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NELSON MANDELA
UNIVERSITY

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Quantifying the State of South African Museums from a Supply Side Perspective

Submitted to the Department of Arts and Culture

MEASURING & VALUING SOUTH AFRICA'S CULTURAL & CREATIVE ECONOMY

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Quantifying the State of South African Museums from a Supply Side Perspective

30 September 2019

Submitted to the Department of Arts and Culture:

Contents

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MEASURING & VALUING SOUTH AFRICA'S CULTURAL & CREATIVE ECONOMY

List of Figures

List of Tables

Executive Summary

Museums have a long, and sometimes controversial, history in South Africa. Cultural institutions, like museums, can be powerful in telling the "authorised" version of our histories, in shaping national identity and in building social cohesion, as well as contributing to education and research through their collection, archiving and conservation of artefacts.

The aim of this report is to provide a succinct supply side overview of museums in South Africa, and some of the important issues and debates in the sector.

The main contribution of the report is an audit of public and private museums, and analysis of their spatial distribution using Geographic Information Systems (GIS) mapping techniques. Data on population density is combined with the mapping of museums in order to comment on issues of equity (in terms of the spatial distribution of museums by province) and access. A total of 327 museums were identified and mapped.

The spatial analysis compared the provincial spread of museums to population size. The Western Cape has the largest proportion of museums (25%), followed by the Eastern Cape (18%) and KwaZulu-Natal (18%). Gauteng has the largest population, but only 11% of museums. These patterns can be explained in two ways: The pre-democracy history of the area; and the size of the metropolitan areas in the province. For example, the Western Cape has a long colonial-era history, as well as one of the largest metropolitan areas. Similarly, the Eastern Cape has been the site of colonial era conflicts (such as the Anglo-Boer War, and frontier wars between English and Afrikaans groups with Xhosa tribes) as well as hosting 2 metropolitan areas (Nelson Mandela Bay, and Buffalo City). It also has a rich cultural history in the fight against apartheid and was home to many struggle icons. Outside of the metropolitan areas, clustering occurs around some smaller towns and cities, which are associated with other cultural institutions, such as universities, festivals, and/or colonial-era cultural and industrial history: Makhanda, Pietermaritzburg, Kimberley, Stellenbosch and Graaff-Reinet. Implications are that, if the establishment of new museums is considered, locating them in Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal would facilitate both more even spatial distribution and access.

The report also addresses issues relating to how museums of the future may operate in the Fourth Industrial Revolution, and the benefits and challenges in digitising archives and artefacts. A list of policies and associations related to how museums function in South Africa is provided, as well as a quantitative analysis of museum financing from national government over time.

In order to provide some deeper context, a few selected case studies were examined, including national and regional museums: Robben Island Museum (Western Cape), Ditsong Museums of Cultural History (Gauteng), National Museum Bloemfontein (Free State), and The Red Location Museum (Eastern Cape). Where possible, interviews with museum directors were included.

Finally, some policy suggestions are made, based on the findings. These included considerations of how museums could diversity their funding streams to promote financial sustainability, while maintaining access (free entry) for South Africans if at all possible. Building on a recommendation in the Revised White Paper on Arts and Culture (2018), it is also suggested that all museums should be required to report on multiple indicators that could be used in efficiency studies. Such a monitoring and evaluation system, examining the relationship between inputs and outputs, should be flexible enough to take into account the very different characteristics and goals of a wide variety of museum types and locations.

This report focused on providing a supply side perspective and mapping of South African museums. In future research, it would be useful to consider the demand side in more detail.

1 Introduction: Goals and Methods

Museums have a long, and sometimes controversial, history in South Africa. Cultural institutions, like museums, can be powerful in telling the "authorised" version of our histories, in shaping national identity and in building social cohesion, as well as contributing to education and research through their collection, archiving and conservation of artefacts.

The Revised White Paper on Arts and Culture (2018) notes that:

> "The role of museums within South Africa has the potential to radically shift from an institutional landscape of current lack and isolation to a landscape of creative and cultural relevance, dynamism and social change".

Internationally, views on what the role of museums should be are changing. Rather than seeing them as primarily neutral institutions focused on collecting and preserving artefacts, the "new museology" argues that museum curators play an important, active role in contextualising artefacts and thus in shaping national identity. The International Council of Museums has 40 000 members representing more than 20 000 museums, but is currently debating hotly how museums should be defined (Noce, 2019). The essence of the debate is about the role of museums in modern society, with the new definition describing museums as "democratising, inclusive and polyphonic spaces for critical dialogue about the past and the future… that address the conflicts and challenges of the present, hold artefacts and specimens in trust for society, safeguard diverse memories for future generations and guarantee equal rights and equal access to heritage for all people."

The aim of this report is to provide a succinct supply side overview of museums in South Africa, and some of the important issues and debates in the sector.

The main contribution of the report is an audit of public and private museums, and analysis of their spatial distribution using Geographic Information Systems (GIS) mapping techniques. Data on population density is combined with the mapping of museums in order to comment on issues of equity (in terms of the spatial distribution of museums by province) and access.

The report also addresses issues relating to how museums of the future may operate in the Fourth Industrial Revolution, and the benefits and challenges in digitising archives and artefacts. A list of policies and associations related to how museums function in South Africa is provided, as well as a quantitative analysis of museum financing from national government over time.

In order to provide some deeper context, a few selected case studies are examined, including national and regional museums. Where possible, interviews with museum directors are included. Finally, some policy suggestions are made, based on the findings.

2 Museums: Definitions and types

> "The traditional role of museums is to collect objects and materials of cultural, religious and historical importance, preserve them, research into them and present them to the public for the purpose of education and enjoyment" (Emmanuel N. Arinze, President: Commonwealth Association of Museums, 1999).

> "Museums are public heritage and seek to present public memories and are also places of public engagement" (Ngcobo, 2018).

"A museum is an institution dedicated to preserving and interpreting the primary tangible evidence of humankind and the environment" (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2019).

Historically, museums were usually based on collections by private individuals, families or royalty, who collected items of scientific interest from nature, or historical cultural interest. Their purpose was focused on private enjoyment or interest, to show status, or for scientific research. Very few of them were open to the public. The primary function of museums was thus the collection and preservation of objects or artefacts of historical interest. The power of museums to tell stories about societies and people from a particular point of view was not well recognised. However, after World War II, many collections worldwide were taken over by governments (partly to ensure the continuation of the collections), and museums came to be seen as valuable educational facilities that could provide leisure and recreation to the public, and also as a powerful way to communicate particular views of cultural heritage and its values.

As Strydom (2017) notes, understandings of the roles and functions of museums have undergone a profound shift, starting in the 1970's. The "old museology" was concerned primarily with the function of museums as places to preserve and display artefacts. Museology was thus focused on preservation and display techniques, without much focus on contextualizing or interpreting the objects. Museum visitors were seen as passive, uncritical observers.

The "new museology" is much more focused on the museum as a way of providing meaning in a societal context:

"The new museology then, forces us to confront the museum, not as a place for authoritative knowledge, but as a place where the notion of historical truth is put into question" (Strydom, 2017:19).

As further discussed below, the powerful ability of museums to display and interpret history, and to value (or devalue) culture, has been used in various ways in South Africa to bolster colonial, apartheid, and democratic eras. The post-apartheid White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage (1996) recognised very clearly the power of museums to represent national identity and history:

"Countries preserve their heritage through permanent collections of various kinds, and through restoration and care of sites having religious, political, cultural, scientific, archaeological or environmental significance. In so doing, *they declare what has value for them, what they seek to preserve as evidence of their own as well as other's development and achievement*" (White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage, 1996).

Roles and Functions of Museums	Types of museums
• Preservation of "primary" evidence • Interpretation • Education • Entertainment and recreation • Research and scholarship • Attract tourists and contribute to the local economy • Contribute to quality of life • Promote pride and nationalism • Transmit ideological concepts • Foster social cohesion and inter-cultural understanding • Places of public engagement and debate (lectures, concerts, dining, retail)	• Natural history and natural science museums • Cultural and anthropological museums (including ethnography) • Museums of science and technology • Commercial museums • Fine art museums (sometimes referred to as art galleries) • History museums with a special focus (e.g. on a war) • Museums focused on a specific person or era • House museums with a special focus on a historical house or building • University museums, housed in institutions of higher learning • Children's museums, with a focus on interactive, educational exhibitions • Museums based on a specific location (city or region) • Maritime museums • Virtual museums

Figure 1: The roles, functions and types of museums

There is a wide variety of museum types (Figure 1). These range from "general" history or cultural museums to those focused on a specific event or period, or a specific person or location. Industrial museums can include transport museums, museums of science and technology, and commercial museums. Some museums are focused on education, such as university museums, and children's museums, that include interactive education exhibitions and events. In the Fourth Industrial Revolution, virtual (online or digital) museums are likely to become more common (although at present, they are reliant on "real" collections for their content). Some museum classifications also include fine art museums or galleries. The focus of this report is on cultural history museums, rather than other heritage sites (such as churches, monuments, archaeological sites, or burial places).
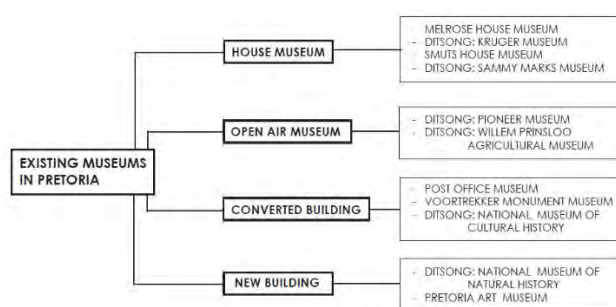
Figure 2: An example of museum classifications by building type (Source: Steyn, 2010:75).

Depending on the type of museum, the institutions can also have a wide range of roles and functions (Figure 1). All museums preserve and display original objects and artefacts of historical or cultural interest, and many foster research and scholarship through the archiving of their collections. As already mentioned, the modern museum also plays a role in

interpreting, or contextualizing, their collection for the purposes of education, to promote pride in one's history, to foster social cohesion and inter-cultural understanding. Some museums are sites of entertainment and recreation, and of public gathering and debate. Many museum buildings encourage such public interactions by including food facilities (like restaurants and coffee shops) and lecture halls. Increasingly, museums are being recognised as part of the cultural and creative economy that can attract both domestic and international tourists, generate income, and create jobs.

Amestoy (2013) mentions that more modern museums are sometimes formed through a process of "co-curation" that involves local communities from the outset, or for specific special exhibitions. For example, in the formation of the Red Location Museum in Nelson Mandela Bay in the Eastern Cape, the history and artefacts of the local community's resistance to apartheid formed the heart of the collection (further discussed in the case study below).

There is a considerable literature on the economics of museums from the supply (or production) side. Like other firms, museums have inputs: labour, including specialised labour focused on preservation and curation, but also including administrative labour and volunteers; and capital, which includes the collection itself, as well as buildings, equipment and financial resources. Fernendez-Blanco and Prieto-Rodriguez (2011) group museum outputs (what they produce) into three broad areas:

> (a) **Curation** (including documentation, expansion and preservation) of the museum collection;
>
> (b) **Exhibition** of the collection for the enjoyment, education and training of the public, as well as for research purposes;
>
> (c) **Other services**, which would include catering, merchandizing and generally providing visitor experience services.

Fernendez-Blanco and Prieto-Rodriguez (2011) conceive of museums as having multi-output production functions, where a range of different goals, or aims, must be traded-off and maximised.

Museums also have a very specific form of cost function. All firms have a mix of fixed costs (costs that occur, no matter how much of their good or service is produced), and variable costs (costs that go up depending on how much production there is). Together, fixed costs plus variable costs make up total costs. Marginal costs are the additional cost of providing one more unit of output. For museums, the fixed costs are very high – maintaining the building and curating the collection must take place, even if no visitors come. The variable costs, mostly related to providing visitor services, such as guided tours, information, and toilet facilities, are very low by comparison. This means that the marginal costs of having one more visitor are extremely low (up to the point of congestion).

Studies of the efficiency of museums are a growing area, since as Sebova (2018) points out, they use public resources, and are thus subject to evaluation. Efficiency is defined as producing the most amount of output for a given unit of inputs, and is used as a measure of success in many industries. What makes the area challenging is that museum outputs are often related to the production of intangible public services that are multifaceted and difficult to measure. Del Barrio-Tellado and Herrero-Prieto (2019) say that using the standard kind of efficiency analysis to measure the performance of museums is difficult because of three main factors:

"1. Museums involve a wide range of resources, many of which are not easy to measure due to their qualitative and dispersed nature;

2. Museums' ultimate purpose is to provide a complex and multiple product that is not always tangible or commercial in nature;

3. Museums are frequently public or non-profit entities that do not often follow cost minimization behavior, such that management success cannot easily be measured in the market" (Del Barrio-Tellado and Herrero-Prieto, 2019:488-9).

However, improvements in data availability and the growing scarcity of public funding, has enabled more studies of museum efficiency. Sebova (2018), for example, analyses the efficiency of Slovak museums using a variety of indicators for inputs (number of staff, size of the collection) and outputs (number of special exhibitions and events, number of visitors).

Del Barrio-Tellado and Herrero-Prieto (2019), in their study of 23 Spanish museums however, find that external factors that are beyond the control of the individual museum, may also play a role in determining demand (and thus overall efficiency). In addition to inputs (museum size, equipment, and employment) and outputs (exhibitions, other museum activities, publications and visitors), they identify a number of "environmental variables". These include factors relating to the place where the museum is (such as other heritage sites nearby, and the economic wealth of the region, the reputation or age of the museum), as well as factors affecting accessibility (such as motorways and hotels). While acknowledging that the actions of managers can increase the number of visitors (for example, by having more activities and more appealing exhibitions), some of the environmental variables are beyond the control of individual museums.
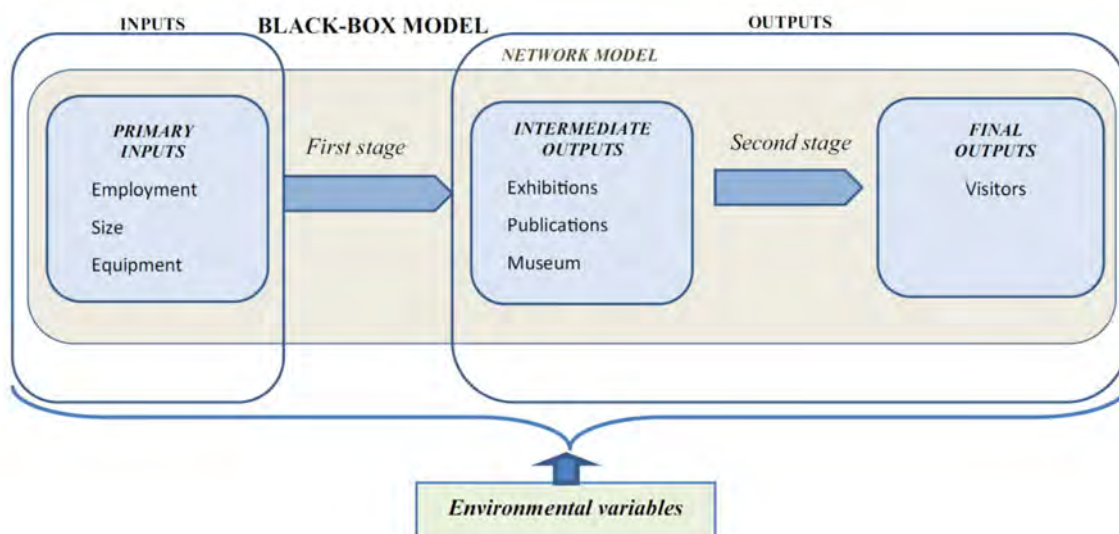
Figure 3: Factors affecting museum efficiency

(Source: Del Barrio-Tellado and Herrero-Prieto, 2019:500)

The findings for Spanish museums show that, while smaller, regional museums may not be so successful in attracting large visitor numbers, they can be efficient in terms of cultural production. Larger, more established, national museums in cities with higher concentrations of tourists do better in attracting large numbers of visitors. This suggests that, when measuring

museum success, it is likely that a variety of indicators will be needed (Del Barrio-Tellado and Herrero-Prieto, 2019).

To date, there are no similar studies of museum efficiency in South Africa that we could find. However, Van der Merwe (2016) did conduct a survey of tour guides about how "successful" eight South African heritage sites were perceived to be. Only one of these, the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum in Soweto, was a museum. Findings showed that more than 70% of guides rated this museum as "successful" or "very successful", with much smaller proportions rating it "not successful", or "a failure" (12%). Some of the reasons for the lack of success of some South African heritage sites included: poor governance/management; poor or lack of infrastructure; poor or lack of maintenance; poor or lack of signage and effective marketing. While the focus of this study is on the supply side of museums in South Africa, rather than on demand, museum success and efficiency depend crucially on their being able to reach, and attract, visitors.

Should museums charge ticket prices, or have free entry? Economic production theory identifies the point where the marginal cost of production is equal to the price of the good or service, as the efficient level of output. One argument against charging for tickets is that, since the marginal cost of having one more visitor is practically zero, the efficient ticket price is also zero. Supporting this is the welfare argument: that museums provide public goods (education, building social cohesion, identity formation) and should thus be publicly financed. Arguments against this are that often, those who visit museums most frequently are already in the higher income and education group, and do not need to have their leisure activities publicly supported (Fernandez-Blanco and Prieto-Rodriguez, 2011). Most museums have a mix of financing that includes earned income (from ticket prices, and sales from the museum shop and restaurant), public (government) support, and support from the business sector, and donations from private individuals or "friends of the museum" civil society groups.

Public UK museums are all free to enter, but a variety of strategies are used to make them financially sustainable. For example, the Victoria and Albert Museum has "tap to donate" terminals on entry (see image below) as well as boxes for cash donation. Many museums also provide visitors with maps, for which a voluntary donation is requested.

Figure 4: Examples of how UK museums encourage payment while maintaining free entry

Museums are increasingly also being recognised for their role in attracting tourism to a region or city, thus generating economic, as well as social and cultural, impact. The following section discusses the size and characteristics of the "Cultural and Natural Heritage" domain in the South African economy.

3 Museums in Economic Context: The Cultural and Natural Heritage Domain in South Africa

The UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics (FCS, 2009) provides a system for classifying and mapping the cultural and creative sectors. There are six domains that the UNESCO FCS identifies: Cultural and Natural Heritage, Performance and Celebration, Visual Arts and Crafts, Books and Press, Audio-visual and Interactive Media and, lastly, Design and Creative Services. It includes all the phases of the culture cycle model (creation; production; dissemination, exhibition/ reception/ transmission; and consumption/ participation). This is the framework that was used in the 2018 mapping study of the South African cultural and creative industries (CCIs) and that is increasingly used in South African policy documents on the sector (such as the Revised White Paper on Arts and Culture, 2018). Museums form part of the "Cultural and Natural Heritage Domain (Domain A in the figure below), which also includes archaeological and historical sites, cultural landscapes and natural heritage, as well as parts of the transversal domains of Intangible Cultural Heritage, Education and Training, Archiving and Preserving, and Equipment and Supporting Materials.
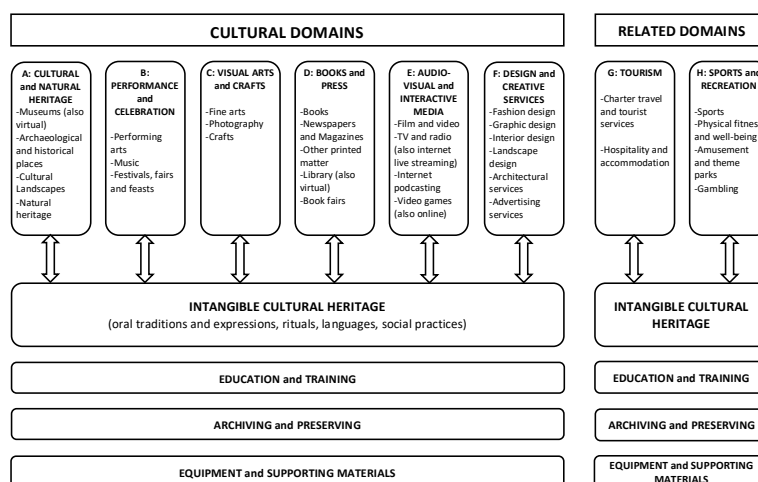
Figure 5: Position of Cultural and Natural Heritage domain in the UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics (2009:24)

The results of the South African Cultural Observatory mapping study (2017/18) showed that the Cultural and Natural Heritage Domain contributed R1839m directly to the South African economy (GDP or value added, in 2016 prices). This rises to R5571m if indirect and induced multiplier effects are included (taking into account the forward and backward linkages that Domain A activities have to other sectors of the economy). Domain A is the smallest (in terms of GDP value added), making up only 2% of the overall contribution of the CCIs to the South African economy. In terms of employment, Domain A makes up 1% of cultural occupations (Hadisi and Snowball, CCI Mapping Study, 2018).

Although a relatively small domain in terms of international trade volume, Domain A is the only Domain with a positive trade balance, where the value of imports is less than the value of exports (see Figure 6 below).
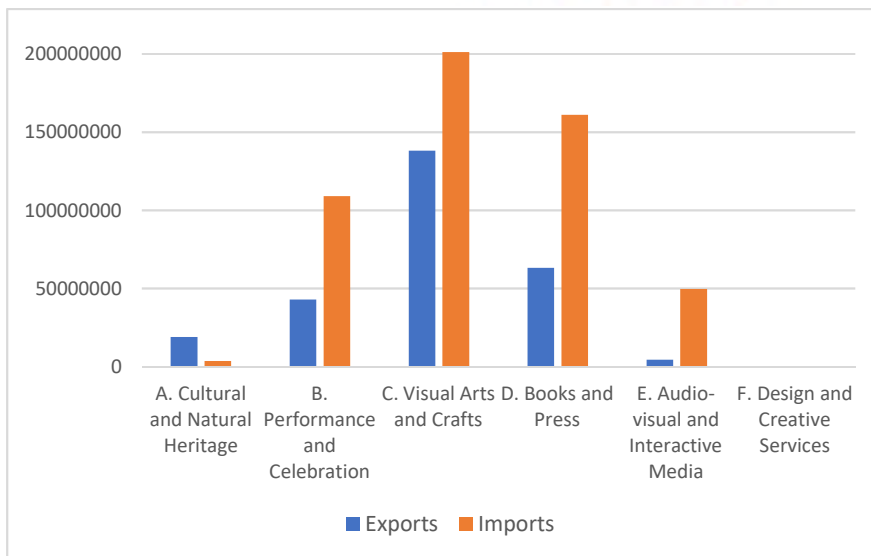
Figure 6: South Africa's total cultural trade by domain: 2014-2016 averages (US$)

(Source: Cattaneo and Snowball, CCI Mapping Study, 2018:26)

The relatively small economic footprint of Domain A is not surprising, given that many of the institutions in this sector operate on a "not for profit" business model, with the focus on the public good values of the cultural goods and services provision. Indeed, internationally, very few cultural heritage institutions have large economic impacts, except for the so-called "superstar" museums that operate as international tourism attractions in their own right.

Frey and Meier (2006, in Navarrete, 2019:205) define superstar museums as having five important characteristics:

> "(1) The superstar museum is a 'must see' destination for tourists, which leads to (2) large numbers of visitors, who see (3) world-famous painters and paintings that are housed in (4) a world-famous building, supported through (5) large budgets, often self-generated."

The African definition of superstar museums may need to be somewhat different, as the case studies discussed below will show. In particular, the focus on "world-famous painters and paintings" may need to be adapted to something like "world-famous history and culture". With this definition, one could argue that some South African museums, like the Robben Island museum, could qualify as "superstar", given the large number of international tourists who visit.

4   The Politics of Museums in Democratic South Africa

At a conference on "Museums, Peace, Democracy and Governance in the 21st Century" Emmanuel Arinze (then-president of the Commonwealth Association of Museums), said that:

> "The traditional role of museums is to collect objects and materials of cultural, religious and historical importance, preserve them, research into them and present them to the public for the purposes of education and enjoyment…*Without being political*, they can give voice to the citizenry in how they are governed by creating avenues for free discussion and dialogue" (Arinze, 1999).

Despite saying that museums "house the cultural soul of the nation", Arinze sees their role as primarily related to collection, preservation and education, without interrogating *what* is collected and *who decides* what will be communicated.

In contrast, Dlamuka (2003:1) argues that:

> "Museums *always* involve the cultural, social and political business of negotiations and value judgements and they always have cultural, social and political implications".

Mdanda (2016) divides South African cultural history into three periods: colonial, characterized by British Imperialism and the promotion of English heritage; apartheid, characterized by Afrikaner nationalism; and democratic, where the focus is on a multicultural society and inclusive cultural representation. In the post-apartheid era, one of the challenges faced by the new ruling party was that most museum exhibits were focused on colonial and apartheid points of view, to the exclusion, or denigration, of the culture and history of black South Africans. To correct this imbalance, the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP, 1994) put in place the National Legacy Projects.

The National Legacy Projects included a wide range of cultural institutions, such as libraries, monuments, galleries and museums. They focused on (i) building new institutions to "reflect the many different strands of South African culture" (RDP, 1994) as well as (ii) re-contextualizing and re-interpreting the colonial and apartheid-era cultural heritage preserved and displayed in existing museums "to meet the reconstruction and reconciliation needs of the new democratic government's imperative without destroying them" (Mdanda, 2016).

However, Mdanda (2016) argues that this process of trying to bring about "an inclusive narrative" has been only partly successful. This may be because the implementation of the Legacy Projects was delegated to provincial government departments, several of which "have since done nothing concerning implementation" (Mdanda, 2016:48). Even in those institutions which have made a concerted effort to change their points of view and be more inclusive of the experiences of black South Africans, the results have not always been effective. Mdanda's research focuses on the changes made to the National Women's Monument and the Anglo-Boer War Museum. While acknowledging their attempts to include information on how these historical events affected black South Africans, and the roles they played, Mdanda questions whether this kind of added on inclusivity is effective in achieving reconciliation "when it is obvious that these monuments were built to predominantly capture the memories of the Afrikaner war victims and of British soldiers".

Ngcobo (2018) agrees with Mdanda (2016), pointing out that what makes it particularly difficult to represent the cultural heritage of black South Africans is that, in the pre-colonial era, most African societies "relied on oral tradition to pass on history and heritage to different generations", and it is only recently that these oral histories have been used to tell "histories of the marginalized" in museums. However, Ngcobo (2018) feels that, despite the focus on national building and reconciliation, African history and cultural heritage is still represented in pre-democratic era museums "from the colonialist state of writing", which continues to marginalize black people and women.

Indeed, the importance of neglected oral traditions and "living heritage" was recognised in the 1996 White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage, and flagged as "one of the most vital aspects" of heritage policy in South Africa:

> "The Ministry and the NHC will establish a national initiative to facilitate and empower the development of living heritage projects in provinces and local communities. *The*

recognition and promotion of living heritage is one of the most vital aspects of the Ministry's arts, culture and heritage policy. The aim is to suffuse institutions responsible for the promotion and conservation of our cultural heritage with the full range and wealth of South African customs".

Proposed activities included recording living heritage practices, awareness programmes in communities, recording of living heritage practices using audio-visuals, and developing an inventory of living heritage resources (White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage, 1996).

Both Ngcobo (2018) and Mdanda (2016) acknowledge how difficult it is to negotiate the "complex relationships between subjectivity and power in relation to culture" (Ngcobo, 2018:151). As Mdanda (2016:56) points out, the ANC government had to "negotiate its authorship of the democratic narrative, as opposed to other countries who won power outright". As in many other countries with violent and divisive past histories, the debate remains as to whether it is better to build new museums "devoid of conflicting narratives" or to whether old institutions can be adequately re-interpreted and re-contextualized to be truly multicultural, representing a balanced view of the cultural heritage and history of all South Africans.

Despite the challenges faced by museums in terms of how to curate and represent cultures, they are likely to remain powerful cultural heritage institutions in the future. One of the flagship projects of the African Union Agenda 2063 is the establishment of *The Great African Museum* whose mandate will be: "Preserving and promoting African cultural heritage by creating awareness of Africa's vast, dynamic and diverse cultural artefacts and Africa's continuing influence on world cultures in art, music, language, science, and so on" (AU website, 2019). The AU Agenda 2063 Plan of Action has as one of its goals that "at least 30% of cultural patrimonies and treasures would have been repatriated and catalogued for future use in the envisaged African Museum of 2035.

5 Museums, Intellectual property and the digital future

Technological change and the digital economy are also affecting the ways in which museums can operate. In particular, while most museums now have some internet presence, such as their own website, or social media platforms, new technologies and increasing bandwidth is also enabling "virtual consumption" of museums and art galleries without visitors having to attend physically (Cameron, 2019).

Navarrete (2019) describes a number of ways in which museums can engage online visitors, including the release of digital images and archives of their collections, the use of platforms like YouTube to provide audio-visual "behind the scenes" information about the collection, and interviews with curators, and even interactive virtual reality "guided tours" that can be taken online. Online exhibitions have so far mostly been linked to a particular museum, but there are also cases where artefacts from a number of different museums have been virtually brought together for an online exhibition.

"A number of museums have been implementing digital applications to develop new products and services such as online exhibitions, new processes to research, display and manage collections, new organizational structures to accommodate an increasingly digital environment, reaching new markets, and tapping into existing resources to generate new capital" (Navarrete, 2019:203).

Table 1: A selection of international museum collections available as open data

Museum	Year	Open data action	License
Amsterdam museum	2009	70 000 images published online	Public domain where possible
***Statens Museum for Kuns* in Copenhagen**	2011	160 highlights from the collection	Creative commons, full use
Walters Art Museum in Baltimore	2012	Released 18 000 images	Creative Commons, share alike
Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam	2013	Published collection online	Creative commons, full use
Los Angeles Museum of Art	2013	Researched 20 000 high-quality images	Public domain where possible
Smithsonian American Art Museum in Washington DC	2014	Published information as Linked Open Data	Creative commons, full use: metadata only
Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York	2017	Published 375 000 images	Creative commons, full use
Cleveland Museum of Art	2017	Published 30 000 high quality, free and open digital images	Creative commons, full use

(Source: Table reproduced from Navarrete, 2019:208)

Including the possibility for visitors to engage with museums in the digital space can provide several benefits, both for users as well as museums. For users, online collections allow for increased access (without increasing congestion) for research and education purposes, as well as improved engagement and enjoyment through increased freedom of choice and personalization of the visit. For museums, an online presence gives them greater reputational reach which may also increase on-site visitors, and the potential for diversified revenue streams (Navarrete, 2019). Peukert (2019) notes that, for many cultural organisations, digitsation lowers fixed costs and can increase efficiency. However, he also notes that, in the case of museums, virtual visits have been found to be complementary, rather than substitute, goods. For cultural goods, perceived authenticity can be an important component of value, meaning that seeing the "real" thing in the physical museum would still be the preferred mode of consumption for some visitors. However, online engagement with the collection before and after the visit can increase the value of the on-site visit as well.

There are some costs and risks associated with releasing digital collections online. These include the knowledge, skills and resources needed for any new innovation, as well as navigating the complex issues around terms of use and copyright linked to intellectual property. As early as 2003, the International Intellectual Property Institute (Shapiro, 2003) produced a resource guide for museums on managing their digital assets. Shapiro (2003) starts by posing four important questions that museums need to consider when digitizing their collections:

1. "How will museums obtain the financial resources to digitize their rich cultural resources and make them available to the public?
2. How will museums respond to the significant legal and business risks of doing business on the Internet?
3. How will museums limit the risk of the unauthorized reproduction, alteration, and distribution of their digital assets in cyberspace?
4. How should museums safeguard their symbols, goodwill and reputation against the actions of electronic pirates, all too eager to appropriate them for their own commercial gain?" (Shapiro, 2003).

The resource guide addresses several issues faced by museums in the digital space, and includes information on the development of audio-visual products, issues of data licensing and distribution and advice on how to establish an internet profile. While smaller institutions may feel somewhat intimidated by the digital shift, Navarrete (2019) points out that it is often small and medium-sized organisations that adopt technological innovations fastest. This is because they work with smaller teams who can adjust to the process and product changes required more easily. Large organisations tend to have less flexible organisational cultures, and take a longer time to implement changes.

To our knowledge, no South African museums currently offer access to their collections digitally. However, many have websites that include information about the collections, the buildings they are housed in, opening hours, special exhibitions, conservation and educational activities, staff profiles, other tourist facilities, and newsletters (see, for example, the https://www.iziko.org.za/).

A collaboration between Google and the Robben Island Museum led to the island being mapped via "Street View", which allows one to choose between exploring it on your own or taking an interactive tour. In partnership with the Nelson Mandela Foundation, the museum has also produced a series of Audio Histories: "The series weaves together first person interviews from the people on the front lines of history and dozens of rare archival recordings. The series has been broadcast around the world, reaching more than 50 million listeners". It is also available via YouTube (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TCB0JE0wFog). While not yet quite at the level of "virtual museums", these kinds of resources are invaluable ways of telling the stories and history of South Africa, making them available to a wide audience, even those who may not be able to afford to visit the physical site. It is likely that they will be further enhanced and extended in the future, and offer significant potential benefits to both South African museums, as well as to visitors – be they virtual or real or both.

6   South African Museum Policy and Associations

There are many policies, by-laws, and Acts that regulate the operation of museums in South Africa. There are also both South African and international associations that support and guide museums. This section provides a list of relevant policies (from most recent to oldest), as well as a brief description of associations.

6.1 Policies

Table 2: Policies, discussion documents and Acts that regulate museums in South Africa.

Year	Policy
2015	eThekwini Museums By-Law
2011	Discussion Paper: Towards a new Provincial Museum Policy for the Western Cape

2011	Position Paper on a proposed policy framework on Access to Heritage Resources - DISCUSSION DOCUMENT
2014	Policy Framework for National Museums (PFNM)
2011	Military Veterans Act, 2011 (Act No. 18 of 2011)
2009	Second-Hand Goods Act (Act 6 of 2009)
2009	National Policy on South African Living Heritage
2008	Intellectual Property Rights from Publicly Financed Research and Development Act (Act 51 of 2008)
2008	National Qualifications Framework Act (Act 67 of 2008)
2006	Professional Standards and Transformation Indicators
2006	SAMA Professional Standards and transformation Indicators (2006)
2005	Intergovernmental Relations Framework Act (Act 13 of 2005)
2005	IZIKO SA Human Remains Policy (2005)
2004	National Environmental Management: Biodiversity Act (Act 10 of 2004)
2003	National House of Traditional Leaders Act (Act 41 of 2003)
2003	Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework (Act 41 of 2003)
2003	National Health Act, 2003 (Act No 61 of 2003)
2001	National Council of Library and Information Services Act (Act 6 of 2001)
2000	Promotion of Access to Information Act (Act 2 of 2000)
2000	Promotion of Administrative Justice Act (Act 3 of 2000)
2000	Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act (Act 4 of 2000)
2000	Preferential Procurement Policy Framework Act (Act 5 of 2000)
1999	National Heritage Resources Act (Act 11 of 1999)
1999	National Heritage Council Act (Act 25 of 1999)
1999	Public Finance Management Act (Act 1 of 1999)
1999	South African Heritage Resources Act No 25 of 1999
1999	National Heritage Resources Act, 1999 (Act No 25 of 1999)
1998	South African Library for the Blind Act (Act 91 of 1998)
1998	National Library of South Africa Act (Act 92 of 1998)
1998	South African Geographical Names Council Act (Act 118 of 1998)
1998	Cultural Institutions Act (Act 119 of 1998)
1998	National Research Foundation Act (Act 23 of 1998)
1998	Employment Equity Act (Act 55 of 1998)
1998	Skills Development Act (Act 97 of 1998)
1998	National Environmental Management Act (Act 107 of 1998)
1998	Cultural Institutions Act
1997	Legal Deposit Act (Act 54 of 1997)
1997	National Arts Council Act (Act 56 of 1997)
1997	The Non-Profit Organisations Act (Act 71 of 1997)
1997	Basic Conditions of Employment Act (Act 75 of 1997)
1996	National Archives and Records Service of South Africa Act (Act 43 of 1996)
1996	Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act (Act 108 of 1996)

1996	National Education Policy Act (Act 27 of 1996)
1996	White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage
1996	White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage, 1996
1995	Pan African Language Board Act (Act 59 of 1995)
1995	South African Qualifications Authority Act (Act 58 of 1995)
1995	Labour Relations Act (Act 66 of 1995) (with amendments)
1995	The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, 1995 (Act No. 34 of 1995) Regulations on Exhumation, Reburial or Symbolic Burial of Deceased Victims
1994	Graves and Dead Bodies Ordinance, 1925 (Ord. No 7 of 1925 – re-instituted by Proclamation 109 of June 1994)
1993	Occupational Health and Safety Act (Act 58 of 1993)
1983	Human Tissues Act, 1983 (Act No 65 of 1983)
1980	Exhumations Ordinance, 1980 (Ord. No 12 of 1980)
1969	Cultural Institutions Act No. 119 of 1998 and Act No 29 of 1969
1969	1969 National Monuments Act, No.28
1962	The Heraldry Act (Act 18 of 1962)
1962	Income Tax Act (Act 58 of 1962) (Section 30)
1955	General Laws Amendment Act (Act 62 of 1955)
1914	Museums Ordinance Act No.6 of 1914
1857	Museums Incorporations Act of 1857
	Exhibition Policy and Structure: Oliewenhuis Art Museum
	Policy on Archives, Museums and Special Collections
	Wits Financial Controls and Operational Procedures
	Draft Policy on Restitution
	Military Veterans Burial Policy (Department of Military Veterans)

6.2 Associated Organisations

Organisations associated with museums include both large, national, public sector organisations, as well as smaller, private sector associations. This section gives a brief description of some of them, starting with national associations.

South African Museums Association –SAMA (Established pre-apartheid)

The South African Museums Association has been in existence since 1937 and has a proud tradition of serving the museum community and providing opportunities for participation and development in the museum field. SAMA plays an important role in the preservation and management of heritage resources in South Africa. SAMA membership aims to provide personal growth for individual members, the improvement of museum standards within member institutions, and empowerment of the heritage sector as a whole in South Africa. SAMA is in partnership with 123 museums across South Africa and Lesotho.

Arts and Culture Trust – ACT (Established post-apartheid)

The Arts & Culture Trust (ACT) is the oldest funding agency in democratic South Africa. It was established to secure financial and other resources for arts, culture and heritage; and to project the needs and role of the sector in the public domain. In 1994, the newly established Ministry

of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (now the Department of Sports, Arts & Culture) responded to an invitation from Nedcor Bank and Sun International to set up a body for arts and culture. The first three Founding Trustees came together to secure financial and other resources for arts and culture, and to lobby for sector in the public domain. Each of the Founding Trustees contributed one million rand, which was invested in a Trust Fund, to ensure sustainability and to minimise dependence on annual grants.

National Heritage Council – NHC (Established post-apartheid)

The National Heritage Council of South Africa is a statutory body that is responsible for the preservation of the country's heritage. Since its founding, it has promoted heritage as a priority for nation building and national identity. A schedule 3A public entity that came into existence through an amendment of the Cultural Laws Second Amendment Act 69 of 2001, the National Heritage Council of South Africa was officially constituted through the National Heritage Council Act 11 of 1999, which was assented to on 14 April1999 and officially proclaimed on 26 February 2004.

South African Heritage Resource Agency – SAHRA (Established post-apartheid)

SAHRA is a statutory organisation established under the National Heritage Resources Act, No 25 of 1999, as the national administrative body responsible for the protection of South Africa's cultural heritage. The Act follows the principle that heritage resources should be managed by the levels of government closest to the community. These local and provincial authorities manage heritage resources as part of their planning process.

SAHRA is mandated to coordinate the identification and management of the national estate. The aims are to introduce an integrated system for the identification, assessment and management of the heritage resources and to enable provincial and local authorities to adopt powers to protect and manage them. A South African Heritage Resources Survey (SAHRS) will be established to coordinate a national strategy for the identification of heritage resources.

National Archives and Records Service of South Africa – NARS (established post-apartheid)

The National Archives and Records Service of South Africa was established by promulgation of the National Archives and Records Service of South Africa Act (Act No 43 of 1996 as amended). This piece of legislation transformed the former State Archives Service into a National Archives and Records Service whose mission, functions and structures reflect the South African democratic political order and imperatives. The mission of the National Archives and Records Service is to foster a national identity and the protection of rights by:

• "preserving national archival heritage for use by the government and people of South Africa;
• promoting efficient, accountable and transparent government through the proper management and care of government records;
• the proper management and care of the records of governmental bodies; and
• the preservation and use of a national archival heritage."

Pan South African Language Board – PanSALB (Established post-apartheid)

The Pan South African Language Board was established in terms of the Pan South African Language Board Act 59 of 1995, amended as PANSALB Amendment Act of 1999. The Board was established according to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 106 of 1996) in order to:

"(a) Promote, and create conditions for the development and use of official languages v the khoe and San languages v sign language;

(b) Promote and ensure respect for all languages commonly used by communities in South Africa, including German, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Portuguese, Tamil, Telegu, Urdu, Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit, and other languages used for religious purposes in South Africa".

Law to investigate complaints about language rights violations from any individual, organisation or institution mandates PanSALB. PanSALB conducts hearings at which complainants and respondents are present and, depending on its findings, may recommend steps to be taken by the department or institution concerned.

The Craft & Design Institute - CDI (Established post-apartheid)

Initiated in 2001 as the Cape Craft and Design Institute, it was initially focused on the development and promotion of the Western Cape craft and design sector, especially on elevating the value and appreciation of the handmade. The focus on craft was in-line with national and provincial policies, which had identified craft as a priority creative industry because of its potential to build the small business sector and create jobs. At the time, the sector was dominated by a welfare and poverty alleviation approach that was not building sustainability or nurturing and developing talent and creativity. Value-laden stereotypes also made a problematic distinction between 'design' versus 'craft' – a reflection of South Africa's histories. The CDI adopted a more integrated approach, viewing 'craft and design' as synergistic, mutually inclusive and part of a broader creative sector.

South African Antique Dealers Association – SAADA (established pre-apartheid)

SAADA was established in 1963 to promote the interests of the dealers, give clients peace of mind and encourage high standards of ethics. The aim of SAADA is to ensure that buyers "receive accurate and authentic information on every purchase, including a written guarantee upon request".

The African Centre for Heritage Activities - (ACHA)

The African Centre for Heritage Activities (ACHA) is a not-for-profit organisation that has been set up to promote heritage in general, and Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage in particular, and to develop capacity and infrastructure in the field. The ACHA offers multiple services with the aim at creating, coordinating and capacitating a multidimensional heritage network. These services relate to projects, which target society and development, heritage promotion, sustainable heritage, and innovative heritage work. The ACHA offers a range of heritage expertise, access to a heritage networks, and knowledge, skills and understanding for sustainable heritage management.

South African Preservation and Conservation Group – SAPCON (established post-apartheid)

The SAPCON was formed to serve the increasing need for communication between the few professional paper conservators working in the country. Originally, it consisted of only 13 members, but continues to grow, relying on the small base of professional members for conservation training of heritage workers in South Africa. In October 1998, a proposal for the amalgamation of the South African National Preservation Committee (JICPA) and SAPCON was presented. With the merging of the two groups, was seen the opportunity to stir up a movement which would stop the trend to downgrade preservation of National collections. The South African Preservation and Preservation Group officially came into being in 2002.

7 Museum funding in South Africa: Vote 37

Museums in South Africa are financed at national, provincial and local levels. Many have a mixed source of financing, including government and private subsidies, as well as earned income from ticket sales to special exhibitions and earnings from restaurants and gift shops.

This section of the report focuses on the financing of the 13 heritage institutions funded by annual transfers from the national Department of Sports, Arts and Culture (Vote 37, 2018). They represent a mix of new museums, established in the democratic era, as well as older museums from the colonial and apartheid eras.
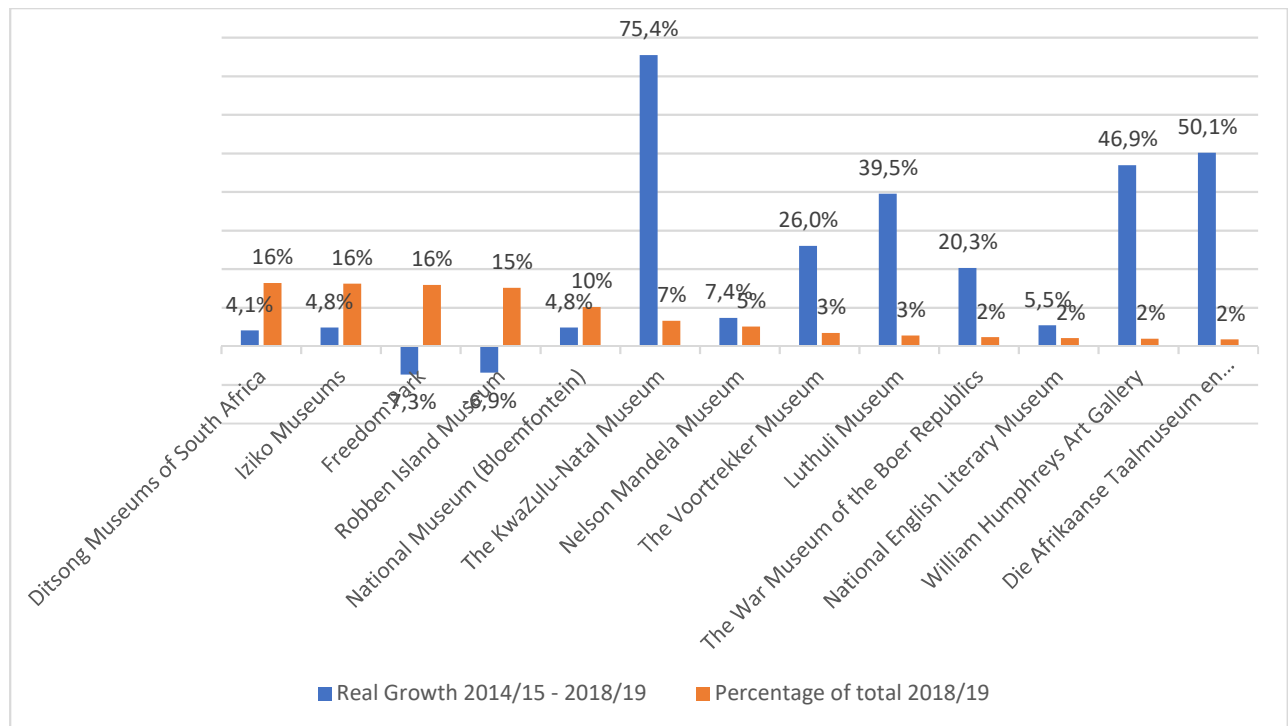

Figure 7: Real growth rate of museum running costs 2014/15 - 2018/19 and the percentage of total expenditure running cost finance 2018/1

An analysis of the "current" (running costs) of the museums financed through DSAC shows that museums (or groups of museums) that already have a high proportion of total spending (such as the Ditsong and Iziko museums) tended to have lower real growth rates in their allocations between the 2014/15 and 2018/19 financial years. The Ditsong Museums, for example, had a current budget allocation of R66.35m in 2014/15, which grew to R87.21m in 2018/19. Taking into account increasing prices over this time period, the "real" increase in their budget was 4.1%. The KwaZulu-Natal museum had a real growth rate of its running cost finances of 75% between 2014/15 and 2018/19, but receives overall only 7% of the total budget. The strategy of increasing spending on those museums with smaller shares of the total budget can be interpreted as a strategy to spread existing resources more evenly.
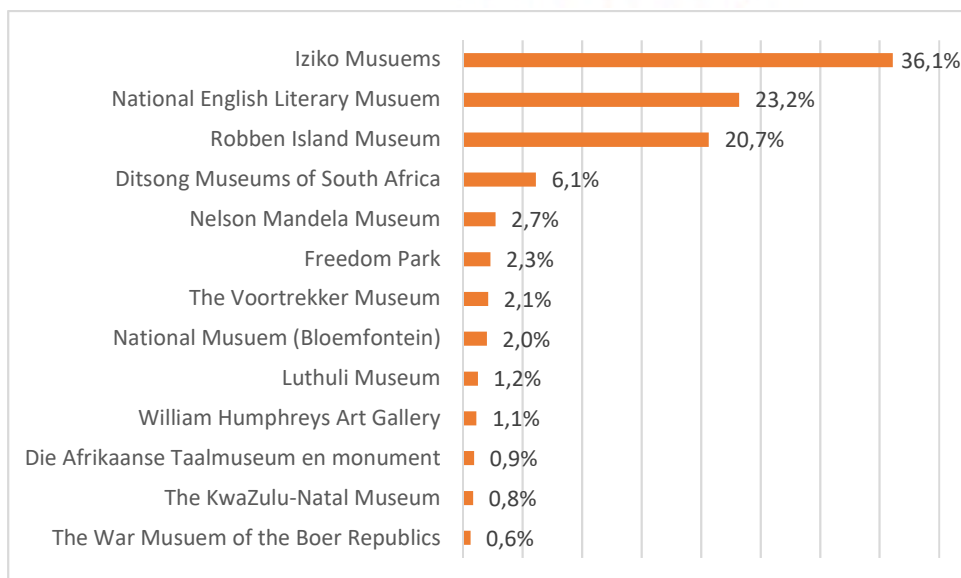
Figure 8: Percentage of total capital expenditure 2014/15 - 2018/19

Capital expenditure on museums is reported separately (Figure 8). Over the period 2014/15 – 2018/19, many of the newer museums, that still had establishment costs, or older, national museums that needed to reconfigure and transform, received a significant amount of capital funding. Already established, smaller museums, like the War Museums of the Boer Republics, received lower amounts. The museums that received the largest shares of capital expenditure in the 2014/15 – 2018/19 period were the Iziko museums (36% of total capital expenditure, amounting to R235 million); The National English Literary Museum, now renamed the Amazwi South African Museum of Literature (23% of capital expenditure, R151 million), and The Robben Island Museum (20.7% of capital expenditure, R134.5 million).

Table 3: Total funding (Capital and Running Expenses) 2014/15 to 2018/19 (in thousands of Rand)

Institution Name	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18	2018/19	Total Capital expenditure 2014/15-2018/19	Percentage of total capital expenditure 2014/15 - 2018/19	Real Growth Rate in Running Expenses 2014/15 - 2018/19
Die Afrikaanse Taalmuseum en monument	6308	6941	8784	10711	11027	6058	0.9%	50.1%
Ditsong Museums of South Africa	80693	81854	84740	125777	108212	39893	6.1%	4.1%
Iziko Museums	117021	120974	162584	144181	106517	235373	36.1%	4.8%
The KwaZulu-Natal Museum	18312	21663	24122	36686	39424	5531	0.8%	75.4%
National Museum (Bloemfontein)	54147	47566	51688	100378	54281	13062	2.0%	4.8%
National English Literary Museum	45171	71763	55488	14790	15593	151119	23.2%	5.5%
Robben Island Museum	84335	123283	99293	109438	123751	134572	20.7%	-6.9%
The Voortrekker Museum	13214	24618	24052	18295	18296	13707	2.1%	26.0%
The War Museum of the Boer Republics	9233	11254	11753	23084	12710	4116	0.6%	20.3%
William Humphreys Art Gallery	7160	7546	8713	10967	14486	7303	1.1%	46.9%
Luthuli Museum	9773	9477	16026	15363	14828	8100	1.2%	39.5%
Nelson Mandela Museum	30354	22915	24418	28704	31103	17793	2.7%	7.4%
Freedom Park	83452	71158	72922	98613	84551	14982	2.3%	-7.3%
Total	559173	621012	644583	736987	634779	651609	100.0%	20.8%

(Source: Vote 37, 2019; Authors' own calculations)

8 Mapping South Africa's Museums: Location and Access

One of the first things noted in the post-apartheid era in South Africa was the very uneven distribution of cultural resources:

> "Infrastructure to support the creation and dissemination of the arts and culture is largely *located within the centres of major cities*. Such museums, galleries, theatres and community arts centres are generally inaccessible to the large majority of people living in these cities, not least because of their distance from where people live…[Museum] planning has been fragmented, many communities do not have access to museums, and cultural collections are often biased" (White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage, 1996).

The major contribution of this report is a mapping of museums in South Africa, both in terms of their spatial distribution and their categorisation. In order to build up a list of museums in South Africa, desktop research was undertaken. Provincial government websites were used to build up an initial list of museums for each province. Once the initial list was completed, additional sources were used to identify museums missing from provincial government websites, as well as include private museums that are not be listed on provincial websites.

As shown in Table 4, a total of 327 museums were identified. Address information was also collected for each museum in order to produce a locational map and database as well as perform spatial analysis on the data.

To investigate access to museums more specifically, population data from Statistics South Africa's Community Survey (2016) was used to build a municipal level population density map (Figure 9). Using the location information of museums, the number of people within a five kilometre radius of a museum was then calculated. Maps were created to show the coverage at national level as well as the main metros of Cape Town and Gauteng.

8.1 Museum Spatial distribution & Population Density

Table 4 shows the percentage of museums in each province compared to the size of the population. The top 4 most populous provinces also have the largest number of museums.

Table 4: Number of museums located per province

Province	No. of Museums	Percentage of Museums	Population 2019 (number)	Ranking by Population size
Western Cape	83	25%	6 844 272	3
Eastern Cape	60	18%	6 712 276	4
KwaZulu-Natal	59	18%	11 289 086	2
Gauteng	37	11%	15 176 116	1
Free State	28	9%	2 887 465	8
Northern Cape	19	6%	1 263 875	9
Mpumalanga	17	5%	4 592 187	6
North West	14	4%	4 027 160	7
Limpopo	10	3%	5 982 584	5
Total	**327**	100%	**58 775 021**	

However, the provincial spread of museums compared to population size (from StatsSA mid-year population estimates report) shows some anomalies. For example, the Western Cape has 25% of museums, but has only the 3rd largest population. Gauteng has the largest population, but only 11% of museums. These patterns can be explained in two ways: The pre-democracy history of the area; and the size of the metropolitan areas in the province. For example, the Western Cape has a long colonial-era history, as well as one of the largest metropolitan areas. Similarly, the Eastern Cape has been the site of colonial era conflicts (such as the Anglo-Boer War, and frontier wars between English and Afrikaans groups with Xhosa tribes) as well as hosting 2 metropolitan areas (Nelson Mandela Bay, and Buffalo City). It also has a rich cultural history in the fight against apartheid and was home to many struggle icons.
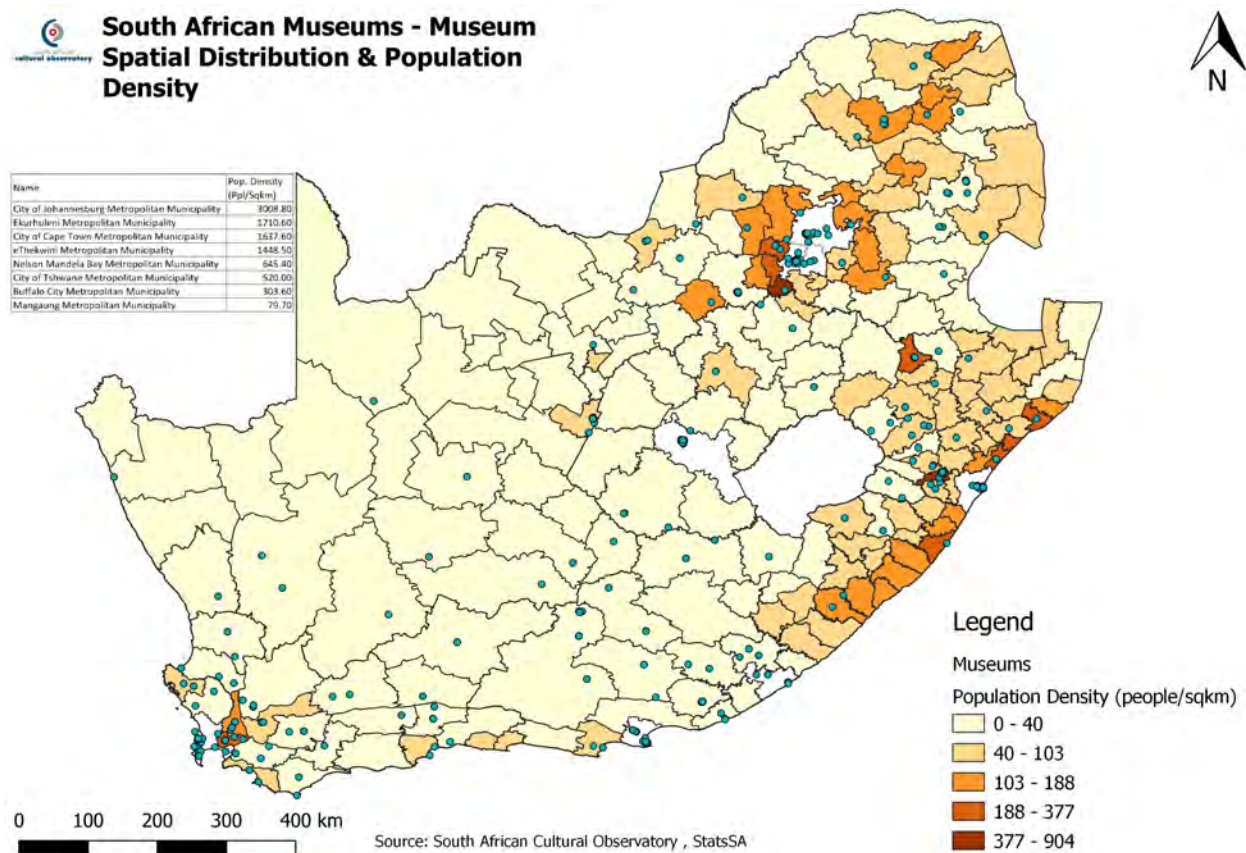

Figure 9: Population Density map using the community survey population estimates 2016 StatsSA

Figure 9 shows the spatial distribution of the South African population using Statistics SA population estimates, excluding the metro areas as they would skew the overall national distribution patterns. The population density is provided in a table next to the map. This was overlaid with the spatial distribution of museums in order to determine their distribution nationally and relationship to population density.

Like many cultural and creative industries, museums are concentrated in the metro areas, which are also the most densely populated. This applies particularly in "Gauteng City Province", which has the highest population density, and around Cape Town in the Western

Cape and eThekwini in KwaZulu-Natal. From the perspective of access, such clustering in areas of high population density makes sense. Outliers are Limpopo and Mpumalanga provinces, which despite having quite high population density in some municipal areas, have a low share of museums. However, their relatively low overall populations may explain their lower share of museums.
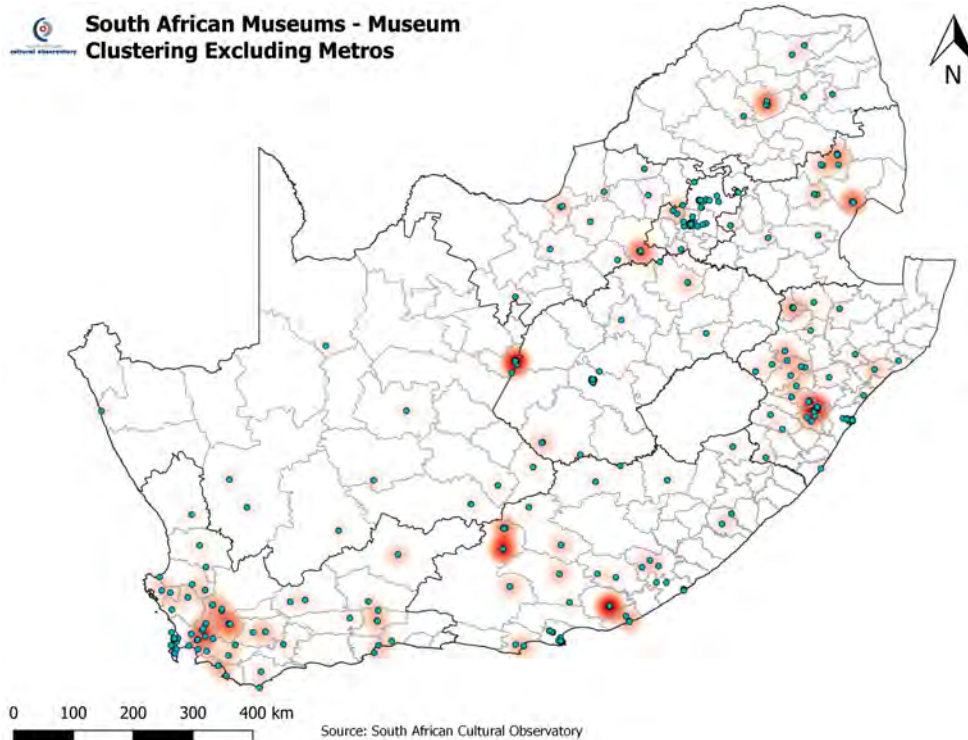

Figure 10: Museum Clustering Excluding Metros

Outside of the metropolitan areas, clustering occurs around some smaller towns and cities, which are associated with other cultural institutions, such as universities, festivals, and/or colonial-era cultural and industrial history: Makhanda, Pietermaritzburg, Kimberley, Stellenbosch and Graaff-Reinet (Figure 10).

This analysis shows that, for the most part, provinces with greater populations (Gauteng, Western Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape) tend to have a larger share of museums as well, which facilitates greater access. Anomalies can be explained by the length of colonial and apartheid era history, as well as metropolitan area sizes. Implications are that, if the establishment of new museums is considered, locating them in Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal would facilitate both more even spatial distribution and access (given the large numbers of people who live in these provinces).
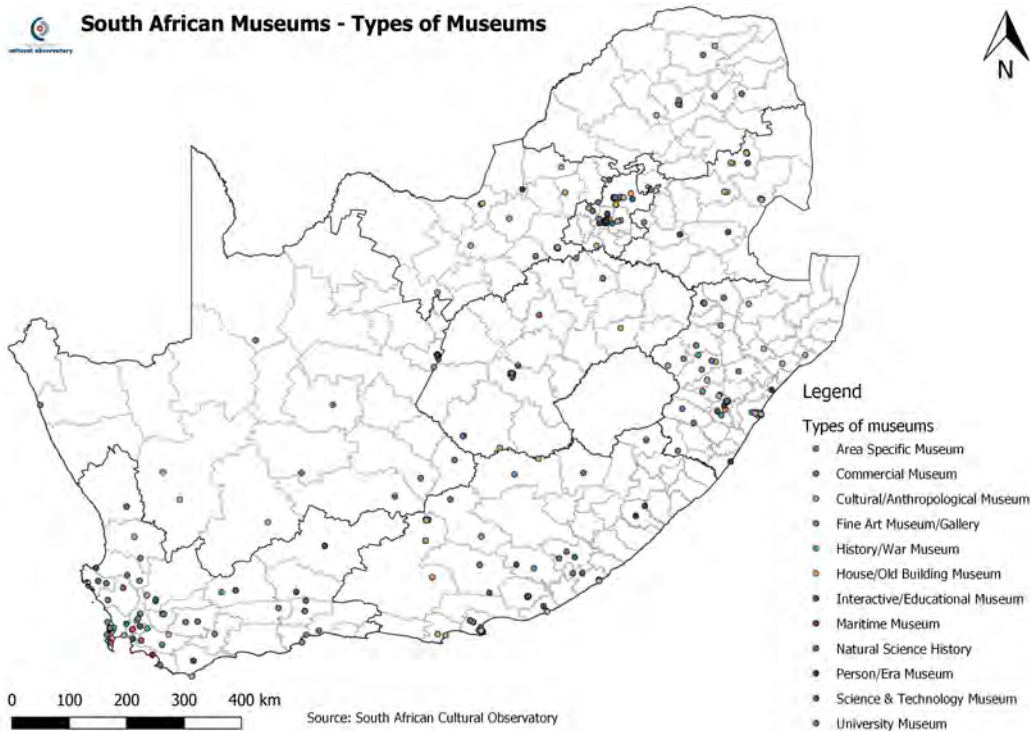
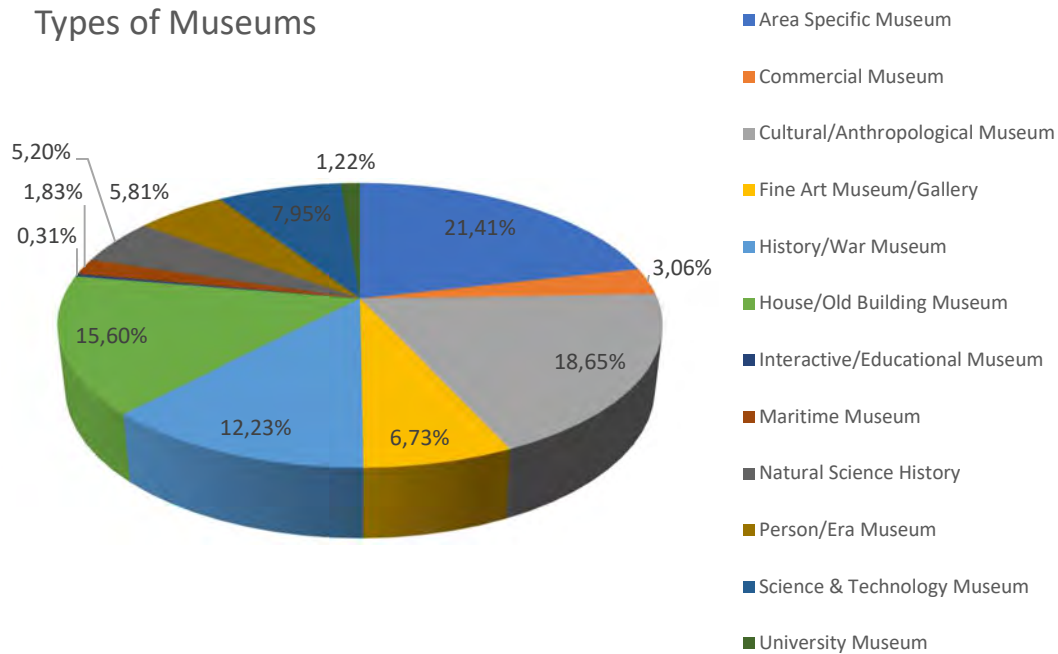## 8.2 Types of museums

Figure 11: Types of museums map

Figure 12: Pie graph - Types of museums

Area specific museums are the most common type of museums in South Africa (21.4%). These include town, village history and surrounding area history museums. Area specific museums are also the most evenly spatially distributed museums, which is to be expected as most smaller towns tend to have a museum dedicated to the history of the area. Museums such as natural science history or science and technology tend to be clustered around bigger towns and cities. The next largest groups are cultural or anthropological museums (18.65%), followed by house or old building museums (15.6%) and history or war museums (12.23%).

8.3 Museum Access and Coverage

Figure 13: Museum Access and coverage - Left: Johannesburg Metropolitan (GP) Right: Dr. Beyers Naude Municipality (EC)

While it initially appears that the municipal coverage is lower for rural areas, road data show that museums cluster around the bigger towns in rural municipalities while in a metro municipality like Johannesburg there is a better spread of museums over the whole municipality. As noted in the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage (1996), museums originally tended to be located in town and city centres.

To estimate access to museums, a five kilometre buffer (or radius) was used as a rough guideline of the maximum distance that people would be willing to walk to visit the museum. Combined with data on population density for a municipality, the proportion of people within a five kilometre radius of a museum can be calculate as a rough estimate of the proportion of people that have access to the museums in their area.

Results are strikingly different depending on population density, especially for rural versus metropolitan areas. For example, in a rural municipality, such as the Dr Beyers Naude municipality in the Eastern Cape, only 1.05% of the population are within 5km of a museum (right hand side of Figure 13). In a metropolitan area, such as Johannesburg municipality (left hand side of Figure 13), 28.8% of the population are within 5km of a museum.

The scale of the analysis also makes a difference because of how museums in rural provinces are clustered around towns. For example, if we look at the population distribution within the municipality, Graaff-Reinet accounts for almost half of the population in the entire municipality, and 40.3% of people in Graaff-Reinet are within a 5km radius of a museum.

Table 5: Example of how museum access is affected by population density

Area	Area (km2)	Municipal Population Density (people/km2)	% Population with access
Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality	1645	3008.8	28.80%
Dr Beyers Naude Local Municipality	28653	2.9	1.05%
Graaff-Reinet	204	184	40.33%

Small town or city museums can have an important role to play in the promotion and preservation of the history and social identity of the region, as originally envisaged by the National Legacy Projects (RDP, 1994). However, there may be a need to invest in curation skills (both analogue and digital) to transform these museums into vibrant, representative institutions that serve their local communities well. Museums in large cities and metropolitan areas contribute significantly to access because of the high population densities in these areas.

9 Museum stories: Selected case studies

Given the variety of museum types in South Africa, the final section of the report presents a number of case studies of South African museums, compiled through desktop research and, where possible, interviews with curators and directors.

9.1 Robben Island Museum Case Study

Robben Island is an island approximately 7 kilometres off the western coast of Cape Town. The island is the top of a mountain that sank into the ocean after it broke away from the African continent some twelve thousand years ago (National Geographic, 2018). The island has been used as a military base, hospital and even as a leper colony location, but it is most well known for being used as a prison (RIM website, 2019).

The island was used as a prison from the time that the Dutch colonialists arrived in the Cape in 1652, but is known to have housed sailors as prisoners as early as the 1400s (RIM website, 2019). Robben Island is most well-known for the part it played as a maximum-security prison for political prisoners from 1961 until 1991 during South Africa's apartheid era (National Geographic, 2018), the most famous prisoner being the first president of democratic South Africa, Nelson Mandela. The island's role during the apartheid era is what cemented its place not only in South African history, but in world history as well.

The island was an important military outpost from 1931 to 1960, during which it was exclusively used as a military base. It was used as a defensive site for the Allies' interests during World War II. Pillboxes, bunkers extensive tunnels and control towers are just some of the buildings that were built up during Robben Island's military base period (RIM website, 2019).

Robben Island was established as a hospital during British colonial rule in 1846, where it housed the chronically ill, mentally ill and was also a place of isolation for lepers. Since there

were no effective treatments during this time, the hospital was mainly used to house those who were not likely to be cured. This led to the patients being mistreated and provided with inadequate medical assistance, making the hospital on the island more about isolating these patients from mainland hospital patients and the general public (RIM website 2019).

The Robben Island Museum (RIM) was established by the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology in 1997 after becoming a national museum in 1996. In 1999 Robben Island went on to be named a World Heritage Site by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). Robben Island was named a world heritage site not only because of the historical value of the buildings on the island but also its value as a symbol for the triumph of the human spirit born from the political prisoners' combined efforts in fighting for a democratic South Africa (UNESCO, 2019). RIM is a public entity that is responsible for the management, maintenance and marketing of Robben Island as a national estate and World Heritage Site (RIM Annual Report, 2017/8).

The museum can be reached by boat from the Cape Town Waterfront, where tourists can visit the island's prison and other buildings. The museum also plays a role in education, hosting programmes for schools and adults. In 2017/18, the museum's educational outreach programme was run in all 9 provinces (RIM Annual Report, 2017/8). Research pertaining to the natural and cultural history of the island is also conducted. The Robben Island Museum manages several buildings including the jetty and Nelson Mandela Gateway at the V&A Waterfront where the tour departs from Cape Town to Robben Island (RIM website, 2019).

The Robben Island Museum is a public entity of the National Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) and is overseen by the Council of RIM, which is the governance structure of the organisation (RIM press release, 2018). The council currently consists of ten members according to their website (RIM website, 2019). According to an Arts and Culture portfolio committee meeting presentation, there are two officers; the chief financial officer (CFO) and the chief heritage officer (CHO) that report to the chief executive officer (CEO). The CEO in turn reports to the museum's council (PMG website, 2018). The Robben Island Museum, generates its own income as well as receiving government funding (as seen in table 3 of the report).

The Robben Island Museum has, as noted in portfolio committee meetings held in 2018, had several issues regarding the running of the museum. Some of the main challenges were: Mayibuye Archives storage space, the purchasing of a new ferry, maintenance of the museum infrastructure and the relationship with ex-political prisoners (EPP).

The issue regarding the Mayibuye Archives stems from an agreement that the Robben Island Museum has with the University of the Western Cape (UWC) to store some heritage assets. Safety concerns for the assets in UWC storage became an issue, and the Memorandum of Understanding between the museum and university was terminated. The Department of Arts and Culture allocated funds to find alternative storage space for the heritage assets.

Due to an increase of boating rentals a tender was put out by the museum to purchase another ferry boat. The museum had 3 passenger ferries but two of them had to be decommissioned due to age. As the new ferry tender needed to comply with local content requirement, it was difficult to secure a service provider, and the service provider that was eventually chosen had to undergo a business rescue process, and was not able to provide the ferry.

The maintenance of infrastructure issues experienced by the museum has been a long standing problem stemming from a loss of human resources between the period of 1996-2002 (PMG website, 2018) that were not recovered. The Department of Public Works (DPW) is

responsible for the maintenance and upkeep of immovable state assets and as such has been in charge of maintenance of the museum assets. After an inspection of the museum, it was concluded that the maintenance backlog and failed upkeep of the museums assets was a major issue. The DPW entered into a tripartite alliance with DAC and the Robben Island Museum in order to remedy the issue, this alliance was established in April 2015 in order to better maintain the museum.

The final issue to note as part of the case study is that of the relationship between the EPP and the museum. The Ex-Political Prisoners' Association (EPPA) held a press briefing on 29 November 2018 to address the grievances they had regarding the management and state of the Robben Island Museum and the state of the relationship between the two entities (News24, 2018). Following this press briefing the Robben Island Museum submitted a press release available on their website stating that the EPPA never approached the museum with its concerns and addressed the issues raised (RIM website press release, 2018)

9.2 Ditsong: Museum of Cultural History

Another case study of note is that of the Ditsong Museums of South Africa (DMSA), which up until the 28th of May 2010 was called the National Flagship Institution, (Department of Sports, Arts and Culture, 2010). The DMSA stems from the amalgamation of the Transvaal Museum, the South African National Museum of Military History, and the National Cultural History Museum in response to the call of the Cultural Institutions Act 119 of 1998, (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2007). The Act appears to have been informed by characteristic predominance of the features and names pertaining to colonialism, (Department of Sports, Arts and Culture, 2010).

According to the Department of Sports, Arts and Culture (2010), the sum of national museums by the year 1999 was approximately 40, something that rendered this sector untenable in terms of, say, governance, as they each required a council. According to Mackenzie, Lebethe and Perregil (2019), the amalgamation sought to streamline the museums' functions of administration, finance and personnel. The streamlining is believed to allow for the flow of capital amongst the museums, and for the development of the museums' capacity to be self-sustainable (Mackenzie, et al., 2019).

Currently, the DMSA consists of 11 museums, which comprise of Ditsong Kruger Museum; Ditsong National Museum of Cultural History; Ditsong Pierneef Museum; Ditsong Pioneer Museum; Ditsong National Museum of Military History; Ditsong Sammy Marks Museum; Ditsong National Museum of Natural History; Ditsong Tswaing Meteorite Site; Ditsong Willem Prinsloo Agricultural Museum; Ditsong Ga Mohle Museum; and Ditsong Coert Steynberg Museum, (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2019). For the 2019-2020 financial year, the DMSA was allocated a sum of R2.5 million (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2019).

The stated goal of the museums is to "transform and enhance museums and heritage sites as vehicles for nation building and social cohesion through active conservation, innovative research and relevant public programmes for the benefit of present and future generations", (Ditsong Museums of South Africa, 2017). As a result of the Cultural Institutions Act, the DMSA has obligations which involve collections of national heritage; research and publication; exhibitions and public programmes; and the rendition of heritage-based services (Ditsong Museums of South Africa, 2017). The DMSA's collections comprise of fauna, paleontology, military history, anthropology and archaeology, (Steyn, 2010, p. 75).

The DMSA is considered to have been successful in some aspects of its work, and, as a result, government is convinced that it did the right thing by taking the flagship route (Department of Sports, Arts and Culture, 2010). One of the things the DMSA is praised for is having positioned itself as a leading national heritage institution, and having assisted the Department of Arts and Culture in meeting its development priorities, (Department of Sports, Arts and Culture, 2010). Nevertheless, according to Ms Tsoleni, in Parliamentary Monitoring Group (2018), the DMSA has been performing poorly in some areas. It incurred, at one point, a 25% wastage in expenditure, according to Mr Grootboom. The reasons for this appear to have been unproductive personnel and a mismatch of the work at hand and the skills of the organisation (Parliamentary Monitary Group, 2018).

According to Steyn (2010: 75), the reach of the DMSA is not restricted to South Africa, as it not only has aspirations of being the leading African heritage institution, but is in charge of the oversight of the southern African region's most significant collections. Another collection the museum is in charge of, through the Ditsong National Museum of Cultural History (DNMCH), is that of Egyptian artefacts, some of which date back to 2000 BCE (Smith, et al., 2011:221). A statue of Horus as a child is one example of the Egyptian artefacts the DNMCH has in its collection, which was originally a donation (Smith, et al., 2011:221-222).

The things that ensure that the DMSA continues to be relevant and sustainable comprise of the organisation's provision of services to communities and its links with government's priorities, (Department of Sports, Arts and Culture, 2010).

The museum, particularly the DNMCH, is understood to be experiencing shortcomings in conducting scientific conservation research due to certain limitations. One example of such shortcomings, according to Smith, et al. (2011: 221), is collecting samples from objects in the collection, a process that sometimes involves invasion, leaving non-reversible damage to the object at hand. Smith, et al. (2011: 221) also argue that the museum archival records are not complete or up to date for many of the objects in its collection.

9.3 National Museum Bloemfontein Case Study

The National Museum Bloemfontein was established in 1877. Following a request for the Free State Republic to make one of its buildings available as a museum, a committee was established on 27 July 1877. During the initial meeting, Francis William Reitz was nominated as the chair of the committee while Dr Hugh Exton was nominated as the museum's first honorary curator (van der Bank, 1997). At the time of the meeting an open letter called for the community "to collect together all that we can". Following this, the museum received various objects, from the pelt of a cerval and the fossilised tooth of a hippopotamus, to clay pots and weapons from the San people. The very first donation that the museum received was an insect collection (van der Bank, 1997).

Since then, the National Museum has focused on building up an extensive collection focused around natural science, cultural history and fine art. The National Museum has also expanded to include several satellite museums including the First Raadsaal Museum, the Florisbad Research Station, Freshford House Museum, the Oliewenhuis Art Museum and the Wagon Museum. These satellite museums contribute to the collections and capacity of the National Museum (National Museum Annual report, 2018).

The core functions of the National Museum can be broken down into three components: conservation, research and educational programmes. The National Museum produces

research in its own accredited scientific journal, Indago, and collaborates on a national and international level (National Museum Annual report, 2018). The Florisbad Research Station in particular focuses its research on fossils and animals of the area and is most well known for its archaic modern human skull dated at 260 000 years old (National Museum website, 2019).

In an interview, the Acting Deputy Director noted that one of the things that makes the National Museum Bloemfontein unique is the Florisbad Quaternary Research Station, where research on fossils and animals of the quaternary time period is conducted. The Florisbad skull, an important South African find, originated from this research station.

In addition, the Artbank of South Africa is hosted by the National Museum Bloemfontein. The Artbank aims to identify and purchase art work from emerging and established artists in South Africa. As part of their transformation mandate, the History department focuses on oral history, especially in the Batho location in Bloemfontein.

The National Museum boasts an extensive educational programme with a long history, dating from as early as 1892. An official education officer was appointed at the museum in 1968 (National Museum website, 2019). Since then the educational programme has been built up to range from providing lessons on natural and cultural history for school learners from pre-primary all the way up to grade 12 learners at the National Museum and its satellite museums. The National museum also provides learning material on its website that is continuously updated.

The education programmes offered by the museum are the main way in which they connect to their local community, especially schools. The museum even reaches more rural communities through a travelling exhibition. In an interview, the acting director said:

> "We also have a mobile museum that goes out to rural areas – to schools and to rural libraries. We take the museum to them. That is one of the main services we have. We also have the library, which the public can visit. The researchers [working at the museum] also provide public lectures about their research and general information and identification services in relevant science departments".

According to the Acting director, groups of learners are the main visitors to the museum itself, followed by the general public. The acting director also notes that scientists of national and international standing often visit the museum to view the collections when doing research.

The museum is mostly funded by the DSAC, although some funding for specific research comes from the National Research Foundation. According to the acting director, 79% of the DSAC subsidy is used to pay salaries. In her view, the museum has been generally well resourced, but has difficulty in retaining skilled employees, who sometimes leave for better remuneration elsewhere. Given the limited budget of the museum, there is a limit to resources to match higher salaries. A lesser challenge is storage space for the collections.

The National Museum Bloemfontein thus has some artefacts of national, and even international, importance. However, unlike the Robben Island museum, its focus is mainly on education and research, rather than tourism. Nevertheless, it has demonstrated ways in which regional museums can contribute significantly to education – both through visits to the actual museum itself, but also through the provision of school lesson plans and, to reach rural communities, a travelling exhibition.

9.4 Red Location Museum Case Study

The Red Location Museum was established in a very poor township area in Nelson Mandela Bay in the Eastern Cape, itself one of the poorest provinces in the country. Unlike the other museum case studies discussed in this report, it was purpose-built in the post-apartheid era.

The aim of the museum was to be a "museum of struggle", that is, to recognise and recall the role the region played in the anti-apartheid struggle of the 1980's and 1990's. Masters and Welman (2015) argue that the physical site of the museum was thus appropriate, and broke with the usual pattern of establishing cultural heritage infrastructure in previously white central business districts. They also note that the museum was, in fact, a community initiative, put forward by local community leaders, including Govan Mbeki, "to commemorate Red Location and its involvement in the struggle, as well as a plan to uplift the community and bring people (including tourists and their dollars or euros) into New Brighton". Findley (2005), writing before the museum actually opened, even reports that the local community wanted the museum so much that they accepted the explicit trade-off between spending R30 million on the museum versus the 1500 houses that the money would have paid for under the public housing project.

The museum won several international architectural awards and opened to great acclaim in 2006. In reporting on the Lubetkin architectural award, one commentator said: "To build a museum of the apartheid era in the midst of the township that acted as a crucible for the struggle is an extraordinary achievement" (Dorrel, 2006).

However, as Masters and Welman (2015:89) note, "These deals were made in 1998, in a climate of optimism, hope and enthusiasm for the New South Africa. However, these sentiments soon gave way to resentment…as the poverty-wracked community soon began to struggle with the incongruity embodied in the museum in their own socio-economic context. They ask: Why build a house for dead people when us, the living, do not have a roof over our heads?". There were community protests from as early as 2003 (Montanini, 2017), attacks on visitors, and theft of parts of the structure that were used for the construction of shacks in the surrounding communities. According to the museum director, such vandalism is an ongoing problem. In October 2013, the museum closed, and remains so to this day, despite attempts to reopen it in 2016, which have so far been foiled by the lack of funds to repair the damage (The Herald, 2016; News24, 2016).

Masters and Welman (2015) attribute the failure of the project to its being placed in "the wrong social, political and economic context". However, the mention of the tourist dollars that the community was expecting as a result of the museum may be more to the point here. A rare media article published in 2016 hinted at other financial expectation that were not met: "There were also issues about the museum employing local residents" (Du Plessis, 2016).

Contrary to the stories told by Findley (2005) and Masters and Welman (2015), Montanini (2017) explicitly states that the project was conceived from the beginning as "an ambitious urban renewal and heritage creation project" designed to "foster cultural tourism". The original master plan had included things like a road upgrade, bus stop, and market area, as well as houses for those displaced by the museum. Also included were two theatres, a library, and rehearsal rooms that would be available for use by local artists. A few houses were built, but residents were not satisfied with the size or quality. None of the other parts of the project materialised.

Montanini (2017) thus argues that the primary reason for the closure of the museum was because the economic development aspects of the project did not materialise, not because the public good values related to cultural heritage were missing or because of the "incongruity"

of the museum location. Without a deliberate and co-ordinated programme to enable participation through, for example, the production of goods and services for tourists who visited the museum, local residents were excluded. The blockading of the road to the museum and its eventual vandalism can be understood as legitimate community protest against their exclusion from what was originally conceived as "their" project.

In the view of the museum director, prior to the closure of the Red Location Cultural Precinct, the people in the local community were part of the museum, "the main beneficiaries, and had a strong sense of ownership over it, and that is why they took it upon themselves to close it due to a perceived lack of beneficiation" (Red Location Museum Director, Interview, 2019).

Before the closure of the museum, the Director lists a number of community groups who used the resources, including the Red City football club (who made use of the sports fields), and art groups who attended crafting workshops. The museum also hosted events such as public lectures, conferences, seminars, and meetings by the people in the local community. During the time that the museum building was open, funding came from the national DSAC (primarily for the building), as well as from local government (for running costs) and, to a more limited extent, ticket sales and the museum shop.

Like the National Museum Bloemfontein, the main visitors to the museum were school groups, but it also attracted a significant number of tourists. All together, the museum had an estimated 130 000 visitors per year (Red Location Museum Director, Interview, 2019).

Although the museum building remains closed, the Director has adopted an innovative approach of displaying parts of the collection in other locations, so that the cultural and historical value of the artefacts is not lost. Museum employees deliver such programmes as part of the Council approved "Precinct Without Walls" Programmes. The Director notes that, "The closure has necessitated that we think innovatively and differently about the role of the Museum, and, by extension, Cultural Precincts".

This case study section has drawn on a wide variety of museums, including those established in colonial and apartheid times, new, purpose-built structures, regional museums with an educational and research focus, and nationally important museums with a focus on tourism. What is demonstrated are the many types and aims of museums, and the important and various roles that they can play in a society.

10 Concluding remarks and policy implications

The aim of this report was to provide a succinct supply side overview of museums in South Africa, and some of the important issues and debates in the sector.

The main contribution of the report is an audit of public and private museums, and analysis of their spatial distribution using Geographic Information Systems (GIS) mapping techniques. Data on population density are combined with the mapping of museums in order to comment on issues of equity (in terms of the spatial distribution of museums by province) and access.

The spatial analysis shows that, for the most part, provinces with greater populations (Gauteng, Western Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape) tend to have a larger share of museums as well, which facilitates greater access. Anomalies can be explained by the length of colonial and apartheid era history, as well as metropolitan area sizes. Implications are that, if the establishment of new museums is considered, locating them in Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal would facilitate both more even spatial distribution and access (given the large numbers of people who live in these provinces).

Other policy suggestions stemming from the results of this research are:

- While national museums funded by the DSAC seem fairly well resourced, all museums should be encouraged to undertake an evaluation of potential funding streams for the promotion of financial sustainability, while maintaining access (free entry) for South Africans if at all possible. A mix of funding, including voluntary donations, sales from museum shops, sales of museum guides or maps, and entry fees for special exhibitions, should all be considered. This aligns with a recommendation of the Revised White Paper (2018), which states that: "The DAC should, through the NHC, support the development of innovative strategies for museum sustainability and financing including easing fundraising potential (e.g. strengthening 'friends' programmes etc.)".

- All museums should be required to report on multiple indicators that could be used in efficiency studies. Such a monitoring and evaluation system, examining the relationship between inputs and outputs, should be flexible enough to take into account the very different characteristics and goals of a wide variety of museum types and locations. Improvements in data management and collection, as well as advances in research techniques (see Del Barrio-Tellado and Herrero-Prieto, 2019) are making such studies more feasible. This also aligns with a recommendation in the Revised White Paper (2018), which states that, "The DAC should…support evaluative research into the key issues and challenges of its art galleries and art museums at national, provincial and local level".

- For museums established in the colonial and apartheid eras, efforts to re-interpret the meanings of their collections to be representative of the histories of all South Africans should continue, with a special focus on developing curation skills in smaller, regional museums. As argued by Ngcobo (2018) and Mdanda (2016), particular attention should be paid to the inclusion of intangible cultural heritage and oral histories, as envisaged in the 1996 White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage. The fall in the cost of digital recordings over time should facilitate this process.

- In the age of the 4th Industrial Revolution, museums should explore the digitisation of their collections and archives. While requiring funding and expertise, this strategy would potentially benefit museums themselves (in terms of reaching more people and building their reputation) as well as citizens (who would have greater access to important histories and artefacts). The experiences of South African museums that have already started to engage with online experiences (like the Robben Island museum) could be used as a starting point. Collaborations with museum associations that promote innovative heritage resource management, such as the South African Museums Association (SAMA), the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) and the African Centre for Heritage Activities (ACHA), could be explored.

The Revised White Paper (2018) recommends that,

> "The DAC should, through the NHC, develop an incentive scheme that will directly finance key programmes to invigorate art galleries and art museums – in accordance with the findings of the research – at national, provincial and local levels. This should be targeted and focused on the key issues of each art gallery or art museum as opposed to attempting a one size fits all approach".

The case study section drew on the experiences and lived reality of a wide variety of museums, including those established in colonial and apartheid times, new, purpose-built structures, regional museums with an educational and research focus, and nationally important museums with a focus on tourism. What it demonstrated was that there are many types and aims of museums, all of which can play important roles in a society. Certainly, a "one size fits all approach" would be unlikely to be effective, given the variety of museums identified.

This report focused on providing a supply side perspective and mapping of South African museums. In future research, it would be useful to consider the demand side in more detail. This could include information on who accesses museums in South Africa, how many people visit museums, how frequently they visit and in what capacity (individual, family groups, or larger organised groups). Information on their expectations and experiences will be important in shaping effective museum strategies going forward.

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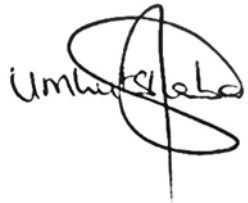
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MEASURING & VALUING SOUTH AFRICA'S CULTURAL & CREATIVE ECONOMY

	NAME	TITLE	SIGNATURE	DATE
APPROVALS FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN CULTURAL OBSERVATORY – Quantifying the State of South African Museums from a Supply Side Perspective – September 2019				
Submitted and approved on behalf of the South African Cultural Observatory:	Unathi Lutshaba	SACO Executive Director	*(signature)*	13/09/2019
Approved by:	Lisa Combrinck	DAC SACO Project Manager		
Approved by:	Charles Mabaso	DAC Acting Deputy Director General Arts & Culture Development and Promotion		