brought up during political meetings that the story of Apartheid is too important to continue in the format as presented in the Apartheid Museum. It often comes up in government meeting notes that the museum is too important to have been created by private financing. There has been no conclusive decision made around this topic in any of the meetings regarding museums in South Africa ('Draft five-year Strategic Plan 2014/2015'. Department of Art and Culture).

[164] Web. 'Apartheid Museum. TripAdvisor rating. Tyler 2015'. TripAdvisor
This place is an attempt to compare the apartheid period to the holocaust. The museum is offensive. There truly is no comparison to be made between the struggle for democracy in South Africa which was an armed struggle fought on battlefields by both sides, and the systematic murder of an entire population of civilians in Europe. To even suggest this in the way that this museum does is criminal.
The museum also fails to address the anti-democratic and oppressive regime that has taken the place of the oppressive and authoritarian white regime. Not impressed.
[165] Web. 'Holocaust'. Oxford Dictionary.

Africa, is difficult with just facts. The most important facet taken from Holocaust education discourse is the unapologetic way the Holocaust is taught to the following generations.[166]

The South African government and this museum have mimicked the Holocausts language of architecture, senses and experiences with the difficult didactic of Apartheid. The museum and other stakeholders are following a known working visual and sensory model to deal with teaching about a dark part of history and human suffering. There should never be a competition on which tragedy was worse. The experience of tragedy, despite its universalism, is a truly subjective experience. How a trauma impacts and is experienced differs vastly among different individuals and a group, related to how close the trauma was, as described by Williams. The Holocaust is a bit further from most South Africans' bedside tables, whereas Apartheid is part of all South African history and identity.

As for the museums content; what is being displayed is a similar to a national museum. Identity is in the Apartheid Museum follows a 'great and good' narrative of extraordinary people.[167] This narrative is internalised by tourists who visit the museum for a variety of cultural and personal reasons. The Apartheid Museum is visited by tourists because of its content, but it is also one of the very few cultural or historic places tourists can visit that is not a nature park, mall or casino in Johannesburg. In fact it is the only museum in Johannesburg that adheres to the western concept of a 'public' museum in content and space. The Apartheid Museum has very few (internationally known) rivals in Johannesburg as a museum or in content. The museum is doing an excellent job in attracting and engaging tourists.

The born free generation

The people who are openly and actively stimulated to visit the museum are the 'born free generation'. These are children born after 1994 and have thus not lived Apartheid. This generation is largely composed of school aged children. The current school curriculum deals

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[166] Web. Ndaba 2014.
[167] Soudien 2012, p. 399 - 400.

with ten official historical periods of South Africa. [168] Three of these eras are covered in the museum. During the building of the museum, the architecture firm collaborated with the education authorities.[169] The museum provides visiting schools with a guide and they receive an educational booklet. The booklet can be used at the museum and later in class. Visiting schools are extremely well catered for at the Apartheid Museum.

The current Member of the Executive Council (MEC) for Sport, Arts, Culture, Molebatsi Bopape, has vowed in her budget-vote-speech to pay for transport to the museum for all students in the province of Gauteng.[170] For those students outside Gauteng, the MEC encourages parents to visit the museum at least once with their children. Such a visit is not only a means of education, but also meaningful social time with your child.[171] In her budget speech in 2014 Bopape also stressed the link between Apartheid and the Holocaust. Survivors of the holocaust, especially children, are taught or reminded about the atrocities of the Holocaust. Schools are the main vehicle to systematically engage in this dialogue.

Students are being engaged in more systematically, but only if they live in the province of Gauteng. Students from other provinces are not systematically catered for. Instead, adults who have lived in the Apartheid era are left to their own devices for visiting the museum with their children.

Conclusion

Visitors are presented a triumphant documentary style of *the* story of Apartheid. The museum and the content were created during the fledgling period of the new democracy, after the oppressive Apartheid regime was cast aside. The museum captures well the spirit of a triumphant new nation with a national origin myth. The promise of a new democratic South Africa is intrinsic to the exhibition. However, the AM does not engage with the complexity of subjugated life that is essential to understanding the current state of the state. This is not *per se* important to the Apartheid period the museum aims to educate the new

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[168] Web. 'History. About SA.' South Africa Government 2016.
[169] Web. 'Apartheid Museum'. Mashabane Rose Associates.
[170] Web. Bopape 2014.
[171] Ibidem.

generation of South Africans and visiting tourists. It can alienate some of their audience as time progresses and the promises of the new democratic South Africa fail to be met.

The museums main audience is those who have not lived through Apartheid. The exhibition strategy caters almost exclusively to a western educated audience. It integrates known European museum language in its exhibition, as well as using traditional educational methods. The museums has a large international reach, however misses a large segment of the South African population. Namely, students outside of Gauteng and the generation of individuals who lived during Apartheid. They are alienating a large part of the population from their heritage in identity by favouring 'the great and good' narrative over the rich complexity of life.

The private study of this dark part of the South African history is left to the individual and the material with which they come in contact. The museum is not a place South Africans will make a pilgrimage to inform themselves. The museum is unlikely to change their exhibition strategy. One main reason is that the museum's exhibition is fixed and deals with a fixed period, which mimics successful Holocaust educational rhetoric. Secondly, because the AM is doing well in the international market thus fulfilling their core goal, in leading to local job creation.

4. *District Six Museum*

Figure 9. Garden view District Six Museum. Photo by District 6 Museum, Web. N.d..

The District Six Museum has risen from a community's needs rather than following any form of institutional rules. The District Six Museum adopted the term museum, as the permanent space where the community's heritage, identity and history was to be remembered. Using the term museum was for the benefit of the community's specific issues. The term museum and her associated sub-divisions used in the previous chapters are difficult to adhere to this chapter on the District Six Museum. This chapter will first look at the community the museum was instigated by, before considering the museums content, strategy and audience.

Background

This unique museum is named after the infamous rezoning classification of the Cape Town municipality District Six. The rezoning of the area as whites-only resulted in the displacement of sixty thousand non-white persons, from 1968 to 1982.[172] The remaining buildings and houses were all bulldozed, with the exception of places of worship. The area was to be rebuilt for white-occupation, but due to various international and national

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[172] Web. 'About'. District Six Museum.

pressure groups this never happened. One of these campaigns, "Hands off District Six", raised the idea of a museum in an effort to protect the land from redevelopment in the 1980s.[173] During these protests, a foundation was started for the removed people in 1989.[174] Following a few temporary exhibitions in the early 1990s the museum opened its doors in the still standing Methodist Church in December 1994.

In contrast to the Apartheid Museum, the District Six (D6) museum is an excellent example of complicated societal remembrance. Here, the contradictions and the fullness of life, in a community, during an oppressive period are engaged and investigated. Sandra Prosalendis, former director of the museum, explains that ' the District Six Museum has broken with the traditional ideas of museums and collecting. It has created and implemented the concept of an interactive public space where it is the people's response to District Six that provides the drama and the fabric of the museum.'[175] D6M deviates from the traditional exhibition style of a museum. Its character as a subjective museum is the D6M's strength, but may be perceived as a weakness by visitors from outside the community. When the established language of museums and exhibitions changes, it can be confusing to some audiences. The D6M further shakes things up by replacing the visitor and audience with community as the identified target group. This practice and success has furthered the concept of a museum's theoretical boundaries.

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[173] Crooke 2011, p. 174.
[174] Web. 'District Six'. Prince Clause Fund.
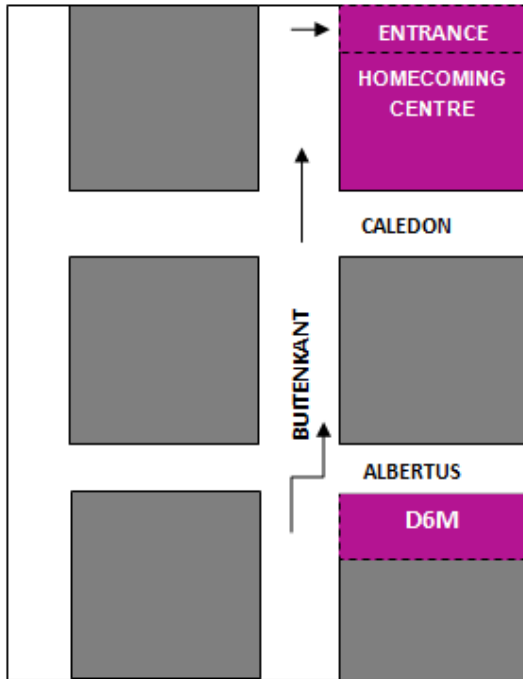[175] Web. 'Comments on the Annual Report 2012'. Annual Report 2012. District Six Museum.

Figure 10: District Six Museum Map to D6 Homecoming Centre. Map by District 6 Museum, Web. N.d..

The museum currently has two locations which ensure the continuity of their community building philosophy. The initial location is the undestroyed Methodist Church and the secondary location is an old factory. The two locations are within walking distance from each other. Each location has a different role, as each location pertains to a different type of need within the District Six community. The notion of community is central to the museum's strategy and dictates the museum's audience and content.

Community then and now

The District Six Museum has successfully created and implemented a museum where visitors and audience are part of a community. The term community 'reflects the more comprehensive, welcoming and relevant service that museums are aspiring to create'.[176] This success stems from the grass root initiative which created this museum. There was a real need to address the trauma of forced removal and the subsequent secondary reprisals. The District Six community followed a textbook example of constructing a narrative of

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[176] Crooke 2011, p. 170.

belonging to counter the threat of forced removal.[177] The 'place' of community was removed and a museum emerged as a space where community could be recalled.[178]

The core community of the museum concept is the original individuals and families who were forcibly removed. This community is at the heart of the museum and its foundation. The loss of physical and metaphorical place in society has had a traumatic impact on those removed. The continuation of District Six community and practice are visualised in the museum space. However, as time passes, holding on to this theme only endangers the museum's core value; fostering community. Once the original community has been lost to time, the museum could become a time-capsule of remembrance. This undermines the concept of community (re)building. Thus, integral to keeping the sense of community concept, is the creation of the District Six Homecoming Centre. The D6M Homecoming Centre continues the sentiment of community, as it is defined now by geographic proximity.

The D6M Homecoming Centre is part of the museum's changing strategy. The Homecoming Centre functions as a social hub for community activities and serves the community's immediate needs. As a new wave of people are filling the rebuilt houses, the foundation and museum concept wants to continue fostering a community aware of its past whilst addressing its present difficulties. The Homecoming Centre creates an environment of engagement, development and inclusion. This is done through a range of activities and channels, such as rotating exhibitions, the café, the seminars, the theatre and all the other non-profit and for profit activities.

The museum and foundation want to cater to a group that visits, so to speak, every day. They are welcome to come drink coffee, meet up, watch shows, engage with the content of the museum or not. Here, at the secondary location, the secondary reprisals of forced removal, institutionalised racism and Apartheid can be probed, dissected and worked on, as a community.

The museum also reaches out to the people who engage with the community. Inclusion is important, as any group forming is by its very nature is based on inclusion as well as

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[177] Crooke 2011, p. 173.
[178] Idem, p. 175.

exclusion of members. The D6M aims to be inclusive to all those whom the foundation, museum and community come into contact with. This is done in an effort to better the everyday position of the community, such as actively engaging in human rights work. Human rights works includes, for example, hosting diversity training for the police.[179] This is not only beneficial to the community, but to those that come into contact with the museum's wave of goodwill and faith in South Africa. Through these different activities the museum also serves as a place to continue the dialogue, regarding community, regeneration and repatriation. The museum is as much a holder of cultural and historical history and objects as it is a communal space facilitating change and understanding within the community. This type of museum strategy answers the needs of the society.

These fringe museums are often started by first or secondary witnesses who are bound to the commemoration of a group of people either by personal or professional vested interest. Often these museums are more reflexive of their position than large scale commemoration. The particularity of the identity and subjective experience is often acknowledged in community initiatives. These initiatives often incorporate witnesses or survivors (or ancestors) into their museum experience. This may be for a myriad of interconnected reasons, either psychological recovery, more authentic and complex experience, or job scheme creation. This allows for a complex history to be explored, understood. It also keeps debates from abstracting the individuals affected by a traumatic event, as oft happens.[180] This does abandon older ideals of aesthetic and scientific neutrality of museums, according to Clifford.[181]

Incorporating first or secondary witnesses or victims into the museum experience, comes with its own difficulties and advantages. Especially, when taking into consideration the pedagogical nature of memorial museums as explored by Sofie Giescher in 'Beyond experience: the mediation of traumatic memories in South African history museum'.[182] Incorporating witnesses assumes they are the best teachers of traumatic memories.[183] This

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[179] Web. 'District Six Museum'. Annual Report 2008.

[180] Williams 2012, p. 103.

[181] Clifford 1999, p. 453.

[182] Museums in South Africa historically have an educational role as explored by Jennifer Gore in 'A lack of nation?: the evolution of history in South Africa museums, c. 1825-1945'.

[183] Giescher 2005, p.45.

is further complicated by the assumption that teaching about context specific atrocities will lead to the events never happening again.[184] Recounting events may be healing, but may also be hard for the survivor. This is especially true when certain audiences have different views and needs from the museum experience. People do not necessarily change their identity and values when political and social change occurs, as argued by Giescher.[185] This is as true for the survivor, as the perpetrator and bystander.

However it is not the sole responsibility of the survivor to open and facilitate dialogue and healing after traumatic events. Professionals have the responsibility to facilitate this dialogue and further it. Which furthers Clifford advocating that neither "the community's 'experience' nor the curator's 'authority' has automatic right to the contextualisation of collections or histories".[186] Clifford suggests, that the rights to representation will always be based on conditional and political negotiation, which is often further constrained by the specific audience it is intended for.[187] Within the museum's conditional situations, museums have a duty to represent the previously disenfranchised. Reflexivity is integral in the process of remembering and any museum or exhibition strategy.

Content and Strategy D6M

The content and strategy of the museum is deeply intertwined, both of which are informed by the community's needs. In the first instance, the D6M did not exist and the content of the site was the destroyed landscape. In 2003 it was decided that there would come a permanent museum in place of cultural restitution. Plans were made to develop a museum, focusing on the cultural regeneration. The museum's content was created from previous exhibitions of everyday objects from the lives of the displaced community. Ordinary objects such as street signs were used as memory cues to recall the community that was destroyed. These objects, found after the destruction of the landscape, formed the content

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[184] Williams 2012, p. 99.
[185] Giescher 2005, p. 45. Quoting Bar-On (1999) and Soudien (2005).
[186] Clifford 1999, p. 448.
[187] Ibidem. Audience range, form international stakeholders, tourists, school aged children, specific communities etc.

of the museum. In 2006, District Six was classified as a national heritage site by SAHRA (South African Heritage Resources Agency).

Figure 11: 'The destruction of District Six under the Group Areas Act'. Image by D. Goldblatt. Cape Town, Cape. 5 May 1982.

The District Six Museum is fairly unique as a museum concept.[188] The content of the museum is created by a large community of Capetonians, within the framework of the trauma of forced removal. The people's input, engagement and participation in the site, create the content and drama of the museum.[189] The most notable work is the registry map of District Six. On this map previous occupants of the area have added their own names, notes and stories. The individual, family and community memories are overlapping and even contradictory, creating a lively space of contestation and debate which is integral to the process of remembrance.[190] The museum acknowledges that there is no singular or uniform perspective on the specific sites. However, this mode allows the 'community to take control of the presentation of its own history'.[191] The concept of 'place' is important, as it is expressed by the community, and has empowering consequences.

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[188] Web. 'District Six Museum'. Prins Clause Fund.
[189] Web. 'Comments on the Annual Report 2012'. Annual Report 2012. District Six Museum.
[190] Web. 'National Heritage Site'. District Six.
[191] Crooke 2011, p. 175.

The content is created with everyday objects, which were part of the rituals of daily life. This is how the content of the museum has been framed and positively used. The content of the museum can be framed and reframed through the years and by persons engaging with the physical and immaterial culture. Physical objects become tools to remembering immaterial culture such as Sunday morning rituals, events and everyday life. For visiting tourists and other South Africans this is a strategy that attempts to offer an ongoing glimpse into the life of a community and the repercussions of forced removal.

The objects in the museums also have a special meaning, as they are literally all that remains from before the forced removal. It is a miracle they survived if one considers the following passage "A lot of their [those whom were forcibly removed] stuff got left behind. Whole dressers full of crockery. You could hear things breaking into pieces when the bulldozers moved in. Beds and enamel basins and sink baths and all kinds of stuff. All of it just smashed."[192] Clarkson elaborates, that these objects creates an awareness of what is left, is part of someone's home life that has been disrupted and destroyed by forced removal.[193] The invisible lives of people are activated in relation to the narrator's relation with the objects according to Clarkson interpretation of Merleu-Ponty's *The visible and the Invisible*.[194]

The objects and the activation of people's lives in the D6M relate to specific examples of the implication of Apartheid on the individual's life. Not only at the moment of removal, but the effect in years and generations thereafter. The content of the museum also creates a framing for the individual's stories to be retold to visitors. The history of South Africa is being actively rewritten, while many of the primary witnesses are still alive.[195] However, there is still a large gap between those who experienced forced removal and those who did not.[196] The objects are an attempt to recall a vivid community experience in order to bridge the gap between the D6 community and those visiting the museum. The museum is not just a site of remembrance, but an attempt to create a context in the narrative.

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[192] Clarkson 2014, p. 150. Citing from Marlene van Niekerk's (1994) novel *Triomf* (1999, English translation)*.
[193] Idem, p. 157.
[194] Ibidem.
[195] Giescher 2005, p. 45.
[196] Idem, p. 50

The museum is created as a space of remembrance, not only for the community of former District Six inhabitants, but all forms of forced removal. This inclusion links District Six to a larger context within the country. This strategy allows the museum more national relevancy as well as using its face in memoriam of other forgotten spaces of trauma. There is a question: of what value is this grand gesture of inclusion for those individuals and groups not of District Six?[197] This inclusion is a way the foundation of the D6M acknowledges that their trauma has found a place in history, where other traumas of forced removal have been buried. The acknowledgement towards other instances of forces removal is an inclusion strategy and is comes from a well meant place. The museum and its foundation are meant as a space for reconciliation, empowerment and therapy for their own community, but reaches out to others.

Strategy and Community

Community is usually considered as both inclusion and exclusion. In this case, the original inhabitants of District Six are the included group. The lack of forced removal from the District Six would be the factor of exclusion. However as time progresses, 'others' will form part of the geographic location of District Six. A community is not just nurtured by communal living, but District Six museum focuses on those who have lived there, as well as those living in District Six now.

When community is considered as 'thick' or 'thin' attachments of people, it dispels the notion of long term and deeply rooted groups, according to Beier-de Haan.[198] The attachment between people may be established as local-, global scale, traditional, progressive, postmodern, or reactionary.[199] The D6 community starts out as reactionary and become progressive. They reacted towards the injustice of their forced removal and are now attempting to address the long term issues created by racism, Apartheid and forced removal. The foundation behind the museums focusses on inclusion of all thick and thin attachments to the community of District Six. In other words the museum is geared to the

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[197] Williams 2012, p. 110.
[198] Beier- de Haan 2012, p. 172. Interpreting Delanty 2003, p.2.
[199] Ibidem

catering for the original D6 community 'thickly' attached through history, geography and trauma as well as the 'thinly' attached community. These thin attachments can be geographic related, and any form of contact with District Six.

Site specific museums have been the answer in South Africa to deal with exhibiting history and Apartheid.[200] Even though there are other site specific museums in South Africa, such as *Robben Island*, but it is the content of the D6M that sets it apart. The site of the District Six was conceived as a place of memoriam and later reconciliation. The land was initially not to be rebuilt, but left as is. This land and site was meant as a lens to understand the experience of displacement. The museum includes and acknowledges other instances of forced removal within South-Africa, with District Six as geographic and focal event. This is an attempt to engage in a wider Apartheid rhetoric. However the strength of the museum is in its localized community efforts.

The needs of a community change over time and the District Six Foundation has amended for this. The site of District Six is specific, and is very large. It mainly consists of a destroyed landscape. There is tension and irony in conserving a destroyed landscape. Initially the museum also provided support for the campaign to return removed families.[201] The museum was an attempt to attract outside attention for the community's plight. The museum became more important in its psychotherapeutic function than restitution over the years. This has more to do with financial and societal restraints of the destroyed land. As time has passed restitution in most cases is difficult, but recently urban regeneration is taking place. The prime land of the old District Six is being rebuilt for those who have been priced outside of Cape-Town.[202] The museum's strategy has shifted over the years from restitution to memoriam to reconciliation and now to rebuilding the land almost three decades after the last family was removed. This called for a change in what the museum is for the community.

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[200] Rankin & Schmidt 2009, p.78.
[201] Ibidem.
[202] Web. 'About the museum: Homecoming Centre'. District Six Museum

Visitors as witnesses

Visitors to the D6M are witnesses to the atrocity of forced removal. Visitors are an important mechanism to attract attention to the community's plight. The more witnesses, the less likely the community's experience can be supressed. The suppression of disenfranchised communities' history during Apartheid was a common practice. The visitor to the original D6M challenges the power the Apartheid government had in supressing human rights violations.

The original D6 community are also first an account witness to their removal, but external witnesses to their plight is a necessary mechanism to allow their story to be told. I use witness instead of visitor as the community forms the main audience for the District Six Museum. The museum has two groups of visitors to that they cater for. First and foremost is the community of District Six. This community (past and present) and their needs are integrated in the museum strategy. The second group are those persons who wish to witness the community's public testimonies. This pertains to the museum's first location. At the D6M Homecoming Centre, all who visit are part of the (g)local community.

One time visitors to the museums are not the core demographic being catered for at the D6M, whether they are international tourists or the born free generation. They are however very welcome and important for the museum. Their visitation adds to the concept of a public museum and continued attention for the community's dilemmas. For these visitors the museum's first location is closer to a typical museum experience. At the D6M visitors can gain knowledge from the objects, guides, written word and other visual stimuli. The content is still unique, subjective and personal. Expressing subjective and personal knowledge in a museum is where D6M diverges from a traditional museum. The information presented is very subjective and pertains to individuals and community's site specific historical event.

This type of exhibition strategy breaks away from traditional museums. Visitors need to engage with the information, accepting, refuting, debating, excluding and including what they come into contact with. For tourists, this may be more difficult, because how close can you stand to another person's trauma and partake in this debate?[203] How tactful or

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[203] Williams 2012, p. 107.

respectful are visitors with opposing experiences, needs and fantasies in their encounter with survivors. It is difficult to understand the reasons why people visit memorial museums.[204] They may be there as part of formal education where their motivation for visiting is pre-determined. Visitors themselves may not even know their motivation for visiting and be even less able to communicate their feelings after leaving a museum.[205] However, the inclusion of subjective memory, experience and trauma, allows for a full remembering of the past. This shared, but different experience of trauma is more than an inclusive museum.

Tension between visitors and community members result from an imbalance between empathy and critical reflection.[206] The community of D6M are human beings with vices and goodness, who have suffered a traumatic experience that has altered the very fabric of their lives. They are not objective educators of this event. The D6 museum is very reflective of its position within South Africa and the museum world. That being said, the D6 museum continues a memoriam museum narrative where first hand witnesses are seen as good educators of an event.[207] After years of experience the D6M only offers adults the opportunity to have a tour guide of the original community. The D6M is aware of how different groups have different reactions and expectations when a tour is lead. Visitors who have made the pilgrimage to the museum are curious to learn about District Six. Reaching an understanding from this interaction is often difficult due to different historical situations and needs of the two parties.[208]

In other instances the different needs between tour guide and visitor is too great to offer positive interaction. Original District Six community members no longer give tours to school children. The needs and experience between the two parties interacting is too great. The student may focus on their ability to get a good grade from the museum visit, whilst the community member might have completely different needs from the experience. School teachers are important mediators between tour guide and students. The teacher might have

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[204] Williams 2012, p. 113.
[205] Ibidem.
[206] Giescher 2005, p. 57.
[207] Idem, p. 45.
[208] Idem, p. 52.

had a tour by the original community member and then in turn present the museum to her class. The museum presents subjective and complex memory that has to be translated to the experiences of the students.

The subjectivity community member tour guides offer may be shocking to visitors more acquainted with traditional 'objective' or white-cube type museums. School curricula in turn almost never present open ended histories and conclusions. The D6M experience is unique; it offers a glimpse into the emotions, hearts, views and lives of these people. What is remembered now is not definitive for what is remembered later. In doing so D6M denies the public debate and representation of Apartheid to eclipse the uniqueness of the community. The notion of 'proper' remembering, usually comes at the cost that the individual becomes eclipsed in the public debate.[209] The content and guides are informed by their own lives and events and this is part of the charm. In the museum you are there to witness their stories, no matter how chaotic, arbitrary, racist, angry, one-sided or crazy it might sound to the visitor.[210] This is often at odds with a typical school curriculum or previous museum experience. The D6M hopes to be a safe space to question and construct historical narrative and denies a grand narrative.

Through the museum's interplay with inclusion and exclusion in its museum strategy it has become one of the most looked at 'foreign' museum strategies. Paraphrasing what Mandela said about South Africa and its laws of subjugation; is that one must deconstruct the system from the inside out.[211] The D6M strategy is an excellent example of a museum deconstructing the definition of a museum and changing its shape to suit the time and

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[209] Williams 2012, p. 103.

[210] Web. 'District 6 Museum. TripAdvisor rating. Eshowegurl88'. TripAdvisor 2014.
After being to Germany and experiencing memorials and museums put in a way to educate rather than blame I was very disappointed in this museum. Hosted by a man who lived through it he has 80 years of anger that vibrate through the tour. My UK friend came out more confused about Apartheid and segregation after the host just blamed all white people, spouted his political views, praised himself, told all these inside jokes and degraded Nelson Mandela and his work. The museum itself has {sic} alot of interesting artifacts and lots of information that is well presented. I think I would've enjoyed it more if I wasn't so put off by the tour guide . We left when we were {sic} asjed for money at the end after already paying our entrance fee.
Web. 'District 6 Museum. TripAdvisor rating. Fabiano F'. TripAdvisor 2014.
The museum is devoted to the apartheid and how people suffered. At least this is the motive of the museum. The museum is really a collection of junk. Nothing that can show the horrors of apartheid and the fight against racism. It is just a waste of time and money. If you are in a hurry simply do not go.
[211] Clarkson 2014, p. 47.

needs. The creation of commonality within a nation, even a fractured one, does not have to be achieved normatively.[212]

Conclusion

The District Six Museum is a specific example of Apartheid's impact on people's lives. The plight, love and life of the community is what visitors come and partake and to see. In visiting one can further one's knowledge and understanding of specific events during Apartheid and their ongoing repercussions for the community. The larger foundation aims to capture the experience and memory of forced removal during Apartheid. The content is supposed to reflect the past and present, creating a community rooted and aware in their history. The community is an integral part of the museum strategy, content wise and financially. These repercussions are trying to be redressed at the second location of the museum. This exhibition strategy allows for a narrative and continuation of a full life, even under Apartheid and her repercussions. The museum and her foundation address the needs of the museum's social environment first and foremost. The D6M is financially reliant on public and private money as well as for-profit ventures. The for-profit venture, such as a café and theatre, adds to the creation of community, by creating live spaces of interaction.

This museum will continue to adapt to the needs of the community. D6M's audience is not a specific demographic. The museum attempts to add value to the everyday life with all individuals that come into contact. The content consists of the everyday ups and downs of life of the D6 individuals and communities. The museum does attempt to celebrate all parts of life in all its moments of weakness and glory. The museum reacts and absorbs the wrongs of society into its strategy in order to strengthen the community and beyond. Community initiated museums can go much further than established or newly government initiated museums. Community initiated museums offer a particular, nuanced memory of history and identity. In the long term however, community museums might lose their importance as more people accept the mythologies of the new post- Apartheid Museums. Reflexivity is key to complicated understanding of the past and the present.

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[212] Clarkson 2014, p. 47.

5. *South African Museums now*

Three museums of South Africa have been studied in regards to their origin, content, mission and audience. This was done in order to answer questions as to why they exist?, why they are relevant to society?, what their aims are?, and how they measure their success? In order to answer questions on how the contribute to identity shaping and social development.

In a brief summary, the South African National Gallery is a traditional Eurocentric styled national art gallery, that is badly funded and trying to reform in the new South Africa. The museum has thematically composed alternating exhibits representing different people, times and objects from South Africa and abroad. This museum hopes to continue in its educational role of presenting art to the masses, but has had difficulty expanding their visitor base. It is only transformative in its temporary exhibitions.

The Apartheid Museum is a commercially sponsored museum that largely deals with fixed spatial and exhibition installations. There is a clear documentary style narrative over the whole period of Apartheid. Its content is important and more importantly provocative, and functions as an economic mechanism to attract tourists. This museum also creates the platform for long term acceptance of the current state's origin myth.

The District Six Museum, with the help of short- and long term grants from different third parties, focusses on a specific phenomenon from Apartheid. It is a grass roots museum that sprung from the need to attract and (re)gain social and political power, The objects and content, of the museum, has been created by people and the notion of community, present and past. The museum's goal is to allow a community to integrate its past and present and continues to evolve around this philosophy.

In studying these museums three particular issues were highlighted within the context of redistributing social, economic and political power. The first issue deals with the idea that museums are sites of contestation, where the terms 'identity' and 'museum' are being renegotiated to fit its current era. Secondly, museums are contact zones where identity can be staged and safely explored. Thirdly, museums were considered in the two ways that they aid in social development through tourism and their community economic mechanisms.

Origin and biography

The three museums were all created in different periods of South African history. The SANG goes much further back and has a longer legacy than the D6M or the AM. The D6M came from a community initiative started during Apartheid, but unlike many other victims of forced removal, history favours D6 as the Apartheid regime was weakening by this time. Once, the new democratic South Africa became official, the museum already had its roots. Both the D6M and the AM were finally built during the hopeful period post-independence.

What we learn from these origin stories, is what the mission statement was when the museum was instigated and how that affects its strategy. From the inception of the AM and SANG it was relatively clear that they were to become museums, whereas the D6M was born of an ongoing political and social battle. The museums' content and goals reflect back in their origin.

Looking at the biography of the museum traces its goals, intents and therefore its successes and failures. It also traces how museums have played with the definition of museum and identity over the course of the institution's life.

Kaplan mused that museums will become places where the very notion of museum and identity will be renegotiated in the twenty first century. This is particularly relevant to South African museums. South African scholars, museologists, politicians and communities are attempting to rehabilitate, the European-imported museum concept in a South African context. This is an active engagement in redefining the museum and how identity is expressed.

Strategy

The museum strategy is determined by the museum's own personal goals, as well as external socio-, political-, and economic contexts. Museums such as the SANG attempt to deny political interference, but continue to marry economic necessity with larger social and political questions. The SANG partakes in societal debates, but attempts to keep authorative distance from the demands of changing political powers. The AM strategy is directly aimed at telling the story of Apartheid, as authorative and neutral as it can be using an

acknowledged model of dealing with traumatic history. The AM's economic impact was acknowledged at its inception, but not in its exhibition. The D6M's goal is to affirm political and social power, to a traumatized community. All resources are used to further the cause of strengthening South African community. The museum as a concept is one of these means used to achieve this as well as incorporate the museum into more South African's lives.

The navigation of identity and a museum in museum strategy has taken place in all of these museums. Only the SANG closely follows Kaplan's theory of centralised museums. Museums are not one central space for multiple groups to negotiate the boundaries of their identity, heritage and history. Instead the political and social environment of post-Apartheid South Africa allowed for a grass roots and site specific museum trend. Many of these community-based, such as the District Six Museum, strain the traditional definition of a museum and her associated knowledge systems. Groups and communities are showcasing themselves with their own needs and knowledge systems in the foreground. How groups define their identity and history has brought on the new museum definition.

Separate decentralised locations have both strengths and weaknesses. The strength lies in the fact that such museums break down geographic barriers between museum institutions and the population. Another strength is that the positive representation of the community is seen by those whom profit from it the most. The weakness of these type of museums is they need people to actively engage in the museum to profit from its didactic. Also instead of identity being negotiated on equalised grounds, each community's historicity has an impact on how far the projection of identity gets out into the public. Historical social barriers to museums still influence a museums impact and success.

The renegotiation of identity happens with varying success in different locations. This trend follows a real need to set up a new and inclusive history of South Africa's heritage. That the museum is located in the community implies that the museum is a safe space for those who want to explore their own history and identity. There is a commonality between the museum representation and the community around the museum. This way a group does not have to present themselves in relation with another group or vie for space with other identities in the same location. This active engagement in experiencing different identities and histories is safe and meaningful. Visitors are forced to make a pilgrimage to a specific

site. Those coming from the outside into a community entrenched museum enter with different needs, fantasies or desires. But the pilgrimage of South African nationals implies that they have taken active steps to open themselves to other identities and histories.

Professionals, individuals, community and government initiatives have come to another solution. They have taken it upon themselves to set up their own museums pertaining to their own or specific groups identity and history. The South African museum is people focussed and not object focussed. The multiplicity of museums allow for a diverse museum landscape that are metaphors for the issues South Africans need to deal with. This way the museum is actively engaging in the negotiations around identity formation.

Collection

In the current transitional phase the museum is very reactionary in its navigation between different identities, heritage and traumas. There are many truths and hurts in this country and not all are always relatable to every citizen. In these exhibitions and museum spaces, the fractures can be bridged. Beier-de Haan tells us that museums are thus safe spaces for individuals to explore the different history, heritage and identities of South Africa in a period of transitional justice. Inside the museums are tentative spaces to address social, political and economic equality. The time it will take to heal and reconcile is not likely to happen in this generation (even though we should still pursue it).

Museums are spaces you can engage in when you are ready to partake in the journey of the 'other' identity's struggle. The older generation can make a pilgrimage to decentralised museum. They have to actively choose to engage and will hopefully in this frame of mind be open to new information and supplication of knowledge.

Due to the fractured nature of South African society unaddressed internal knowledge systems can be troubling or engaging. South Africa museums' strength and faults lie with the people who try and represent the materials of South African life. The content is everyday life that consists of individuals and communities in their weak and strong moments. The SANG presents cultural objects with objectivity that does not celebrate South African life, but

rather South African art. The D6M attempt to celebrate all parts of life in all its moments of weaknesses and glory. Its collection is meant to recollect these moments of weakness and glory. The AM reflects a dark period, but frames it to conclude with a glorious moment of triumph over evil. This rhetoric, according to Soudien, can have a troubling effect when it is not done in a reflexive narrative. Reflexivity is very important in a transitional justice period as there are still many unresolved conflicts regarding identity, history and heritage post-Apartheid.

Visitors

The audience of a museum influences the language used to exhibit identity. Museums do this to allow the museum to be a contact zone between individuals. The museum alters its strategy to an extent to address a variety of visitors. Visitors also play an important role as listeners to different histories, as well as validating museums role in society, whether it is economic or social.

When visitors choose to visit they mostly do it out of their own personal motivation. This allows a diverse nation to partake in cultural exchange at their own discretion. This is the weakness and the strength of the current decentralised museum trend. Cultural exchange is not forced, but there is a large and healthy field to engage in, when one is ready. Individuals might choose to use, or not use, museums as they need them. Whether or not people come, identity is being renegotiated, history is being collected and heritage saved.

As South Africa history and identity had for a long time been segregated the country is full of differently informed, experienced and educated generations. South Africa's rich, varied and fractured history, continues to inform individual and group identity and heritage. The multiplicity of decentralised grass roots museums answers the needs of society during a transitional justice period. The museum attempts to add value to everyday life of all individuals that come into contact. They do this within the knowledge systems they have internalised.

South African museums alter their exhibition strategy to (partly at least) accommodate international tourists thus profiting from the additional income they bring. Museums that

specifically cater to the international tourist market face the problem of essentialising national and group identities into uncontended, and easily swallowed narratives. However private and older museums seem to be most at risk from this essentialising phenomenon. Community and grass roots museums seem to have been and will continue to be the answer to the problem of essentialised history and identity.

How successful a museum is, is determined by a museum's ability to negotiate their position within their immediate societal environment and a larger public, through being a tourist destination. Tourism influences the strategy and therefore the language of grass root museum. Tourism and international consumption is the unifying aspect that helps define museum spaces in the South African setting. A museum is always created with an audience in mind. Tourism does seem to be the great binder of the diverse museums. Museums might still be European institutions, but South Africa (and Africa) has been partaking in this exchange long enough to know the language and has been deconstructing it to serve its purpose whether it be economically, politically or socially.

The diversity of South Africa is an attraction for international consumption. This diversity of people, places, languages and experiences are at the root of the South African experience. This is as much true for tourists as for locals. Keeping a diverse nation well represented is in everybody's social, economic and political best interest. The problem arises when identities are singularised or privileged above all other. Such as the white Afrikaner identity during Apartheid. Museums will have to be reflexive in their position as well as continue to allow negotiation between different identities.

A rich museum school programme allows for a new generation to grow up with the many truths of the South African nation. This however takes money, the lack of which still hinders many South Africans' freedom and quality of life. Museums are spaces where the many identities and histories can be safely explored. Museums also aid in social development by positive identity formation and hard to quantify economic stimulation.

Further questions

How museums contribute to the shaping of identity and social reform is complicated by historical, geographic and political issues. South Africa is grappling with identity and heritage issues, with no easy answers. Often however it is during difficult circumstances that forces the most growth. The SANG and D6M have taken steps forward as museums of the 21st century in regards to definition of museum and identity. The AM has attempted a synthesis between South Africa's issues and European models of dealing with difficult histories.

While researching museums of South Africa, it became apparent how rich South African museum and heritage study is. The critique of museums and European discourse as foreign concepts in the South African situation as unfounded. Often the notion of museums as foreign constructs where voiced by the conglomerate, but in reality the issues South Africa's heritage sector face, are not too far from the global heritage issues. The main problem that arises from European epistemologies and knowledge systems is that many Africans are barred from partaking in heritage formation. The D6 community and other fringe museums are spaces that fight this disbarment that arises from educational differences.

This thesis opens up many questions and the case studies can be done in so much more depth. However, this thesis attempts to be a starting point in order to look at the different types of museums in South Africa and what their impact is and can be to larger societal issues in South Africa. In recent years the heritage sector has faced much damage and controversy, but these are expressions of rage coupled to larger societal issues. Instead of looking at museums and heritage objects as physical pawns to be destroyed, this thesis looks at the museums ability to positively further issues on identity and social development. This is an attempt to lay bare the different push and pull mechanisms in South Africa's different museums. In doing so further research into change can be done.

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