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Troubled Waters : developing a new approach to maritime and underwater cultural heritage in sub-Saharan Africa

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Troubled Waters

Developing a New Approach to Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage Management in Sub-Saharan Africa

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Troubled Waters

Developing a New Approach to Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage Management in Sub-Saharan Africa

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Preface

There have been five hinge points that have changed the way that I think about heritage and that have inspired me to undertake the research described here.

"I became a maritime archaeologist to impress a girl ..."

In the mid-1990s as South Africa transitioned into democracy from an apartheid government, I stood in front of an office door in the Archaeology Department at the University of Cape Town, rechecked the small nameplate and knocked softly. Having been invited to go in, I introduced myself and explained that I wanted to study maritime archaeology. I'd been interested in diving and the sea since my father had first taken me snorkelling when I was a child. I'd originally wanted to be a marine biologist. But now, I had visions of driving speedboats in exotic locations, diving with sharks, and scaring away giant octopuses to get to treasure chests buried amongst the wreckage of ancient East Indiamen. I was certain that the path on which I was about to embark would impress the girl whose attention I'd been trying to grab for some time.

In my first year of study my interest in maritime archaeology expanded from romance to include something different. I assisted my supervisor during the excavation of the Dutch East India Company ship *Oosterland*, wrecked in Table Bay in 1697 from which we recovered blue and white ceramics, jewellery and gold coins. But I found that I was drawn more to the personal belongings and other items of historical significance rather than those finds that "treasure" value. For me, the discovery of wooden planks, between which were what appeared to be fingerprints in the caulking materials that sealed the gaps, gave me a real sense of the past and brought me face to face with the people who had sailed the eastern trade routes more than 300 years previously. Kneeling in the sand at the bottom of Table Bay, peering at those prints, I suddenly knew that the study of the past was, for me at least, significant. For the first time, I understood that people perceived significance differently. For some, shipwrecks held the promise of treasure, for others, like me, they provided a glimpse into the lives of people from the past. I realised that the way in which maritime archaeology had been practised in South Africa (and in the developing world), and how underwater cultural heritage was managed as a result, was inconsistent with how people differently understood their pasts. At the time I did not know how or why this contradiction existed, but I knew that the milieu in which maritime archaeology was being applied, and the resultant perceptions of what it meant were skewed. The maritime historical narrative was driven by treasure hunters whose interest lay in recovering precious objects, and archaeologists, like myself, who knew how to do archaeology, but not why it was relevant. We all failed to understand the difference between history and heritage, and we failed to appreciate why each was significant. What I was sure of though was that I wanted to be a maritime archaeologist.

"The problem with Africa ..."

"The problem with Africa…" he started, and I leaned back a little in my chair to listen to his analysis. Sitting in the cafeteria at the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) building in Paris on a wintery morning in 2007 I listened to a list of African failings that I'd heard over and over again. Corruption, faulty bureaucracy, incompetence, lack of will, lack of capacity, and all the other common complaints levelled against the

development of African initiatives including in the heritage sector.

By 2007, I had moved from maritime archaeological practice into underwater cultural heritage management and was head of the Underwater Cultural Heritage Unit at the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA). My job was to administer activities aimed at submerged archaeological sites (through issuing permits to applicants who wished to excavate sites or remove objects from them) and to try to justify why underwater cultural heritage was worthy of conservation efforts. Armed with national legislation, the 1996 International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) Charter on the Protection and Management of Underwater Cultural Heritage, the 2001 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage and its Annex, I attempted to explain why shipwrecks were as important as any terrestrial archaeological site. Within the political context of South Africa, and Africa in general, my arguments found little traction. I turned to UNESCO in the hope of finding some answers and found myself in a small cafeteria in the basement of their offices on the *Avenue de Suffren* listening to someone from Europe explain everything that was wrong with my home to me and his colleague.

African culture, politics, economy and society is as diverse as anywhere in the world, and yet it has become easy to lump together a set of stereotypes and apply them across the continent. The actions of one individual become, to my European colleague, representative of a billion people. It is common to think of Africa as a collection of failed states whose governments are plundering state coffers and whose citizens live in backward, unenlightened societies reminiscent of the Iron Age. The worst racial stereotypes are enforced with throwaway catchphrases like, "only in Africa…" or "African time." Africans are perceived to be unwilling to commit, disinterested in engaging with development projects and unwilling to help themselves. Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and international aid programmes send experts and trainers, volunteers and academics to Africa to apply their knowledge to make Africa non-African. Inevitably initiatives carried out in the name of development fail, despite the best intentions of incoming practitioners and institutions. Blame is invariably placed at the feet of individuals or communities who were identified as beneficiaries and who appear to have been unable to apply the knowledge that they have been provided. Considering the continued failure of international development interventions, is it perhaps the system that is deficient instead of the audience?

In an article on the Guardian's Global Development Professionals Network[1], (Martin 2016) development professionals are challenged to look at their activities from the point of view of the recipients of development assistance. The article asked readers to imagine a student in Kampala, Uganda reading about school shootings in the United States and drafting a programme for gun control and awareness-raising. The issues surrounding school shootings are, of course, far more complex than understood by outsiders. Starting an NGO and hoping that an education programme will end gun violence is naïve.

Listening to the preconceptions about Africa and simplified solutions to its challenges, I began to realise that realistic solutions required a deeper, local knowledge of the social complexities on the ground. The blind application of external, universal rules in all contexts was foolhardy and doomed to failure. What is applicable and understood in the context of the developed world might not be directly transferable to environments where social, economic and infrastructural differences abound. The ethos and ethics that the global rules articulate are unsound, they must be contextualised, adapted and applied to the local environment.

"The problem with me…"

As a white South African, I find myself caught between two worlds. Others perceive me as neither African nor Western. My interpretation of heritage or archaeological sites is met with resistance from all quarters. People feel that I am able to understand neither the African nor Western contexts fully.

1 http://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2016/apr/23/western-do-gooders-need-to-resist-the-allure-of-exotic-problems

"The problem with the Past…"

"That's the thing about the past; it never belongs as much to the past as you think it does." – Bernie Gunther, The Other Side of Silence (Kerr 2016:203)

For several years from the mid-2000s, SAHRA and the Consulate of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Cape Town had been in discussions to develop a shared heritage programme that focused on underwater cultural heritage. But it had proved difficult to draft a set of activities that would appeal to, and would have the support of, South African heritage officials at SAHRA or in South Africa's Department of Arts and Culture. Since local management agencies appeared reluctant to put funding and energy into submerged heritage resources their Dutch partners were led to conclude that South Africa had little interest in underwater cultural heritage. In 2007, in a final effort, the Consulate invited Robert Parthesius of the CIE – Centre for International Heritage Activities (CIE) to assist me in developing a programme strategy and funding application that would be relevant to all stakeholders. Dutch funding would be made available provided the programme gained local support and was sustainable.

In my first meeting with Robert, I expressed my frustrations that my managers and government did not appear to see the value of developing effective management systems for shipwrecks. They were, after all, the vehicles that facilitated European expansion and trade which had a fundamental impact on the development of South Africa and sub-Saharan Africa. Also, it seemed to me that understanding the lives of people on board ships and interpreting the goods and technologies that they carried was the key to decoding a significant part of southern Africa's antiquity. I understood that they represented a painful chapter in local history, but argued that this did not mean that they should be expunged from our past. I also argued that since the wrecks were old and because South Africa had transitioned to democracy they should not hold any power over modern South Africans. I felt like I was the only person who thought that shipwreck management was important.

Robert patiently shared his experiences in Sri Lanka and Tanzania and pointed out that while the past exists temporally in the past, its effects, and the perceptions of those effects, are not so easily put behind us. He also pointed out that this was the reason we manage heritage – not just because it is old, but because it is also meaningful in the present.

"The problem with Heritage…"

> *When we were young girls herding goats, there was a certain place from where, late in the afternoon, we could hear people talking under the water. We could hear the sound of guns and we could hear the sound of people inside the water, even the sounds that different livestock make. These people were invisible, but we could clearly hear them talking and singing, dogs barking, all of this under the water. – Madelekile Mtunasi, 2014*[2]

When I started this research, I had a clear impression of what its outcomes would be. I believed that an amendment to legislative and policy frameworks would be all that was required to establish a better system for managing and approaching underwater cultural heritage. I thought that by outlawing treasure hunting, looting and commercial exploitation of shipwrecks and by carrying out archaeological projects as an alternative to commercial activities it would be possible to show that these were important archaeological sites because we could learn so much from them. This would show that archaeology and scientific exploration was a better alternative to salvage. I believed that it was up to heritage managers to identify sites that were significant, promote awareness of these sites and then attempt to elicit management and conservation assistance from individuals and communities who lived near those sites. I thought that awareness raising programmes would be sufficient to show people why the heritage that had been identified by experts was relevant, and why they should help protect it.

2 From a recorded interview conducted in the Eastern Cape. See www.acha.co.za

As research progressed, and as various approaches to maritime and underwater cultural heritage (MUCH) were tested, it became clear that there was a diversity to MUCH that I had not understood. There were also many more reasons for individuals and communities to engage with their local heritage than because experts told them to.

Africa abounds in its heritage and rich archaeological record. From the paleontological sites of East Africa containing the very earliest evidence for human evolution, through built landscapes of the early civilisations of North Africa, to the underwater sites holding evidence for colonial expansion in southern Africa, the continent has been a captivating destination for researchers from all corners of the globe. I came to understand that the problem with heritage had not been a lack of awareness or a lack of interest or even a lack of desire to manage it, but instead a failure on the part of us individuals tasked with protecting it to understand that it existed whether we liked it or not. It was their responsibility to understand why people interacted with it and were shaped by it whether we thought it was relevant or not. For us to be better managers, we needed to find new pathways to allow heritage, and the people who engaged with it, to guide us in developing effective management strategies.

This PhD research begins to shift the way that MUCH is perceived. Instead of it being the domain of the heritage professional, it views MUCH as being positioned on a spectrum incorporating authorised and unauthorised heritage. It suggests that stakeholders peering at the spectrum lower the telescope that focuses their attention on a single point and view it in its entirety.

For me, this has been both a process of research and analysis and a personal journey. I recognise that my participation and my *own* development may have influenced the environments in which research has been conducted, but have made every effort to ensure that they did not influence outcomes. Where this may be the case, I have critically assessed my actions and mistakes.

Introduction

RESEARCH QUESTION

Research carried out in the course of producing this dissertation was based on the question: How can maritime and underwater cultural heritage (MUCH) in sub-Saharan Africa, particularly South Africa and Mozambique, be better managed?

To answer this question, this study proposes engagement and management structures, tests their efficacy, analyses the outcomes and makes conclusions surrounding approaches to the field.

RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY

Maritime and underwater cultural heritage has struggled to find its place in the sub-Saharan African heritage context. It has been associated primarily with the location and salvage of treasure ships (see for example SAHRA 9/2/700, 9/2/701/*, 14/K/*, and PER/8/*). Management of MUCH resources has, as a result, focused on managing wreck sites. Management strategies have been implemented either to stop treasure hunting or to limit the damage caused by salvage activities. In some instances, such as South Africa prior to 1999, strategies were even established to facilitate salvage, as will be elaborated in Chapter 2. In sub-Saharan Africa, legitimate maritime archaeological excavation has *also* largely emphasised shipwrecks and South Africa already has an extensive shipwreck database[3], and Kenyan and Mozambican archaeologists are currently building their own national maritime archaeological archives (Duarte and Bita, *pers. comm.*). Because management strategies and approaches to MUCH engagement aimed at underwater cultural heritage in the region have had a shipwreck focus, they have been able to follow tested Western legal systems in which historical European maritime powers have been predominantly interested in the management of their own vessels either at home or in foreign waters. The application of internationally accepted MUCH management practices has, however, failed to engage many nations in the developing world as illustrated by the lack of attention provided to maritime heritage from national governmental to local levels. This, exacerbated by an absence of the capacity and infrastructure frameworks enjoyed by the developed world, has meant that the application of current regulatory strategies has been a challenging task which has ultimately failed to successfully manage MUCH resources in the region or engage sub-Saharan communities in maritime history and resource preservation.

The relevance of this research is, therefore, the proposal, application and assessment of management and engagement models applicable to the African context; and a contribution towards establishing an approach to MUCH that is specifically applicable to sub-Saharan Africa. The approach examines the context in which the heritage resource exists, including the socio-political and economic environments, as well as the available mechanisms in place, and available, for research and management. It considers the scope of MUCH in the developing world context and seeks to establish some preliminary guidelines for management strategies that are built on local relevance and local buy-in. Finally, it offers a management approach that is beneficial to both professional practitioners and community leaders. This dissertation analyses approaches applied in South Africa and Mozambique, but proposes that similar methodologies can be applied elsewhere in the sub-Saharan region.

3 http://www.sahra.org.za/sahris/search/site/?f[0]=bundle%3Ashipwreck_site_recordings

The study breaks new ground for MUCH in sub-Saharan Africa. Management approaches have previously not been analysed or tested in the African context. For the first time, this research assesses the *status quo* of field in southern Africa. As such, it has the potential to contribute towards several key MUCH management goals: it makes MUCH broadly relevant. This has the potential to ensure deeper engagement and a willingness on the part of heritage communities to contribute towards management objectives within developing world constraints; it provides a model for developing strengthened management strategies at the official level, and; encourages practitioners tasked with managing MUCH in sub-Saharan Africa to learn from the experiences gained in the course of this work and to apply them to their thinking and practices related to conservation, protection, and access.

Because research surrounding management of underwater cultural heritage has not previously been undertaken in the African context, there was little available data at the start of this study on which to premise the proposal of alternative strategies. This study required the production of entirely new data sets for advancing and testing new models. As such, this work is focused on praxis rather than theory.

STRUCTURE

While researching, analysing and writing up this research, my colleagues and I began referring to our work as a *heritage laboratory*. The image of chemists poring over test tubes identifying, isolating and extracting elements was constantly in our minds. We believed that we too were examining what we understood to be the building blocks of heritage. The vision upon which our research was built involved us testing our assumptions then remixing elements in different combinations to see what would happen. In this spirit, the structure of this thesis follows the steps applied during the scientific method.

In this introduction, I posed the question of how it might be possible to manage underwater cultural heritage more effectively than current administration practices allow.

Chapter 1 of this book outlines the critical realist theoretical position I have taken and that runs through the book. The chapter explains the reasons for choosing this framework and its applicability to the research context of the study. It is followed by a description of research methods. Here, the methodology for identifying the overarching elements that determine *what* is managed and *how* it is managed is laid out. This section explains how data was gathered and how an analytical tool was designed and applied.

Chapter 2 and the first part of Chapter 3 set the context in which MUCH management practices are carried out. Chapter 2 summarises the rise of maritime archaeology as an archaeological sub-discipline and then examines the international legal frameworks that have evolved as a reaction to increased research and exploitation of submerged cultural sites as a result of intensifying access. Chapter 2 continues to assess legislation and management processes applied at the national level in sub-Saharan Africa as well as the ontological climate in which MUCH research developed and exists in the region. Finally, Chapter 2 goes on to investigate the challenges of the traditional approach to MUCH management and engagement by analysing the legal *status quo*.

Chapter 3 starts by exploring the application of hypotheses for improving management structures within the developing world context. It does this by examining two underwater cultural heritage training interventions implemented in Sri Lanka and Tanzania respectively, and by looking more closely at South Africa's management milieu. Chapter 3 begins to refine an hypothesis for improving MUCH management and proposes a maritime cultural landscape theoretical framework in which testing of the hypothesis can take place.

In Chapter 4, a new hypothesis for improved underwater cultural heritage is presented. An analysis of how the elements introduced in Chapter 1 exist in relation to each other is undertaken followed by the suggestion that MUCH management in sub-Saharan Africa can be improved by applying an approach to heritage management that supports balancing the

western[4] and "alternative" heritage management values of each element. The chapter outlines how the hypothesis was tested, assessed, adapted and then retested in three additional case study examples in the southern African context following an initial developmental phase.

Chapter 5 turns to the analysis of results from the case study sites and confirms whether they align with the hypothesis proposed in Chapter 4.

Chapter 6 outlines the challenges and deficits of the hypothesis and indicates how it began to evolve even as it was being tested at the case study sites. It then suggests an alternative approach to MUCH management that will address the shortcomings of the hypothesis and that can be used as a platform for the development of new hypotheses for MUCH practice.

A Conclusion summarises results and, finally, an Afterword highlights and suggests directions for future research.

ASSUMPTIONS

The purpose of this research is not to argue *what* heritage is, *why* heritage is important, or *how* people perceive and produce their heritage. There are many theoretical works that explore the field and address these issues including the influential oeuvres of Lowenthal (1998), Graham, Ashworth and Turnbridge (2000) and Smith (2006). Neither is the purpose of this dissertation to argue the *role* of heritage in forming an identity, creating social equality, or driving economies. This research is focused on *heritage management*. It is written from the perspective of the heritage manager who must safeguard the past to the best of his or her abilities. As such it assumes that heritage *is* important and that heritage *does* play a role in identity, equality, and economy. It assumes that heritage is all these things. At its core, this dissertation is about finding a framework and developing a practical approach to MUCH that engages with communities at all levels and engenders sustainable heritage management.

4 I have chosen to use the terms "western" and "alternative" after some reflection. I had considered using the term "conventional", but felt that "western" better revealed the deep roots of MUCH management in Eurocentric heritage practice and contexts.

1 Methodological Framework

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The seeds for this study were planted sometime after 2005 when I was appointed as the head of the Maritime Unit at the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA). The Unit was tasked with managing shipwreck heritage off the coast of South Africa. The unit continually struggled to find relevance within SAHRA despite historic shipwrecks being protected by South African legislation. It was argued that submerged sites were largely inaccessible and that their impact was well documented in the historical record and history books. Many in the institution believed that there was little value in spending additional resources on managing sites that were out of reach for most South Africans and that most appeared to have little interest in protecting.

SAHRA viewed shipwreck, and other submerged, sites as different from terrestrial sites. While legislation had been drafted to manage shipwreck sites in the same way as terrestrial sites, they were identified as a separate archaeological category. Shipwrecks were also singled out in the regulations that governed the way legislation was implemented. Despite their being classified as archaeological sites, regulations provided for a permitting system that sanctioned commercial salvage and the sale of objects recovered from wrecks. This approach to underwater cultural heritage was not unique to South Africa. Similar frameworks that allowed treasure hunting were prevalent across the globe, eventually resulting in the development of a convention specific to underwater cultural heritage resources in 2001.

Within the context of a South African management approach to underwater cultural heritage resources that was fuelled by a treasure hunting culture and had failed to support the production of significant archaeological data from shipwrecks, it was difficult to argue that continued looting would result in a loss of knowledge of the past or that commercial salvage would impact on the nation's heritage narrative.

Then, in 2006, South Africa's Department of Arts and Culture initiated a series of stakeholder meetings to gauge public opinion on ratification of the 2001 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage. Meetings were attended by treasure hunters, archaeologists, heritage managers and members of the public who were interested in maritime history. Although the 2001 Convention defines underwater cultural heritage (UCH) more broadly than just shipwrecks, it was these wreck sites that were the focus of national discussion. Debates during the public meetings surrounding South Africa's ratification of the 2001 Convention highlighted a need for consolidation and analysis of attitudes towards UCH. Treasure hunters and heritage practitioners both argued that their approach to UCH management was preferable, but neither side could support their claims.

As will be discussed, the meetings resulted in the Department of Arts and Culture's commitment to ratify the 2001 Convention, but also unintentionally defined perceptions of the scope of the resource. For South Africa, underwater cultural heritage and shipwrecks would become increasingly synonymous in the management context.

Within South Africa's heritage management framework, policy clearly differentiated UCH from all other heritage. Shipwrecks were specifically categorised in national legislation, and UNESCO had developed a distinct convention to govern activities

aimed at the underwater resource as mentioned above. UCH management issues increasingly appeared on the heritage agenda at national and international levels. In the African context discussions surrounding UCH remained primarily focused on shipwrecks. In the last decade South Africa, Mozambique, Madagascar and Namibia have faced challenges associated with looting, while Tanzania, Kenya, Nigeria and Senegal have been the beneficiaries of training aimed at shipwreck site management. At international level, the development of the 2001 UNESCO Convention had been a response to a need to stop salvors and treasure hunters from looting shipwreck sites. Although UCH was more broadly defined in the Convention, shipwrecks remained the focus of attention. Meetings of State Parties and the Scientific and Technical Advisory Body (STAB) interventions have been shipwreck orientated (see, for example, STAB missions to Madagascar, Haiti and Panama[5] and country reports[6]) and documentation associated with the Convention was almost exclusively accompanied by pictures and discussions surrounding shipwrecks (see the Publications sub-page of UNESCO's underwater cultural heritage web page[7]). It would arguably be difficult for the public to associate the Convention and the resource with anything but shipwrecks.

While heritage managers in South Africa agreed that shipwreck sites must be protected and managed – it was required by legislation after all – they continued to struggle to convince the public that UCH was relevant, as will be described. As a result, UCH management was ineffective. Permits for activities aimed at UCH were issued almost exclusively to treasure hunters and significant numbers of archaeological objects were being lost through looting or under reporting. Mozambique was experiencing similar challenges. As will be discussed elsewhere, legislation had the potential to protect UCH, but little was being done to implement rigorous management processes. The government's decision to issue a licence to Arqueonautas to commercially exploit submerged sites was testimony to the failures of management policy in this regard (Duarte 2012). As was the case in South Africa, the Mozambican UCH efforts were focused on shipwreck sites.

A predominantly shipwreck centred management strategy did not mean that people did not have other cultural links to maritime heritage (as evidenced, for example, in the oral histories of South Africa's Wild Coast and Mozambique's Ilha de Mozambique outlined in Chapter 4), but rather that the narrative had been focused by a specific approach. It was clear also that the approach to UCH management in South Africa and Mozambique was ineffectual, but there had been a failure to interrogate management methodologies or propose alternative solutions. It was from this context that the research presented in the following chapters grew. As far as I am aware, research aimed at the analysis of approaches to MUCH management of this nature has not been attempted elsewhere.

1.2 WHAT IS THIS RESEARCH ABOUT?

The aim of this research is to collect and analyse data associated with approaches to maritime and underwater cultural heritage (MUCH) management within the current management frameworks and contexts in South Africa and Mozambique. Having examined available data, this research will propose new MUCH management approaches for southern Africa and test them at case study sites.

Research is focused solely on MUCH. It has been developed exclusively in the context of the case study sites and, therefore, has been designed to address practical challenges to MUCH management in South Africa and Mozambique. While it does not propose a "one-size-fits-all" management framework, it concludes that an "open definition" approach to MUCH management may be applicable to other states in the sub-Saharan region which share similar heritage challenges (Pikirayi and Schmidt 2016).

To understand the development of MUCH management in the South African and Mozambican environment, it was first necessary to examine the

5 http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/underwater-cultural-heritage/2001-convention/advisory-body/missions/

6 http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/underwater-cultural-heritage/publications-resources/country-reports/

7 http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/underwater-cultural-heritage/publications-resources/publications/

ontological context in which the field exists. In other words, MUCH management and practices needed to be understood in light of the trends, assumptions and perspectives which had shaped their development. In turn, to interpret and analyse this context it was necessary to place them within the realities of the societies that formulated them. By placing MUCH within a broad theoretical framework of society's interactions with management practices, it was possible to better understand the rules and practices adopted by heritage managers. Positioning management practice and management approaches within a theoretical framework contextualised the research itself. The framework provided an opportunity to reveal the ontological and analytical context in which the study was being undertaken.

In examining theoretical approaches to the heritage management, it became evident that this research required a more practical approach that focused on the day to day practise of MUCH management. Indeed, heritage theory may have been part of the problem. The legislative frameworks that characterize MUCH at both national and UNESCO levels are steeped in Eurocentric heritage thinking. My experiences at SAHRA showed that whereas theoretical debates, particularly those surrounding postcolonialism, have been central in terrestrial archaeology and anthropology over the past decades, they have not been adopted in MUCH management practice in southern Africa. In this context, I would argue that an effort to impose postcolonial theory onto MUCH management would, at this juncture in the development of the field, be a burden rather than a helpful exercise and may be premature (Mehari and Ryano 2016). The positions taken by heritage management agencies and agents in the region show that a different approach to MUCH has been taken. This book does not, therefore, set out to tackle theory and analyse the extensive theoretical canon associated with heritage. Instead it will consider the framework within which MUCH management operates.

The sub-Saharan MUCH management milieu is discussed in detail in the first part of this book using South Africa as a case study. In Chapter 2 legislation and policy aimed at protection of underwater cultural heritage is assessed. The chapter shows that MUCH is approached differently from terrestrial heritage. The 2001 UNESCO Convention, for example, is the only convention that defines heritage in old fashioned terms – as becoming significant only after a particular time period. The same is true for South Africa's heritage management environment which protects any shipwreck older than 60 years. The need for a separate convention is itself striking, and illustrates the challenges that heritage practitioners face when dealing with this new field. An examination of management frameworks applied in the region showed that MUCH and its management is unfamiliar terrain for many African countries and that this has resulted in the sector facing several practical challenges, not least of which is the scarcity of trained African MUCH managers.

Because of the dearth of local practitioners, international experts have been coopted to assist with the development of management frameworks. International and regional expert meetings have done little to clarify approaches for underwater cultural heritage management or to refine a definition of underwater cultural heritage that is applicable and relevant for African MUCH managers. As Mehari *et. al.* (2016) have pointed out, despite the expectation that community voices and perceptions would be heard in the postcolonial era, there is ample evidence that communities have become increasingly disenfranchised from heritage management (see also others in Schmidt and Pikirayi 2016). "[C]olonial legacies and emerging postcolonial marginalization deny African communities engagement … cultural respect and basic community development" (Mehari *et al.* 2016: Chapter 2, paragraph 95). As will be described, experts have yet to provide clear focus. The expert driven approach has disconnected MUCH management practice and community needs and engagement.

This study explores the challenges for heritage managers working in an uncharted management environment which practitioners are only just beginning to investigate. This book attempts to level the ground so that it becomes possible to begin to make comparisons between MUCH and the last twenty years of community engagement and archaeology that has taken place on land.

1.3 METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

An examination of MUCH legislation, its implementation, and the perception of the resource required a multi-level methodological framework that would address the colonial legacies of MUCH as well as the postcolonial engagements with the resource. Despite similarities in approaches to MUCH and terrestrial heritage, there has been a clear division between the fields. The purpose of this research is to firstly describe the historical separation and positioning of MUCH, and then to understand the rationale behind divergent approach pathways. This has been done by analysing how legislation exists and operates on various levels. This research explains and analyses the principal problems that have been created by the adoption of a western perspective on both MUCH creation and management in South Africa and Mozambique. The study goes on to develop and test approaches to MUCH management that are practicable within the existing frameworks and contexts of sub-Saharan Africa, compatible with the reality of the isolated position of MUCH, and that bring MUCH into the broader heritage framework.

This study has taken careful cognisance of the successes of a community approach to heritage in Africa (see various authors in Schmidt and Pikirayi 2016) as well as frameworks that have been applied effectively in environmental and education studies and have been proven to work within the sub-Saharan context. Both environmental conservation and education development are significant factors in heritage management as will become clear in the following chapters. As Pikirayi (2016) points out, heritage knowledge and its transmission are often rooted in multiple systems. "Some of this knowledge is embedded in local cosmologies connected to the world and realm of ancestors, and is inseparable from the physical environment" (Chapter 6, paragraph 16). The Eastern Cape case study presented in Chapter 4 clearly showed the blurred lines between natural and cultural heritage in South Africa. Community appeals for assistance in capacity development illustrated the value assigned to education in designing MUCH management models.

In this study, in which both quantitative and qualitative data is being collected and analysed, and in which I have played a participatory role, it has been necessary to remain conscious of both the conditions under which the MUCH management has developed and my own position in, and influence on, the field. It is necessary to remain aware of the consequences of my participation on subsequent data output. It is necessary, therefore, to define my approach to this research and outline the choices that have been made in presenting results as they are here.

Awareness of the above led me towards a methodological approach that provided space for developing, testing and analysing practical MUCH management models and allowed for diverse perspectives to be represented without stunting applicability and relevance. Research surrounding MUCH management and practice was, therefore, framed by an adaptation of Roy Bhaskar's Critical Realist position (Bhaskar 2008). The critical realist viewpoint is suitably broad to encompass practical application and has been effectively applied in the South African environmental and education sectors (see for example the extensive use of critical realism as a theoretical framework in Rhodes University's CHERTL PhD programme on Higher Education Studies[8]). It followed that it could be suitably applied in the heritage management sector too, particularly in that the critical realist approach lends itself to being both a metaphilosophy and a method for the analysis of MUCH management practice (Ferber 2006: 176).

This framework argues that nothing happens by chance, and that reality is instead determined by a series of causal mechanisms (Sayer 2000 in Togo 2009, 113). These mechanisms result in a stratified ontology, which differentiates reality into the "empirical", "actual" and "real" world where *real* is the reality of the world whether we recognise it or not; *actual* is the way in which the world operates as a consequence of events and independent of human experiences, and; *empirical* is the way in which an individual perceives/experiences the world (Bhaskar 2008 in Togo 2009, 115). The critical realist framework can also be described in terms

8 https://www.ru.ac.za/teachingandlearning/highereducationstudies/doctoralprogramme/phdgraduates/

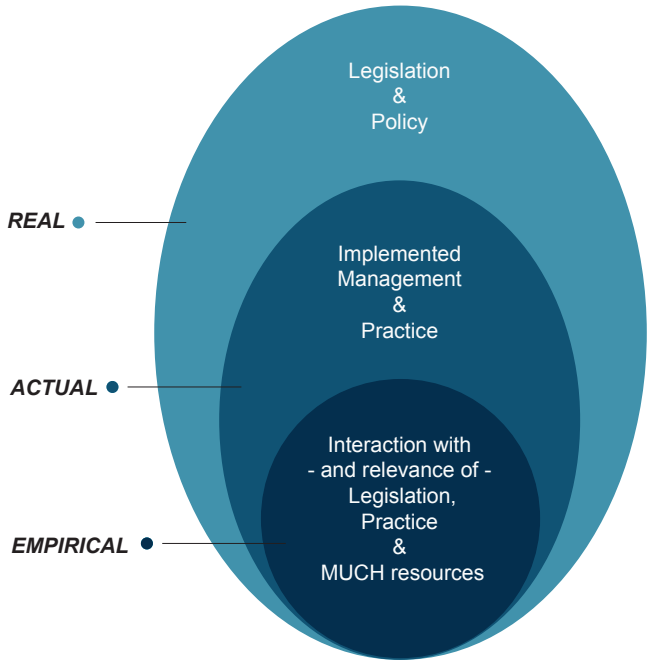


Figure 1 Critical Realist Theoretical Framework for Maritime Archaeology Management and Practice

of mechanisms, events and experiences (Steinmetz 1998, 176). In terms of MUCH management and practice, the real, actual and empirical strata are populated as shown in Figure 1.

In this thesis, the *real* world is determined by legislation and policy. While these may change over time, MUCH management is bound by legal frameworks whether we are aware of their existence or whether we agree with them or not. MUCH management practice must operate and be implemented within the policy frameworks. An analysis of the how the *real* world has come to exist is presented in Chapter 2 and includes an exploration of the 2001 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage and South Africa's domestic heritage management legislation. Roberts (2014:2) argues that the empirical domain is directly observable and it is at this level that observations of the efficacy of approaches to MUCH management are made.

The *actual* world is created by the actions of heritage managers and stakeholders. This world, while framed by the *real* world, relies on interpretation and implementation strategies determined by individuals or management agencies. In this study, the *actual* world is where policy is implemented and where new approaches to MUCH management are applied. Chapter 2 examines the *status quo* of MUCH management approaches in various contexts. Subsequent chapters discuss how interventions can be made at this level within the critical realist framework.

Finally, multiple perspectives and experiences exist in the *empirical* world. This level is determined by the way that stakeholders encounter and react to management approaches and the implementation of policy. This level is dynamic and is where analysis and interpretation of the data collected in this research takes place. Chapters 3 to 6 examine the effects of the interventions made in the *actual* world at the *empirical* level.

From a methodological perspective, critical realism's ability to allow research to determine "what makes things happens in specific cases, or … what kind of universe exists in a particular situation" (Sayer 2000, 20) is well suited for in depth case studies at individual sites. The framework ameliorates the need for control of variables (Roberts 2014, 5). Although this study examines changes in variables at individual sites and compares them to a generated and generalised MUCH management *status quo*, it is concerned with exploring what happens when interventions are made to a set of identified management elements at each case study site, where each site is acted upon by unique forces. As Bhaskar (2011, 2) points out: "we will only be able to understand – and so change – the social world if we identify the structures at work that generate those events …".

The critical realist approach allowed the study to unfold in a manner that matched the laboratory process applied to proposing, testing and analysing new approaches to MUCH management. Analysis did not attempt to explain why stakeholders experienced their own MUCH in a particular way or to predict individual perspectives on the resource. Instead its aim was to determine methodologies that allowed stakeholders to express perspectives and engage with their past while at the same time identifying the benefits that could be derived from heritage management.

Various methods for interrogating the three spheres of the critical realism theoretical framework were applied in order to understand each layer and the causal effects that it exerts on the layer below (Bhaskar 1975). Because the critical realist position recognises the "fallibility of knowledge insofar that the complexity of the world implies that our knowledge of it might be wrong or misleading" (Roberts 2014, 2 see also Smith 2004:61) it is possible, or indeed a necessity, to analyse causal mechanisms that exist between the layers in multiple contexts to continually test the veracity of knowledge assumptions (Benton and Craib 2001, 120). This was achieved through data collection at multiple case study sites.

An initial analysis of MUCH policy and legislation was required to understand the *real* world of MUCH management. This needed to be followed by an assessment of the *status quo* that had been achieved by implementation of MUCH policy at the *actual* level. This assessment was made by identifying the broadest elements that made up the MUCH management landscape. The purpose of this was to provide a general indication of how significance was determined, who generated MUCH narratives, where management was focused and how management was implemented. The methodology for developing these indicators is described in detail in Chapter 4.

An analysis of the *empirical* world of MUCH runs throughout this book. Interviews, questionnaires and surveys together with literature research have been used to assess the context (ontology) in which MUCH and the rules applied to its management have developed. This has allowed this work to position the regulatory frameworks applied at case study sites within the global, regional and local management milieu. The *empirical* experience provides the foundation upon which legislative and practical approaches can be examined. Analysis of legislation and practice coupled with interviews and questionnaires focused on determining public attitudes to MUCH practice and management has provided a lens through which to study the various approaches taken at case study sites. The efficacy of MUCH management practice and engagement has been determined through assessments of activities directed at sites and collections using the various site management matrices detailed in the following chapters. The results of these assessments have been incorporated into building and assessing new approaches that can be effectively applied to achieve management best practice.

The application of critical realist approach has been criticised for creating a duality by attempting to apply "closed system" causal mechanisms to the "open systems" of the empirical domain (Bhaskar 1986, Carchedi 1983, Roberts 2011: 6). However, on the methodological level, the observation of closed system constructs of the real domain and its impact on the day-to-day activities of the actual and empirical worlds is essential for analysing MUCH

management. The causal relation between MUCH legislation and implementation can only be examined at each case study site in a closed environment. The proposal and testing of new MUCH management approaches does however rely on open systems. The interrelatedness of MUCH management with, for example, environmental systems, education and hard science means that there is constant exchange. An open system is facilitated by adopting a landscape approach to MUCH as described in Chapter 3.

The adoption of this framework mitigates several theoretical problem areas that impact on the approaches that are analysed in this book. The use of a critical realist methodological framework approach addresses some of the challenges of postcolonial theory which "aims at destabilizing dominant narratives, not at replacing these narratives with the kind of concrete emancipatory strategy that is favored by critical realism" (Saleh 2011, paper abstract). Ndlovu's (2016) observation that terrestrial archaeology, particularly when practised in community settings, should be more *inclusive* of local narratives is equally relevant to MUCH, but, as Chirikure and Pwiti (2008, 481) argue, this should not imply that one version of the past has more authority than another. The critical realist framework supports the evolution of MUCH management strategies and the author's position that new approaches should replace current management methodology. The approaches to MUCH management and engagement outlined in this book endorse management practice that offers multiple and even dialectical opposition. In the context of this book, critical realism allows a space for later interrogation of behaviours using alternative theoretical models. This book is an observation and analysis of activities in the real, actual and empirical domains and a record of causation and reaction to interventions in these levels through the critical realist lens.

There is a limited comparison between the management and practice of MUCH and terrestrial heritage management and practice in this book. This has been a conscious choice that has evolved while collecting and analysing the data presented in this text. This choice has been based on several key factors that became apparent in the course of my research. Firstly, it became increasingly clear that although MUCH appeared to be embedded in the long tradition of theoretical debate applied to terrestrial heritage, this was not the case. For most, MUCH was new. Much of the discourse that surrounds terrestrial heritage was absent in the day-to-day management of, and engagement with, MUCH at practitioner and stakeholder levels. This does not deny that theoretical debate related to MUCH has not taken place, but rather suggests that it has been predominantly limited to the academe. The absence of theoretical debate in the shipwreck case files and minutes of permit committee meetings at the South African Heritage Resources Agency as well as in the literature related to underwater cultural heritage management in Mozambique illustrates this assertion (SAHRA files 9/2/700, 9/2/701/ and Duarte 2010, 2012, 2015). Thus, the reality of MUCH management was based on the interpretation of legislation and the means available to MUCH managers to implement management processes. From the management perspective, "reality … [was] such that it [was] not possible to describe and explain it theoretically using the forms in which it immediately appear[ed] to us without irresolvable problems and contradictions arising" (Magill 1994,131). Secondly, because MUCH is perceived as different from terrestrial heritage, a discussion of the discourses that exist in terrestrial heritage was, I believe, premature. As mentioned, this called for a more practical approach that could begin to align MUCH with terrestrial heritage management. Finally, the research follows my own journey through evolving MUCH management approaches and draws on my own experiences as a heritage manager and MUCH advocate. My position in MUCH management in South Africa has provided me with an insider view of the sector. As a work of largely qualitative research, the insider position has resulted in allowing me a deeper look at context specific data and information that is imbued with emotion and individual beliefs (Geerts 1993, 21, Guba and Lincoln 1994, 106).

As the following chapters will illustrate, this study was a necessity. It provides a level position that offers African MUCH practitioners a platform from which to make links between this area of research and the experiences of others in the terrestrial heritage

sector. In identifying a guiding methodological and theoretical framework that would describe the reality in which I wished to analyse data, I turned to a critical realism research mechanism that had been applied successfully in environmental sciences in South Africa. This allowed me to overcome some of the challenges that existed as a result of conventional, Eurocentric practices being applied in the African context, including a tendency to separate natural and cultural heritage as well as tangible and intangible heritage. The framework further allowed me to highlight the importance of interdisciplinary, cross boundary research. Despite the abundance of theoretical debate in the academe, there has been a poor uptake of theoretical positions in African heritage management generally. As Chirikuru, Manyanga, Ndoro and Pwiti (2010) have observed, little has changed in post-independence Africa. The implication is that current frameworks have yet to mature and require further development in practice. The critical realist approach has been applied and tested and so provided a pragmatic framework to complete a study that sets out to describe MUCH management, approaches to MUCH management, and the effects of interventions at the implementation level. It went some way also in explaining the social mechanisms that led affected communities to reacting to MUCH in the way that they had. Critical realism played a significant role in this research and informed analysis of observations made at case study sites that required a multi-levelled structure of realities in order to allow me to explore the sociology of community attitudes towards MUCH.

The choice to apply a critical realist approach to this study decision was further supported by experiences in the field. While the canon of work related to theoretical approaches to terrestrial archaeology, anthropology and heritage is vast and had seen significant evolution, the current discourses on postcolonial and post-modern theory have not been as rigorously applied to MUCH. Instead, for reasons described in the following chapters, the approaches applied to MUCH management in South Africa, Mozambique and other states in the sub-Saharan African region have been heavily weighted in old-fashioned, colonial theories, policy and practice. Individuals at heritage management agencies and local stakeholders have been concerned more deeply with immediate threats and on-the-ground MUCH management challenges. This necessitated a more practical approach to research that began to produce a level foundation to bridge the gap between practice and theoretical discourse.

An examination of various other theoretical discourses is needed, but is outside the scope of this study. At the end of this book I will reflect on the need for a more diverse theoretical approach in the future.

This research seeks to be an exploration of heritage management as it is applied and practised in South Africa and Mozambique. It investigates approaches that make MUCH relevant and accessible to all (regardless of *how* it is perceived). The purpose of proposing and testing different approaches to MUCH management is, first and foremost, to enable MUCH practitioners to develop effective management strategies, rooted in a methodological framework that is recognised and effective in southern Africa. As will become clear, this study does this by giving stakeholders a voice in the development of such strategies and research designs.

1.4 RESEARCH METHODS

Frustrations at the South African Heritage Resources Agency were rooted in the inability of the Maritime Archaeology Unit to clearly define what resource it was managing and why it should be important. Since legislation existed, SAHRA was obliged to manage shipwreck sites, but could not do so effectively. Similarly, Mozambique faced shipwreck management challenges associated with the ambiguity of wrecks in the national heritage context. Again, legislation protecting underwater archaeological sites was in place, but it appeared that the potential financial gains achieved from historic shipwreck salvage outweighed their perceived heritage value. In both the South African and Mozambican management frameworks, underwater cultural heritage was threatened, but it was unclear why. Two primary questions needed to be answered to explain the apparent poor perception of underwater cultural heritage and consequent weak management. Firstly, it was important to scrutinise

the development of legislation to understand its efficacy, or lack thereof. I needed to ask how policy frameworks had come to exist in the form that they did. Secondly, it was necessary to understand what was being managed and what was not. In terms of understanding why there was an apparent apathy towards underwater cultural heritage, I needed to ask what elements made up the resource and how elements were important. Only once these factors were understood would it be possible to propose alternative approaches to managing the resource.

This book has been structured, perhaps unconventionally, to mirror my research journey. This has meant that "discoveries" that altered or impacted the methodological and theoretical pathway of the research are discussed in detail within the chapters that follow. This structure was applied in keeping with the constant reassessment, reaction and adaptation to local contexts required in implementing a wholly stakeholder driven approach.

Research did not, however, take place in a methodological vacuum and data was gathered systematically and with purpose. Research was divided into two parts, the first dealing with policy and legislation, the second with finding approaches to underwater cultural heritage that were inclusive and engaged a wide range of stakeholders to produce relevant, implementable and sustainable MUCH management strategies.

In Chapter 2 I have looked briefly at the development of maritime archaeology and the pressures of treasure hunting on underwater cultural heritage resources. This is followed by an examination of legal frameworks for underwater cultural heritage management that have evolved largely as a consequence of actions aimed at submerged sites. Although reference is made to other legislation, this section focused on those that directly impact on the management of underwater cultural heritage in South Africa and Mozambique. Specifically, the chapter deals with UNESCO's UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage, and South Africa's National Heritage Resources Act (25 of 1999). These are critically assessed by dissecting the milieu in which they developed. Data sources are primarily literature based, but some are supported by conversations with heritage managers and observations of heritage management practices and institutions.

The failure of legislation to translate into effective MUCH management in sub-Saharan Africa has prompted various intervention efforts aimed at establishing a framework for beneficial and appropriate management. This study examines three instances that formed the platform from which approach propositions were made. These have been described in Chapter 3. The Sri Lankan example relied on literary sources. To gain a "first-hand" account of the programme and its outcomes the study focused on literature produced by individuals who had participated in the training and development projects. Reports and articles written during, shortly after and some years after the programme was completed were used to gauge the impact of the approach, the degree to which it addressed local needs, and its long-term sustainability. Less data was available to assess the MUCH programme that was implemented in Tanzania. An overview of the programme and its outcomes was contained in the reports of the programme's implementing organisation. While these reports contained information on needs, activities and short-term results, further data was required. This was collected through discussions with Christognas Ngivyngivy in South Africa in 2010, at UNESCO meetings of States Parties in Paris and at a UNESCO Regional UCH Meeting held in Malindi, Kenya from 23 to 25 March 2015. Interviews with local stakeholders and heritage managers conducted during fieldwork at Kilwa Kisiwani from 13 to 20 November 2010 provided supporting data on perceptions of the programme and MUCH management. A largescale, multi-year MUCH intervention in South Africa between 2009 and 2012 was analysed using field notes and anonymous responses to a questionnaire completed by 32 of the 133 programme participants, including tutors, institutional managers and trainees. Wherever possible one-on-one interviews were conducted. Alternatively, respondents completed the questionnaires in writing, and returned them.

The baseline data associated with three different approaches to developing MUCH in three contexts were analysed to determine how individual participants responded the approaches used in each programme. While participant perceptions of the successes and failures of the programmes were subjective, opinions could be used to gauge the degree to which programmes resonated with stakeholders and the efficacy of components of the approach applied at each site.

As will be shown, stakeholders were ambivalent towards conventional management practices that focused only on shipwreck sites but responded well to management approaches that allowed them to participate in developing narratives, strategies and practice. By providing a multi-vocal space in which stakeholders could participate in management, "new" components of a cultural landscape became visible. To contextualise a variety of heritage sites, objects and spaces, this study needed to identify a framework in which these components could co-exist. Westerdahl's maritime cultural landscape was utilised as a platform through which to achieve this.

Having determined the structure of legislation, examined how it has been applied in South Africa and other sub-Saharan states, and then analysed the successes and shortcomings of evolving approaches to MUCH management, it was possible to begin to identify management elements that were either (or both) legally mandated or publically desirable.

An examination of the developing management models and approaches to MUCH that had been formulated in Sri Lanka, Tanzania and at the start of the MADP in South Africa through the lens of the maritime cultural landscape showed various elements that impacted perceptions of the heritage resource and its management. I wanted to provide an illustration of where management efforts were focused and whether they accommodated conventional heritage management practices derived from legislation and colonial policy, or spoke to alternative heritage produced and managed by non-practitioner stakeholders. I also wanted to determine whether a better balance between the conventional and complementary heritage management elements would result in more effective MUCH management. If this was the case, I wanted to establish an approach that provided spaces for multiple voices.

Using a maritime cultural landscape context, I first scrutinised legislation (the 2001 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage and the National Heritage Resources Act) to identify the elements that guided MUCH managers in determining what to manage and how to manage it. I then returned to the qualitative data I'd collected from the example sites.

Several dynamics within the maritime cultural landscape that affected management began to emerge from the Sri Lankan, Tanzanian and South African examples: how the heritage narrative was produced, how it was consumed, where it was kept and how it was governed. These dynamics could in turn be deconstructed into the core factors that operated on the management landscape. These will be expounded and discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

Sri Lanka, Tanzania and South Africa provided an opportunity to make broad observations of MUCH management in contexts that were outliers to management systems driven by western values. By making observations of the successes and failures of the South African, Sri Lankan and Tanzanian examples, together with the legislative management frameworks applied to MUCH, it was possible to identify the six primary indicator elements[9] that affected the management of underwater cultural heritage and the general *status quo* of MUCH in these three countries. These emerged from observing the operating factors at play in management of MUCH in the example States. I have summarised these as follows:

1. *Managers must determine a MUCH narrative* – i.e. what is being managed. The narrative is positioned in various contexts depending on what sites or practices are included. Narratives can be *global* or *local*.

9 While countless elements may be added to this spectrum, these six will be used for the purposes of this study. They have been identified as key components that have been applied to determine significance of the heritage at the case study sites and to establish management methodologies.

For example, heritage practitioners may be required to manage European shipwreck sites related to global trade networks and global colonial expansion, or to manage sites related to local cosmologies. Respectively, the *Avondster* at Galle and stone dhows at Kilwa Kisiwani illustrate this dichotomy. Sites can have multiple narratives. The Robben Island maritime cultural landscape demonstrates several narratives spanning 10 000 years.

2. *Sites and landscapes are ascribed a significance value*. This value determines the level at which a narrative is deemed meaningful. Values can be *universal* or *specific*. Universal values are those that pertain to society at large. UNESCO's criteria for World Heritage Sites, for example, list a set of universal significance values. Specific values are applied down to an individual level. Sites can have multiple significance values. Again, this contrast will be illustrated by the observations made in the Sri Lankan, Tanzanian and South African cases. For example, its position as a centre for Indian Ocean trade and its role as an epicentre for the development of Swahili culture make Kilwa Kisiwani universally significant. At the same time, "stone dhows" near the island have specific significance to communities and individuals living on or near the island.
3. *Heritage managers operate within a set of regulatory guidelines and policies* that determine how they can manage heritage. Heritage management rules are contained in legislation but there are also non-statutory management practices that may be applied to sites by local communities or individuals who wish to safeguard their heritage. For the purposes of developing management indicators, I have termed these rules *official* and *unofficial* respectively. Generally, MUCH management has been driven by the official rules contained in frameworks such as the 2001 Convention and national legislation. As illustrated in this book, statutory law has conventionally focused on shipwreck site management. However, local practices determined by taboos, for example, may also influence the way heritage is safeguarded. South Africa's National Heritage Resources Act unambiguously determines how wreck sites are managed. At the same time, veneration of ancestors by sections of South African society determines how people access and utilise water bodies, thereby affecting how MUCH sites are managed.
4. To implement management practices, it is necessary to *establish and deploy capacity*. This may exist in government heritage management agencies or in communities. At the *formal* level entities such as Sri Lanka's MAU, Tanzania's MUCH Team and SAHRA's MUCH Unit fulfil management functions. *Informal* management capacity also exists at, for example, the Lake Fundudzi case study site in South Africa where local heritage gatekeepers discourage access to the lake and determine how it can be approached.
5. The impact of *access* to heritage is a key factor in determining management strategies. The degree to which heritage is accessible is not only determined by whether a *site* is accessible. Public access to sites, museum collections and literature/media about heritage determines its accessibility. South Africa's shipwreck sites are highly *accessible* in the physical sense and, as a result, are in danger from looting and souvenir hunting. Shipwrecks are also well represented in museums and in literature. Management strategies must be developed to safeguard sites and objects against damage. Rituals performed at Lake Fundudzi, on the other hand, are inaccessible to all but private groups within the VhaVenda royal family. Although they are known to exist, they are *inaccessible.*
6. Finally, heritage management must be cognisant of how heritage is produced and who its producers are. *Participation in heritage production* may be *public* or *private*. In theory, a society as a whole

participates in producing a national heritage narrative. In the case of World Heritage Sites such as Galle, Kilwa Kisiwani and Robben island, the narrative should be produced through global participation (although this is generally not the case). Heritage that exists at the other end of the public-private dichotomy is mostly unknown to heritage managers. This heritage is produced and shared within private networks for private consumption. Heritage managers might be aware that private heritage exists to some degree or another, but will unlikely know what it is.

Placed on a spectrum these operational management factors can be summarised as follows:

- Narrative: global – local
- Significance values: universal – specific
- Capacity: formal – informal
- Accessibility: accessible – inaccessible
- Participation: public – private
- Rules: official – unofficial

These elements do not exist as dichotomies. For example, heritage may be managed through a combination of official and unofficial rules determined by legislation and community agreement respectively.

The management elements outlined above were identified by characterising the criteria that determine how managers generate the strategies required to safeguard heritage. At the most basic level, a manager must know *what* requires management (narrative), *why* it requires management (significance), *how* it can be managed (rules), *who* will manage it (capacity), *where* management will be required (accessibility – increased access to sites or practices may increase threats and increase need for mitigation), and *when* heritage is managed (participation – from the management perspective, heritage only exists when it is produced and disclosed. Managers can only make informed management decisions when heritage is released from private networks). The elements also influence and inform one another. For example, significance can determine who manages heritage, how access is controlled and which rules are applied. Notwithstanding complex interaction, I identified these six elements to encapsulate the broad strokes that inform heritage management.

The identification of elements was informed by relevant criteria laid out in the national legislation of the three states as well as the selection criteria of the World Heritage Convention (see for example Section 3 of the South African National Heritage Resources Act and Section 45 of the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention). It is important to note that, because this dissertation deals with management approaches for official agencies, these elements have been isolated as those that affect MUCH management from the official heritage manager's perspective.

Simply defining a set of elements that impact on heritage management does not automatically lead to the production of an effective management approach or management strategy. It is necessary to determine how each element is addressed in various case study contexts and to extract indicators that will assist in developing an approach to MUCH management that is both contextually applicable and useful.

The positioning of MUCH management, or portions thereof, within the spectrum outlined above appeared to impact on the efficacy of management strategies. When underwater cultural heritage was biased towards the extremes, i.e. when dichotomies existed, management failed. This was seen in South Africa, where shipwrecks formed part of a global narrative that advanced the contemporary apartheid political agenda and in Tanzania where local maritime heritage narratives, while present, went unrecognised by MUCH practitioners and managers. Management efficacy could be seen to be linked with the relative positioning of the characteristics of the elements. Where narratives were positioned (global or local) and how significance values were perceived (universal or specific) determined the degree to which stakeholders engaged with heritage, for example. It was thus necessary to examine each element to determine its characteristics and to establish criteria to position management in each element and derive indicators that determined how

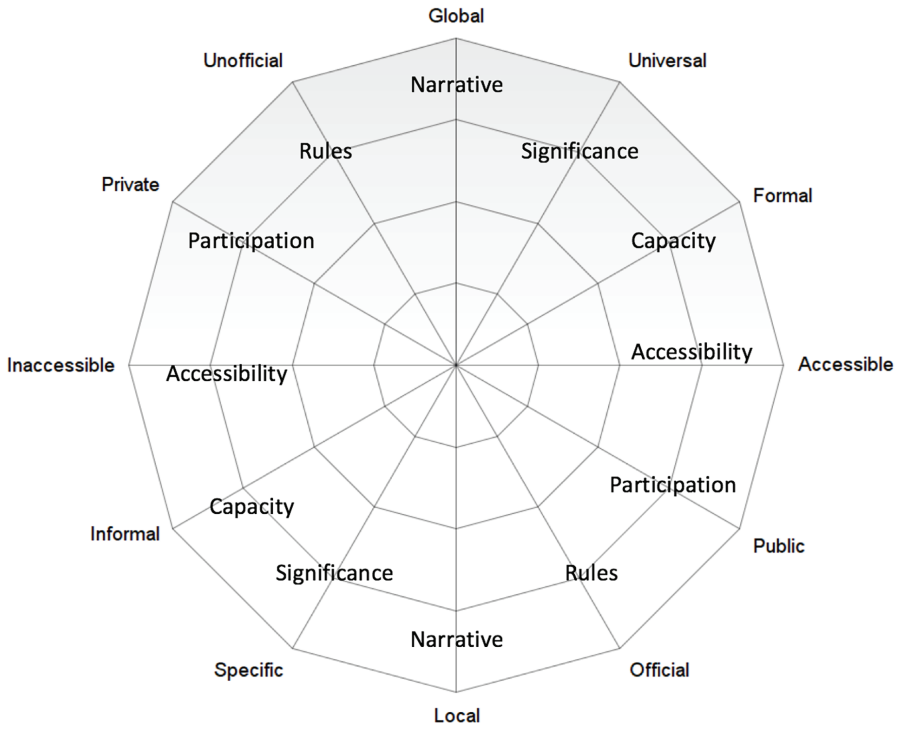


Figure 2 Spectrum of MUCH management elements

each element was being addressed. From here, it would be possible to extrapolate a hypothesis for improving MUCH management. First, elements needed to be deconstructed further to allow me to determine where a management was positioned along the spectrum:

Narratives are dependent on who dictates them, and how. Aspects of global heritage are often determined by the experts – heritage managers, practitioners, governments and professionals. This heritage is often characterised by the application of the official rules of heritage management and universal significance values. The global narratives are those that relate to World Heritage Sites and national heritage and are mostly associated with tangible sites. At the other end of the spectrum is local heritage. At the most local level are the individual heritage narratives that do not rely on sites and are instead about social processes and societal perceptions related to the private and the intangible. Local narratives are defined by individuals and are not restricted by legislative frameworks.

Significance values relate to the extent to which heritage is acknowledged. Global significance, at one extreme, applies to those sites or practices which are shared by everyone. World Heritage Sites (with their universal heritage values) fall into this category. Local significance applies to sites and practices that are significant to localised groups down to an individual level at the other end of the spectrum.

Capacity refers to the availability of management expertise. On the formal level highly capacitated nations have professional heritage practitioners working in government management institutions supported by international expertise and advanced infrastructure. Informal capacity is created when communities or individuals establish local management processes using local knowledge systems and the infrastructure available to them.

Accessibility is measured by the degree to which the public can access a site or practice. At the most public end of the spectrum are those sites and practices that are visible in museums and in literature and that enjoy unrestricted access. At the most private end of the spectrum are sites and practices where access is limited by environment, by rules or by a group.

Participation refers to the extent to which a site or narrative is produced, shared and consumed. Wide public participation in heritage production is necessary for the development and acceptance of national and global heritage narratives (Schmidt and Pikirayi 2016). Private groups or trusted networks, on the other hand, may produce and discuss heritage that is relevant only to them.

Rules are the processes by which heritage management is governed. Official rules include national legislation and international treaties, while unofficial rules refer to those systems that communities or individuals apply to their heritage which are based on local knowledge systems and are not present in legal statutes.

For the purposes of analysis and illustration, I represented these elements graphically using a radar graph.

To determine where heritage was positioned and how it was managed within the spectrum represented by each arm of the radar graph, a framework that would reveal how each element was assessed needed to be designed. It was constructed to provide broad stroke indicators, not an exact determinant of heritage. The approach was chosen as this analysis recognises the complex and slippery nature of heritage. Heritage is dynamic and elusive. To illustrate this, it is necessary only to look at the literature describing heritage. For Smith (2006: 11) heritage does not exist:

> *There is […] no such thing as heritage."*

For Hall (in Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge 200: 3) heritage is in everything:

> *It is us – in society, within human culture – who make things mean, who signify. Meanings, consequently, will always change, from one culture or period to another.*

Both suggest that heritage is not pragmatic and may be recognised at various levels, from personal to global perspectives. I therefore designed the tool to examine to what degree the elements were present at various stakeholder levels (from individual stakeholders to global stakeholders). I have summarized the relationship between stakeholders and the identified elements in Table 1. The tool also suggested some of the characteristics of management approaches that effectively address each level.

To populate the indicator matrix, criteria applied during designation and classification of heritage by the 1972 World Heritage Convention, the 2001 Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage and South Africa's National Heritage Resources Act were utilised to interrogate each element in order to identify the level at which the characteristics sat. I chose these three documents because they are the legislation applied to the case study sites and, therefore, have determined the management approaches applied to each site. At a general level, the 1972 Convention, 2001 Convention and the Act determine the narrative and the management Rules. Sections 3 and 7 of the Act speak to significance, section 9 more specifically to the rules and section 27 to aspects of access and participation. Capacity needs are determined by the extent to which the elements require management.

I drafted a list of questions to determine the degree to which characteristics of each element were addressed by management approaches applied to study sites. Because I wanted to understand how interventions changed management outcomes, I needed to ensure that it would be possible to ask the same questions before and after testing the approaches described in this book to determine where shifts had occurred.

Table 1 Matrix of characteristics applied to positioning heritage management in the spectrum of elements

	Narrative	Significance Values	Capacity	Accessibility	Participation (what/who drives/ determines heritage?)	Rules	Management Approach
Individual	Related to one person	Specific to one person	Private actions	Personal belongings or private archive	Personal world view	Personal ethics	Conversation Validation
Local	Related to a single community	Specific to a community	Community management	Private network group access e.g. religious sect	Private network/ group	Community agreement	Workshop Meeting Validation
Multiple Communities	Related to multiple communities	Shared by multiple communities	Inter-institutional or inter-community capacity sharing	Restricted community (e.g. only archaeologists can access sites)	Restricted network (e.g. the academe)	Shared responsibilities	Workshop Meeting Validation Sharing
National	National, dominant narrative	Shared nationally	National heritage management agency/ institution	Site access	Public consultation and agreement	National legislation	Workshop Legislation Sharing
Regional	Regional, dominant narrative	Shared regionally/ continentally (e.g. relevant to Africa)	Shared regional expertise by agreement	Museum access (objects or narratives shared away from sites)	Regional consultation and cooperation (e.g. shared heritage)	Regional/ Institutional agreement and cooperation	Workshop Conference Legislation Sharing
Global	Global narrative (Expert driven)	Universal values (e.g. World Heritage Site criteria)	International capacity	Access through literature and media (heritage data can be accessed anywhere)	International agreement (usually by experts e.g. World Heritage Committee)	International treaty	Workshop Conference Legislation Sharing

Questions were designed to be replicable. In other words, the questions needed to be free of ambiguity – they needed to have simple yes/no answers that were unaffected by personal interpretations of heritage sites.

Table 2 Defining characteristics of the indicator matrix

Element Spectrum	Defining Characteristics
Narrative	
Global	Is it part of the global/national narrative?
	Is there a single/dominant narrative?
	Is the narrative defined by experts?
	Is the heritage resource governed by legislation?
Local	Is it part of the local narrative?
	Are there multiple/mutable narratives?
	Is the narrative defined by communities or individuals?
	Is the heritage resource *not* governed by legislation?
Significance Values	
Universal	Are the values universally relevant?
	Are the values regionally relevant?
	Are the values nationally relevant?
Specific	Are the values localised? (multiple communities)?
	Are the values locally relevant? (single community)?
	Are the values individually relevant?
Capacity	
Formal	Is there international management capacity?
	Is there national management capacity?
Informal	Is there community management capacity?
	Are there individuals managing heritage?
Accessibility	
Accessible	Is there an accessible site?
	Is there a display (museum or cultural practice)?
	Is the narrative accessible in literature or media?
Inaccessible	Is there private access to a site?
	Is there a private display (collection or practice only seen by private groups)?
	Is there a closed access archive?
Participation	
Public	Is the interpretation of the site/narrative/object/practice made in the public domain?
	Is the interpretation of the site/narrative/object/practice made by a selected public?
Private[1**]	Is the interpretation of the site/narrative/object/practice restricted to community network?
	Is the interpretation of the site/narrative/object/practice private?
Rules	
Official	Is the heritage resource governed by international convention (e.g. UNESCO)?
	Is the heritage resource governed by national legislation?
	Is the heritage resource protected by a code of ethics (e.g. archaeological code of conduct)?
Unofficial	Is heritage managed by community agreement?
	Are local protection methodologies applied to heritage resources?
	Is heritage stored using local methodologies (e.g. oral tradition, indigenous conservation)?

[1**] Where "private" is most private and "limited network" is least private

Notes on the matrix:

1. It is important to note that, while archaeologists and other heritage practitioners may be regarded as private communities or privileged groups, they have been included as restricted communities or as segments in a multiple community structure in developing heritage management *status quo* indicators. This has been done using the assumption that any data produced by heritage practitioners is in the public domain. In addition, despite access to archaeological sites or objects being restricted, restrictions are based on conservation of sites (in the same way that touching an artwork is restricted), rather than because access would alter the heritage value of a site. In their role as heritage experts, practitioners do not generally have subjective, patrimonial links to sites.

2. In interrogating the matrix to produce management indicators, it is important to remain mindful that determinations are made from the perspective of a heritage manager. This means that questions can only be answered using available data. For example, when establishing the level of participation in interpretations of heritage, a manager might not be aware of private heritage production. This does not mean that private heritage does not exist, rather that data is unavailable or unknown. Because the matrix is being completed from the heritage manager's perspective for the purposes of establishing management indicators for this study, unknown characteristics have been treated as if they are absent altogether. Populated matrices for the states and case study sites discussed in this book are provided in Appendix II.

3. The matrix has been graphically presented using radar diagrams. Because these diagrams are visual illustrations of analysis of the characteristics of heritage management elements, each answer provided in the matrix has been given equal weighting (yes = 1, partial = 0.5, no = 0, unknown = 0). Totals are summed and then expressed as a percentage of the total number of questions assigned to determining characteristics. For example, *Participation* is scored as a percentage out of two, *Rules* as a percentage out of three, and *Narrative* as a percentage out of four (on each side of the spectrum).

Data utilised to answer the questions was sourced from literature, management documentation from heritage management agencies, reports produced by NGOs and programme participants (where training, capacity building and development programmes had been undertaken), and, at the case study sites, through workshops, meeting minutes, interviews, field notes and conversations with stakeholders. I will expand on this in the following chapters.

The elements identified as markers for illustrating different heritage approaches fall into two clear sectors. The characteristics on the right in Figure 3 below tend to be those valued in the conventional approaches to heritage management, which I have termed "western" for reasons explained above, while those on the right incorporate many of the "alternative" heritage values ascribed to the sub-Saharan context (Schmidt and Pikirayi 2016).

In this book, I propose that by finding an approach to MUCH management that addresses the elements more equally across the western and alternative values, it is possible to manage MUCH better.

Using the identified criteria, it was possible to assess the approaches applied in Sri Lanka, Tanzania and South Africa by producing indicators on a heritage management spectrum in an effort to understand how interventions in the *status quo* affected management outcomes. These indicators could also be applied to the case study sites to identify how shifts in the spectrum affected the effectiveness of MUCH management.

Observing how changing the approach to MUCH management at the case study sites influenced the foci of management practice on the identified elements I could develop and test propositions for an approach to MUCH management that would result in greater management efficacy. This is described in detail in Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

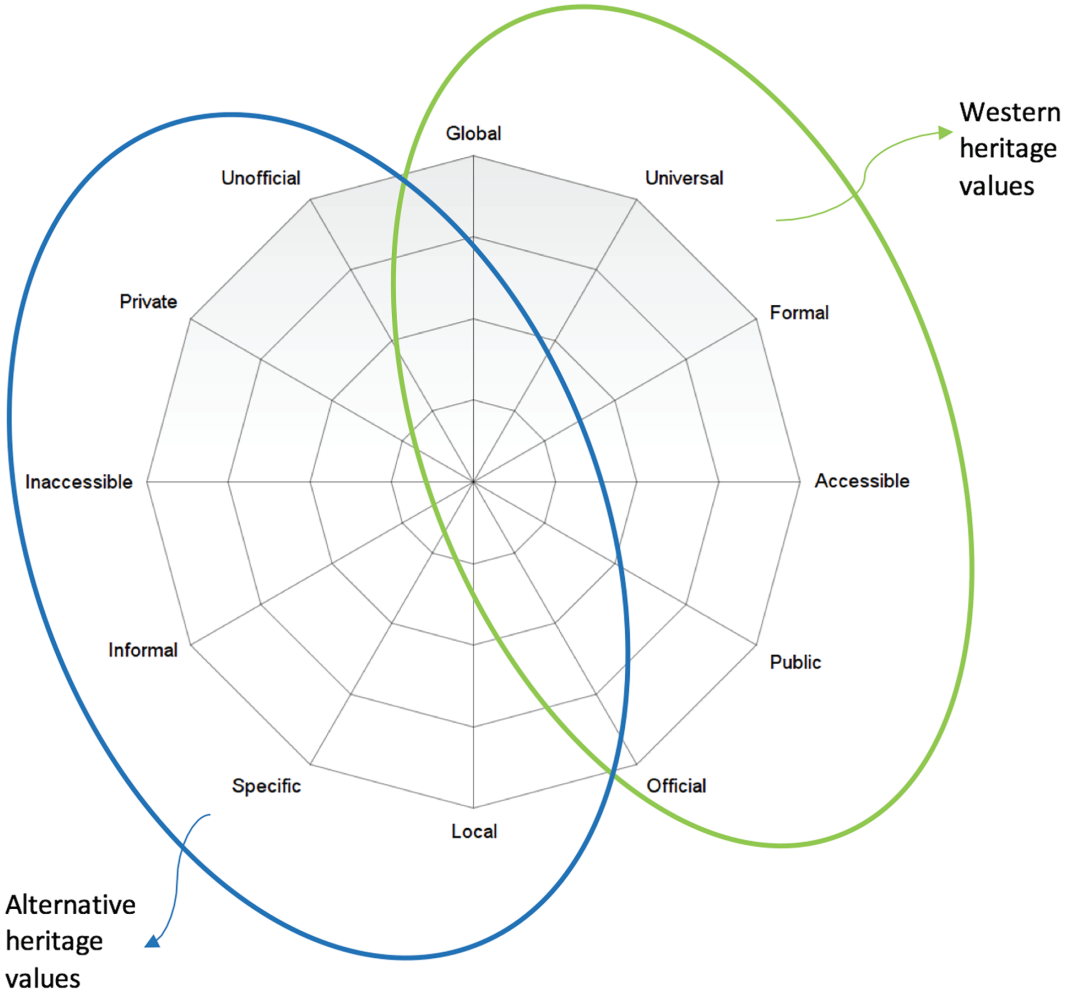


Figure 3 Conventional vs Alternative heritage values

2 A Contemporary Framework for the Management of Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage

2.1 INTRODUCTION

There is no doubting that Africa faces infrastructural, political and social challenges that impact its nations' abilities to adopt and implement heritage legislation and policy models that have been developed to address the challenges arising within western contexts. Despite areas of stability, economic growth and social development, large portions of the continent and large sections of society remain entrenched in a system where a lack of access to education (UNESCO Global Education Digest 2008) and the economy endures. Divergent perspectives have attempted to explain the region's *status quo*. The clichés of the hapless (and hopeless) African who, oppressed, plays no role but observer in the struggle to recover from exclusionary colonial development, or from the ills of the colonial period are cited as being at the core of Africa's challenges and have become pegs on which blame for current difficulties are conveniently hung, whether justified or not. Common to these challenges is the role of history, and there can be no question that Africa's past plays heavily on contemporary societal constructs. The management of, and engagement in, this heritage is, therefore, incontrovertibly important and relevant to the continent. However, heritage management and practices have not themselves been spared the influences of historical "baggage." While sub-Saharan Africa makes every effort to develop strategies for management, "the preservation of heritage is a luxury many developing countries are simply unable to afford. Administrators must maintain and enhance their heritage resources within a legislative and political environment that, in most cases, places a low priority on heritage preservation", as Jamieson has pointed out (2006:153). In addition, heritage management praxes mandated by legislation are often incompatible with available infrastructure, capacity and context in developing countries, having been developed using a framework rooted in developed world strategy.

As with heritage anywhere in the world, the African resource is governed and driven by contemporary political contexts (Howard and Graham, 2008:49). As a result, sectors of the heritage landscape have, for one reason or another, been ignored. For example, South Africa's apartheid government censored its school history curriculum to highlight a post-1652 colonial history and the development of a permanent European settlement at the Cape, while downplaying the history of indigenous people living in the area now encompassed by South Africa's borders. Although there was recognition of the fact that people were living at the Cape before 1652, textbooks portrayed them as primitive, backward and static humans who contributed little to the nation or the world (Engelbrecht 2006). Pre-colonial South Africa was a heritage ignored. Similarly, following South Africa's landmark 1994 democratic elections, the European shipwrecks scattered along the South African coast became symbols of colonialism and oppression and have since been viewed, by many, as having little relevance to the heritage of modern South Africa. Instead, as my experiences at SAHRA showed, they are viewed as remnants of Europe's history and their role as the vehicles for Europe's global expansion and colonial ambitions, and the consequences of their presence on local social, economic and political structures, has been moderated. In the sub-Saharan African context negative perceptions of MUCH have impeded the advancement of management strategies to the detriment to both colonial and pre-colonial MUCH. The low priority of heritage, particularly heritage perceived to be of less significance to contemporary local societies, has exacerbated

management shortcomings. This has resulted in the disciplines associated with MUCH, including management, identification, research, archaeology, history and others, finding little resonance with sub-Saharan populations. This is further aggravated in a regional context in which economies struggling even to produce enough food to feed their populace cannot afford heritage professionals. In South Africa, for example, a people battling to correct the imbalances created by its political past can ill afford to prioritise a discipline that examines the diet of hunter-gatherers migrating to the coast to collect shellfish tens of thousands of years ago or to preserve evidence of life aboard a trade vessel plying the African coast in the 17th Century above housing and jobs. Low prioritisation of heritage disciplines has negatively impacted salaries at museums, management agencies and universities, making heritage an unattractive career path across the sub-region (J Boshoff, J Gribble and others 2016, *pers. comm.*). The result has been that human capacity in the heritage sector has remained low. SAHRA[10], the government agency tasked with the management of national heritage sites in South Africa, currently has just one permanent maritime archaeologist, supported by two terrestrial archaeologists, to manage almost 3000 known shipwreck sites scattered along 3000 km of coastline and out 24 nautical miles to the edge of South Africa's Maritime Cultural Zone. Mozambique, Tanzania and Kenya have no maritime archaeologists employed in their state heritage management agencies, instead calling on the expertise of individuals employed at museums, universities or international NGOs when required. In the private sector, some commercial or contract archaeologists carry out maritime archaeological impact assessments for developers but no sub-Saharan African universities currently offer maritime archaeology degrees.

Capacity and funding challenges in the official heritage management sector are by no means unique to Africa. Following the 2008 global financial crisis, developed nations slashed budgets to governmental heritage management institutions. In October 2010, the Government of the United Kingdom's Department for Culture, Media and Sport announced a 32 percent funding cut for English Heritage, the body responsible for co-ordinated heritage management in England (Fulcher 2010). Notwithstanding such budget cuts, the developed world's funding of heritage still far outweighs that of the developing world. Before funding cuts, English Heritage received approximately $300 million from the $3 billion allocated to the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (Noakes 2010). Even after this fund was cut by 32 percent, the sum of approximately $202 million far outweighs SAHRA's equivalent $2.25 million budget, or the Namibian National Monuments Council's (NNMC) meagre $360 000 for the same period (see Annual Reports 2010/11 of the respective institutions). In a society where status and wealth are closely aligned, small budgets and low salaries result in a failure to attract and retain human capacity. As a consequence, a downward cycle ensues. The resultant low salaries for heritage practitioners, coupled with job-related stress, low morale and job dissatisfaction arising from the inability to fulfil functions due to insufficient budgets, means that fewer and fewer people are attracted to the sector (SAHRA 2016). This, in turn, results in even more ineffective heritage management and resultant budget cuts.

Issues are further aggravated by bloated bureaucracies. In SAHRA's 2009/10 budget (see SAHRA 2009 – 2015) only 5 percent of total funding was allocated to heritage resources management operations. 95 percent was allocated to salaries, financial management and compliance, and other administrative/corporate functions. In an attempt for greater efficiency and accountability, the South African Government's assessments of the performance of its various departments have shifted from assessment of operational performance to an assessment of the financial performance of an agency (SAHRA Annual Reports, Public Finance Management Act, and Treasury Regulations). Good corporate governance, regardless of the performance of mandated functions, has become the gold standard, certainly of South Africa's government institutions (for further information see reports of the Auditor General of South Africa and SAHRA Annual reports).

10 The South Africa Heritage Resources Agency and the South African heritage framework are used as examples throughout this text.

Given the challenges faced by the heritage resources management sector in Africa and the lack of local political will to address many of these challenges, it is the international and NGO communities that have taken the lead in instituting research and development programmes aimed at MUCH resources. Sections of the private sector have also taken an interest in Africa's maritime heritage and have utilised gaps in policy, enforcement, and management capacity to exploit cultural resources commercially. This is particularly true in the case of shipwreck sites.

Globally, underwater cultural heritage and the disciplines with which it is associated have evolved extensively in the past five decades. At the forefront of this has been the archaeological sub-disciplines related to the maritime/marine environment. Maritime-, marine-, underwater- and nautical- archaeological studies have developed theoretical and methodological frameworks that have taken the field in new directions and brought it into the archaeological mainstream. George Bass's 1966 contention that the many names given to the sub-disciplines that constitute the investigation of underwater cultural heritage sites should simply be called "archaeology" is becoming a reality (Flatman 2011). With this has come the potential for archaeologists operating in the underwater context to begin to tap into theoretical and interpretative frameworks that have been debated and applied by terrestrial counterparts for many years. These frameworks support the strong methodological applications that have been developed by maritime archaeologists as a necessary response to carrying out research in an alien environment. The advance towards maturity of the disciplines has been accompanied by the development of management practice and policy (Milani 2011).

MUCH managers have responded to changing methodological and theoretical approaches to the field in their efforts to protect the cultural resource. Management practices have advanced from a structure that promoted treasure hunting under legislation aimed at salvage, to a protectionist management culture guided by international convention. This will be discussed in greater detail below. In the same way that the academe has transformed and diversified, heritage managers around the world have established divergent strategies for controlling activities aimed at underwater cultural heritage, ranging from the implementation of strict governance protocols such as those mentioned in the 2001 UNESCO *Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage*, to efforts to collaborate with commercial salvage companies allowing the sale of patrimony in exchange for a percentage of recovered objects and profits, as happened in South Africa from the 1970s.

Emerging maritime heritage management agencies have been capacitated to reflect available funding and political attitudes. Again, this results in a widely varying set of management capabilities. For example, the United States of America boasts several federal, state and institutional agencies that possess both the personnel and technical capacity required to not only respond to management requirements, but initiate programmes and projects as well (see the activities of the National Park Service's Submerged Resources Centre and NOAA). Sub-Saharan African states such as South Africa have developed national capacity while Mozambique relies on institutions such as universities to carry out the majority of its technical and field operations. Still others, for example Nigeria, have policy-making and bureaucratic capacity but little operational capability. Tanzania has an established Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage Team but challenges at the administrative and policy levels have left it non-operational. Finally, states such as Senegal currently have neither governmental nor operational capacity but possess a will to protect underwater cultural heritage resources (I. Thiaw [Cheikh Anta Diop University] *pers. comm.*, 7 May 2016).

Due to a diversity of management models and structures, it is necessary to contextualise the following study and the framework around which analysis is built. To understand the development of MUCH, maritime archaeology and underwater cultural heritage site management in the sub-Saharan African environment, it is necessary to examine the ontological background in which these disciplines exist. In other words, underwater cultural heritage management and practices that have been applied to date must be understood in light of the trends,

assumptions and perspectives that have shaped their development to this point. In turn, to interpret these trends, it is necessary to place them within the realities of the societies that formulated them. By placing underwater cultural heritage and maritime archaeology within the context of a framework determined by how local society is assumed to function, it is possible to better understand the rules and praxes adopted by that society. This will also allow this research to be contextualised.

Using the Critical Realist approach, it was possible to contextualise differing realities and perspectives at the *empirical* level to determine how they had influenced that *actual* domain. Contextualisation, therefore allowed me to identify the framework in which reality exists to ensure the integrity of results.

2.2 THE DEVELOPMENT OF MARITIME ARCHAEOLOGY AND MANAGEMENT CONTEXTS

In the introduction to his 1966 work, *Archaeology Under Water*, George Bass briefly outlined the debate surrounding the naming of a rapidly growing new archaeological sub-discipline. Archaeologists, including Bass himself, were pioneering archaeological excavation in the submerged environment and struggling to come up with a term that would encompass the variety of site types that exist underwater (see for example Muckelroy 1978, Throckmorton 1987). Suggestions for naming the field included *underwater-*, *marine-*, *submarine-* and *maritime-* archaeology, but all the terms limited the sub-discipline to an environmental niche (Bass 1968). For example, "marine" implies a focus only on sites related to the sea, while the term "underwater" limits the scope of the sub-discipline to permanently submerged sites. As Bass rightly pointed out, the sub-discipline "should be simply called *archaeology*" (Bass 1968, 15). Terrestrial archaeologists are not classified as *cave archaeologists* if they are working in Stone Age rock shelters, so why should archaeologists working underwater be classified outside of normal archaeological practices? The fact that the debate persisted has had both positive and negative repercussions in setting the context for the modern form of the field. By attempting to define a label for the specialisation, archaeologists, heritage practitioners, cultural heritage resource managers and legislators were forced to focus on the scope and purpose of the field. Furthermore, they were forced to develop new archaeological and management rules within which the sub-discipline could operate and within which best practice was set. The separation of the sub-discipline at this early stage had significant repercussions for both the development of the field and for legislation aimed at its regulation.

By the 1980s, the term *maritime archaeology* was broadly accepted as an inclusive label to describe the sub-discipline. It has been defined as the scientific study of past ways of life, behaviours and cultures and humans' activities in, on and around the sea, lakes and rivers (Bowens 2009, 2). This book uses the term "maritime archaeology" to describe the sub-discipline.

As with terrestrial archaeology in the 19th century, interest in maritime archaeology grew largely from the discovery of artefacts and shipwreck sites from Classical antiquity (8th century BC to 5th century AD) (Renfrew and Bahn 1991, 19-21). Unlike terrestrial archaeology, however, archaeologists were slow to recognise the value of sites that lay underwater. Shipwrecks in the Mediterranean Sea were continually giving up artefacts associated with ancient cultures, but archaeologists had little desire to interpret these finds and sites (Bass 1968). As archaeologists began to identify the potential of underwater sites they ventured into the underwater environment with some trepidation. From a methodological point of view, archaeologists needed to re-invent many aspects of their discipline to suit the new environment. Skills such as scuba diving had to be learned and the limitations imposed by depth, temperature, visibility, impeded movement, lack of communication, time constraints and submersion needed to be overcome. Furthermore, archaeological tools and practices had to be modified or invented to deal with the myriad locations in which maritime archaeological sites existed (Muckelroy 1998). Archaeologists needed to become adaptable and multi-skilled to cope with their environment. As Bass again noted, however, there were not many archaeologists who made the move underwater and, because of this, archaeologists

who had worked on submerged sites tended to be asked to excavate all underwater sites regardless of site type (Bass 1968). Maritime archaeologists, unlike their terrestrial counterparts, were expected to be as competent on a 17th Century shipwreck site as on a submerged Stone Age cultural landscape. The repercussions of this on the development of the field of maritime archaeology may have been detrimental. Because maritime archaeologists were not working in their area of theoretical expertise, they were often inexperienced in developing and implementing excavation strategies for different site types. It is accepted that an archaeologist specialising in the excavation of the ruins of Roman buildings would be out of place excavating a site dating to the early Palaeolithic. These constraints were not widely applied on the underwater sites, and diving archaeologists struggled to decode the vast expanse of history that they encountered.

The inability to interpret sites that fell outside of their specialisations and expertise compounded the challenges faced by the new *maritime* archaeologists as they struggled to find acceptance as researchers in a *bona fide* sub-discipline. These factors, combined with the experimentation needed to manufacture acceptable practices for doing archaeology underwater, meant that maritime archaeologists developed a strong methodological focus reasoning that high-quality data collection would provide other specialists with the information necessary to make archaeological deductions. Unlike terrestrial archaeologists, the specialisation of maritime archaeologists became their ability to work in a particular environment, rather than in a particular historical period (Bowen 2009,6). This locational specialisation has not always been beneficial to the field, and maritime archaeologists are often accused of practising the methodological without developing the theoretical principles (Deacon 1988, Babits and Van Tilburg 1998). In other words, maritime archaeologists are reproached for lack of interpretative research and, although this is no longer a valid criticism, it has impeded the development of maritime archaeology.

While archaeologists grappled with working in this new environment, legislators and heritage managers struggled to categorise the sites that were being discovered underwater. Additionally, they were challenged to establish legal protection at local, national and international levels in response to a growing understanding of attitudes and experiences of individuals and communities at underwater cultural heritage sites. The management dilemmas faced by government agencies are clearly shown in the *evolution* of policy and legislation governing MUCH. Within the developing world context, an understanding of the developments and changes in legislation is key in understanding the management *status quo* and in proposing the alternative management structures in this study.

Archaeological investigations, in the early years of maritime archaeology, put the spotlight firmly on shipwrecks as historical treasures emerging from the depths captured the public's attention. But archaeologists were not the only people with an interest in shipwreck sites and the artefacts they contained. Salvage efforts contemporary to wrecking events had proved variably successful but as diving technologies improved, so potential access to shipwreck sites increased. Following the development of SCUBA and its commercial release in 1943 (Bass 1968, Baucaire 1998), shipwreck sites became accessible to anyone who wished to strap a tank to their back and put a regulator in their mouth. Salvors and treasure hunters immediately recognised the potential commercial value of recovering ancient objects from the sea floor (Hall 2007, 1) and a public hunger for historical remains fuelled a significant industry based on the sale of heritage resources. Legislators were slow to react. Archaeological sites, historical buildings, heritage objects and other historically important terrestrial artefacts had been protected by law through, for example, the Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1882 in Britain or the Antiquities Act of 1906 in the United States. These, however, were visible, tangible things which were constantly in the public's view. Shipwrecks, on the other hand, were out of the general, public domain. Most people did not have access to the sites and archaeologists did not popularise the notion that shipwrecks were significant archaeological resources. While treasure hunters were marketing themselves by celebrating their treasure hauls

and appeasing public outcries by donating small collections to museums or developing their own displays, maritime archaeologists were perfecting their craft and ensuring that their methods produced as much information as possible. Museums were filling up with objects donated by treasure hunters and, although they were without context and without real provenance (Hall 2007, 6), archaeologists appeared to be contributing nothing at all (Gribble and Sharfman 2013).

The early pioneers working in the Mediterranean developed the sub-discipline within a geographical context in which maritime culture is inextricably linked with the history of Europe. Trade vessels, naval ships and riverine transports formed the central connection between Alexandria and Giza, Phoenicia and Spain, Rome and Britain, the Netherlands and the East. The development of Europe and the Mediterranean relied on shipping. Since these were the areas where the first principles of modern maritime archaeology originated, it is natural that shipwrecks would become the focus of the field. At the same time, the public perception of a close association between early maritime archaeologists and treasure hunters and their shared primary ambition of raising artefacts from the sea floor (McGrail 1989, Gribble 2002, Ward 2003, Bowens 2009), turned the spotlight of investigation onto the *spectacular* rather than the *significant* (Cockrell 1998, Gribble 2002, 2006). In sub-Saharan Africa, underwater cultural heritage site users have also tended to be individuals involved in commercial exploitation or in the academe. Resulting definitions of the field and the applicability of management strategies have been characterised by the archaeological sites being studied. Thus, the accepted approach to maritime archaeology and underwater cultural heritage management has taken its cue from ships. Legislation has, perhaps short-sightedly, focused on the same cultural features that were of interest to the western world and which formed the platform from which George Bass, and others (see Muckleroy 1978), developed the field from the 1960s onwards.

At the developmental stage of maritime archaeology, it seemed that the information that was being gained from raising artefacts, even if they were taken out of their spatial context, was worth the loss of contextual information. There were only a handful of individuals practising as maritime archaeologists and many sites. This did not mean that artefacts recovered by early maritime archaeologists were collected solely for collection purposes or without context. What was recovered was subjected to scientific scrutiny and dedicated research and the historical information being garnered from artefacts raised from the sea floor would have been ground-breaking whether viewed within an assemblage or as individual items. This prompted many archaeologists to work with treasure hunters, whose numbers far outweighed those in the archaeological fraternity, arguing that even some information was better than no information at all (Johnston 1993). The argument: "they'll take it anyway, at least this way we'll know what came out and get a small collection" allowed archaeologists a comfortable justification for condoning treasure hunting activities (Cockrell 1998). The compromise may well have been defensible – a few diving archaeologists could not, after all, hope to protect and excavate the wide variety of shipwreck sites that were being discovered worldwide – but treasure hunting from underwater sites went unchecked. From the point of view of legislators, the consequences of this were that the longer treasure hunting activities were allowed to continue, the more difficult it would become to alter legislation to stop such activities. As will be discussed in detail later, public consultation conducted in 2006 and 2007 in South Africa, for example, showed that the treasure hunting lobby was a powerful and substantial group who argued that by changing shipwreck protection legislation and outlawing commercial exploitation of shipwreck sites, the South African Government would, effectively, be robbing members of the public of their jobs/income and would be condemning the shipwreck resource around the South African coast. Treasure hunters threatened government agencies with legal action and vowed to continue their activities whether legally or illegally. Similar arguments seem to be provided across the globe.

During the 1970s and 1980s, treasure hunters and salvors around the world were locating and salvaging increasing numbers of shipwreck sites in the spotlight of intensifying public interest. Mel

Fisher's discovery of the Spanish galleon *Nuestra Senora de Atocha* in 1985 (Mathewson 1986), the discovery of the *SS Central America* in 1988 (Kinder 1998), and other treasure finds enthralled the public with tales of adventure and profits. But as numbers of maritime archaeologists grew and public and academic interest in protecting underwater sites increased simultaneously, solid, more protective legislation became necessary. Several countries enacted laws that required salvors to co-operate with archaeologists, declare finds or acquire permits to carry out work on shipwreck sites in the hope that more detailed and diverse historical data would be made available for research. However, since treasure hunters still outnumbered archaeologists, the focus of shipwreck research remained biased towards a particular type of shipwreck – those carrying valuable cargos – as project teams continued to search for shipwreck sites that they believed would offer the greatest financial return rather than sites that would add data to research programmes and the archaeological body of knowledge. Archaeologists scrambled to maintain an equal pace. Instead of directing their efforts at implementing archaeological projects, searching for historically significant sites, assessing located sites and interpreting excavated material, they were invariably forced into a role of heritage managers to regulate and monitor the work of treasure hunters.

As work continued, significant additions to the archaeological record derived from salvage projects dried up as treasure hunters repeatedly located and "excavated" similar types of sites. So-called "treasure ships" – mostly outward bound East India trading vessels, in the sub-Saharan African instance, homeward bound New World shipwrecks laden with silver and gold in the Caribbean or homeward bound East Indiamen carrying cargos of porcelain or non-ferrous metals in the case of the Indian Ocean Rim and East Asia – were being salvaged and their contents sold. Treasure hunters continued to confirm what was already known from historical records. Salvors were seldom willing to increase the already substantial expense of recovering shipwreck material by carrying out archaeological activities to any acceptable archaeological standard.

The consequences of treasure hunters targeting same-type sites and archaeologists being restricted to management roles were fourfold in southern Africa. Firstly, maritime archaeology and underwater cultural heritage management became focused on shipwrecks. Secondly, the archaeological record was skewed towards European trade ships. Thirdly, research was focused largely on trade goods, often ignoring personal belongings of crew and soldiers as well as ship construction. Finally, the public perception of archaeology underwater was that archaeology and treasure hunting were the same things (McGrail 1989, Gribble 2002, Ward 2003, Bowens 2009).

By the 1990s, heritage managers, archaeologists, and academic practitioners agreed that something needed to be done to curb the loss of archaeological material and, with it, archaeological knowledge. Countries like Australia had, in 1976 (Historic Shipwrecks Act 1976), led the world in enacting legislation that outlawed the commercial exploitation of historical shipwrecks. Now others followed by enacting similar legislation to regulate treasure hunting more rigorously. Concerned countries, institutions and organisations began looking for a means by which they could approach the universal challenges and problems that faced legislators around the world. With UNESCO as a driving agency, negotiations for a Convention to protect underwater cultural heritage sites began. At the same time, as it became clear that the debate surrounding the naming of the field had not merely been an academic contemplation, but a necessary step in defining the nature of the resource. Without knowing *what* was being considered, it would be impossible to formulate a strategy to protect and manage it. With this in mind, the term "Underwater Cultural Heritage" became increasingly accepted as one which would expand the definition from shipwreck sites to embrace any cultural site that existed underwater. Using the then recently drafted ICOMOS Charter, deliberations to draft the UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage began. In Paris in 2001, parties agreed to a text, and a number of States indicated their intention to ratify the agreement. The Convention required that 30 countries ratify it for it to come into force internationally. This number was achieved in January 2010.

2.3 THE GLOBAL RULES FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF MARITIME AND UNDERWATER CULTURAL HERITAGE

The 2001 Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage ("the 2001 Convention") resulted from the concerns raised by heritage managers across the globe who, in the presence of ambiguous legislation, had been forced to stand by helplessly as submerged cultural sites were looted and destroyed (UNESCO n.d.). The purpose of the Convention was to offer a universal tool for protection that could be applied in instances where a legislative vacuum existed (Preamble to the 2001 Convention). The Convention outlines the basic principles for the management and protection of underwater cultural heritage. The 2001 Convention differs from the more sweeping UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage of 1972 ("the World Heritage Convention") in its specificity and in providing strict Rules for implementation, although both were born from a need to protect threatened heritage sites where national legislative frameworks could not. Where the World Heritage Convention provided a broad platform for States to nominate cultural and/or natural sites of "outstanding universal value" for inscription on the World Heritage List, the Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage provided blanket protection of all submerged or partially submerged sites older than 100 years.

To date, 191 States have ratified the World Heritage Convention, including Mozambique, South Africa and Tanzania, and 1031 sites have been inscribed on the list. Of these, 94 (fewer than 10 percent) are in sub-Saharan Africa. Breen (2007) argues that the low inscription rate in Africa is due to a Western-centric set of criteria for nomination and a focus on monumental sites. This is exacerbated by a lack of professional capacity and funding. Arguably, the same Western approach has been applied to the 2001 Convention.

Reticence for ratification of the 2001 Convention may partially be a result of the challenges that have been experienced in the implementation of the 1972 World Heritage Convention. The benefits of a site being given World Heritage Site status are often unclear. States are obliged to maintain and protect World Heritage Sites and are burdened with the financial responsibilities for maintenance and management. Data regarding the economic advantages or benefits of World Heritage Site-status are often lacking. Anecdotal evidence from sites, such as Kilwa Kisiwani in Tanzania and Ilha de Mozambique in Mozambique, appears to indicate that visitor numbers have shown little change since the sites were declared in 1981 and 1991 respectively (TZ 2010, IDM 2014a). Additionally, communities living on the islands and the adjacent mainland have developed a distrust of outside agencies who conduct research or carry out maintenance partly because they see few benefits of research and few economic benefits. They also often feel excluded from related management processes (CIE 2010a). In the Kilwa Kisiwani instance, the lack of local interest in the site has eroded effective management systems. The burden for site maintenance by the Tanzanian Government's already overstretched budget for antiquities and culture appears to be proving too great and, as a result, the site is deteriorating. UNESCO has noted the deterioration and placed the site on its danger list in 2004 where it remained until 2014 (UNESCO 2004, UNESCO 2014). Recurring maintenance and governance issues continue to keep authorities on the back foot. While heritage management agencies and government departments implement legislative frameworks and policies on a high level, it is often the academe and non-governmental organisations that must adapt laws to assist community level strategies for effective local management approaches. Despite implementation challenges, the World Heritage Convention provides a potent framework for heritage protection. It is, however, evident that if site management processes contained within the World Heritage Convention are to be effective, it will only be through a revision of the management approach.

Like the World Heritage Convention, the 2001 Convention is a powerful tool for the management and protection of submerged or partially submerged sites. Its Annex forms an excellent basis from which to develop minimum standards for underwater cultural heritage management and maritime archaeology. Similarly, it has become clear that it has certain limitations. As Khakzad (2014) points out, for

example, even the definitions that are provided for the types of sites protected under the 2001 Convention are constraining. The Convention refers specifically to sites that have been submerged or partially submerged for 100 years or more (Article 1.1.a)[11]. This means that other associated maritime sites, landscapes that have been recently submerged or have dried up, and intangible sites do not receive the necessary safeguards offered by the Convention alone. This is not an insurmountable obstacle to the protection of such sites since national legislative frameworks, or the diversity of UNESCO Conventions relating to heritage can still be employed to fill gaps in the 2001 Convention. It is important to assess and make contingency for this omission.

It is also interesting to note that the 2001 Convention uses age as an indicator of significance, an old-fashioned practice still present in many legislative frameworks (see for example South Africa's National Heritage Resources Act (25 of 1999)).

The shortcomings of the 2001 Convention are outweighed by potential positives and can be mitigated through the development of a local approach that can apply the tenets of the document within a developing world context. The Convention may not be a "one size fits all" solution to the management of underwater cultural heritage, but it addresses many of the management issues that have plagued underwater cultural heritage in general, and shipwrecks in particular, over the past 60 years.

The potential benefits to underwater cultural heritage management derived from adopting the Convention would appear to make States' decisions to ratify an easy one, yet uptake has been slow.

But does anybody care?

11 Article 1 .1. (a) "Underwater cultural heritage" means all traces of human existence having a cultural, historical or archaeological character which have been partially or totally under water, periodically or continuously, for at least 100 years such as: (i) sites, structures, buildings, artefacts and human remains, together with their archaeological and natural context; (ii) vessels, aircraft, other vehicles or any part thereof, their cargo or other contents, together with their archaeological and natural context; and (iii) objects of prehistoric character. (b) Pipelines and cables placed on the seabed shall not be considered as underwater cultural heritage. (c) Installations other than pipelines and cables, placed on the seabed and still in use, shall not be considered as underwater cultural heritage.

2.3.1 GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE 2001 UNESCO CONVENTION ON THE PROTECTION OF UNDERWATER CULTURAL HERITAGE

On a theoretical level, the 2001 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage has, to a large extent been interrogated from two primary perspectives. Authors such as O'Keefe (1996a, 1996b), Smith and Couper (2003), Brice (1996), Evans *et al.* (2010), Geurin and Egger (2010), and Lane (2007) and documents such as the 1996 ICOMOS Charter for the Protection and Management of Underwater Cultural Heritage provide an evaluation or overview of the Convention's history, purpose, content and preferred implementation strategies. Others provide a commentary on the reluctance of major maritime nations to ratify the Convention based on potential legal conflicts (Lane 2007, Anzer-Gomez 2010, UK UNESCO 2001 Convention Review Group 2014). Little quantitative research has been concluded to test the benefits or efficacy of implementation of the Convention in those states that have ratified it. Furthermore, a number of states that have not ratified have, in theory, more effective and punitive legislative structures that protect underwater cultural heritage. South Africa, for example, has a more rigorous protective legislative structure at the national level than through the 2001 Convention as will be discussed in detail below.

Amongst the most vocal commentators to address the Convention are Dromgoole and O'Keefe. While both have contributed significant insight into the rationale behind the Convention, as well as providing a deeper understanding and legal interpretation of the content, it is difficult to determine the effectiveness of the provisions contained therein in either a developed world or developing world context. O'Keefe's *Shipwrecked Heritage: A commentary on the UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage* (2002) provides a seminal foundation for understanding the rationale behind the development and eventual acceptance of the Convention. At the same time, the authors analyse the Articles of the Convention in detail, offering examples of national legislations and case studies.

O'Keefe's commentary on the Rules contained in the Annex to the Convention offers a clear explanation of the archaeological and management justifications for applying best practice and ethical standards to underwater cultural heritage sites. The work is essential for heritage managers and government policy makers who are required to interpret and implement legislation on a bureaucratic level.

It is also an essential tool that unpacks the legal-speak of the Convention into understandable terms. Having been written just a year after the text of the Convention was accepted, before any country had ratified the framework and before its implementation was tested in the real world, O'Keefe's work could not predict the challenges of applying the convention in the many socio-economic contexts of the world. Even in the developed world, it has been difficult for states to agree on a singular implementation strategy. It has proved near impossible to find overarching solutions to the many obstacles that have hindered acceptance and implementation in the developing world. This has been evidenced by the continued challenges to underwater cultural heritage management in countries such as Nigeria and South Africa, which have ratified the 2001 Convention.

Dromgoole (2013a) has written extensively on both the UNESCO Convention and policy-making aimed at protection of underwater cultural heritage. While she has consistently encouraged ratification and argued vociferously *for* the Convention, she has recognised the stumbling blocks that have resulted in poor uptake and ratification by the major maritime powers such as the United Kingdom, the Netherlands[12], Australia and the United States. Such states have, to varying degrees, extensive historical interests, and have pioneered maritime heritage policies. Political concerns, particularly concerning military sovereignty and perceived contradictions between the 2001 Convention and the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), have made governments reticent to ratify the former (Dromgoole 2013b). Dromgoole has considered many of the arguments against ratification of the 2001 Convention and the development of policies that outlaw commercial exploitation of historic wrecks. This has included the challenges presented by inconsistencies or contradictions between national laws (UK Protection of Wrecks Act 1973), international conventions (UNCLOS), public rights and the 2001 Convention – arguments around the ownership of wrecks being primary amongst these (Dromgoole and Gaskell 1993).

Dromgoole (2013b) provides specific arguments supporting ratification despite these perceived stumbling blocks. She reasons that the provisions made within the articles of the 2001 Convention allow State Parties a degree of freedom to not only determine how the Convention is applied to underwater cultural heritage within national boundaries, but also how interests outside of national jurisdiction can be protected in areas where potential jurisdictional clashes occur with, for example, UNCLOS, various national legislation or sovereign rights afforded to military vessels and war graves. Dromgoole (2013a, 2013b) maintains that the Convention *supports* rather than *weakens* political interests.

It should be noted that the 2001 Convention expressly deals with potential conflicts with UNCLOS in Article 3:

> *"Nothing in this Convention shall prejudice the rights, jurisdiction and duties of States under international law, including the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. This Convention shall be interpreted and applied in the context of and in a manner consistent with international law, including the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea."*

While many States maintain that ratification of the 2001 Convention would muddy the waters of international ocean governance, objective legal interpretations, and analyses of the impact of the Convention on States' rights and duties are increasingly providing evidence for the Convention as a viable means for protecting underwater cultural heritage. In addition, despite these jurisdictional concerns, many states have supported the spirit and

12 In 2016, the Netherlands announced its intention to ratify the 2001 Convention.

objectives of the Convention by adopting its Annex as a framework for management best practice (Varmer, *et al.* 2010, UK UNESCO 2001 Convention Review Group 2014).

Encouraging uptake of the 2001 Convention has, however, continued to be difficult. UNESCO currently has only one permanent employee, supported by one employee in a temporary post, dedicated to the 2001 Convention. Considering that approximately 77 percent of the world's countries are coastal states and the remainder rely on fresh water rivers, dams and lakes and, therefore, may have an interest in the protection of underwater cultural heritage, it is surprising that this Convention appears to be given low priority by UNESCO and attracts relatively little interest at individual Member State level. The Member States that make up UNESCO's region Vb (Arab States) have shown the highest percentage uptake for the 2001 Convention. Eight out of 22 countries (36.4 percent) have acceded. Latin America and the Caribbean, including South America, making up Region III of UNESCO's regional clusters, follow closely behind. Eighteen of the 50 (36 percent) countries that make up this region have ratified. The countries of UNESCO's region II (Central and Eastern Europe) lead European ratification with 11 countries having acceded to the 2001 Convention. Five countries in UNESCO's region I (Western and Southern Europe) have ratified totalling 16 out of 53 (30.2 percent) European countries having ratified. Africa (Region Vb) and the Asia/Pacific (Region IV) have fared poorly with uptake, reaching just 17 percent (eight countries out of 47) and 4 percent respectively. Only Cambodia and the Islamic Republic of Iran have ratified out of 50 States included in the Asia/Pacific region[13].

Globally, this amounts to approximately 25 percent acceptance of the Convention. By comparison, 191 countries have acceded to the 1972 World Heritage Convention (97.4 percent) and 163 to the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage (83.2 percent), promulgated two years *after* the 2001 Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage.

A number of factors have contributed towards this apathy towards the 2001 Convention in Africa. A strong salvage and treasure hunting lobby have promoted an agenda to undermine the Convention. Hall (2007) highlighted some of the arguments put forward by commercial salvage interests against ratification. Perhaps most significantly, these included the contention that *in situ* conservation, the Convention's "first option" for managing underwater cultural heritage, was both unfeasible and detrimental to submerged sites and the artefacts they contained. It is in the interests of treasure hunters to argue that sites and objects underwater are in peril and should, therefore, be saved from the sea before they disappear altogether. It is further argued that mandated *in situ* conservation would mean that both treasure hunting and archaeological excavation would be outlawed. Finally, lobbyists for commercial salvage of historic wrecks pointed at the potential expense of the requirement to conserve all discovered underwater cultural heritage *in situ*.

While it is true that evidence supporting a slowdown in deterioration of submerged sites over time is sparse, there are increasingly persuasive studies that show that shipwreck (or other) sites reach a point of equilibrium where deterioration is negligible (Maarleveld, Guerin and Egger 2013). At the same time, it is necessary only to examine a wreck site to understand that corrosion is an undeniable threat to archaeological material. However, it is disingenuous to argue that all sites are the same and that all sites are threatened. For this reason, the 2001 Convention proposes *in situ* conservation as the "first consideration," not the only consideration. This caveat allows heritage managers and other practitioners the freedom to assess sites on a case by case basis to determine whether other interventions are necessary or desirable. Archaeologists are afforded access to sites and States have the scope to examine other management options should *in situ* conservation be prohibitively costly or otherwise unfeasible.

13 United Nations Statistic Division http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49regin.htm retrieved 18 January 2016 has been used to determine the number of State Parties in each region. However, UNESCO has created an "Arab States" category which includes 11 States from the Asia Region and 11 States from Africa http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=23110andURL_DO=DO_TOPICandURL_SECTION=201.html

The Convention is further plagued by arguments surrounding sovereign rights, perceived conflicts with the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea and other infringements on a State's rights (Aznar-Gomez 2010, Williams 2006), as mentioned above. In their review of the impact of ratification for the United Kingdom in 2014, the Joint Nautical Archaeology Policy Committee (JNAPC) showed that this was not the case. They concluded that "[t] he majority of the substantive clauses of the 2001 Convention appear to present no difficulty to the UK…" (UK UNESCO 2001 Convention Review Group 2014, 71). The report went further to suggest that ratification may provide opportunities to *improve* cooperation between the Member States wishing to lay claim to and manage sovereign vessels in foreign waters as they become empowered by the 2001 Convention to initiate a dialogue towards mutually beneficial management solutions.

The United States has similarly argued that, while it supports the Preamble, the Rules and the principles of the 2001 Convention (Varmer, *et al.* 2010), it is concerned there are conflicts between the 2001 Convention and UNCLOS that could limit or confiscate rights of flag states whose state vessels lie in the Territorial Waters, Contiguous Zone, Exclusive Economic Zone or Continental Shelf (as defined by UNCLOS) of foreign coastal states (Blumberg 2001, O'Keefe 2002). In essence, the United States' concerns centred on the risk that there would be a loss of rights to secure management control over sunken military vessels and or the remains of other military operations within the territory of foreign coastal states. In the instance of the United States, these security issues were prioritised over ratification of the Convention, but federal and state heritage institutions have been encouraged to apply the Rules of the Annex to the 2001 Convention in managing scientific investigation of underwater cultural heritage, and to uphold the spirit of the preamble in determining management strategies aimed at the underwater cultural heritage resource (Varmer *et al*. 2010).

The 2014 JNAPC assessment dealt specifically with the above concerns. While they applied their analysis within the context of the United Kingdom's regulatory frameworks, their conclusions that the 2001 Convention did not infringe on national legislation or international Conventions such as UNCLOS could be applicable in the many countries who raised similar concerns as a barrier to ratification. It should again be noted that the 2001 Convention expressly deals with potential conflicts with UNCLOS in Article 3, as described above.

Government concerns surrounding the infringement of the tenets of UNCLOS by the 2001 Convention aside, there remains little public enthusiasm for the latter. While heritage managers and archaeologists have vocally supported ratification and have lobbied governments to consider acceding to the Convention, as evidenced by processes carried out by the JNAPC or by the Department of Arts and Culture in South Africa (Department of Arts and Culture 2006a, 2006b, 2007a, 2007b 2008a, 2008b), the public voice has not been added to the debate either way. Public pressure placed on management agencies may help convince governments to identify pathways to ratify or, if the above concerns remain insurmountable, at least make efforts to harmonise domestic legislation with the principles and regulations of the Convention. This has been the case in the United States and the United Kingdom, amongst others.

The Convention plays a role in giving a voice to States who may wish to protect their underwater cultural heritage lying outside of their sovereign waters. Several examples of this exist, most prominent of which was Spain's successful international legal challenge on American treasure hunting company Odyssey Marine Exploration's salvage of coins from the galleon *Nuestra Senora de las Mercedes* after its discovery in 2007. While the United States has not ratified the Convention and cannot, therefore, compel its citizens to refrain from commercial exploitation of underwater cultural heritage, Spain's case against Odyssey, which was based on its right of ownership of war ships, was possibly bolstered by its own ratification of the Convention (Huang 2013**)**. In the same vein, the Convention may have facilitated collaboration between Namibia and Portugal when the remains of the Portuguese Nau believed to be the *Bom Jesus*, was uncovered by Namdeb mining company in 2008. Again, Namibia had not ratified the Convention, although it has done so subsequently,

but Portuguese ratification eased the path for a collaborative approach to the excavation of the site.

While both of these examples illustrate the value of the Convention, they also raise questions about whether ratification is necessary. In the Namibian example, a lack of maritime archaeological capacity necessitated enlisting outside experts. This was facilitated by the 2001 Convention, but in light of Namibia's willingness to excavate and conserve the site, it is likely that Portuguese archaeologists would have been seconded to the site regardless of the Convention. In the case against Odyssey, it was not Spanish courts who decided the fate of the cargo. Because neither Odyssey nor the United States is encumbered by any of the Articles of the Convention, it could be argued that it played no part in the court's decision.

The *Nuestra Senora de las Mercedes* case highlighted some other shortcomings of the Convention. Twenty-five Peruvian nationals joined Odyssey Marine Explorations to argue that the recovered cargo should be returned to its original owners, the former Spanish colony of Peru. In this instance, Spain was less inclined to adhere to the Articles of either the 2001 Convention or UNCLOS, both of which prescribe international collaboration and consensus (Huang 2013**,** Crossman Cheng n.d.). Peru is not a signatory to the 2001 Convention and, as such, its nationals could not use it to support their cause. US courts did not support the Peruvian application. It remains questionable whether either of the Conventions holds sufficient sway to allow more marginalised voices to be heard (New York Times 2007).

The most fundamental obstacle to the Convention's uptake may lie in the perception of the resource itself. Underwater cultural heritage is often understood as an out-of-sight and irrelevant heritage resource with little social or economic value. With this in mind, it is understandable that there are few local or community initiatives lobbying for protection, promotion and management of underwater cultural heritage through ratification of the 2001 Convention. Because there appear to be few perceived benefits there is little incentive to petition national governments towards adopting a protective policy for underwater cultural heritage at a local level, it is perhaps necessary, therefore, to examine reasons for the Convention's failure to gain traction amongst the public. These issues will be discussed in detail in the sections that follow.

2.3.2 THE UNESCO CONVENTION ON THE PROTECTION OF UNDERWATER CULTURAL HERITAGE IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

African states have faced similar challenges in their deliberations regarding ratification of the 2001 Convention as their global counterparts. However, within the African context, a decision whether or not to ratify appears to depend on concerns beyond questions surrounding jurisdiction, sovereignty and the ethics of commercial exploitation of underwater cultural heritage resources.

Although eight sub-Saharan African states[14] have ratified the convention, few have the capacity to implement the Convention's mandates[15]. The application of the Convention and the Rules, both in those States that have ratified and in others who may be convinced to apply the Annex in their domestic heritage management frameworks, continues to be problematic. Within this cluster, only South Africa has significant, operational underwater cultural heritage management and maritime archaeological capacity. Namibia has one recently qualified maritime archaeologist[16]. Mozambique, through initiatives

14 Four North African states have ratified the Convention but since they are included in a cluster that includes the Mediterranean, North Africa and the Middle East, they will not be considered in this research. This study will focus on the eight sub-Saharan African states that have acceded to the Convention as of July 2016, namely: Benin (ratified 4 August 2011), Democratic Republic of Congo (28 September 2010), Gabon (1 February 2010), Madagascar (19 January 2015), Namibia (9 March 2011), Nigeria (21 October 2005), Togo (7 June 2013), and South Africa (acceded 12 May 2015).

15 For an overview of sub-Saharan Africa's maritime archaeological and underwater cultural heritage management capacity see Appendix VI.

16 Amongst states that have not ratified the Convention, Kenya, Tanzania, Mozambique and Senegal have established or are in the process of developing maritime archaeological capacity. Tanzania has an established Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage Team, Kenya has one maritime archaeologist working in the National Museums of Kenya, while Mozambique and Senegal have embarked on a programme to increase maritime archaeological capacity through expanding the skill sets of recently graduated archaeology students.

implemented by the Slave Wrecks Project, has begun to capacitate terrestrial archaeologists with maritime archaeological skills. Apathy amongst the public has disinclined governments to develop maritime archaeology and underwater cultural heritage management. Capacity shortages in these disciplines are symptomatic of this broader indifference as well as of other fundamental issues specific to individual states and the African context.

2.3.2.1 Obstacles to Ratification of the 2001 Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage in sub-Saharan Africa

A number of obstacles to ratification continually present themselves:

Significantly, UNESCO appears to be treated with some suspicion. This was illustrated at a sub-regional meeting hosted by CIE in Dar-es-Salaam in 2008 where delegates suggested that representatives should advise their governments not to ratify. The common perception was that once States had ratified, UNESCO would no longer show an interest and would focus their limited funding on persuading countries that had not ratified to do so. This perception had evolved from an examination of the regional activities undertaken by UNESCO. Of the nations that have ratified the Convention, only Nigeria, which funded the *First African Regional Meeting on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage* in Yenagoa and Madagascar which requested the intervention of the Convention's Scientific and Technical Advisory Body (STAB), have been beneficiaries of regional UNESCO initiatives. In contrast, two capacity building programmes for African underwater cultural heritage practitioners have been presented in Turkey and one in Kenya, neither of which have ratified the Convention. Kenya was also the host of the *Second African Regional Meeting on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage* held in 2015. A regional took place in Mozambique is planned in December 2016.

Many states feel that it will be too expensive to implement the Convention in the manner envisaged by the document itself, that capacity building will take too long, that legislative infrastructure will be difficult to put into place or, simply, that underwater cultural heritage is not relevant enough to warrant the commitment of resources. In the eyes of the bureaucracies that administrate heritage management, therefore, there appear to be few incentives to ratify. This was discussed in detail amongst delegates at a regional meeting held in Dar-es-Salaam in 2011.

In addition to understanding the rationale behind states not ratifying the Convention, it is prudent to examine the motivations and processes that led to ratification from the perspective of those states who *have* done so. Both Namibia and Madagascar ratified the 2001 Convention in response to increasing pressure on submerged heritage resources. The 2009 discovery of the 1533 wreck *Bom Jesus* during coastal diamond mining operations near Oranjemund sparked a worldwide interest in the wrecks of Namibia (Werz 2010, Chirikure and Sinamai 2015). It's famed ship graveyard, the Skeleton Coast, is testimony to more recent shipping disasters, but the discovery of an older vessel, possibly the oldest European shipwreck to be discovered in sub-Saharan Africa, laden with trade goods, personal belongings, ships tools, gold coins, and other valuable cargo items, piqued the interest of both archaeologists and treasure hunters. Fortunately, mining company NamDeb's staff archaeologist identified the peculiar objects that were being recovered from the seabed during mining activities as a wreck and consulted with government, heritage practitioners and the academe. A multi-national research team made up of practitioners from, amongst others, Portugal, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe, were coopted to excavate, record and conserve the ship's remains (Smith 2009, Werz 2010). In the absence of unambiguous national legislation that would protect the site, define ownership, and establish international cooperation protocols, the Namibian Government added the 2001 Convention to its legislative arsenal.

Madagascar appears to have pushed for ratification for much the same reason. Having been disappointed by the outcomes of an agreement drawn up between the Government, documentary film company October Films and, previously, Barry Clifford, a self-described explorer, in which it had been envisaged

that Malagasies would benefit from artefact exhibitions, capacity building programmes and the donation of recovered finds to the state, Madagascar sought a solution that would assist it to protect its underwater cultural heritage and ratified the 2001 Convention (l'Hour 2015, Phillip 2015).

An initial agreement between the Malagasy authorities and Clifford had envisaged a 50/50 spilt of recovered shipwreck finds. In return, it was expected that training for maritime archaeologists would be provided. In a subsequent contract drawn up between Madagascar's Ministry of Culture and Handicraft and October Films in 2012, the latter were given permission to undertake filming for a documentary series on pirate history. It became clear, however, that the film team was excavating submerged sites in contravention of the conditions of the permit (l'Hour 2015). Madagascar sent a delegation to the 5th Meeting of the States Parties held in Paris on 28 and 29 April 2015 to request assistance in assessing the work of the film team. The States Parties agreed to send a mission, led by the Scientific and Technical Advisory Board (STAB), to Ile Sainte Marie where salvage work had been undertaken. The STAB mission concluded that the film team had disturbed several wreck sites in contravention of their permit. In addition, the mission concluded that the film team had failed to meet the standards required by the Rules in the Annex to the 2001 Convention (although l'Hour admitted that the STAB mission members were not present during the film team's operations and therefore had to rely on verbal and written submissions of witnesses in assessing adherence to some of the Rules). Finally, the mission team argued that the film team had potentially misidentified the wreck site that they had claimed was Captain William Kidd's *Adventure Galley*, wrecked in 1698 and from which they had recovered a lead ingot which they had mistakenly identified as silver (l'Hour 2015). Like many commercially motivated projects, the promise of training local expertise as part of their work programme does not appear to have been fulfilled. As a result of the STAB mission, Madagascar has not renewed permits for filming or salvage and has begun establishing a framework for capacity development and scientific endeavour.

Neither Namibia nor Madagascar has made significant advances in their underwater cultural heritage capacity since ratification, although it is unfair, perhaps, to expect an immediate transition. In both the Madagascan and Namibian examples, the ratification of the 2001 Convention provided a convenient international framework towards protection of underwater cultural heritage material that was under immediate threat. Both States made use of Article 6 of the Convention which encourages regional and international cooperation. Both could assess work undertaken on sites against the protocols laid out in the Rules in the Annex. For both countries, the Convention offered clear and positive solutions to immediate challenges.

In both the Namibian and Malagasy examples, it is questionable whether the ratification of the 2001 Convention has had a sustained impact or resulted in significant improvements in the management and promotion of underwater cultural heritage to date. During the excavation of the *Bom Jesus* in 2009, maritime archaeology veteran Francisco Alves, head of nautical archaeology under the Portuguese Ministry of Culture excitedly told National Geographic:

> *"This is a priceless opportunity. We know so little about these great old ships. This is only the second one ever excavated by archaeologists. All the others were plundered by treasure hunters"* (Francisco Alves quoted in Smith 2009, accessed online)

While conservation is ongoing, little has come from the excavation of the wreck in the eight years since its discovery. Scientific publication beyond site reports has been lacking, public access has been denied, and there have been no observable benefits to the region or local communities. Although Namibian capacity has been enhanced – a maritime archaeologist has been trained, and conservation skills are being transferred on an ongoing basis – the project has not, to date, contributed towards better heritage management, public awareness or the academic body of knowledge. Plans for establishing a museum to house the shipwreck collection and

display Namibia's maritime heritage have yet to come to fruition. It would be unfair to point fingers at the Namibian Government, upon whom the wreck and the archaeological material were thrust, but the case further highlights such challenges. The 2001 Convention offers little advice on what should happen next.

While the intentions embodied in the Convention are undoubtedly a constructive and progressive ideal against which underwater cultural heritage management and engagement should be measured, it is necessary to debate its general applicability in the African context. The establishment of "competent authorities" as required by Article 22 has, in most instances, been purely ceremonial. For example, Nigeria, the first African State to ratify the Convention, has struggled to build the capacity required to implement the duties of the Authority. While the Federal Ministry of Tourism, Culture and National Orientation has been designated as the Authority[17], it does not have the trained personnel who would make it a viable and productive agency. Benin, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Gabon, Madagascar, Namibia and Togo are in similar predicaments. Lack of political will, funding, skilled personnel and academic prospects contribute towards an environment in which states are incapable of adhering to the Convention's requirements as was illustrated by country reports presented during the First African Regional Meeting on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage in Yenagoa, Nigeria. This is not a failure of the Convention, but indicative of the challenges of its universal applicability and the common lack of capacity of states in the region to implement the Convention.

It is too early to determine how ratification of the Convention will affect Madagascar's capacity requirements and maritime archaeological output. Efforts are under way to develop the sector. An individual from Madagascar, who had participated in the STAB assessment mission to Ile Sainte Marie in June 2015, and who has been identified to participate in the establishment of a new maritime museum on the island, received training at an African Regional Underwater Cultural Heritage Training programme held in Mombasa in December 2015[18]. Activities aimed at submerged sites will, however, require the development of skills amongst a much larger pool of individuals – a long-term investment which will require patience and perseverance if any benefits are to be seen. This raises some important questions surrounding *what* capacity will be created, and *how* it will be established. Who will fund training and who will be the beneficiaries of capacity building programmes? In a scenario where tutoring can be provided, is the need to establish a pool of heritage managers who can police and administer activities (most likely undertaken by foreign researchers) or fostering local archaeological capacity (thereby nurturing local research opportunities) more urgent? The answers to these questions will be determined by the relative benefits that any action will produce, both in terms of social (and political) advantage and in terms of fiscal contribution. These issues will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

In addition to the complications of establishing and capacitating a Competent Authority, Nigeria has found itself in a similar position to both Madagascar and Namibia with regard to developing its underwater cultural heritage sector. Following its hosting of the 1st African Regional Meeting on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage in November 2013, Nigeria announced its intentions to establish an Underwater Cultural Heritage Research and Imaging Centre in Yenagoa, Bayelsa State (UNESCO 2013). Representatives of the Federal Department of Tourism, Culture and National Orientation secured premises and began identifying individuals who could assist in building skills and training staff who would operationalise the Centre. In addition, Nigeria began a process to create a maritime archaeology/underwater cultural heritage chair either at Port Harcourt University or the maritime training school in Abuja (Augustus Ajibola, *pers. comm.*). To date, neither of these goals has been achieved. The complexity of the process, the resultant protracted time-frames required to

17 http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/underwater-cultural-heritage/2001-convention/competent-authorities/ accessed 20 January 2016

18 The programme, organised by UNESCO through its regional office in Nairobi in association with the Kenyan Government provided participants from Kenya, Nigeria, Mozambique, South Africa, Madagascar and Senegal with a basic introduction to underwater cultural heritage management and maritime archaeological theory and methods.

achieve maturation of maritime heritage field, and the challenge to implement the demands of the Convention following ratification demonstrate the need for sustained commitment and political will.

Again, it must be stated that these challenges are not a failure of the document itself, but rather a disconnect in current interpretation and understanding of how the contents of the document can be contextually applied. The Convention presents a set of ideals but offers little assistance in determining operational approaches applicable within non-western contexts. The 2001 Convention espouses a "*what to do*" for underwater cultural heritage management, rather than the "*how to do it.*" It is essential if this document is to be held as the yardstick against which policy and practice are to be measured, that mechanisms of implementing the Convention within the constraints of the developing world are identified. If these approaches cannot be developed, there is little hope that the tenets of the Convention will be upheld.

2.3.3 THE UNESCO CONVENTION ON THE PROTECTION OF UNDERWATER CULTURAL HERITAGE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Many of the issues applicable to the 2001 Convention that exist in the South African context are equally relevant elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa. However, the South African example is unique within the region and needs to be examined on its own. South Africa differs from other African states in that it possesses a combination of elements that impact on legislators' perceptions of the relevance and applicability of the Convention and, therefore, on the path leading to ratification. Specifically, the country is fortunate to have a relatively advanced maritime infrastructure coupled with good management policy aimed at underwater cultural heritage. South Africa's domestic legislation has protected shipwreck sites in one form or another since 1979, as will be described below. While protection structures have several operational and implementation shortcomings, South Africa's National Heritage Resources Act (25 of 1999) established a strong set of rules for ensuring that activities aimed at historic shipwrecks could be controlled and managed. Because of this, policy makers agreed that, from a theoretical perspective, existing legislation provided an adequate protective strategy and there was no urgent need for South Africa to ratify the 2001 Convention (Forrest and Gribble 2002).

At the implementation level, however, practitioners found management more difficult. National legislation is silent on issues relating to the commercial exploitation of shipwrecks (Forrest and Gribble 2002), and so, given the treasure hunting precedent that had been set in South Africa since the 1970s, administrators were hard pressed to refuse permits for commercially orientated operations (Gribble 2006, Sharfman, Maitland, Winton and Parthesius 2014). An effort at the policy level had been made to outlaw commercial salvage of historic wrecks in 2006. SAHRA, the institution mandated by government to manage heritage in South Africa, developed a policy document in which it stated that permits for shipwreck projects would be issued only to those applicants whose programmes were non-commercial. Unfortunately, this policy was deemed to be in conflict with various sections of the Act and its associated Regulations and was therefore repealed in 2007 (SAHRA Minutes of Council Meetings, 2007).

Heritage managers approached national legislative bodies with their concerns and, in 2008, the Department of Arts and Culture initiated a series of public consultation workshops during which the ratification of the Convention was debated (Department of Arts and Culture 2006a, 2006b, 2007a, 2007b, 2008a, 2008b). Stakeholders from the archaeological, heritage and salvage communities, together with other interested groups and individuals, were invited to deliberate on the implications and merits of ratification.

As expected, heritage practitioners, whether archaeologists or managers, came out in favour of accession to the Convention, while individuals and groups involved in commercial salvage and treasure hunting were opposed.

Treasure hunters have lobbied extensively around the sanctioning of commercial activities aimed at shipwrecks, or other profitable underwater cultural heritage sites (Hall 2007, Duarte 2012, Gribble

and Sharfman 2013, and many others). Several new arguments that undermine the Convention and support treasure hunting have emerged since the text was accepted in 2001. Issues including the negative consequences of *in situ* conservation and the untenable expense associated with maritime archaeology, underwater cultural heritage management and the responsible recovery and conservation of submerged finds have contributed to the treasure hunters vociferous lobby against the ratification of the Convention in South Africa and abroad (Hall 2007, Sharfman, Boshoff and Parthesius 2012, Gribble and Sharfman 2013). During South Africa's public consultation on ratification of the 2001 Convention, treasure hunters raised concerns that ratification would result in the accrual of unnecessary costs for a government seeking to protect large numbers of shipwrecks off of their coast. They argued that it would be prohibitively expensive for the South African Government to be tasked with the identification, assessment, conservation and monitoring of the nearly 3000 known historic shipwrecks that fall within its management jurisdiction. Treasure hunters argued that some of the costs could be defrayed through allowing commercial salvage and it would, therefore, be expedient to allow salvors to assist in underwater cultural heritage management through being issued licences to recover objects from sites (Department of Arts and Culture 2006a, 2006b, 2007a, 2007b, 2008a, 2008b). It was argued that ratification of the Convention would close legislative ambiguities and end possibilities to issue licences to salvage historic wrecks. Treasure hunters contended that this would mean that companies with commercial interests would not be able to contribute towards any form of monitoring and data production. Ratification would, therefore, be undesirable in such a scenario.

Firth (2011) points out the disingenuousness of this argument. The Convention, and many national laws, only apply to sites that have been discovered and on which individuals wish to conduct disturbance activities. This means that management agencies are not obliged to locate and protect *all* potential sites. South Africa is not alone in this regard. Mozambique has also been inundated with requests for salvage licences from treasure hunters claiming to be acting on behalf of the government and in the interests of conservation and underwater cultural heritage management (Duarte 2012**)**. Similar reasoning is presented by lobbyists around the world using half-truths or misdirection, as described by Hall (2007).

When South Africa ratified the 2001 Convention in May 2015, it had carefully considered the ramifications. Stakeholders were aware of their capacity shortcomings and the limitations, or strengths, of the policies that were already in place. The Department of Arts and Culture had consulted extensively with its heritage management agencies to understand the field and its scope more completely and to identify the operational challenges faced by under-capacitated management units attempting to deal with an extensive resource. The Department of Arts and Culture understood that ratification would not be the end of a process for improved management of underwater cultural heritage, but rather the beginning of a long-term programme for building capacity, raising awareness and stimulating academic research aimed at the resource. What could be learned from the South African experience was that, in the developing world, ratification required commitment, resources, and long-term vision.

The challenges associated with underwater cultural heritage management in the developing world context have received little attention, although the potential for analysis of data being produced during the process of South Africa's ratification of the 2001 Convention and its subsequent implementation is an exciting prospect. While authors, such as Dromgoole (2013, 2013a), Gribble (2002), O'Keefe (2002) and others have written extensively about the Convention and other legislative frameworks, they have done so from the perspective of the western experience. Until recently, there has been little available information that would allow researchers to objectively investigate the impact of the Convention in Africa or elsewhere in the developing world. Archaeologists such as Lane (2007) and Duarte (2012) are often lone voices against the threat of treasure hunting. The lack of available data means that it is necessary to examine and assess national strategies for underwater cultural heritage management in instances in sub-Saharan Africa where states have developed or developing policy frameworks in place.

2.4 NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORKS: A SOUTH AFRICAN CASE STUDY

Assessment of broad efficacy and relevance of legislative structures for protecting underwater cultural heritage at the national level is largely based on anecdotal evidence provided by archaeologists on the one hand, or treasure hunters on the other. This holds true in South Africa where the implementation of legislation has been impacted by precedent, ambiguities and lobbying power. While heritage practitioners have written extensively on policy and legislative models, there has been little analysis of evidence to suggest that application of management strategies promoted by archaeologists that outlaw treasure hunting has been either effective or ineffective. Evidence to support the claims of the value of allowing treasure hunting is even less obtainable. Treasure hunting companies are notoriously poor at publishing their findings, especially where activities have taken place in the developing world (Adams 2010).

South Africa's National Heritage Resources Act has been chosen as a case study for the examination of sub-Saharan legislative frameworks for several reasons:

1. While the East African and West African coasts have a much older maritime trade history, the more recent colonial trade around the southern tip of Africa reflects a period of the past that fundamentally and unquestionably altered the evolution of both South African society and the history of the African continent as a whole. South Africa became a melting pot of assorted foreign immigrants and administrators from across the globe. Traders, farmers, explorers, fortune seekers and colonists from Europe, Asia, Africa and the Middle East converged on the southern tip of Africa and made the continent their new home. Their diverse social and cultural practices contributed towards the evolution of unique societies that began to develop their own collective identities within southern African. This new society unequivocally influenced the social, economic and political landscape of the region and, through its maritime links with the rest of the world, its influence was felt across the globe. South Africa's maritime heritage is undeniably worth protecting.

2. In 1979, when measures to manage underwater sites were first promulgated, the heritage protection methodologies highlighted two perspectives:

    - By celebrating the dominance of European heritage over the African past, politicians in the nationalist, apartheid government found an expedient justification for its exclusionary regime; South Africa commemorated European prowess at all levels. Heritage managers declared colonial buildings as national monuments and honoured victories in battles with indigenous peoples. The way in which shipwrecks were presented to the public informed perceptions of this manufactured past. While their association with colonialism should not exclude them from current management regimes, as will become clear, it is important to recognise the motivation behind the evolution of management frameworks for these sites and the subsequent implications for heritage legislation development; and,

    - South Africa's maritime past had played a key role in the evolution of both the African and the global socio-political climate. South Africa's position had served two vital functions: firstly, a pivot for European trade with the East and resulting colonial expansion; and secondly, in the more recent past, as the gateway to southern Africa.

3. South Africa's current National Heritage Resources Act (29 of 1999*)* is currently the most advanced framework for managing underwater cultural heritage in sub-Saharan Africa. It is not only the most comprehensive legislation aimed at underwater cultural heritage management in the region but also amongst the oldest.

4. The Act also incorporates all of the management protocols that have been, and are being, applied to underwater cultural heritage in varying degrees in those countries in the sub-Saharan African region which have maritime heritage legislation.

5. As was the case in the drafting of the 2001 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage, the evolution of legislation that protected underwater cultural heritage in South Africa has been a reactive process, driven by threats to both heritage resources and political ideologies.

How South Africa, as a case study, has managed the vestiges of this cultural resource is as varied as the people who shaped it.

South Africa's legislation aimed at the protection of underwater cultural heritage was slow in development. Although coastal and maritime-related pre-colonial archaeological sites had been protected by the National Monuments Act (28 of 1969) for almost half a century, legislative protection for wrecks was a more recent addition to South Africa's legislative framework. The late addition of shipwrecks to the heritage management mandate does not suggest that underwater cultural heritage sites were not under threat as the target of treasure hunters, souvenir collectors, looters and divers in general. As witnessed globally, the production of the aqualung and easy access to personal diving gear allowed anyone brave enough to don the new technology access to a vast collection of relatively untouched heritage resources, with wreck sites being the primary focus. Pioneer antiquarians intruding into this new environment tended to be individuals focused on exploiting the commercial potential of treasure ships wrecked off the world's coasts. In the absence of maritime archaeologists and maritime heritage resources managers, management efforts were aimed primarily at ensuring that state institutions benefited from financial gains and received samples of recovered finds for display. Because practitioners had little interest in the resource (Rudner 1986), treasure hunters controlled the direction that legislation initially took. As a result of this, legislation has, over the years, attempted to accommodate the interests of treasure hunting, salvage and archaeology within frameworks for managing and preserving maritime archaeological sites. Various permutations of the management alternatives together with attempts to incorporate international trends, local pressures and individual philosophies have produced myriad management models (Gribble and Sharfman 2013). They have been both introspective and global, inclusive and exclusive and have constantly changed to suit developing, contemporary thought. The effectiveness of these different approaches and trends in the South African context has, however, not been assessed. It is, therefore, necessary to analyse various management efforts to understand how underwater cultural heritage is perceived in sub-Saharan Africa; why maritime heritage is perceived in that way; and what this means for management and engagement. Additionally, it would be constructive to propose a more contextually applicable approach to underwater cultural heritage management and promotion. To do this, it is first necessary to understand the development of legislation and the environment in which it was promulgated.

2.4.1 THE EVOLUTION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S UNDERWATER CULTURAL HERITAGE LEGISLATION

By the 1970s, South Africa's archaeological sites were protected by the National Monuments Act (Act 28 of 1969), but little attention was paid to shipwreck sites (Gribble and Sharfman 2013). Although domestic legislation referred to activities aimed at historical wrecks, it was broadly applicable to the salvage of more recent remains (Van Meurs 1980). However, as diving became more popular and the prospect of recovering

valuable historical cargos became more enticing to salvors, an increasing number of old wrecks were targeted and looted. Salvors sought to amend legislation to ensure salvage rights on vessels that they had discovered. In 1979, to assert control over salvage of historic sites and in an effort to guarantee heritage practitioners access to some of the objects that were being recovered from shipwreck sites, the National Monuments Act was amended (Act 35 of 1979) to recognise shipwrecks as heritage resources that may be declared as national monuments at the discretion of the relevant minister (Deacon 1993). Because there were no specialised maritime archaeologists working at the time, the interests of treasure hunters were unaffected by the legislative amendments. Although divers did invite archaeological participation on some sites, they resented the intrusion of "ivory tower" academics with unrealistic expectations of the archaeological value of shipwrecks (Smith 1988). Treasure hunters and salvors argued that little scientific data was recoverable from sites that had been scattered and destroyed by the sea. The significance of submerged sites was played down in the interests of commerce. Additionally, two other factors may have played into the hands of individuals interested in salvaging historic wrecks.

Firstly, it has been proposed that South Africans, and Africa generally, had tended to view its heritage introspectively, i.e. from the perspective of the land and that maritime archaeological heritage had, therefore, never been engrained in the national vision of the past (Brown 1987). Even at the National Monuments Council, heritage managers had failed to identify the historic potential of shipwrecks. An internal memorandum circulated by Jalmar Rudner, the Director of the National Monuments Council, suggested that shipwrecks off the South African coast were the responsibility and heritage of the nations from which they originated (Rudner 1986). In other words, while European influence was important to the heritage of South Africa, shipwrecks themselves were merely the vehicle by which Western values and culture had been spread. A Committee established in 1983 to determine a policy for historic shipwrecks concluded that:

> *"It is unacceptable ... that a wreck which is still lying on the seabed or even on rocks or on the shore ... be declared a national monument."*

Continuing to add:

> *"... above all, it cannot be of value to the general public."* (Department of Transport 1983:21).

These statements exemplify the short-sightedness of earlier administrative and legislative opinion that, thankfully, has since evolved.

Secondly, statements imply that *archaeological* or *academic* intervention on shipwreck sites (as opposed to salvage) may not have been politically expedient. During the apartheid years, in a highly controlled society that relied heavily on the perception of dominance and status of one race above another, it was in the interests of the ruling minority to allow treasure hunters to recover and showcase the valuable, spectacular cargo items that epitomised the glory of the colonists and European trade rather than the opening of a space for archaeologists to recover those items that revealed the realities of poverty and subjugation that characterised the hardships of life aboard ships.

Despite the underlying rationale for strategic, forward-looking policies for the protection of shipwreck sites, the 1979 amendment to legislation failed to place control of the shipwrecks in the hands of heritage managers. Conversely, it allowed the treasure hunting and salvage communities to retain influence over the maritime historical narrative that focused on the spectacular aspects of shipwreck treasures and the romantic ideals of the colonial past.

For archaeologists, the immediate impacts of this period of widespread coastal exploration and the discovery of many wrecks were negative, but not immediately recognised. Despite the amendment making provision for protection, nowhere in legislation or policy was it stated that protection of shipwreck sites was desirable. Instead, as illustrated,

protection was seen as undesirable in government policy of the time. This oversight in the legislation was compounded by a lack of trained maritime archaeologists or even terrestrial archaeologists with diving qualifications, although the lack of capacity may have been symptomatic of the attitude towards underwater cultural heritage management.

Even in instances where treasure hunters collaborated with archaeologists and heritage institutions to a degree (some small collections were donated to museums for display or were brought to the attention of experts when advice on identification was required (Jobling 1982, Maggs 1984)) material remained firmly out of the reach of academic research unless shipwreck sites were discovered under reclaimed land. Those collections that were available were of little archaeological worth in that objects were selected from wreck sites for their commercial value, often at the expense of significant, supportive, non-commercial material and contextual information.

Despite the difficulties in applying the 1979 amendment (no wreck site was ever formally declared a national monument), the National Monuments Council continued to grapple with issues of significance of shipwreck sites and the means by which they could control the resource. Finally, in 1986, further amendments to the National Monuments Act included a blanket protection for shipwreck sites and required individuals to obtain a permit from the Council if they wished to disturb any wreck site older than 60 years.

In addition, the Council categorised shipwrecks into two classes of significance, declaring that permits for work on vessels wrecked before 1850 would only be issued in exceptional circumstances (Gribble and Sharfman 2013), while ships wrecked post-1850 were deemed less significant. The permit system envisaged a 50/50 split of recovered objects between salvors and a collaborating museum representing the State. The cooperating museum was also mandated to assist with conservation and store objects to which the state was entitled. The submission of site reports throughout project life cycles constituted the final requirement. In the opinion of legislators, a more rigorous permitting system, together with a partial sharing of finds, could potentially produce more historical data and address the problem of data loss due to unregulated recovery (Smith 1988).

The amendments, however, did little to stem the tide of treasure hunting and commercial salvage. Archaeological capacity remained minimal, undermining any attempt at oversight or regulation of activities. The National Monuments Council and the museums who were collaborating as repositories for salvaged artefacts could not afford to take possession of, and conserve, half of the artefact collections and usually settled for small representative samples.

Without archaeological supervision of commercial projects, heritage managers could rely only on the reports produced by salvors for any site or contextual information. The individuals carrying out diving operations, while professing an interest in maritime history, did not hide the fact that their primary objectives were rooted in commercial gain. Salvors admitted that they did not record and declare everything that they had found as they were concerned that museums would retain the more commercially valuable items for their collections (Shapiro, 2011 *pers. comm.*, Valentine, 2014 *pers. comm.*). For this reason, it was unlikely that they would carry out any time consuming, loss-making archaeological undertakings unless necessary to satisfy permit conditions.

In 2001, John Gribble, maritime archaeologist at SAHRA, conducted a high-level analysis of the products of the permit system. He examined the shipwreck files of the National Monuments Council between 1982 and 2000, when legislation was changed to its current form. His conclusions brought the shortcomings of the permit-based policy framework into stark focus. In the 18-year period, the Council had received 141 applications for work on 105 shipwreck sites. This included several applications by archaeologists. Of the 106 permits issued, 78 percent were for commercial projects. Only 53 percent of permit holders submitted annual reports and only nine final reports were received. 30 published articles on just ten of the sites made up the full body of knowledge produced in almost two decades of underwater activities (Gribble 2001).

Gribble's analysis showed that the permit system had not discouraged salvage of historic wrecks, had not decreased the frequency of activities on pre-1850 sites and nor had it encouraged knowledge production. It had not resulted in functional reporting and had failed to protect the cultural resource. It had, however, once again strengthened the hand of the commercial salvage and treasure hunting communities by entrenching a salvage culture in underwater cultural heritage management.

As legislators began re-examining policy and restructuring government after 1994, the National Monuments Act was replaced by the National Heritage Resources Act (25 of 1999), and the National Monuments Council became SAHRA in 2000. The context in which South Africa's National Heritage Resources Act was drafted is important. It drew heavily from international legislative frameworks and, therefore, western heritage management perspectives. SAHRA, proudly proclaims that its mandate is based on an Act compiled from what was considered the best of international heritage legislation at the time of drafting. Shipwreck legislation once again came under scrutiny. The new Act made an effort to incorporate shipwrecks into an archaeological framework. As such, shipwrecks, and all associated wreckage, older than 60 years of age lying within South Africa's territorial water and contiguous zone (24 nautical miles from the baselines)[19], were described within the definition of "archaeological" (Section 2)[20].

Heritage managers considered the Act a victory, believing that since shipwrecks were identified as archaeological sites, they would be subject to the same ethics, standards, and methods as terrestrial counterparts. It was thought that this would, in turn, end commercial salvage practices on historic wrecks. It did not.

The salvage lobby was strident in its opposition to ending commercial salvage and argued their case to SAHRA's legal representatives and in public forums. The South African salvage lobby argued its case based on precedent and fallacy (Brandt 2006, Department of Arts and Culture 2006a, 2006b, 2007a, 2007b, 2008a, 2008b). It was reasoned that the new Act's silence on commercial salvage together with its failure to explicitly revoke the permit system, and read in conjunction with the legal precedent that had been set over the past two decades, meant that salvage activity could not be disallowed. The principles of a permit system should, they argued, continue as they had before 2000. The case for allowing commercial exploitation was further supported by several sub-clauses contained within the Regulations associated with the National Heritage Resources Act which implied that sale of artefacts recovered from shipwreck sites was permissible and, therefore, within the ambit of proposed work (see Appendix I for legal analysis). In the opinion of salvors, the law was clearly on their side.

The lobby additionally argued that it had been misrepresented by the archaeological and heritage fraternities. It was their contention that the work they were undertaking was valuable, motivated by their commitment to history, and contributing to the understanding of the past. Salvors suggested that they were doing archaeology. They produced evidence in the form of site maps, archival research, and conserved artefacts. They pointed to museum collections that had been donated by treasure hunters and to the coordinates of shipwreck sites that they had provided to heritage managers. The arguments were, however, disingenuous. Their archaeological endeavours were shown to be looting at worst and antiquarianism at best (Smith 1988). Collections that had been provided to museums had little provenance and no contextual evidence, and were made up of the inferior objects that could not be sold (Boshoff 1999). Coordinates for wreck sites were often inaccurate or incomplete, and treasure hunters withheld the coordinates of sites that they hoped to salvage later (see SAHRA's 2006 shipwreck database).

19 As determined by the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea and The Republic of South Africa's Maritime Zones Act (Act 15 of 1994), an area of approximately 135 000km^2.

20 The National Heritage Resources Act (25 of 1999), 2(2)(c) defines "archaeological" to include "wrecks, being any vessel or aircraft, or any part thereof, which was wrecked in South Africa, whether on land, in the internal waters, the territorial waters or in the maritime culture zone of the Republic, as defined respectively in sections 3, 4 and 6 of the Maritime Zones Act, 1994 (Act 15 of 1994), and any cargo, debris or artefacts found or associated therewith, which is older than 60 years or which SAHRA considers to be worthy of conservation".

While the salvage community had indeed produced thorough archival research, it focused on cargo and site location and contained inadequate related historical information and post-salvage research. Moreover, the data that had been collated was heavily skewed towards "treasure ships" carrying valuable cargo.

The lobby further asserted, that treasure hunters were producing more data than practitioners. Referencing the small pool of professional maritime archaeologists, many of whom were employed in administrative roles, they argued that, since archaeologists were unable to produce research, a failure to allow salvors to continue their operations was a dis-service to the nation. It would be preferable, in their opinion, for the State to retain representative collections of artefacts rather than receive nothing at all (Johnston 1993, Bennie 2006, Brandt 2006). The dearth of excavation opportunities that had presented themselves to archaeologists who relied primarily on state funding meant that shipwrecks had added little to the body of knowledge. Most information related to maritime history, and ships, was to be found in the historical documentation. This, argued the salvors, was further evidence that the sites themselves were not data sources and that archaeological interventions would yield few results that could not be found in the historical record. Furthermore, it was unlikely that the majority of South Africans would ever get the opportunity to visit underwater sites.

This being the case, the salvor lobby argued that underwater cultural heritage could be better utilised as a commercial resource, with a few study collections being handed over to the state to appease the scientific community. Treasure hunters claimed that a change in legislation would not only result in salvors themselves being denied opportunities for employment but that economic opportunities offered through the return of trade goods, from shipwrecks sites that were deteriorating, to the stream of commerce, would be lost if objects could not be rescued by salvage activities. The promise of potential for tax revenue, job creation and tourism were not elements that developing world governments could easily overlook.

It was becoming clear that SAHRA would be obliged by legal considerations and lobbying pressures to reconsider applications for permits for commercially motivated shipwreck projects despite such projects being fundamentally incompatible with contemporary archaeological thinking. Convinced by salvor arguments, particularly concerning the Act's ambiguity on commercial exploitation of archaeological material, State lawyers instructed SAHRA to continue to issue salvage permits to those parties who met the stipulations laid out the National Heritage Resources Act, its associated Regulations and the Promotion of Administrative Justice Act, 2000. Heritage managers were also reminded that they could not unreasonably refuse permissions. The ability of the applicant to reasonably meet requirements had to be considered, and decisions had to be fair and consistent.

Salvage activities continued unabated in the early 2000s. Although archaeologists and heritage managers maintained their arguments for a ban on treasure hunting, the position of the salvors continued to be reinforced. Driven by profit, shipwreck salvage projects continued to target specific, commercially valuable wrecks. Research and site examples persistently presented a skewed picture of an underwater cultural heritage in which vessels such as slave ships, coastal traders, convict transports and others were absent. This was made visible in an examination of the SAHRA shipwreck permit archive (series PER/8 and 9/2/701). Artefacts displayed to the public in the media and limited museum displays showed the results of activities carried out in the pursuit of profit and associated collection criteria. Treasure items were touted as "shipwreck collections" and the public was led to believe that the recovery of these objects contributed to the understanding of South Africa's past – a contribution that continued to allow the salvage and treasure hunting communities to determine and dictate perceptions of the significance of underwater cultural heritage.

Research aimed at underwater cultural heritage continued to be limited to historical documents used to locate and identify sites and determine commercial value of cargos. Conservation was limited too. Valuable metals, porcelain and other saleable

artefacts were cleaned and stabilised for auction or trade. Where organic material had aesthetic or curiosity value, objects were treated with crude, cheap varnishes and waxes but where techniques were unsuccessful, artefact loss was seen as an inconvenience rather than a failure. Post salvage analysis of artefacts was also limited and tended to be descriptive. Historical insight into shipboard life, trade, expansion and the influences of maritime culture were given little attention.

In 2006, in my capacity as head of SAHRA's Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage Unit, I completed a Shipwreck Policy that had been drafted by Gribble in order to clarify legal ambiguities and to close loopholes in the National Heritage Resources Act (SAHRA 2006). It had its roots firmly in the 2001 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage. As the agency responsible for the implementation of heritage legislation, SAHRA produced policy that supported its interpretation of the Act but did not amend the Act itself. Since the Act did not directly discuss commercial exploitation of historic wrecks and made only oblique reference to sale of shipwreck artefacts in its Regulations, and because shipwrecks were classified as archaeological sites, I felt that SAHRA was within its legal rights to produce a policy stating that it would not consider permit applications in which commercial objectives formed a part of the proposed project. I hoped that this policy decision would outlaw treasure hunting initiatives in South African waters. The policy was again met with fierce resistance from the salvage community who appealed directly to the Department of Arts and Culture, under whose authority SAHRA falls.

The Department's legal team studied the submissions of both the salvors and SAHRA and again sided with the former (see Appendix I for the basis for this decision). SAHRA had no choice but to repeal its policy and revert once more to issuing permits to treasure hunters. This was, however, a turning point in heritage management practitioners' approach to underwater cultural heritage. SAHRA began to increase its demands that permit applicants meet the requirements laid out in the Regulations. Museums such as Iziko Museums of South Africa refused to collaborate on commercial projects, and maritime archaeologists shied away from working with operations focused on the salvage of historic material. Although salvors were provided with pre-disturbance survey permits to assess wreck sites, no permits for excavation were issued to commercial applicants after 2009.

Treasure hunters continued to lobby for access to historic wrecks but did not meet the requirements of the Regulations. Most often, they failed to secure the services of an archaeologist to oversee and guide work or were unwilling to embark on projects where the financial risks were increased by regulatory demands such as guarantees of sufficient funding to complete work described in excavation plans and for the conservation of recovered finds. Without an option to abandon a site should it become unprofitable, many salvage operators were not prepared to invest in shipwreck programmes.

When South Africa ratified the 2001 UNESCO Convention in 2015, its obligations to consider commercial salvage of historic wrecks finally ended. However, as Gribble and Sharfman (2013, paragraph 12) suggested: "The net result of much of the interest in South Africa's historical shipwrecks […] was the unquantifiable loss of archaeological and historical material and information as sites fell victim to often indiscriminate commercial salvage."

South Africa's shipwreck sites currently enjoy unprecedented legal protection. The evolution and promulgation of strong heritage policy and the ratification of the 2001 Convention has reflected heritage managers' best efforts to protect underwater cultural heritage resources within the context of their time. However, despite the implementation of legislation, practitioners have continually failed to engage the broader public in this discourse. Is the protection of underwater cultural heritage necessary in a developing world context?

The challenges faced by South Africa, particularly with regard to treasure hunting, are not unique and exploitation is by no means a recent phenomenon. Historic wrecks, such as the *Witte Leeuw* discovered by Robert Stenuit in 1976 (Gawronski

and Kist 2002), have been plundered and their goods sold. While African states face comparable challenges, many lack the legislative framework to deal with underwater cultural heritage. The South African legislative case study illustrates that nation's willingness to confront such issues and adapt policy in an effort to manage resources. Elsewhere in Africa, law-makers have been unwilling or unable to tackle heritage legislation as it relates to submerged sites.

Most states have preferred to effect management through existing legislation aimed at archaeological sites and terrestrial monuments. As was the case in South Africa, treasure hunters exploited legislative gaps and a lack of public awareness for their own ends. For example, despite Mozambique's legislation being explicit in its assertion that "archaeological objects and sites are the inalienable property of the State" (Law no. 10/88 of 22 December), in 1995 Portuguese company Arqueonautas secured a concession for approximately 750km of coastline, including Ilha de Mozambique, along which they were permitted to search for shipwrecks and recover objects for sale (Duarte 2012). Their concession was not cancelled until 2015.

2.5 WHY DOES NOBODY CARE?

The underwater cultural heritage narrative in sub-Saharan Africa has been shaped to focus almost exclusively on shipwreck sites. This has happened for two reasons. Firstly, in developing popular perceptions of underwater cultural heritage, treasure hunters have marketed themselves better than maritime archaeologists and the public has been drawn into the mythologies of treasure hunting. Treasure hunters sold adventure, danger and the excitement of seeking out and recovering vast fortunes. They have sold the romance of shipwrecks while archaeologists have attempted to deliver dry science into the public domain (in the rare instances that archaeological investigation took place) or more frequently spent their efforts attempting to manage or stop salvage activities. Secondly, the legislation that existed in the heritage managers' toolbox was based on Western management systems, as discussed above, which had been developed for Western contexts that were primarily aimed at shipwrecks.

South Africa's National Heritage Resources Act is an excellent example of this: shipwrecks are the only categorised submerged heritage sites. In addition, legislation has mostly attempted to identify mechanisms in which archaeologists and salvors worked together. These two elements – the visibility of activities aimed at underwater cultural heritage and legislation aimed at shipwrecks – resulted in a perception that maritime archaeology and treasure hunting were largely indistinguishable and that the term *underwater cultural heritage* meant shipwrecks.

The shipwreck focus of the maritime heritage field meant that whatever the predominant narrative on *shipwrecks* was, would determine perceptions of underwater cultural heritage and the maritime past. In the sub-Saharan African debate, one of the more prolific and significant arguments put forward by lobbyists in their rationale for allowing salvage to continue has been the contention that shipwrecks, and underwater cultural heritage by extension, represented a heritage that was irrelevant to Africans. In South Africa, this debate drew on the narratives that had become entrenched in the thinking of the heritage agencies in the 1970s, 80s and early 90s. It was, of course, in the interests of those wishing to exploit the resource to downplay its significance. Treasure hunters claimed, much as Rudner had in the 1980s, that shipwrecks were the heritage of foreigners and of the "other" (Rudner 1986). As South Africans struggled with their colonial past and made efforts to slough off the relics of the apartheid regime, it was simple for the salvage fraternity to link wrecks to the history of the oppressor. It was, they claimed, an uncomfortable reminder of a difficult past. The same reasoning has been applied elsewhere in the region. Heritage practitioners and archaeologists have found it difficult to contradict this assertion. In the absence of production of relevant archaeological data, they could not re-contextualise underwater cultural heritage within the broader national and local heritage narratives.

For lawmakers, it was hard to disagree with a public who was enthused by stories of pirates and treasure and indifferent towards archaeological treatise on 17th century hull construction, for example. Treasure

hunters had successfully and continually appropriated and shaped the maritime heritage narrative. They had captured both the official and public imaginations, limited the definition of maritime heritage to include only shipwrecks and persuaded policy-makers that nothing could be learned from the sites. Most significantly, the salvage community had convinced nations that this was not a heritage that was relevant in postcolonial societies. Because, as described, an understatement of significance kept shipwrecks off the public's heritage agenda, their place in the historical and archaeological records was underplayed and distorted. This legacy burdened underwater cultural heritage managers for more than a quarter of a century.

2.6 THE STATE OF UNDERWATER CULTURAL HERITAGE IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

2.6.1 DISTILLING THE GLOBAL RULES

In their efforts to develop a broadly applicable strategy for managing underwater cultural heritage, practitioners have established a set of rules based on their own experiences. Until recently, the experience has been almost entirely from the western perspective. When archaeologists have explored the underwater cultural heritage in the developing world, it has been focused almost exclusively on the shipwrecks associated with the history of the global north. Furthermore, activities have converged on tangible sites. Heritage authorities have employed managers whose education has been framed by the current practices, policies and theory available to them. This education has been firmly rooted in the archaeological activities carried out in developed world nations and as a reaction to unethical salvage and treasure hunting endeavours. Archaeologists, heritage managers and other underwater cultural heritage practitioners have attempted to take cultural management and engagement practices that are relevant to western environments and to apply them in developing world contexts.

Because the disciplines exploring underwater cultural heritage in sub-Saharan Africa did so from the western perspective, they applied the same rules to sites under investigation. Using universal frameworks such as the 2001 Convention as a yardstick, practitioners attempted to apply the same global rules to all sites in all contexts. The global rules stated that conservation of tangible heritage was of primary concern. All efforts should be made to ensure that sites were approached using the same methodologies and interpretations as applied to shipwrecks in Europe, the Mediterranean or Australia, namely: assess research potential from the maritime archaeological perspective, assess management potential from the authorised heritage management perspective, and conserve using developed world best-practice principles.

From the local perspective, shipwrecks and other submerged heritage resources represented a different set of heritage components. Most wrecks are arbitrary, chance elements in a heritage landscape. Wrecks were unintentional and unplanned elements within the heritage context in which they lie, as will be discussed in Chapter 4. For many of the people living on shorelines adjacent to wrecks, the sites themselves have little or no meaning (although they may have a place in intangible heritage) but, once discovered, they become labelled and validated as heritage markers. As outside stakeholders make every effort to access submerged sites and manage them, local stakeholders find themselves disrupted in a number of ways. Communities are confronted with a concentrated heritage discourse, and are forced to decipher the way in which these sites fit into their own interpretation of heritage. Firstly, they are categorised as stakeholders and custodians of the heritage, a role that they may be unwilling to accept. Shipwreck management in particular is surrounded by debate and challenges in this regard. The vessels have a financial element to them which may be beneficial in the short-term through salvage or in the long term through tourism depending on who accesses local stakeholders first. Neither of these financial possibilities comes with any guarantee and both are expensive and potentially damaging. Official management methodologies are also potentially contradictory. The 2001 Convention on the protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage recommends considering *in situ* conservation while South Africa's national legislation allows for

excavation. Neither of these options reflects on local capacity or contemplates local input. In general, most strategies for shipwreck management require specialised expertise.

Both treasure hunters and heritage practitioners apply a set of rules that, in essence, result in the purchase of heritage and significance from local stakeholders. Both offer "rewards" of training, profit and engagement on condition that communities support the fraught enterprise of authorised heritage management as described above. As will become clear in this dissertation, western models for best-practice, as espoused in legislation and policy are often forced, albeit with good intentions, onto the global south without due consideration.

2.6.2 CONTEMPORARY UNDERWATER CULTURAL HERITAGE MANAGEMENT IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

The appeal of underwater cultural heritage has been limited by the prevailing narrative. Maritime archaeology has traditionally attracted a limited demographic. In the context of African legislators developing management processes and policy, and with reference to archaeological work being undertaken, Africa's maritime heritage has, until recently, been shaped by the ontology of white, western-educated practitioners. This has allowed little growth within the sector. The focus on management, driven by a western ontology, has shaped the way in which those currently working in the field view their world. It plays a crucial part in their understanding of the sub-discipline, its relevance, its scope and the practices and standards that are applied to it. It is, however, limited, which make it difficult to grow the field. Universities have been reluctant to offer courses that do not have broad appeal. Despite a growing pool of capacity, the field remains dominated by white, male expertise.

In analysing the field within the African context and plotting a path forward, it is necessary to recognise the ontological viewpoints, both western and African, and their influence on interpretation of the data under review. The current position of underwater cultural heritage within the region's broader, contemporary heritage themes, and the manner in which the sub-discipline is currently practised cannot but raise questions of relevance in the modern African context. It is precisely these questions that determine whether people care about their heritage. So, do people care about underwater cultural heritage? Thus far in the developing world, the answer appears to have been a resounding no. Even in South Africa, holding a unique status on the African continent, caught as it is between the developed and developing worlds, enjoying a progressive constitution and a strong legislative system, heritage managers, academics and society must wrestle with issues stemming from a struggling economy and a large rural population. South Africa's political history has denied education to the majority of its people resulting in a population battling to find employment to raise itself out of poverty. It is questionable whether, in such circumstances, underwater cultural heritage plays a meaningful role in most people lives.

It is unlikely that most individuals would not understand the importance of the resource on a theoretical level if it were pointed out to them, but the narrative that has been driven by treasure hunters over the last five decades has resulted in a circumstance in which the maritime past, as presented by heritage managers and archaeologists, has little resonance with communities at local level. A system that alienates local perspectives and gives little credence to local maritime histories and heritages has been established for the sole purpose of managing and countering treasure hunters. As described: in the eyes of the majority, underwater cultural heritage means shipwrecks and in legislation such as South Africa's National Heritage Resources Act, terminology specifically identifies shipwrecks as being the underwater resource to be managed.

From a legal viewpoint, although many legislative, management and development systems have been advanced as "one size fits all" solutions for the developing world (Ndlovu 2016 paragraph 3), the effectiveness of these systems has never been properly tested within that environment. The determinant of success or failure of these systems has always been subjective, arising from the opinions or affiliations of managers, resource users, treasure

hunters or communities. The developing world has been presented with management tools such as the 2001 Convention but its effectiveness has not been assessed following adoption. Does a management system developed largely on western strategies effectively address the problems and concerns associated with preserving and protecting maritime archaeological sites and maritime heritage in the developing world? Does legislation allow space for local communities or regions to determine what is of significance to their own sense of culture and past? Again, the answer to both questions is no. Legislation focuses on those sites which people are unlikely to see. It appears to force value onto foreign interests that represent an uncomfortable past. It protects sites within which may lie potentially poverty alleviating cargos. Instead of identifying the multi-vocal, multi-cultural and multi-layered network of histories that make up the underwater cultural heritage of Africa and building this into the broader heritage narrative of the continent, archaeologists and managers have been singularly focused in their strategies and approach.

It is, however, unfair to suggest that the progress in maritime archaeology and underwater cultural heritage management in the developing world between the 1970s and the present was futile, misguided or unconscious of local contexts. In the early 1990s, with the introduction of the Nautical Archaeology Society (NAS) courses into South Africa (Boshoff 1998) efforts to bring local perspectives to maritime archaeology recognised that the African milieu required an African approach. Training initiatives were undertaken by the then National Monuments Council aided by the then South African Maritime Museum (now part of Iziko Museums) whose officials presented NAS courses at all the major coastal cities as well as in Namibia. Courses were adapted to deal with the challenges that local divers and stakeholders might face. At the time, participants failed to recognise a resource beyond shipwrecks and so the courses were tailored to suit specific needs, but case studies and lecture examples expanded from using only European East Indiamen to incorporate local examples of maritime infrastructure, local trade and economy and the impact of seafaring on the African continent.

The mid-1990s saw a number of maritime archaeological forays into Mozambique where local perspectives were also incorporated into research initiatives. In the absence of Mozambican maritime archaeologists, a diving terrestrial archaeologist, Ricardo Duarte, accompanied researchers from the United States, in an assessment the maritime archaeological potential of Ilha de Mozambique (Duarte 2012). Because Duarte's interest lay in the both the pre-colonial and colonial archaeology of Mozambique his interest in shipwrecks also included both European and local and Arabian vessels and the impacts they had had on local populations and societies.

Despite some efforts to expand the scope of underwater cultural heritage in the first decade after the introduction of the National Heritage Resources Act in 2000, the SAHRA's Maritime Unit struggled to convince others within the organisation that its mandate remained relevant. As interest in shipwrecks waned amongst treasure hunters, the Unit's oversight functions subsided. Practitioners were spurred to start a process of promoting the relevance not just of shipwrecks (and their role in the evolution of the socio-political landscape of Africa and all that that meant), but of maritime heritage in general. To do this, they needed to identify non-traditional maritime sites. While they wrestled with conceptualising a maritime past that was not reflected only in the infrastructure, political influence and social change wrought by colonialism and European trade expansion, several sites such as stone-walled fish traps and fishing communities were identified. These sites represented an exciting direction for managers: they were contested, potentially indigenous and possibly unrelated to European history.

With the introduction of a Maritime Archaeology Development Programme (MADP) in 2009, South Africa's maritime archaeologists and maritime heritage managers were introduced to a new way of thinking about their maritime past. Robert Parthesius and Bill Jeffery of CIE introduced the application of maritime cultural landscape thinking to the South African discourse on underwater cultural heritage, presenting opportunities for archaeologists, historians and managers to engage more deeply with

previously marginalised maritime communities. A cultural landscape approach to maritime archaeology had already been adopted in the East African and Western Indian Ocean contexts where, for well over a decade, archaeologists working in the marine environment were exploring a variety of maritime archaeological sites beyond the narrow focus of shipwrecks and promoting different perspectives on maritime archaeology (Breen and Lane 2003, Lane 2012). As Lane (2012:27) observes, "… the value of … changing research paradigms [to include the investigation of non-western archaeological remains] is increasingly recognised" (see also Breen and Lane 2003). This thinking would, in turn, lead to the development of new theoretical frameworks and approaches to underwater cultural heritage. These elements will be examined more closely from Chapter 3.

2.7 CONCLUSION

The management framework for underwater cultural heritage has emerged as a reaction to, and result of, dominant narratives. In the sub-Saharan African context, this narrative has been driven in part by treasure hunting activities. Reactive legislation has also reshaped official narratives by focusing attention on specific site types. In its efforts to manage sites identified as relevant in existing global policy, and under threat from commercial salvage, regional legislation has focused sharply on shipwrecks, a heritage that has been seen to have little local relevance.

In sub-Saharan Africa, politics, self-interest, commercial interest and a reliance on external policy production structured to address developed world contexts, resulted in a western-style legislative framework that governed only a small facet of maritime heritage, history and archaeology that was irrelevant to most.

This is not to say that the ethos and intent of the global rules laid out in international charters such as the 2001 Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage, or national legislation, have no value. They clearly institute a set of best-practice principles and standards against which heritage managers and researchers should measure their efforts. It is unfortunate however that practitioners in developing nations have looked towards their developed world counterparts in assessing their performance in the implementation of these statutes. Instead of applying the *tenets* of the management approach within local contexts, they have attempted to apply the *letter of the law* as it is applied in the developing world, ignoring local knowledge, locally relevant management and interpretation systems and the influence of local social constructs on social structures. Instead, practitioners have used approaches that are unattainable in the confines of the developing world as the yardstick for their own successes or failures.

The challenges faced by maritime heritage managers and maritime archaeologists in sub-Saharan Africa, some of which are raised above, provide the backdrop against which its legislation frameworks and scholarly endeavours have evolved. An understanding and assessment of how the global climate in which the sub-discipline and legislation developed affected national and international legislation, its efficacy and how it served the people whose heritage it sought to protect, is an essential foundation upon which new maritime heritage management approaches can be developed.

Regardless of the shortcomings of the approach to date, it has configured the *status quo* of the sector. The drafting of a new approach to the sub-Saharan African maritime historical case must, then, be done within the ontological context in which legislation and archaeological practice have developed.

3 Building a Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage Management Laboratory

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Heritage plays a vital role in shaping individual, community and national identities. As individuals, humans' identities are undoubtedly influenced by their past. These influences manifest themselves in a group's cultural practices and in societal or individual perceptions of right and wrong. People position themselves in relation to others based on where each has come from. Societies around the world have a sense of "us" and "them". Communities also develop and remain intact based on their history. As Lowenthal (1998) suggests, common heritage provides a strong sense of common status and power amongst individuals. Groups who share an identity tend to seek each other out. This is illustrated in the propensity of expatriates in foreign countries to create ethnic enclaves or culturally homogeneous spaces. As the "other" in a society, they identify common ground in their pasts, which allows them to gain power as a community (Smith 2006). National identity also evolves from a sense of shared heritage. What makes an individual a South African, Mozambican or Tanzanian is a combination of everything that has gone before. Narratives tend towards insular expressions of cultural identity that promote nationalism and moderate external cultural influences. In times of crisis, such as war or natural disaster, countries rally around their sense of national unity. Leaders remind their followers that "as a nation, we are strong" and people recognise that this sense of belonging, and the feeling that one is not alone, is crucial in dealing with disaster. All of society's ills and triumphs; the manner in which societies function; their actions and in the way they cope with their environments, are embedded in their heritage. Human beings strive to contextualise their societies within the framework created by their past. For humans to succeed as individuals and as societies, they must have some concept of their past.

The broad appeal of heritage is a relatively modern concept (Lowenthal 1998) experienced differently by different stakeholders depending on the realities they experience or the function for which heritage is produced. Because of this, there is still much debate surrounding what heritage is, and how people should engage with it (Lowenthal 1998, Smith 2006).

In sub-Saharan Africa the approach to heritage, especially the methodologies applied to management and promotion, tends to be biased towards the global rules and authorised narratives, as described below. This is partly the result of the low priority afforded heritage management (Breen 2007) and social governance, which prohibits managers and other authorities from engaging with heritage as they are often unable or are unwilling to interrogate their approach to the field outside of accepted frameworks. At the institutional level, heritage approaches are informed by experts, educated in western universities to apply strategies that apply to western contexts. This narrows the focus of heritage significantly. An approach that attempts to be universally applicable ignores local, non-traditional heritage expertise as well as unauthorised heritage itself, creating an environment of disinterest, dissonance and, in some instances, contestation, as will be shown below. In approaching underwater cultural heritage, these weaknesses are particularly stark. The maritime heritage field struggles in its complexity – efforts to engage multiple stakeholders, multiple narratives *and* multiple perspectives often fall short. Difficulties in dealing with the resource have been exacerbated

by the narrow shipwreck-orientated emphasis that has been applied to the field for the past fifty years.

The development of alternative approaches to the management of underwater cultural heritage that is described in the following chapters, is based on almost three decades of implementing strategies for engaging local communities in sub-Saharan Africa and Asia, and encouraging them to participate in the production and management of their heritage. Underwater cultural heritage is a polarised arena in which the rules have encouraged a black and white management approach. The strategies analysed below work within the realities of the official heritage world but suggest new systems that establish a landscape in which there is space for multi-vocality and diversity as well as the many uses of heritage. It is, therefore, a laboratory for testing and refining approaches that are applicable and relevant in the sub-Saharan Africa generally and in southern Africa in particular. The approach recognises that only by allowing stakeholders an opportunity to provide input in, and take ownership of, their heritage is it possible to sustainably manage the past. The approach recognises the important role that heritage plays on a sociological level within societies and the sensitivities that therefore exist.

This chapter will analyse the early development of alternative management strategies applied to underwater cultural heritage in non-western contexts as well as the efficacy and consequences of protection and preservation frameworks directed at maritime heritage sites, including the shipwreck sites on which authorised heritage bodies have focused their attention over the last half century. It will then explore the outcomes of the various actions taken by institutional heritage managers and the reaction of local stakeholders. It will propose and analyse an evolving approach to underwater cultural heritage and the role played by local communities as direct heritage shareholders.

3.2 THE FOUNDATION OF A HERITAGE MANAGEMENT LABORATORY

3.2.1 IMPLEMENTING A CAPACITY BUILDING APPROACH IN SRI LANKA

The MUCH management laboratory has its roots in observations made in Sri Lanka where, starting in the 1990s, efforts were under way to establish sustainable structures for MUCH conservation and production in the face of financial, infrastructural or capacity challenges and a legislative vacuum (Devendra and Muthucumarana 2015). The inability for heritage managers to apply emerging rules for underwater cultural heritage management in the developing world had prompted management agencies to seek out and develop processes, systems and structures that would be applicable within contexts characterised by the constraints and, in some cases, resistance to underwater cultural heritage in general.

The discovery of wrecks on the Great Basses Reefs off Sri Lanka's south east coast in the 1960s and subsequent looting of shipwreck sites during the 1970s prompted authorities to examine their management and legislative approach towards underwater cultural heritage (Devendra and Muthucumarana 2013). Although the State, through the Merchant Shipping Act of 1971, laid claim to all abandoned wrecks in Sri Lankan territorial waters, it was not until the promulgation of the National Aquatic Resources Research and Development Agency Act (no. 17 of 1981) that maritime archaeological sites could be identified as "national aquatic resources" (Section 42)[21]. The mandate of the Act was carried out by the National Aquatic Resources Agency (NARA). NARA prompted the formalisation of maritime archaeology and underwater cultural heritage management by arranging a workshop on maritime archaeology and maritime history in 1984. This was followed by a post-graduate seminar series in 1988. These two meetings stimulated enthusiasm for underwater cultural heritage and raised awareness of the field. Avocational groups including the Maritime Heritage Trust of Sri Lanka and the Sri Lanka Sub

21 "aquatic resources" means all living and non-living resources contained *in or beneath* the medium of water [my italics].

Aqua Club actively supported early initiatives and involved themselves in projects to, for example, raise and conserve (using traditional drying methods) an ancient log boat discovered by gem miners Kuru Ganga. The Sub Aqua Club also began training divers at Galle harbour leading to the discovery and examination of more shipwreck sites. By 1990 it had become clear that official regulation of activities would be a requirement if maritime archaeology was to continue to develop and if activities were to be sanctioned by affected stakeholders, particularly government stakeholders. Finally, at the Archaeological Department's Centenary Seminar:

> *"a resolution was adopted which recommended that the Archaeological Department, at the start of its second century, establishes a maritime archaeology unit with all the necessary statutory powers to assume control of and to initiate all maritime archaeological activity in the country"* (Devendra and Muthucumarana 2013: 52).

At the same time, NARA proposed and drafted a legislative framework to regulate maritime archaeological activities through amendment of the Antiquities Ordinance (no. 9 of 1940). Although the proposal was approved at ministerial level, it did not reach Parliament for final approval for some time. In 1998, the Antiquities (Amendment) Act (Act 24 of 1998) was passed transferring control of archaeological work within Sri Lanka's territorial waters to the Archaeological Department (Section 3, Section 16 (1) and (3)).

Sri Lanka did not wait for legislation to be finalised. Instead they implemented a research and training programme to capacitate archaeologists and practitioners who would form the core of a national MUCH initiative. A team of specialists led by Jeremy Green at the Maritime Archaeology Department of the Western Australian Museum together with Sri Lankan counterparts began work at the historic port of Galle on the south-western coast of Sri Lanka. The project aimed to establish capacity and collect data relating to submerged archaeological sites. The former initially focused on conservation of waterlogged finds (in 1992-1993), but expanded to include diver training (1993-4) and finally excavation training. The latter included a magnetometer survey of Galle Harbour and site inspections (1996-1997). As the project progressed, the Department of National Museums released part of its premises for utilisation as a conservation laboratory and exhibition space (Devendra and Muthucumarana 2015).

During remote sensing surveys, the multi-national team located 26 significant sites (out of 160) (Devendra and Muthucumarana 2013), including pre-colonial stone anchors, European ships from the 17th and 18th centuries, and other maritime remains such as cannons, ceramics and anchors (Devendra and Muthucumarana 2013, Devendra and Muthucumarana 2015). The project recognised that maritime activities and historical influences were reflected in sites beyond shipwrecks and, therefore, included the harbour itself, the European fort and other cultural heritage associated with Galle (Green, Devendra and Parthesius 1998). Amongst the identified sites, one particular shipwreck, the *Avondster*, wrecked in 1659, was under threat having become exposed as a result of harbour works and storm water runoff (Parthesius, Millar and Jeffery 2005, Parthesius 2007). A decision was taken to implement a rescue archaeology programme that could serve to safeguard the site and to expand capacity of Sri Lanka's emerging Maritime Archaeology Unit (MAU) (Parthesius, *et al.* 2003, Devendra and Muthucumarana 2013). The *Avondster* Project began in 2001 and, in light of the adoption of the 2001 Convention at the 31st UNESCO General Conference in Paris, was designed using the Articles and Annex of the Convention (Devendra and Muthucumarana 2015). The project was concluded in 2004, just before the tsunami of that year devastated the Sri Lankan coast, destroying the project's and MAU's facilities (Devendra and Muthucumarana 2015). The *Avondster* Project had successfully capacitated the MAU, had established a conservation facility and had contributed towards a maritime museum. Despite the loss of material and infrastructure, the MAU remains active. It has relocated its facilities to the Galle Fort and continues to conduct research around Sri Lanka.

Sri Lanka's maritime archaeology programme has included research aimed at local shipping and waterborne trade activities. Archaeological and ethnographic investigations have examined local ship construction, including seagoing outriggers, river craft, and longboats used in internal waters (Devendra and Muthucumarana 2015). Maritime studies have also focused on ports and other infrastructure related to trade and social development. Sri Lanka's decision to take this holistic approach to MUCH has contributed to the success of its maritime archaeology and underwater cultural heritage management programmes, as discussed below.

Sri Lanka wished to promote an environment in which underwater cultural heritage management and research capacity was established to allow the application of official legislation and formal management practices. Its training programme centred on various shipwrecks, including the wreck of the *Avondster*, Galle Harbour and various other maritime sites. These provided a field school setting in which a government heritage management team could acquire the necessary skills applicable to various aspects of excavating, curating, displaying and managing underwater archaeological finds. The establishment of a research laboratory and museum at Galle offered spaces in which the team could gain conservation and collections management skills and the necessary proficiencies required to interpret and display recovered finds for public consumption (Parthesius 2007). By establishing a maritime heritage team, a laboratory and a museum, Sri Lanka capacitated itself to effectively manage its underwater cultural heritage by applying a western heritage model (and by applying the accepted rules and standards for underwater heritage management). In the Asian sub-continent context, where administrative support and international funding were made available, the creation of a Sri Lankan MAU was a viable option. This approach to developing management processes was highly effective in the Sri Lankan setting where local teams and heritage managers were open to recognizing European maritime influences within a framework of *shared cultural heritage* or *heritage of dual parentship* and where the implications of European expansion on local culture were clear. The team and infrastructure, based at the Galle World Heritage Site, has endured for almost two decades and continues to carry out research programmes, (see MAU newsletters[22]), and participate in international projects such as the archaeological re-assessment of Galle Harbour carried out in 2007 (Anderson *et al.* 2007).

Galle in particular has continued to attract attention from researchers and global heritage institutions. UNESCO, through the ICOMOS International Committee on Underwater Cultural Heritage (ICUCH) made efforts to build on the successes of the *Avondster* Project to establish regional training facilities. As capacity building programmes were being promoted in Sri Lanka, the international blueprint for regional MUCH development remained firmly focused on methodologies for engaging with underwater cultural heritage using the global rules ensconced in international best practice documents such as the 2001 Convention. Despite the implementation of projects focused on local underwater cultural heritage resources, shipwrecks and the western perspective of maritime history remained prominent in the materials used by trainers in UNESCO's regional capacity development activities (see for example the case studies contained in Maarleveld *et al.,* UNESCO n.d. and UNESCO Bangkok 2012). This is understandable in light of the relative profusion of maritime archaeological research undertaken in western nations compared to those undertaken in Africa and Asia.

Sri Lanka's maritime archaeological development has not, however, been without its challenges. Political jockeying both at national and international level threatened to polarise the team, its international network and national support. The early successes of the programme were tempered by individuals and organisations wishing to associate themselves with the project's positive outcomes and image. The development of regional training centres by global institutions such as UNESCO have, in my opinion, taken strategic decision-making powers and status away from local archaeological and heritage practitioners by incorporating western experts

22 http://isaw.nyu.edu/publications/awol-index/html/www.mausrilanka. Ik/261f0958585da5c179eeec2f6b0ef39868862336.html [onward link expired] or https://flinders.academia.edu/RasikaMuthucumarana

into trainer teams. It is likely that experts have the interests of development of maritime archaeology and underwater cultural heritage protection at heart and hope that an intervention would support emerging MUCH teams by developing further skills and expertise, but this approach reduces the role of local experts to that of knowledge recipient instead of allowing them to contribute their own expertise in appropriate management structures.

Sri Lanka can be used as a model for development of human and institutional capacity. However, while the approach to MUCH development was appropriate and effective in the Sri Lankan and Asian settings, it was unclear whether the model was exportable to other contexts such as those experienced in sub-Saharan Africa.

3.2.2 TESTING AN INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT APPROACH IN TANZANIA

Having been a founder partner in the Sri Lankan underwater cultural heritage development programme, Robert Parthesius and CIE were approached by the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to prepare and implement a project to develop maritime archaeology and underwater cultural heritage management practices in Tanzania in 2008[23]. In their efforts to establish a management framework for underwater cultural heritage, the Tanzanian government was considering ratification of the 2001 UNESCO Convention and identified a need to build capacity to carry out the activities required by the edicts contained within the Treaty. Additionally, the authorities hoped to develop capacity to assist in the management of the Kilwa Kisiwani and Songo Mnara World Heritage Sites, both of which include significant maritime historical links. These sites were under threat of losing their World Heritage Site status. Parthesius recognised the shortcomings of directly applying the capacity building approach that had worked for the development of a maritime archaeological team at the Galle World Heritage Site in Sri Lanka to a context where funding was a key constraint that would prohibit intensive archaeological excavation underwater, and where capacity needed to be built from grassroots level at geographically diverse sites. Expanding on the Sri Lankan experience, Parthesius' programme proposed a capacity building project focused on training field archaeologists, researchers, administrators and conservators[24]. However, unlike Sri Lanka, the Tanzanian authorities could not sustain a dedicated maritime archaeological unit and, instead, wished to draw individuals already working in a diverse array of government structures into a group that could be deployed to manage underwater cultural heritage sites when necessary. Individuals from cultural ministries, parks, universities and museums from around the country were identified to form the team. This necessitated the implementation of a wider, network approach to maritime and underwater cultural heritage requiring that the programme differed from the Sri Lankan model.

The project approach transferred the focus from the investigation of single archaeological sites, as had been done in Sri Lanka, to providing national competence for identifying, managing and monitoring heritage sites. While the difference was subtle, it was relevant. Whereas Sri Lanka's maritime archaeological unit could conduct *excavation and research* projects on specific maritime sites and feed data up to management authorities, the Tanzanian team of administrators could adopt a more hands-on approach to *assessing* the activities of others and *managing* sites themselves. It was envisaged that the Tanzanian team, spread across the country, would become a heritage management layer between practitioners and the centralised cultural ministry in Dar-es-Salaam. In addition, if sites required intervention, the team could be assembled and deployed as a single unit to relevant locations.

The presence of individual team members in diverse locations meant that Tanzanian management objectives could be determined and driven more directly at a local or national level instead of by external academics whose research interests might differ from local needs. In other words, Tanzanian authorities could directly gather management data from sites of national interest and did not rely

23 http://www.heritage-activities.nl/drupal/sites/default/files/content/tanzania_project_proposal.pdf

24 Ibid.

on the academe to provide information. Where archaeologists strive to answer narrow, specific questions when excavating a site, heritage managers could identify, protect and promote significant sites without the need for full-scale archaeological interventions. While the management agenda was not community driven, it was, at least, driven by individuals who had Tanzanian heritage interests at heart.

Parthesius' approach to the Tanzanian programme differed from an archaeological approach in that the CIE acted as a facilitator for skills development and the creation of a maritime heritage team rather than as just an excavator that trained and utilised local personnel.

There is a tendency for external development agencies to establish structures for development in which they play a pivotal role (Walley 2004). This type of project approach has been necessitated by the way in which NGOs and social development enterprises have evolved. For these organisations to survive, they require continued donor funding and to acquire funding they must establish a need for their services and be accountable to their donors. Should needs be met, the NGO is no longer required. It is not in the interests of NGOs to succeed. The consequences of this approach are that needs are not met in the areas where they are most required. Programmes do not achieve their goals. The approach is unsustainable and so, as organisations lose funding, they withdraw from projects leaving little real infrastructure or expertise behind (Godrej 2014). The same is true for heritage management agencies or government (Pikirayi and Schmidt 2016). Parastatals must develop programmes and structures that make their active participation necessary. If the public could perform the tasks of government agencies on its own, the institutional role becomes redundant. It is, therefore, often not in the interests of the agencies and organisations implementing development projects to succeed either.

Parthesius' programme design for Tanzania clearly stated CIE's short-term involvement. The programme envisaged a two-year intervention cycle during which a competent maritime and underwater cultural heritage team would be trained and inserted into governmental heritage management structures. The training team would be guided by national needs and would implement a training curriculum as determined by the requirements of the participating institutions. CIE would not dictate the sites on which management should focus. Because individual team members were already employed in governmental agencies, costs for sustaining the team would be minimal. The long-term survival of the team relied, therefore, not on funding, but on the cooperation of institutions and the willing participation of team members.

The Tanzanian underwater cultural heritage capacity building programme was implemented in 2009 based on requirements determined by local partners. Considering the government's desire to ratify the 2001 Convention, the primary outcomes of the programme were identified as: the development of a *competent authority* that would implement the administrative and practical requirements of the Convention; increasing skills to identify and document underwater cultural heritage sites; and the design and population of a maritime heritage database that could be used as a management tool for underwater sites (Jeffery 2011, CIE website[25]). The ambitions of the programme were high. Tanzania had no maritime archaeological specialists and, while terrestrial heritage management was well established, expertise for the management of underwater sites was lacking. To compound difficulties, individuals employed in the Tanzanian heritage management agencies had no diving qualification and had never accessed submerged heritage sites. This meant that trainers were faced with the challenge of building original capacity within a structure that had its foundation in terrestrial heritage management frameworks which, in turn, had their roots in international legislation. In the absence of legislation aimed at underwater cultural heritage management, the global rules of the 2001 Convention provided a legal platform for administering underwater sites.

The implemented skills development programme focused on shipwreck sites and associated maritime infrastructure such as the Kilwa Kisiwani ruins.

25 See www.heritage-activities.org

Programme participants were provided with PADI diver training and Nautical Archaeology Society (NAS) based heritage training.

Over two years, the programme achieved all but one of its project goals. A Tanzanian Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage Team comprised of individuals from various institutions either located at maritime cultural sites or directly responsible for the management of heritage, both cultural and natural, was established. Maritime archaeological skills were transferred to team members through the implementation of NAS training programmes and practical site management strategies for the maritime sites at Kilwa Kisiwani were drafted. The team was managed through the Antiquities Division of the Department of Natural Resources and Tourism.

The programme did not establish a maritime heritage database. Although Team members possessed the skill set necessary to collect and manage heritage data, a database platform that was relevant and accessible from multiple locations could not be designed.

3.2.2.1 Outcomes

The approach to MUCH in Tanzania focused on developing institutional capacity to identify, assess and manage sites at government level.

While heritage managers traditionally engage with underwater cultural heritage sites only when sites are exposed, under threat or the target of research or salvage activities, the management model in Tanzania created an environment in which managers at institutional and Government level could pre-empt threats by applying the practical skills for identifying sites as part of their daily operations. This strategy for management differed from the approach applied in Sri Lanka in that it offered officials an opportunity to begin assessments, surveys and mapping activities in the absence of academic interventions and outside of the reactionary context within which permitting agencies and site managers generally work. The capacitation of an underwater cultural heritage team whose individual members were physically located at diverse sites and locales also ensured a more efficient, on-the-ground policing and monitoring system. Individuals working in marine parks could, for example, observe and supervise activities taking place on sites within their jurisdiction and could also interact with stakeholders, divers and communities living adjacent to sites to collect data, receive information on new discoveries, or advise on management decisions.

Instead of managing sites based on policy developed by lawmakers, second hand reports from divers, researchers or salvors and using potentially ineffective checklists contained in legal regulations, managers could flexibly interact with underwater sites and develop management strategies *supported* by the power of the legislation to create suitable, strategic and effective management plans based on local assessment matrices.

While the Tanzanian programme succeeded in providing skills and establishing a team for managing underwater cultural heritage, buy-in was low and goals for continued development of the field struggled to find purchase between 2009 and 2011.

At the political level, the MUCH Team received little backing from their respective institutions to continue with the work programmes that the project had established, and overarching coordination efforts in Dar-es-Salaam faced multiple challenges. The lack of institutional support resulted in poor continuity of team projects which, in turn, affected sustainability of the programme and made it difficult to advocate for an alternative management strategy. The team continued to communicate and lobby for support, but had to rely on external funding raised by international NGOs such as CIE, who continue to have had a regional developmental presence, and the British Institute in Eastern Africa who have conducted and supported research initiatives at, for example, Kilwa Kisiwani. Heritage authorities have continued to rely on the *status quo* for management of heritage – the application of the global rules and western best-practice – despite the failure of this approach to gain traction and offer results in the Tanzanian context.

The programme also encountered resistance at community level. During follow-up site visits

and training interventions it became apparent that communities living at or near heritage sites had little interest in the work of heritage managers. This was illustrated during an assessment of underwater cultural heritage potential at Kilwa in 2011. While seeking permissions and assistance for conducting a magnetometer survey of the reefs around the island it was evident that local officials did not know about submerged sites and could not understand why heritage practitioners were interested in locating, monitoring or protecting these sites. The community living on Kilwa Kisiwani itself were resistant to any activities conducted by archaeologists and heritage managers. Their opposition to research, even by national authorities, was rooted in their distrust of external investigators who had, in the past, either created unrealistic expectations of the outcomes of their work, or had concluded their activities without providing results that might contribute to the community's understanding of their past or to an understanding of the relevance of historical sites.

The lack of support for ongoing field operations of the Tanzanian maritime team exposed the challenges of managing underwater cultural heritage sites without engaging local interests and developing local support that would ensure continuity of activity. Each fieldwork intervention at Kilwa Kisiwani required a renewal of local contacts and a revision of awareness raising efforts. Because the maritime team were infrequent visitors to the site, management strategies and policy were not implemented and needed to be continually reassessed to cope with arising challenges. The Tanzanian underwater cultural heritage management team also failed to include local communities in their research and management efforts. This resulted in poor local buy-in and minimal local interest.

For the individuals involved in training the Tanzanian MUCH team, it became increasingly clear that neither programmes aimed solely at training for institutional capacity nor isolated research projects left a lasting legacy of active involvement in protection of MUCH sites. As with external interventions by national government, UNESCO and the academe that had left little lasting infrastructure and produced few local benefits, local communities saw little value in supporting the efforts of MUCH managers and research teams, regardless of their enthusiasm or expertise.

The challenges experienced at Kilwa Kisiwani served to illustrate some of the limitations of the global approach to World Heritage Sites. Having inscribed the site onto the World Heritage Register in 1981, UNESCO raised funds to develop the island for tourism, and encouraged research at an international level. While both activities are important to the interpretation and presentation of the site and should contribute to the establishment of tourism capacity and economic opportunity, neither had significant impact or was supported by the local community, perhaps because the narrative developed for the World Heritage Site emphasised external perspectives of the development of East African culture. Kilwa focuses heavily on the Islamic period (and associated activities) at the site as evidenced by UNESCO's summary of Kilwa Kisiwani's outstanding universal values:

> *"The islands of Kilwa Kisiwani and Songo Mnara bear exceptional testimony to the expansion of Swahili coastal culture, the lslamisation of East Africa and the extraordinarily extensive and prosperous Indian Ocean trade from the medieval period up to the modern era.*
> ***Criterion (iii):** Kilwa Kisiwani and Songo Mnara provide exceptional architectural, archaeological and documentary evidence for the growth of Swahili culture and commerce along the East African coast from the 9th to the 19th centuries, offering important insights regarding economic, social and political dynamics in this region. The Great Mosque of Kilwa Kisiwani is the oldest standing mosque on the East African coast and, with its sixteen domed and vaulted bays, has a unique plan. It's true great dome dating from the 13th was the largest dome in East Africa until the 19th century."*

Signage erected at the site further entrenches this aspect of Kilwa Kisiwani's history.

Although Arabic influences have played a significant role in the evolution of East African culture generally, and the Swahili culture in particular, African stimuli are equally important in interpreting the evolution of the East African past. Little at the site highlights this African perspective of local history. The implication, therefore, is that Africans were passive bystanders in the "Islamisation of East Africa" instead of active contributors to a cultural evolution from which all parties benefited.

The outcome of inscription to the World Heritage List was that the site benefited from the provision of signage and a UNESCO management plan and little else. Local perspectives of the site's history are absent from the narrative and the management plan does not take account of local needs and circumstances and does not offer real opportunities for stakeholders to benefit from tourism. In an environment which, unlike the Sri Lankan example, separates colonial heritage from local heritage, this has resulted in low levels of local engagement with the site. Furthermore, people living on the Island and adjacent mainland have adopted a standoffish, bordering on hostile, attitude towards outsiders as observed in 2011 when Islanders complained that the assessment team had paid fees at the Government office situated on the mainland to acquire a permit to visit the site but had not contributed anything to the Island economy. It became clear, both on the island and the mainland, that academic research had disenfranchised Kilwa's communities and that they had become reluctant to divulge their local histories to outsiders, even if these outsiders were Tanzanian Government officials, for fear of having their culture exploited. Residents felt that by allowing others access to their stories and traditions, the community would be disadvantaged, firstly by being divested of an element of the meagre opportunities to benefit from tourism and secondly by diluting status, exclusivity and identity through allowing outsiders to appropriate their heritage.

For heritage managers in the MUCH team the absence of local narratives and local heritage connections in the authorised narrative was a stumbling block in engaging with local communities who felt detached from the site. This was exacerbated in that the significance and values ascribed to the site disregard the maritime heritage associated with it. While underwater cultural heritage is often classified as moveable heritage and thus rarely considered for World Heritage Site status, the fact that Swahili culture and the development of East Africa were born from, and driven by, the maritime world (Allen 1993), and that the maritime context of the modern coastal societies is so deeply entrenched in daily life and heritage identity, means that this aspect of the site cannot be ignored.

In terms of managing underwater cultural heritage, the circumstances at Kilwa presented additional challenges. If heritage managers were struggling to cultivate an entry point for local engagement with the tangible, visible and accessible aspects of the site's history, how would it be possible to instil a desire to manage the submerged sites that few would see and benefit from. The underwater archaeological sites (shipwrecks and potentially submerged buildings) that received the most attention were again those that represented the history of outsiders. Archaeologists searched for Arabian trade vessels and European East Indiamen, not local dhows or fishing vessels. As with the terrestrial ruins at Kilwa Kisiwani, submerged sites did not incorporate local historical narratives and perspectives as reflected in the material culture. Perhaps more galling to local communities was that the local historical traditions and practices reflected in the rich oral histories and cultural systems were almost entirely ignored. As a result, despite the best efforts of capacity building programmes and the establishment of an underwater cultural heritage management team, these interventions have made little long-term impact on the management and protection of underwater cultural heritage.

In analysing the heritage management practices applied at Kilwa, the entrenched global approach flagged a number of questions. In particular, why, if management plans could not be implemented, were efforts being made to manage the sites at all, and for whom? Since community buy-in was low, research output relatively obscure and economic benefit poor, management strategies were difficult to execute. The failure of the management approach was reflected in the assessments and evaluations of implementation of management plans carried out by UNESCO which

determined that Kilwa Kisiwani was to be placed (and would remain) on the list of World Heritage Sites in danger from 2004 to 2014 (UNESCO 2004, UNESCO 2014).

Resistance, opposition and apathy towards the applied heritage management models at Kilwa were reflected in efforts to manage underwater cultural heritage nationally. Hampered by ministerial indifference, lack of opportunity for practising acquired skills and lack of funds, the outputs of the MUCH team were disappointing. Where projects were initiated, a lack of local buy-in meant that they collapsed in the physical absence of the team. A heavy reliance on NGOs' abilities to secure project finance, together with a leadership at national level that focused on political ambition above practical implementation, lobbying and fundraising, has further exacerbated efforts to continue to develop and grow the team. While the team remains somewhat connected via an online community, the goal of establishing an active, relevant and pro-active unit for underwater cultural heritage research and management has not been achieved.

For the designers of programmes that aimed to produce durable heritage management and engagement results, the lessons of Kilwa showed that there was an unquestionable need to reassess the approach to sub-Saharan Africa's underwater cultural heritage management strategies and examine pathways to make underwater cultural heritage locally relevant and worthy of protection through inclusive management structures. Reports submitted during and after implementation of the Tanzanian programme had already implied this shift in thinking. Parthesius and Jeffery (CIE 2010a) had begun to recognise that capacity alone was not enough to safeguard heritage. Instead, management decision-making that was informed by new theoretical management approaches were key to ensuring sustainable administration and a much needed platform for injecting local relevance into capacity building programmes:

> *"The decisions that managers make will directly determine the* level of access *that is granted to these sites, the level of scientific research that is undertaken and most critically, the value of the information that can be gained from the resource. Without management,* public involvement and cooperation *will diminish and protection will suffer. The manner in which sites are managed will go a long way in setting maritime archaeology apart from treasure hunting and will showcase the value of the discipline in its own right."* [my italics] (CIE 2010a:12).

Their thinking hinted at the need to develop a heritage environment in which underwater cultural heritage sites were not assigned significance based singly on western models of what underwater cultural heritage was, but in which maritime culture resonated directly with local communities, and in which good management practices contributed towards local economic development.

3.2.3 DESIGNING A LOCAL APPROACH IN SOUTH AFRICA

In 2007, CIE was approached by the Embassy of the Kingdom on the Netherlands to assist me, in my capacity as manager of the maritime unit at the South African Heritage Resources Agency, to draft a funding proposal for a Maritime Archaeology Development Programme (MADP) for South Africa. This effectively brought me into CIE's network of heritage thinkers and practitioners allowing me to access experiences and participate in developing new strategies for underwater cultural heritage in sub-Saharan African contexts. Funding from the Dutch Embassy would, however, be conditional on South African Government buy-in and support, including matching funding. At the time, Dutch funding initiatives still approached culture and development programmes within the mutual heritage culture that had existed and been applied in Sri Lanka. In this context it had already sought to establish local cooperation through sponsoring programmes such as the search for the VOC ship *Gouden Buys* (1694) (Bouman and Roling 2006), a project introduced by Dutch archaeologists David Bouman and Marco Rolling and co-sponsored by the South African Heritage Resources Agency, but this had failed to

result in capacity growth or local interest, both of which were vital ingredients if there was to be any impact on the management of underwater cultural heritage.

Although the Department of Arts and Culture had concluded that it would recommend ratification of the 2001 Convention to Cabinet for approval, the process was not *fait accompli*. Under the legislative frameworks that existed when the MADP was finally proposed in 2008, underwater cultural heritage sites, particularly shipwrecks, remained threatened by legally sanctioned salvage and treasure hunting. For the Dutch Government, this meant that VOC shipwrecks in South African waters were vulnerable. A capacity building programme that provided heritage managers and other stakeholders the tools to protect shipwreck sites therefore appeared to be a mutually beneficial initiative.

The need for establishing capacity in maritime archaeology and underwater cultural heritage management in South Africa had its roots in three important areas. Firstly, when the South African Department of Arts and Culture had implemented its public consultation process to determine whether or not it would be suitable for South Africa to ratify the 2001 Convention concerns surrounding the shortage of professional maritime archaeologists and qualified heritage practitioners, and the lack of a clear policy on underwater cultural heritage management were raised (Department of Arts and Culture 2006a). In their arguments against ratification, treasure hunters reasoned that the dearth of qualified professionals and academic maritime archaeological projects and the absence of practical protective measures would result in the loss of underwater cultural heritage, either through direct mismanagement or through a failure to garner public interest and, thus, management support. Unlike Tanzania, SAHRA had an existing, albeit small, underwater cultural heritage management unit that, at the time, employed two maritime archaeologists supported by individuals with maritime archaeological field experience, but the small team was unable to effectively carry out research or promote their activities. Heritage managers and practitioners therefore agreed that without public awareness of the activities of maritime archaeologists and the value of protecting underwater cultural heritage, sites would be susceptible to unreported looting and souvenir hunting, again resulting in the loss of cultural heritage resources.

Capacity challenges in South Africa were, and continue to be, exacerbated by the lack of a formal academic training programme aimed at underwater cultural heritage. South Africa's tertiary maritime archaeology programme, housed at the University of Cape Town, had been disbanded in 1996, and finally closed its doors in 1999 (Werz 2015). The result was that South Africa's tertiary institutions had produced only a few qualified maritime archaeologists, of which only one remained within the heritage management sector by 2008. It became clear that for underwater cultural heritage to move into the mainstream of heritage and archaeology, it was vital that more people became competent in the field. In 2007 when the MADP was first proposed the need to qualify maritime archaeologists at tertiary level was identified as a long-term goal, while the immediate necessity was for a pool of capable, experienced field practitioners who could contribute to site location, identification, assessment, management and monitoring to be established. It was thought that a capacity building approach would satisfy government management obligations and put competent individuals into the field as an alternative to treasure hunters. It was also hoped that the deployment of active individuals into the field would raise awareness of the desirability of archaeology over treasure hunting and the visibility of wreck sites, and that this would lead to more effective management of the resource.

To address this proposition, the South African programme needed to not only enhance the skill sets of heritage practitioners with widely varying degrees of archaeological and heritage management experience but to also attract public stakeholders who potentially had little knowledge of maritime archaeological concepts and practices or interest in the shipwreck narrative into the programme and into underwater cultural heritage sector. The programme therefore required a format that allowed non-diving participants the opportunity to equally benefit from the curriculum and acquire the same expertise as their diving colleagues.

Parthesius and I responded by advocating an approach to underwater cultural heritage management that built on the experiences CIE had gained in Sri Lanka and would test in Tanzania. The proposed MADP would mirror the Tanzanian model in that it sought to address institutional skills shortages and develop a team of practitioners for high-level submerged cultural resources management purposes. In addition, the MADP advised actions that would address the challenges presented by a lack of local community buy-in and management support. To do this, the programme was designed to include training for on-site managers and practitioners (people already living or working near underwater cultural heritage sites) and local communities (particularly the diving community). The approach suggested that by establishing a coastal network of diverse stakeholders, heritage management agencies could be supported by additional, inclusive management structures. The mechanisms for establishing a national coastal network would be informed by CIE's already developed regional networks and supporting infrastructure. Finally, the programme was designed to include awareness raising activities aimed at government management agencies and young people.

To facilitate awareness raising and broad buy-in, it was necessary to find a structure through which underwater cultural heritage became nationally relevant and recognised prior to implementing MADP activities. This was deemed appropriate in the South African context where underwater cultural heritage had been marginalised, under-represented or ignored altogether. It required a consultative first phase that would determine methods for shifting the public perception of underwater cultural heritage as being solely shipwrecks or associated colonial infrastructure, a belief that had become entrenched in South Africa and in its legislation, as described above.

The approach proposed for the MADP was accepted by both the Embassy and SAHRA but, while the programme gained support amongst middle management at the Department of Arts and Culture, decision-makers in upper management were unconvinced of the need to protect submerged heritage sites. The arguments that had been presented by treasure hunters and commercial salvage companies and that had shaped the maritime historical narrative to ensure that the shipwreck sites were viewed as inaccessible, lacking in archaeological merit and irrelevant to South Africans continued to find traction at high level. Treasure hunters' offers of "representative collections", financial support for museums and taxable revenue were an attractive incentive for government officials struggling to manage and fund heritage institutions. The South African government was also feeling the pinch of the 2008 financial crisis and was heavily focused on job creation and economic growth. High level Government officials saw little value in developing underwater cultural heritage management infrastructure and capacity, especially as this might increase the financial obligations of supporting expanded heritage management responsibilities. As such, the architects and proponents of the MADP needed to provide strong arguments to convince and incentivise the South African Government to contribute finances towards the project. Then CEO of the SAHRA, Sibongile van Damme, championed the programme at Ministerial level. Having co-authored a book on water in South Africa which included a chapter on South African cosmologies, mythologies and histories associated with water bodies (van Vuuren *et al.* 2007), she recognised the potential broader relevance of underwater cultural heritage and the need to protect sites and histories that were threatened by lack of management action. Using these arguments, van Damme pledged matching funds to the programme, agreeing to contribute SAHRA capital should Ministerial backing not be forthcoming. Van Damme's commitment and the subsequent approval of the MADP was a critical turning point for the evolution of new approaches towards underwater cultural heritage and strategic management models.

By securing matching funding, the programme could proceed, with the condition that in the process of implementation, the relevance of underwater cultural heritage for all South Africans was identified. An initial NAS training programme was implemented at Robben Island which targeted an audience of individuals from a broad cross-section of South

African society. It provided training in the skills needed to identify and map underwater cultural heritage sites. The training was presented to a variety of individuals from heritage and environmental management institutions. Because the programme focused on colonial maritime sites and infrastructure it failed to engage participants and it became evident that it needed more appeal. The project was therefore forced to examine its focus and audience. Because seafaring was not part of pre-colonial South African practice (although the country's deep pre-history is rooted in the sea), and because most South Africans will never have the opportunity to access submerged cultural heritage sites, it was difficult to use the term "underwater cultural heritage" in a context that people related to. In order for underwater cultural heritage to be seen as relevant within the broader heritage narrative, heritage practitioners involved in the MADP had to ensure that it resonated with multiple voices and perspectives. To do this it would be necessary to ensure that people could position their own heritage within the field. The designers of the programme believed that this would require the identification of a set of touch point examples from which people could extrapolate the connections and sites that linked their own heritage to a maritime past.

In the build-up to a second training season, the MADP and SAHRA facilitated a meeting of experts and trainers which sought to bring a multi-vocal dimension to underwater cultural heritage and to determine a vision for underwater cultural heritage management for South Africa that could be contextualised within the sub-Saharan region and global setting. The meeting took note of the gains made in Sri Lanka as described above as well as of subsequent interventions initiated by ICUCH and later UNESCO that aimed to contextualise underwater cultural heritage in the Sri Lankan setting. The MADP noted that the international bodies had been at pains to compel local managers to comply with the global rules. ICUCH intervened in the *Avondster* project and UNESCO attempted to establish a Category II regional training centre at Galle. Both programmes were eventually dissolved, neither succeeding in addressing local environments or incorporating local contributions. The outcomes of CIE's intervention in Tanzania would also be used as an example from which to expand the approach to underwater cultural heritage in southern Africa. The meeting analysed the concerns and inputs of delegates at regional meetings in Tanzania and Mozambique where similar efforts to contextualise underwater cultural heritage in sub-Saharan Africa had been made but where stakeholders could do no more than commit to efforts to raise awareness at government level and lobby for ratification of international heritage treaties and conventions (Mediation and Transformation Practice 2010).

The 2010 meeting participants agreed that the existing definitions and frameworks in which underwater heritage was managed remained inadequate. South Africa's legislation relating to underwater cultural heritage is exclusively directed at shipwrecks, while the UNESCO 2001 Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage, although providing a broader definition that includes a more holistic overview of sites, applies only to submerged or partially submerged, tangible sites. In addition, the use of "underwater" in "underwater cultural heritage" immediately appeared to limit site-types to those in the submarine environment. In South Africa, it was necessary to explicitly bring the concept of maritime heritage out of the water to allow people to interact with it within their own terrestrial context. In order to provide a tangible historical link between South Africans and their maritime heritage it was necessary to do more than merely expand the definition of what constituted the maritime past in policy and legislative documents since few read legislative source documentation. Instead, it was necessary to change the frame of reference in which heritage practitioners discussed the field in the public arena. A new term for the field needed to be devised and broadly used. The expression needed to encompass underwater sites, the extended (terrestrial) maritime cultural landscape and the associated academic disciplines whose work underpinned the field. For this purpose, the label "maritime *and* underwater cultural heritage" was coined by meeting participants. By adding the "maritime" prefix it became possible for all human interactions with water, both tangible and intangible, to be included in the maritime and underwater cultural heritage (MUCH) domain.

Recognising the challenges of making a field that most people in sub-Saharan Africa would never see first-hand and to whom submerged archaeological sites represented the heritage of the "other" relevant, the heritage management and maritime archaeology specialists participating in the early workshops that resulted in the coining of the concept of MUCH continued to grapple with identifying solutions that would result in gaining broad buy-in. Meeting minutes hint at both the identification of the challenges and the struggle to find relevant solutions (Mediation and Transformation Practice 2010). In developing a mission statement for the future of MUCH, the workshop participants generated a statement that read:

> *"Mission - To realise and sustain the maritime and underwater cultural heritage* for South Africans *[my italics], within a regional and global context."* (Mediation and Transformation Practice 2010, 15)

The implication was that whatever strategies were produced, they should be of relevance and application to all South Africans, not just to heritage managers and the academe. In other words, the participants recognised the existing monopoly on submerged sites held by the treasure hunting, commercial salvage and heritage practitioner communities – invariably middle-income, white males – and sought ways to involve others to ensure protection and good management of MUCH sites. To do this, it was recommended that " … a framework that identifies themes, context [and] stakeholders … " (Mediation and Transformation Practice 2010:15) be developed to promote protection through collaboration between heritage managers, communities and stakeholders. The development of the framework would be initiated and stimulated through, amongst others, public awareness and community programmes. Again, there was recognition of the necessity to make MUCH more inclusive, and of the potential contribution that stakeholders who were not heritage professionals could make to management. But there was little to suggest how this shift could be achieved, but for the time being, the specialists reconciled themselves to re-characterising the field through expanding its scope.

It was not until relatively late in the MADP, that it was decided that examples of non-shipwreck site types that illustrated the scope of the field and diverged from customary wreck sites should be explicitly identified and promoted in the redefinition of the field. It was necessary to support the new characterisation of MUCH with recognisable examples of what *could* be included in the expanded definition and to show how people who did not traditionally relate to maritime heritage were linked to maritime culture. To do this, it was important to demonstrate that maritime sites could exist both above and below the water. First efforts tended to remain focused on colonial history related to shipping or shipping activities identifying sites such as harbours, lighthouses and other maritime infrastructure, but as debate continued the Programme identified four "Legacy Sites" that trainers felt encapsulated the diversity of MUCH and provided illustrations of sites that were relevant beyond European history and highlighted South Africa's rich and ancient connection with water. It was proposed that these sites could be promoted through the production of a MUCH "manual" that outlined the range of site types, and how heritage should be managed. Furthermore, the manual should provide a way forward for MUCH management that would outline methods for identifying sites or related intangible heritage and show MUCH as being broadly relevant, inclusive and diverse. The "manual" will be discussed in more detail below.

The following Legacy Sites were identified:

1. Fish Weirs - Stilbaai and Arniston on South Africa's southern coast are home to two of the few remaining regional examples of this type of mega structure, erected using stone technology. Locally known as *visvywers*, these stonewalled fish traps are of as yet undetermined age, but have been used by local fishermen for at least the past century. These sites were identified because they are a non-traditional underwater cultural heritage site type and they reflect a contested history. Descendants of the area's pre-colonial inhabitants believe that the traps date back approximately 2000 years and were designed locally and engineered using

local knowledge systems. This contention is supported by Avery (1975) who observed the presence of shell mega-middens adjacent to the trap sites and postulated that fish may have been processed together with shellfish. The proximity of the shell middens convinced Deacon that the traps were associated with the people processing marine resources nearby. The location of the walls and the manner in which the traps function would require a sea level similar to current levels. Deacon concluded that since appropriate sea levels have existed only in the last 2000 years, the traps could be no older. Philip Hine re-examined the fish traps in 2008. He identified archival references to Dutch settlers requesting permits to construct, repair and use stone-walled traps but it is unclear whether the traps already existed at that time or if they were built by the settlers. Hine excavated a number of test pits in the adjacent shell middens in order to determine if any evidence of fish bone was present and thereby provide verification for use by pre-colonial societies. Hine identified only a small number of fish bones and concluded that the traps were indeed constructed by Dutch farmers in the 20th century meaning that the traps were the heritage of the farmers that own land in the area today. He noted, however, that fish may have been processed for consumption during annual migration into the interior (Hine 2008, Hine *et al.* 2010, Gribble 2005). For the purposes of the MADP, the fish traps provided an illustration of a locally relevant physical heritage site and focused attention on the potential intangible associations that communities might place on a site to support their perceptions of their maritime past. In the case of the fish traps, the fishing community is vociferous in its claim to the sites and cites them as an integral part of their identity. While the farmers are less forceful in their claim, they still view them as markers of their ancestry and as part of their past. Is assigning an accurate provenance to the traps important? From an archaeological or academic standpoint, the origins of the traps are relevant in writing the history of South Africa, but from a heritage production perspective, and in terms of identity generation, both narratives must be given equal weight (see also SAHRA Case File 9/2/079/0009).

2. Robben Island – In 1999 Robben Island was declared South Africa's first World Heritage Site. Its World Heritage status was awarded based on the heritage of subjugation, imprisonment and the triumph of the oppressed over the oppressor. In the synopsis of the site's "outstanding universal value", UNESCO states:

> *"The symbolic value of Robben Island lies in its sombre history, as a prison and a hospital for unfortunates who were sequestered as being socially undesirable. This came to an end in the 1990s when the inhuman Apartheid regime was rejected by the South African people and the political prisoners who had been incarcerated on the Island received their freedom after many years."* (UNESCO 1999)

In addition, the Island has been declared a National Heritage Site by SAHRA in 2006 based on its function as an apartheid era prison (File Reference 9/2/018/0004, Government Gazette No. 20876 Notice no. 490 dated 26 May 2006). The recent history of the Island is well known both in South Africa and around the world. However, the Island has a far deeper history of not only of banishment and imprisonment, stretching back to the first settlers who brought their political opponents from the colonies and outposts of the Far East, but also as a strategic military installation and a stopover point to replenish ships. The Island boasts at least three pre-colonial sites dating back more than 12000 years, when rising sea levels following the last Ice Age inundated what is now Table Bay, leaving the rocky Island outcrop that exists today. These

historic layers are beginning to be brought back into the heritage consciousness through archival research and archaeological survey. While not all aspects of the Island's past have direct maritime cultural links, the fact that the site is an island means that almost all the activities that took place there have an inherent, if oblique, connection with the ocean. Some of these connections are tangible and unambiguously connected with maritime culture, such as the Minto Hill lighthouse on the high point at the south-eastern end of the Island and the shipwrecks that lie around the Island's shores. Others such as the VOC slave gardens, where Company slaves were allowed to tend vegetable patches for their own use and for trade with passing sailors (Deacon 1996) have a more ephemeral maritime connection. The maritime environment is also expressed in the myriad intangible heritage aspects associated with the Island including its symbolic values. The material fabric and nature of an island, for example, is a stark emblem that physically embodies isolation and desolation associated with the oppressive past. The Island provides a prime example of a complex site representing a polarised past and is particularly relevant. Each individual site, or a practice that takes place, within the landscape contributes to its totality – the landscape would not be the same if one of the elements were missing. Since this is the case, it is desirable to protect the landscape as a whole. For this to happen each site or practice within the landscape must be protected, or at least acknowledged, and managed. By highlighting the connectedness of sites in a context such as Robben Island, the MADP hoped that it would be able to emphasise the need for management of underwater cultural heritage sites.

3. Barrel Wreck – An unidentified shipwreck located in shallow water in Table Bay, Cape Town was selected as a third Legacy Site. The wreck assemblage, known as the *Barrel Wreck* after its most prominent feature, consists of the hull structure of at least one partially intact, unknown wooden vessel, as well as an anchor, a number of cannon and other ship fittings and cargo. The barrels contain goods such as tar and iron nails. Crates filled will glass and muskets have also been observed on the site (Maitland and Winton 2010). The site represents the popular, public perception of what constitutes a maritime archaeological site and maritime cultural heritage.
4. Lake Fundudzi – This 5km by 3km Lake, situated in the northeast of the Limpopo Province of South Africa is the only natural inland lake in Southern Africa. Geologically, the lake, formed when a landslide blocked the Mutale River, is unique on the African continent (Van Der Waal 1997, Chiliza and Hingston 2014). The Lake harbours a wealth of information on the geological history of the area in the form of sediments that have washed into it since its formation. Fossil pollen in the sediment layers reflects an historical record of the region's vegetation, as well as disturbances by major events such as fires and floods. The remains of early settlements in the catchment may also be reflected in the geological and environmental record. For the sections of local Vhavenda society the lake is the epicentre of a rich heritage embodied in cosmology, folklore and mythology and is associated with various ceremonial rituals related to ancestor worship and Venda royalty. As a burial site it is considered sacred. It is believed to be the home of the ancestral spirit of the Vhatavhatsindi people who claim their ancestors discovered the lake when they moved into South Africa from Zimbabwe. The Lake, together with associated, nearby sacred sites such as PhiPhidi Falls and the Thathe Vondo sacred forest, is home to a number of mythical creatures including a python god, an albino crocodile and other ancestral beasts (Van Vuuren *et al. 2007*). These animals are venerated through dance and ritual. The Venda recount that the cries and drums of people living beneath the water can be heard emanating from



Figure 4 Legacy Sites (clockwise from top left: Lake Fundudzi, Robben Island, Fish Traps, Barrel Wreck

the Lake. The colour of the Lake is said to reflect the disposition of the ancestors. Lake Fundudzi was chosen as a Legacy Site to reflect the non-traditional aspects of MUCH in South Africa and the developing world and forgotten cultural relationships between South Africans and water. The lake is a highly contested space as described in Chapter 5.

Each of the Legacy Sites represented a unique facet of maritime and underwater cultural heritage in South Africa and each came with its own management opportunities and challenges. Importantly, the designers of the MADP believed that the array of four sites allowed South Africans of all backgrounds an opportunity to connect with an aspect of underwater cultural heritage and identify with the importance of heritage management and use in broad terms.

The introduction of the new term *maritime and underwater cultural heritage* and supporting Legacy Sites that demonstrated examples of some elements that were covered by the phrase immediately lifted the general lack of interest in underwater cultural heritage. The MADP began to attract the interest of stakeholders from a variety of backgrounds, social sectors and locations and began a process of redefining MUCH. However, to comprehensively re-characterise MUCH to suit the South African context, it was necessary to re-examine current thinking in the sector. The increasingly utilised *maritime cultural landscape*, first proposed by Christer Westerdahl in 1991 seemed an appropriate framework in which to structure new approaches to MUCH. It is to this concept that the next chapter will turn.

3.3 A THEORETICAL INTERLUDE

3.3.1 INTRODUCTION

To lay a foundation for developing MUCH management models and approaches and to create a framework for the analysis of the case studies that will be proposed in Chapter 4 within the critical realist framework, it is necessary to gain an appreciation of how key concepts are currently understood by heritage managers, communities and archaeologists. Amongst the most significant, and amongst those which exerted the greatest influence on the approach propositions outlined in the upcoming chapters, is the concept of the maritime cultural landscape. An overview of current thinking surrounding this concept impacts on the way management strategies are defined and implemented, and provides the rationale for proposing an expanded framework from which to approach the field in sub-Saharan Africa. Thinking around these theoretical frameworks has informed the evolution of the approaches described elsewhere.

The concept of the maritime cultural landscape is malleable in that it may be experienced differently by insiders and outsiders in the "empirical" domain of critical realism. It provides a lens through which to observe MUCH management, engagement and policy at an international, regional, national, community or individual level and is, therefore, a sound framework from which to develop a strategy for a different approach to MUCH. It also provides a structure for analysing the processes that are taking place in the "actual" domain, the efficacy of legislation and the results of interventions that have taken place in either the policy, awareness raising or development layers, by offering a theoretical template against which the way people adjust their behaviours based on how they view their environments and perceive the world. The absence of maritime cultural landscape thinking may assist in explaining current sub-Saharan African attitudes towards MUCH as a concept, and its application may be used to develop real-world products and approaches for MUCH practice.

3.3.2 THE MARITIME CULTURAL LANDSCAPE AND MARITIME CULTURE

A contextual approach to MUCH was missing from the developing disciplines associated with underwater cultural heritage as it evolved from the 1960s. Maritime archaeologists, for the most part, focused their attention on methodological archaeological techniques (Gould 2000). Because they were reinventing excavation methods for application in the underwater environment, battling to gain acceptance in the archaeological fraternity and attempting to overcome a host of other challenges, theoretical interpretation of archaeological sites and past societies became secondary to the development of methodological approaches. As a result, maritime archaeologists were recovering spectacular finds, plotting centimetre perfect site plans and breaking new ground in artefact conservation techniques but failing to convince their colleagues or the public that the sub-discipline was contributing to the advancement of knowledge of the past. A focus on classical and colonial period shipwreck sites did little to endear maritime archaeologists to their peers who believed that the achievements of maritime archaeologists were not "archaeological" enough (Gould 2000). Treasure hunters were recovering the same types of objects and could be trained to produce good site maps. A collection of ceramics from a 17th century shipwreck only served to confirm what was already known – that European ships traded throughout the Indian Ocean. Shipwrecks were seen as a vehicle for cultural migration rather than as an indicator of cultural development. What maritime archaeologists needed was a framework through which they could link underwater sites to cultures.

Although cultural landscape models have been a feature of terrestrial heritage, history, anthropology and archaeology for some time, it was not until 1992 that Christer Westerdahl coined the term "maritime cultural landscape" to link the terrestrial and underwater archaeological sites and objects that he had been analysing in Scandinavia. By contextualising sites and artefacts, he was able to not only create tangible associations between ships, maritime infrastructure and coastal settlements, but

also evaluate current and past societies and social constructs in light of their broader maritime context. Westerdahl was not the first to apply the concept of linking multiple sites and practices and examining their mutual influence in past maritime cultures. Earlier proponents of the idea had already recognised the social significance and impact of factors such as mythology and other knowledge systems that contribute towards a community's perceptions of ownership, identity and sense of belonging which, in turn, contribute towards an understanding of the "functionality of societies" (Duncan 2011: 267-8), but Westerdahl named, refined and clarified the concept. For Westerdahl, "the maritime cultural landscape signifies human utilisation (economy) of space by boat, settlement, fishing, hunting, shipping and its attendant subcultures such as pilotage, lighthouse and seamark maintenance" (Westerdahl 1992: 5-6). While not all-encompassing, the definition formalised a link between the sea and the land and between tangible sites and objects and their cultural associations. Through observations of social interactions with the maritime environment, researchers could make inferences and theoretical interpretations of past societies. The use of the maritime cultural landscape as a tool for contextualising maritime archaeological sites does not, however, mean that archaeologists can pay less attention to the sites themselves. Interpretation of sites based on their contents is still an essential function of archaeology. Understanding the communities that influence or constitute a culture, such as those found on a ship, is imperative to understanding the culture itself.

Westerdahl's approach was embraced by the maritime archaeological community and has found significant traction. The term has appeared in numerous publications in the last decade and has offered underwater cultural heritage a solid peg from which to hang site interpretation. If the argument for the use of maritime cultural landscapes as the most effective archaeological tool to explain past cultures is proposed, however, it becomes necessary to attempt to define a maritime cultural landscape more specifically. Westerdahl defined the term for the purposes of his work, but stopped short of proposing a dictionary definition for the phrase. This was perhaps expedient. It allowed researchers the freedom to define their own study parameters. A landscape could be as small as a single site or as large as continent. The interpretation of the ramifications of the interplay of cultures on a single ship is no less important than the consequences of a colonial sea power establishing a foothold in a new territory. It is a matter of perspective and research focus.

Duncan (2011) points out that many maritime cultural landscapes may also exist within a single physical landscape. Different communities or groups may understand or interpret landscapes, large or small, differently from one another. Different themes will therefore become apparent for different landscapes. While one of these will often be dominant in the interpretation depending on whose cultural identity is being investigated, the presence of other themes cannot be ignored. For example, in the field of maritime archaeology in South Africa over the past three decades, the shipwreck theme has dominated for many the reasons as have been described elsewhere in this text. The dominance has been determined by political context, treasure hunting activities and the focused interests of the small pool of maritime heritage practitioners that work in the region. Breen and Lane (2003) suggest that the same is true for East Africa where the investigations into single shipwreck or maritime infrastructure sites, including such settlements as Kilwa and Zanzibar, have been predominantly used to interpret Swahili culture. In both southern and East Africa it is necessary to incorporate a far broader perspective of maritime culture in order to understand the societies that exist along the coast.

The development and evolution of any society is, of course, influenced by numerous factors, of which the landscape is just one. Access to water, available infrastructure and technology, and the environment, to name a few, determine how communities view and use the world around them. It is disingenuous then to attempt to generalise about the past from a single site type. In the African context, the predominance of the shipwreck as the representative site type for maritime archaeology and MUCH, for example, has had a negative impact on the development of the sub-discipline and has made it irrelevant to many people on the continent. Multiple factors are

at play allowing multiple perspectives to emerge. However, while different landscapes or themes are valued differently by groups or individuals for many reasons, communities are often interlinked by shared spaces and sites despite holding different cultural values (Duncan 2011). Flatman (2011) argues that rather than diluting or belittling maritime archaeology, Westerdahl's introduction of the maritime cultural landscape has been instrumental in the development of the maritime archaeological sub-discipline and in bringing maritime archaeology into the archaeological mainstream.

Since maritime archaeologists and heritage practitioners have only recently begun to explore the concept of the maritime cultural landscape, and because Westerdahl's definition could be interpreted in many ways, the way in which the maritime cultural landscape should be studied has been understood in several different ways. Duncan (2011), for example, argues that since the term maritime cultural landscape was coined, many of the studies that have used the expression to frame their interpretation arguments should more accurately be called maritime archaeological landscape studies in that they have examined the archaeological signatures of the behaviours of people living in those landscapes or focused on the management of specific sites rather than examining the broader social interactions that took place in the landscape and the connections between sites. In other words, archaeologists have studied sites individually within a landscape, such as a shipwreck and a harbour, but have not interpreted these sites in relation to the function and existence of the other. In addition, the studies ignored cognitive behavioural aspects of maritime communities in favour of an interpretation of objects and archaeological assemblages. Duncan further argues that to understand a maritime community, it is necessary "to first understand the mind-set of the individuals and groups that formed it" (p 269). This information is provided by oral histories, folklore and traditions.

He illustrated this in his own study of the Queenscliff fishing community, by accessing multiple sources in his efforts to understand and interpret the behavioural systems of the people that created archaeological sites and maritime cultural landscapes. Data sources included archaeological data (objects and their spatial distribution), historical documentation, oral histories and anthropological observations of modern communities. These data offer important personal perspectives into the identity of cultures who created the maritime cultural landscapes being investigated.

Flatman has been a tenacious proponent of the maritime cultural landscape and advanced the use of the landscape model for interpretation to encompass anthropological observations and inferences. This was demonstrated in his analysis of the wrecking of the MSC *Napoli* off the Dorset coast in 2007, where the observations of the dynamics at play in the creation of a new maritime cultural landscape could be used to infer how people in the past may have similarly reacted to a shipwreck. Flatman's expansion of the maritime cultural landscape concept is, however, one of only a handful of studies that have attempted to reinterpret the framework.

Despite many archaeologists embracing Westerdahl's idea as a tool for explaining and interpreting historical, anthropological and archaeological data sets, the literature suggests that the tool has been applied uniformly to the interpretation of the behaviours and tangible remains of *past* societies. The approach to heritage management proposed in this thesis will argue that the understanding of maritime cultural landscapes and the management of maritime and underwater cultural heritage is a complex interplay between the past and the present. While it is the interpretation and understanding of the past that influences how people interact with, manage and interpret their heritage today, this understanding is underpinned by perceptions that have been shaped by a host of external factors. Present perceptions influence the way the past is understood and must, therefore, be recognised.

In developing the models for regionally appropriate approaches to MUCH management, it is recognised that perceptions of the past evolve and that this evolution informs the experienced relevance of the past and of the significance of different sites within a landscape associated with a particular heritage narrative. Because of this fluid understanding of

heritage, and in the context of a maritime cultural landscape, the strength and prominence of links between different sites or traditions of perceived importance in the landscape will change. As such, management practices must change to ensure relevant protection is applied across the landscape. For example, because shipwrecks have little relevance in the heritage contexts of many communities and societies in parts of southern Africa and the developing world, coastal communities who may not feel that these sites play a part in their identity and history may pay little attention to management and protection of these sites. This was clearly illustrated in interviews conducted at the Eastern cape case study site, as will be discussed in the next chapter. While the consequences of wrecks and associated history (colonial expansion, oppression, etc.) may be relevant and understood, the preservation of the site itself does not add to that history. In cases like these it is difficult to promote site management and protection, meaning that sites may be opened to commercial exploitation or general erosion, and lost. By invoking a landscape approach, it is possible to place wrecks within a broad context. The protection of the landscape as whole, including the wreck site, gives managers opportunities to motivate for site management.

The maritime cultural landscape concept must be expanded to allow for the analysis of current attitudes to heritage sites and, consequently, the management of sites. The maritime cultural landscape must be used not only to explain how past societies were shaped or how they shaped their environments and structures, but also to explain why current societies value heritage. The contested claims of ownership of fish traps in South Africa illustrates this challenge. The provenance of the traps is purported to be both ancient (by local fishing communities) and colonial (by academics and descendants of Dutch farmers). Although archaeological evidence leans towards the colonial provenance of the fish traps, their heritage values are different for different people. Is one perception or interpretation less valid than another in terms of managing heritage in the interests of nations? The identity formation in local fishing communities has been buttressed by the belief that fish traps are the work of their ancestors living in the area 2000 years ago. If managers ignore this or set about proving it wrong, management loses its relevance and appeal. While it is possible to show evidence that only one of these claims is true, the traps play an important role in the identity of the people who associate themselves with them. Any management model that seeks to effectively protect the heritage of these sites must, therefore, take cognisance of the broader role that the sites play in the intangible portion of the maritime cultural landscape. Perceptions of the sites and of the past influence how they are managed, presented and protected. Dismissing either the authorised or unauthorised aspects of heritage weakens the interpretation of archaeological records in that cultural and archaeological markers that have continued to be laid down have the contested beliefs embedded in them. Using the fish trap example, even if the factual basis for the drivers that have shaped the community is false, the fact that a community has incorporated a belief in an ancient technology into their perception of the past means that researchers and managers must accept its validity to properly understand past and present behaviours.

People's understanding of their own past must provide a foundation for the development of a management strategy for sites that is both relevant, implementable and sustainable. Instead of analysing the fish traps as exclusively archaeological sites, placing them within a maritime cultural landscape, as suggested by Bannerman and Jones (1999), provides an opportunity to ascribe deeper heritage meaning to them. The traps provide indisputable evidence of fishing techniques and a past way of life (whether 2000 years old or 200 years old). At the same time, they have intangible meaning to a variety of stakeholders or interested communities regardless of their provenance. The concept of a maritime cultural landscape provides an opportunity for academics and laypeople alike to interpret and connect with heritage. This, in turn, offers a platform for holistic, relevant site management and presentation.

The concepts of the maritime cultural landscape and maritime culture are inextricably linked. A maritime cultural landscape is occupied by a maritime culture in one form or another. It is, however, difficult to determine how each influences the other – whether

the culture shapes the landscape, or whether the landscape shapes the culture. Pagel (2012), for example, suggests that human adaptability is inbuilt and that our culture, whether dormant or overt, provides us with the tools to occupy and adapt landscapes. By this reasoning, it is culture that constructs the landscape. Hatch (2011), on the other hand, proposes that the environment or landscape determines or, at the very least, influences the development of the culture itself. By comparing two distinct cultures (pirates at the Barcadares, Belize, and the middle-class English settlements at the Ridge Complex and Port St. George sites on Nevis, Lesser Antilles), Hatch argues that communities select their material culture and landscape to suit their society although concedes that both geographical location and societal constructs may equally contribute towards these selection decisions. In this instance, the remote location of the pirate colony is selected because of the inherent advantages of its being inaccessible. In this example it could be argued, the landscape determines the culture, although Hatch again concedes that the inaccessibility of the landscape inhibits access to material resources which may consequently limit a society's ability to express its culture through the production of culturally significant, or even practically necessary, objects used in ritual or everyday life.

Arguably, both maritime culture and maritime cultural landscapes can exist in the absence of one another. For example, cultural practices such as songs can exist independently and unattached to a landscape. In the same way, a landscape may be formed by a culture that does not occupy it, such as the descendants of slaves in the United States influencing the construction of West African slave heritage landscapes.

Maritime landscapes and maritime cultural landscapes could, therefore, be seen as both a product of maritime cultures and a contributing factor to the evolution of these cultures. The elements of landscapes can be examined as individual sites and can be used to explain or interpret cultural practices. But, as is clearly visible in modern culture, societies assign deeper meaning to their surroundings or environments. For example, cities such as New York or Mecca are perceived in different ways by different people and cultures, and possess an attached symbolism that would not be reflected in an archaeological assemblage. Although evidence of the religious importance of Mecca may be obvious from the sacred structures, the socio-political milieu currently associated with Islam and represented by these structures will not be as clear. Ritual, symbolism and personal perspectives may leave ephemeral, tangible and observable residues on a site and might be accessed through the archaeological record (Hatch 2011), but these meanings may also be lost. If cultures are analysed through a broader contextual lens, however, their interactions with their environment and the significance they place on their environments may become more apparent.

In 2008, as South Africa was developing strategies for MUCH and its management through its MADP, and as heritage managers struggled to find broad relevance in MUCH studies, heritage practitioners were, perhaps unwittingly, already beginning to identify landscapes which could be incorporated into a more appropriate approach to their management strategies for MUCH in the region. Although it had not been explicit, efforts to make MUCH inclusive and accessible through the introduction of Legacy Sites had already identified the value of a maritime cultural landscape approach. Robben Island in particular was a prime example of a maritime cultural landscape that incorporated aspects of the physical and the intangible spread over multiple heritage layers.

The need for using an expanded definition of the maritime cultural landscape in developing management models was clear from the MADP, Ilha de Mozambique and Eastern Cape case studies described below, where cultural landscapes included natural aspects and where access to landscapes was as important as the sites themselves. As will become clear, the understanding and significance of the landscape was observed to be more wide-ranging than just a series of interconnected sites. It included the cosmologies, belief systems, interpretations and perceptions of the people living in it. Furthermore, it went beyond historic sites and archaeological assemblages and incorporated elements of the

geography and ecosystems that existed within its parameters. In the same way that archaeologists interpret artefacts and objects on a site through their associations with other artefacts and objects and their context within the site, heritage practitioners must be encouraged to develop management strategies within their broader context and associations with other heritage locally, regionally and globally.

Westerdahl's (1992) article of less than ten pages changed the practice of maritime archaeology fundamentally, yet although maritime archaeologists and underwater cultural heritage managers have embraced the concept of the maritime cultural landscape and have incorporated it into their archaeological work, few have made an effort to define or reinterpret the concept in more detail. Work described in much of the literature in which the term appears has used the concept as a simple means to link individual sites and position those sites within a broader geographical or physical context (see for example, Ford 2011, Harris 2016). Although the roles of intangible heritage and perception are recognised, they are observed only in the *physical* fabric of the landscape and maritime infrastructure (Parker 2001). It is only recently that the multiplicity of meaning, significance and values of the maritime cultural landscape is being re-examined and applied in new approaches to MUCH management that address the failures of global underwater cultural heritage management systems in sub-Saharan Africa.

4 Assessing the *Status Quo* of MUCH Management in Sub-Saharan Africa

4.1 IDENTIFYING ELEMENTS AFFECTING APPROACHES TO MUCH MANAGEMENT

Several themes affecting MUCH management in Sri Lanka, Tanzania and South Africa began to emerge while examining the approaches taken in each example. These themes revolved around heritage production, heritage consumption, heritage management strategies and custodianship. As outlined in the introduction to this book, these themes could be deconstructed into six elements to indicate the degree to which themes were being recognised within the management landscape.

In Sri Lanka, underwater cultural heritage was well recognised, but focused on shipwrecks. The *Avondster* project and early efforts to manage shipwrecks were initiated by international heritage practitioners and, while the *Avondster* Project was undertaken under a shared cultural heritage banner, its focus was an essentially Dutch heritage site. This produced an interesting dichotomy. In the Sri Lankan heritage lexicon, the *Avondster* and associated heritage of the Dutch trade empire and Dutch colonial expansion, could be viewed as unauthorised heritage, while from the Dutch perspective, global expansion is deeply ingrained in their authorised heritage narrative. In attempting to bring underwater cultural heritage into the official narrative of Sri Lanka, it was necessary also to raise awareness of the resources, in this case shipwrecks. The establishment of a museum and training of maritime archaeological capacity were key processes in bringing shipwrecks into a public domain. Finally, having exposed the shipwreck resource, it was necessary to establish a set of rules for management and access. In the Sri Lankan example a set of national laws governing marine resources, the 1996 ICOMOS Charter on the Protection and Management of Underwater Cultural Heritage and the 2001 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage served as templates for a management strategy.

Four key elements in the approach to management of underwater cultural heritage could be extracted from the Sri Lankan case. These relate to authorisation of heritage and heritage narratives, the rules for the management of underwater cultural heritage, and the visibility of underwater cultural heritage sites. Capacity was also identified as a challenge, which was addressed in the lead-up to, and during, the *Avondster* Project and the establishment of the MAU.

In Tanzania, some aspects of underwater cultural heritage milieu differed from Sri Lanka. Maritime heritage indirectly formed part of the national heritage narrative, particularly with reference to Swahili culture. Underwater archaeological sites did not, however, feature prominently. Rather, aspects of the maritime past were reflected in Arabian and European architectural influences, maritime practices such as fishing and trade and in the intangible heritage of East Africa including religious influences and way of life (Ichumbaki 2015, Pollard *et al.* 2016). Despite the significant maritime associations at significant sites such as Kilwa Kisiwani and Bagamoyo, maritime history has not been at the forefront of the historical narrative. Maritime sites were accessible, but not overtly promoted. The later application of new terminology (maritime *and* underwater cultural heritage) and the adoption of a landscape approach to heritage identification and production linked underwater sites to terrestrial and intangible counterparts.

Tanzania faced similar capacity, awareness and legislative difficulties to Sri Lanka, although informal management capacity existed in marine parks and other government departments mandated to manage maritime activities. Legislation regarding underwater cultural heritage was also lacking. Tanzania's heritage is protected in terms of the Antiquities Act of 1964 (Act No. 10 of 1964 or Cap 333 Ref. 2002) and the Antiquities (Amendment) Act of 1979 (Act No. 22 of 1979) as well as the Rules and Regulations of 1981, 1991, 1995 and 2002 associated with the Acts. These provide general protection of heritage sites and objects, including archaeological material. However, the protection of underwater cultural heritage is absent, prompting Tanzania to investigate the ratification of the 2001 Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage.

The management of South Africa's maritime and underwater cultural heritage was different still. The National Heritage Resources Act of 1999 and its Regulations laid out a management framework specifically aimed at shipwrecks and, although not substantial, management capacity existed in the government's heritage management agency. Sites were accessible to divers, and maritime museums curated shipwreck exhibits in all coastal provinces. Shipwreck sites were firmly, and publicly, positioned within the official heritage narrative both in terms of legislation and through salvage and excavation activities that had brought objects into the public spotlight. Although South Africa appeared to have all the advantages, underwater cultural heritage struggled to find relevance in the post-apartheid nation. Because of the lack of local interest, shipwreck management focused on the global significance of European trade and expansion and attempted to underline its impact on local historical development.

4.2 USING THE ELEMENTS MATRIX AS A TOOL TO ASSESS MUCH MANAGEMENT INDICATORS

Between 1960 and the 1990s in Sri Lanka MUCH management initiatives had been initiated in an environment where underwater cultural heritage was not well established at a national or local level, where laws protecting heritage did not extend to cover submerged sites and where underwater cultural heritage resources were on the fringes of the authorised heritage discourse. This became apparent when plotting the characteristics of the management elements that applied to underwater cultural heritage onto radar graphs. It became immediately evident that MUCH resources existed in a vacuum at the national and local layers. While some international expertise was available to support a few lone voices, such as Somasiri Devendra, appealing for the development of Sri Lankan underwater cultural heritage management and practice (Parthesius 2007), no local capacity was available at official or unofficial levels. Public interest was low and maritime heritage was largely inaccessible except to treasure hunters. Underwater cultural heritage production and knowledge in Sri Lanka was restricted to a network made up of members of the international maritime archaeological) community and was consumed by a small heritage practitioners and international maritime archaeological public (Throckmorton 1964 and 1971). As illustrated in the left-hand chart in figure 5 (see Appendix II for data sets), the heritage values of the maritime past, while modest, were firmly biased towards western heritage thinking.

Following the completion of the *Avondster* Project in 2004, the impact of the excavation of the shipwreck, establishment of the museum, and training initiatives was clear. The museum, excavation reports and publications had drawn the shipwreck and its associated history further into the public eye. Exhibitions ensured that information and objects from the site was accessible, even though the site itself was reburied. Formal management capacity was created through the establishment of the Maritime Archaeology Unit (MUA), supported by the Central Cultural Fund (Parthesius 2007). By linking the shipwreck narrative with the World Heritage Site inscribed in 1988, the universal significance values of the site were expanded and began to include local values as well. The inclusion of policy for the protection of MUCH in national legislation created a platform for management through the official rules. While MUCH management remained weighted towards western heritage values, Sri Lanka's MUCH management approach has been a success. The endurance of the MUA and the rebuilding of the

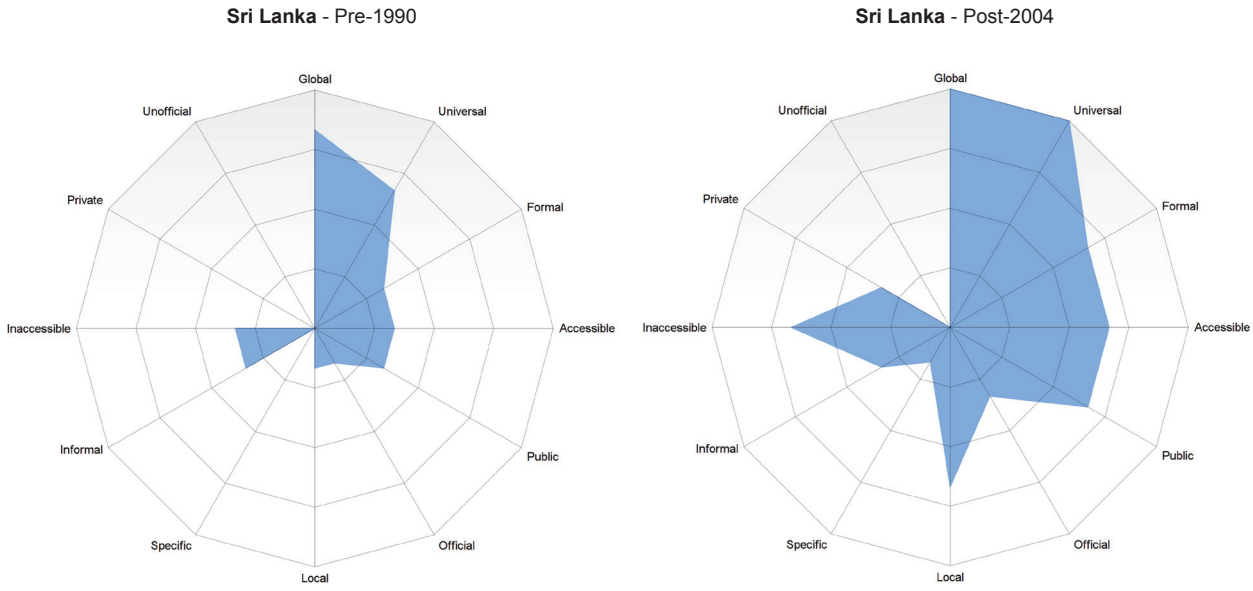


Figure 5 The impact of the *Avondster* Project on the management and promotion of underwater cultural heritage in Sri Lanka

Avondster museum following the 2004 Tsunami that decimated maritime heritage infrastructure at Galle, illustrate the effectiveness of the Sri Lankan MUCH development programme. However, as discussed above, the acceptance of the shipwreck as a marker of a shared cultural heritage between Sri Lanka and Europe was critical in this instance. In Tanzania, where colonial maritime heritage was not viewed as shared heritage, a different approach was needed.

The Radar Chart in figure 6 showed weightings to similar Sri Lanka. Little capacity existed and legislation did not address the issues of underwater cultural heritage. Where Tanzania differed was in its presentation of shipwrecks. Museums such as the *House of Wonders* in Zanzibar contained small shipwreck collections, although provenance was doubtful and displays said little about the impact of a seafaring past. Tanzania was also the focus of some maritime archaeological research. This research was, however, limited to the intertidal zone where Pollard (2008a and 2008b) carried out coastal surveys to identify maritime infrastructure and related marine activities. Publication of research had, however, ensured that maritime archaeology and underwater cultural heritage enjoyed some exposure amongst the academic community and was potentially accessible. Awareness at government, public and community levels was low.

An unauthorised MUCH heritage existed in the official narrative of the history and archaeology of Swahili culture (Allen 1993, Pollard 2011), but generally it was recognised as the residues of European colonial endeavours and Arabian trade with the East African coast.

The Tanzanian MUCH Programme, like the Sri Lankan programme, was largely focused on building capacity at a government institutional level and achieved significant results. The programme again concentrated on the development of a management approach that addressed western heritage values but, as the need for identifying local narratives became clear, it shifted towards recording oral traditions and locally identified sites. To this end, sites such as the Stone Dhows at Kilwa Kisiwani were documented (CIE 2010a, Pollard *et al.* 2016). The management

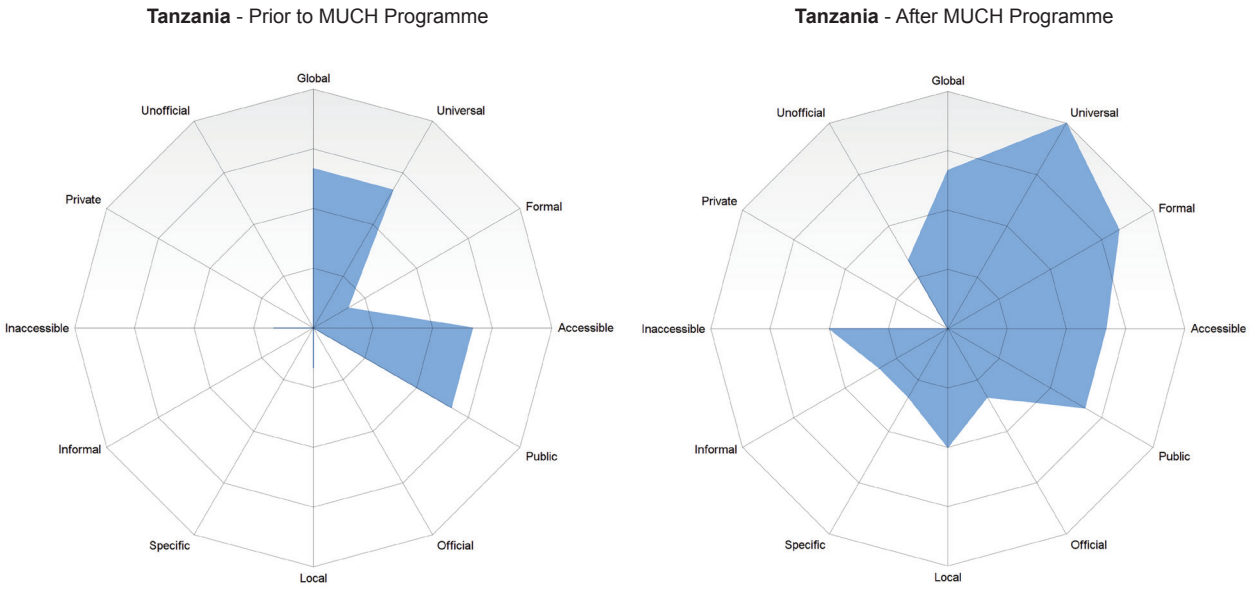


Figure 6 The impact of the MUCH Programme on the management and promotion of underwater cultural heritage in Tanzania: 2008 - 2012

approach also began to shift to incorporate informal management thinking and local needs. Again, work carried out at Kilwa Kisiwani illustrates this movement in approach (CIE 2010b).

Despite the success of the project in developing management competence across Tanzania in the form of the Tanzanian MUCH Team, it has not endured. Several factors appear to have contributed to this failure. Most significant is the lack of government support. The Team is unable to carry out projects or management activities due to funding constraints and individual members have struggled to apply their skills on their own. Low government awareness and dwindling interest has contributed to the lack of a sustainable MUCH programme. Tanzania has been reticent to ratify the 2001 Convention and has not amended its own legislation to protect submerged sites. Unlike Sri Lanka, Tanzania does not readily subscribe to "shared heritage" as is evident in Zanzibar's reluctance to participate in projects related to Omani heritage (Parthesius, *pers. comm.,* 2015). Finally, the programme did not do enough to develop local narratives and explore the unauthorised maritime history of Tanzania. As described above, local resistance to outside researchers and to sharing private narratives has prohibited deeper engagement and the development of a community-centred approach to managing MUCH sites and practices that are locally relevant.

During the MADP, South Africa had attempted to develop a theoretical management approach based on what heritage managers perceived to be of local relevance (Legacy Sites). On completion of the stakeholder meeting held in 2011 in which the Legacy Sites had been identified, South Africa's heritage managers hoped that they had identified the elements that would bring MUCH into the national heritage narrative and improve management outcomes. Figure 7 illustrates the reality of MUCH management and relevance in 2011 in contrast to what the MADP could theoretically achieve.

What the ideal appeared to show was that good management in sub-Saharan Africa required balancing of the western and alternative values of the heritage elements.



Figure 7 The impact of an ideal outcome for the MADP, South Africa

Although South Africa initially appeared to have a more balanced approach to MUCH than both Sri Lanka and Tanzania, the reality was that the entire narrative was focused on shipwrecks. Treasure hunters and the salvage community added weight to private networks and community involvement, but these groups were small and did not have heritage management interests at heart. By identifying Legacy Sites and empowering local communities through training to participate in management activities, South Africa hoped to begin to address the western value bias of underwater cultural heritage.

The South African theoretical model could not address all the challenges to MUCH, but would begin to transfer the focus of the field away from shipwrecks towards a more inclusive heritage and from western management values to locally relevant and applicable systems. It was expected that by addressing the elements identified above, a better approach could be applied to MUCH that would result in more appropriate management strategies and ultimately protect MUCH more effectively.

The hypothesis that balancing the elements would lead to more effective MUCH management was one that I expanded and tested in four contexts between 2009 and 2015.

4.3 ASSESSING THE STATUS QUO AT FOUR CASE STUDY SITES

4.3.1 CASE STUDY I: THE MARITIME ARCHAEOLOGY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME, ROBBEN ISLAND, SOUTH AFRICA

The Maritime Archaeology Development Programme (MADP) was implemented at the Robben Island Legacy Site. Although at the time it was not formally identified as a maritime cultural landscape, it will be referred to as such for the remainder of this study. As a maritime cultural landscape, Robben Island incorporated several site types and contained all the elements defined above that the MADP wished to address to test the efficacy of balancing the elements to achieve South Africa's management approach ideal. The narrative of Robben Island has been

strictly controlled within the authorised heritage framework as evidenced by the Robben Island Museum's Integrated Conservation Management Plan (ICMP) (Robben Island Museum 2013). The ICMP was informed by the requirements imposed by UNESCO's World Heritage Site policy documents and the recommendations of heritage experts deployed to assess the site. The ICMP also needed to take cognisance of the requirements of SAHRA, with a focus on the built environment. Finally, the ICMP integrated the voices of former political prisoners who had added their own experiences of the apartheid prison to the island's narrative. The authorised history of Robben Island is made public primarily through guides whose tour script is outlined in the museum's tour guide training manual (Robben Island Museum 2015a). The unauthorised maritime heritage of Robben Island is made up of shipwrecks, maritime infrastructure and other evidence of maritime activity. These are linked to multiple layers within the terrestrial landscape including 10 000-year-old archaeological sites, slave gardens, the leper colony, World War II gun emplacements and others.

By implementing the MADP at Robben Island, South African heritage managers wanted to highlight the relevance of MUCH and to engage a broader cross-section of South African society in its identification and management through promoting public participation in management activities by developing institutional and public capacity, establishing public-private partnerships and networks and creating awareness of the relevance of underwater cultural heritage to all South Africans.

During the three-year lifecycle of the MADP, South Africans from coastal and inland provinces attended training workshops and capacity building endeavours and regional representatives from Tanzania, Mozambique, Kenya and Namibia participated in field schools as did international students from the Netherlands and Canada. Tutors from South Africa, the Netherlands, Australia and the United Kingdom contributed their expertise to developing skills in conservation theory and methodology, site management, tourism and maritime archaeology. The programme also contributed to the development of new management strategies for the Robben Island World Heritage Site (Gribble and Jeffery 2012).

Because the MADP sought to address general issues for MUCH management, its base management state was that of South Africa described above.

The management model implemented through the MADP at Robben Island aimed to build on the lessons learned from Tanzania and attempted to incorporate management support and heritage engagement from outside of the official institutions and authorised narratives and at the same time build institutional capacity. The requirements for governmental capacity building and management skills training remained an important focus of the Programme. Heritage managers from the SAHRA, Robben Island Museum, South African National Parks (and their provincial and local affiliates) and heritage managers from Namibia, Mozambique, Tanzania and Kenya were afforded training (Mediation and Transformation Practices 2010). However, in attempting to address issues such as those that had arisen at Kilwa where local input was disenfranchised and local heritage marginalised, the Programme recognised the requirement for including a broader public to assist in creating a management network that could operate on a much wider scale than the institutions alone. The MADP endeavoured to achieve this by providing students, divers and other community stakeholders with a toolbox of skills that could be applied to recording and monitoring shipwreck sites identified by heritage managers and legislation as significant. Additionally, to make MUCH inclusive and relevant, and to achieve public interest, awareness and buy-in, managers had expanded the scope of site types through the identification of Legacy Sites to include non-traditional maritime sites, as described above.

As in the Tanzanian model, heritage managers could interact directly with underwater sites and develop management strategies. The approach was expanded, however, to allow public stakeholders from within the capacitated group of MADP participants to be coopted to assist with fieldwork (Gribble and Jeffery 2012). Furthermore, stakeholders could be coopted to assist in decision-making where heritage practitioner capacity was lacking. Scientific projects would



Figure 8 Locating South Africa (source: Nouah's Ark)

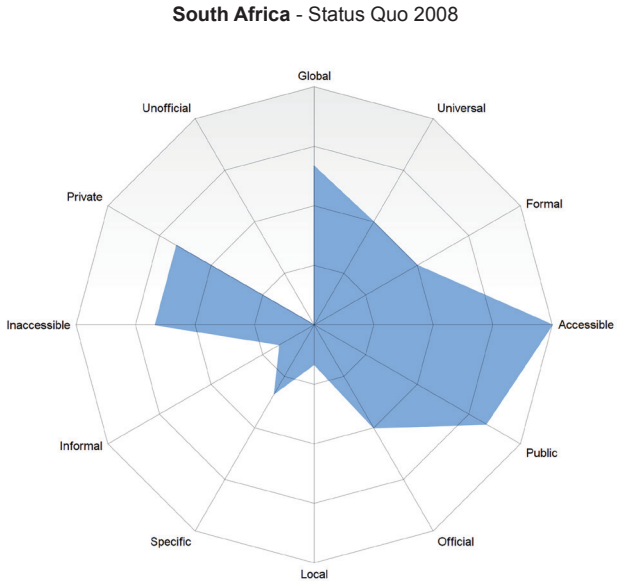


Figure 9 South African MUCH Status Quo 2011

also play a role in contributing to the establishment of international archaeological best-practice as a preferable option to treasure hunting and commercial salvage. This meant that heritage managers would no longer be reliant on individuals serving their own commercial agendas to provide (potentially biased) data from MUCH sites.

The South African MUCH context has been discussed in detail elsewhere and will not, therefore be repeated here.

4.3.2 CASE STUDY II: ILHA DE MOZAMBIQUE, MOZAMBIQUE

Dogged by treasure hunting activities, Mozambique faced several challenges in its management of underwater cultural heritage. Its legislation broadly protected archaeological sites and it could be argued that shipwrecks fell into this heritage category, but government heritage practitioners were pressed into supplying permits that granted rights for commercial exploitation. In the absence of maritime archaeological capacity, however, Mozambique could not afford to manage sites that appeared to have little local resonance (Duarte 2010, Duarte 2012). This seemed to be at odds with a national heritage narrative that embraces the Arabian and European influences that have shaped Mozambique's past. Lone voices fighting against looting did, however, bring treasure hunting activities into the global spotlight. Individuals such as Ricardo Duarte appealed to the nations whose ships lay in Mozambican waters to assist in protecting their heritage (Duarte 2010, Duarte 2012). At the same time, communities were becoming increasingly aware of the negative impact of treasure hunting and the destruction of heritage sites, on economic development through tourism. Increasingly, communities living adjacent to underwater cultural heritage resources began to push back against the *status quo*.

Maritime and underwater cultural heritage capacity in Mozambique was and continues to be, limited. Although several champions for the field have emerged from the academe and coastal communities and have established themselves in the fight against treasure hunters, they have been restricted in their

efforts by low levels of government support, weak legislative protection for MUCH and a lack of awareness. Opportunities for training of maritime archaeologists within Mozambique have been restricted at university level. Although academic expertise exists at, for example, the Eduardo Mondlane University, terrestrial archaeology has been the primary focus of university programmes. Finally, political interference in the activities aimed at historic shipwrecks have hampered the development of maritime archaeology (Duarte 2010). Furthermore, low capacity levels have meant that projects aimed at archaeological investigations of maritime historical sites have been limited. While small-scale projects have been undertaken by qualified individuals (Duarte 2012), underwater activities aimed at shipwrecks have predominantly been the domain of commercial salvage companies. The Mozambican Government has, in the past, granted large coastal concessions to such companies to locate, investigate and assess shipwreck sites (for their commercial potential) and to recover objects from the sites for the purposes of trade. In return, it was expected that a portion of finds would be provided to the State, that operations would provide local economic opportunities and be inclusive, and that salvage would be undertaken using accepted archaeological recording methods. To their credit, treasure hunting companies succeeded in producing detailed site plans of portions of several wreck sites (Duarte 2015). It should be noted however that simply recording an archaeological site, no matter how rigorously, is not equivalent to practising archaeology. Recording is only one aspect of archaeological endeavour which must, amongst other activities, also include interpretation, conservation and dissemination of knowledge. Furthermore, good heritage management practices dictate that commercial exploitation and archaeology are incompatible (2001 Convention).

Unlike in South Africa, Mozambique has not been as hesitant to include colonial trade, politics and exploitation in the national heritage narrative. This does not imply that Mozambicans have embraced the history of ex-colonial rulers as their own, nor does it suggest that Mozambicans accept western paradigms as the means by which they engage with their heritage. It does however mean that in the context of MUCH, sites such as shipwrecks that were disregarded in the South African heritage framework as described above, were already viewed as integral to the Mozambican understanding of the past. Whereas the European intrusion into the South African seascape was an ultimately negative behaviour, (sometimes) beneficial seagoing trade had been practised on the Mozambican coast for almost 1000 years (Duarte 2012). The granting of commercial salvage concessions for significant portions of the Mozambican coast by the national government therefore sat uncomfortably with local communities within exploited areas, particularly those communities living on Ilha de Mozambique where the Portuguese registered salvage company, Arqueonautas, carried out underwater work as will be discussed.

Objections to Arqueonautas's activities were not limited to local communities. International pressure to better manage the heritage of Ilha de Mozambique and its surrounding waters was applied based on the island having been inscribed onto the World Heritage List in 1995. While no marine buffer zone was established, the "outstanding universal values" that contributed towards inscription have strong maritime connections. This is illustrated in documents motivating for inscription on the World Heritage List:

> "***Criterion (vi)*:**[26] *The Island of Mozambique bears important witness to the establishment and development of the Portuguese maritime routes between Western Europe and the Indian sub-continent and thence all of Asia."*[27]

The outstanding universal values that form part of the inscription include:

> "***Criterion (iv)*:** *The town and the fortifications on the Island of Mozambique are an outstanding example of an architecture in which local traditions,*

26 "To be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history." (UNESCO 2015).

27 UNESCO 1991.

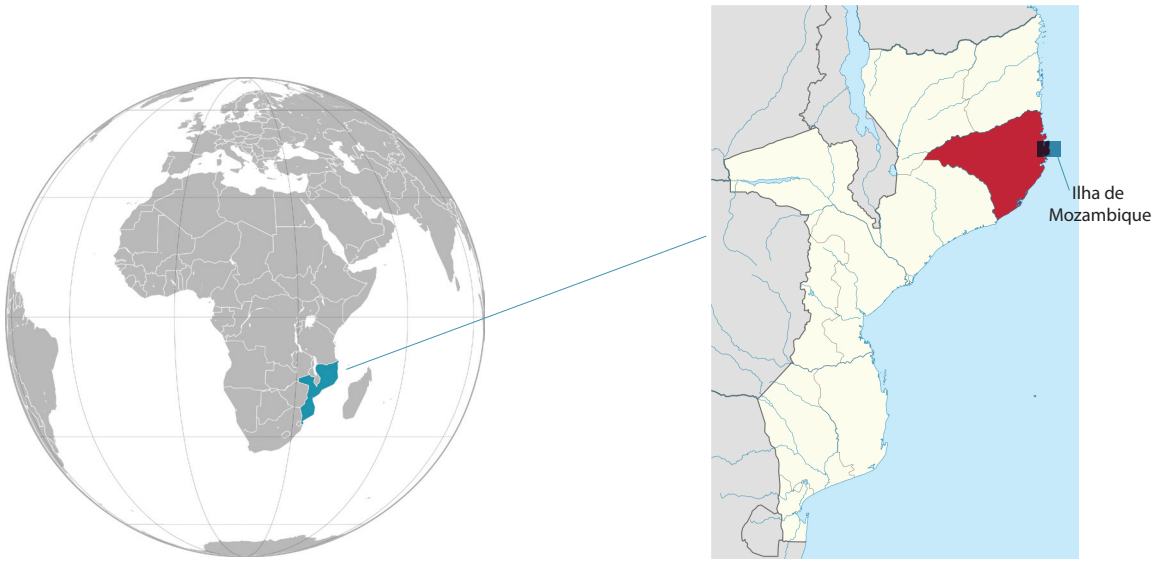


Figure 10 Locating Ilha de Mozambique in Nampula Province (sources: Nouah's Ark, Wikimedia Commons)

> *Portuguese influences and, to a somewhat lesser extent, Indian and Arab influences are all interwoven.*
>
> ***Criterion (vi)***[28]**:** *The Island of Mozambique bears important witness to the establishment and development of the Portuguese maritime routes between Western Europe and the Indian sub-continent and thence all of Asia."*[29]

Although none of the shipwreck sites or other potential submerged heritage were considered for World Heritage Site status, allowing commercial salvage companies access to the remnants of these associated sites not only robbed the site of its cultural value, but excluded local stakeholders from the sites. Interviews with stakeholders on the Island have revealed that this exclusion was irksome for several reasons. It is necessary to examine this dissatisfaction in the context of the islanders' expectations of Arqueonautas's operations and the resultant perception of exclusion from engagement with their maritime and underwater cultural heritage in more detail.

4.3.2.1 Site assessment: October 2013

Island residents had two primary expectations of Arqueonautas. Firstly, stakeholders anticipated that they would be provided a forum in which they could contribute towards management decisions about how heritage was accessed and curated. It was hoped that activities would be guided by the needs and desires of the local community in spite of the profit-making imperative of the salvage company (IDM Workshop 2013b). Secondly, local stakeholders envisaged involvement in the excavation, salvage and other related activities that Arqueonautas proposed. This included capacity building and employment in areas such as underwater work, artefact conservation and tourism. In other words, it was expected that Arqueonautas's activities would contribute towards local economic development both through direct

28 "To be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance" (UNESCO 2015).
29 UNESCO 1991.

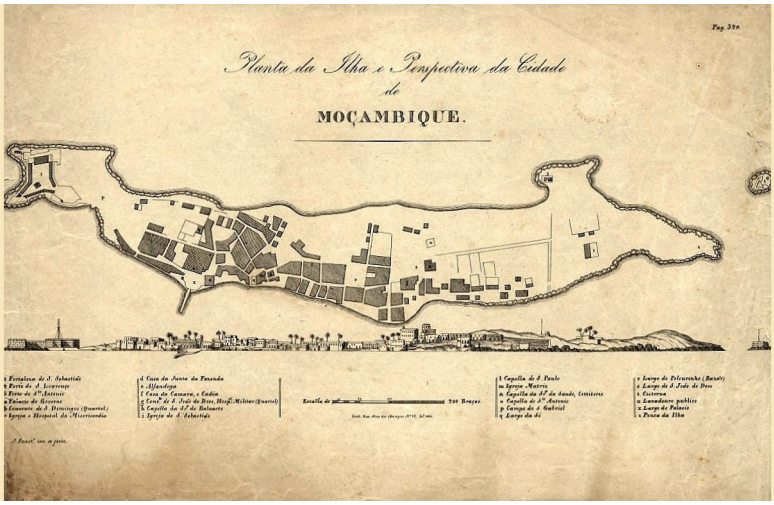


Figure 11 19th Century Ilha de Mozambique (source: The Delagoa Bay World)

employment opportunities and through indirect entrepreneurial endeavours related to tourism. The latter assumed that the historic profile of Ilha de Mozambique would be enhanced by the promotion and exhibition of recovered finds, thus increasing tourist numbers (IDM 2013b).

Stakeholder expectations were not met. From the local perspective, Arqueonautas failed to deliver on their promises. Although a maritime museum was established to display recovered finds to tourists, it was perceived as inadequate. Local residents believed that the displays were compiled from low quality finds while the better quality objects were exported for sale or for exhibition elsewhere. The museum was considered unsatisfactory, given the investment that had been promised, and it was unclear to Island residents who the beneficiaries of the entrance fees were (IDM 2013a, 2013c).

In addition, employment opportunities were few. While some local divers and other island residents were employed as short-term contractors, they reported that they were dismissed as soon as wreck sites were discovered and excavation work began (ACHA 2013a). The perception was that Arqueonautas did not trust people from the island and were unwilling to share the benefits that were being realised from salvage activities (IDM 2013b). Some residents thought that Arqueonautas excluded them from the sites because they did not want the local community to know the extent of recovered material and, therefore, the extent of profits being recovered from the sale of finds (IDM 2013a, 2013b).

Local tourism operators such as hotels and restaurants reported little benefit from the presence of the salvage personnel. The Arqueonautas team was too small to have significant impact on the local economy and tourist venues did not believe that the salvage operation generated any meaningful publicity or awareness that might attract visitors to Ilha de Mozambique. Some hoteliers believed that by restricting access to wreck sites and that by selling cultural objects to external buyers, the attraction of the island as a heritage site was diminished (IDM 2013d – *pers. comm.* Escondidinho Hotel owner, Escondidinho Restaurant manager). Operators indicated dissatisfaction at the appropriation and devaluation of the island's intrinsic heritage significance resulting from the exportation and sale of cultural objects. In other words, operators felt that salvage activities harmed rather than helped to stimulate tourist economies and depreciated local heritage values (IDM 2013d).

Residents also reported inadequate skills transfer. There were no reports of benefits resulting from

capacity building initiatives. Where Arqueonautas *did* employ islanders, they tapped into already developed capacity instead of embarking on training programmes and skills development.

Finally, island residents felt that they were being excluded from their own heritage (IDM 2013a).

Not all stakeholders were opposed to the sale of objects recovered from wreck sites. Some felt that the problem was not related to trade in heritage objects *per se*, but rather to the dispersal of-, and profit from-, cultural patrimony by individuals who had no claim to such. These individuals, while comfortable with the sale of heritage objects, felt that *local stakeholders* should be the beneficiaries of income resulting from sale (IDM 2013d – *pers. comm.* tour guides. Names withheld by request).

The presence of an external agent and the disconnection of local stakeholders from their own heritage, was at the heart of local dissatisfaction. Whether the perceived benefits were social or economic and whether these benefits were the result of promotion or sale of heritage, none of the stakeholders questioned were in favour of a *status quo* in which they were excluded from the advantages (IDM 2013b).

Criticism was by no means limited to Arqueonautas. Members of the island community also indicated that they felt let down and unsupported by a government which had approved salvage licences. In this, they were supported by the international heritage community. External stakeholders also expressed disappointment at the government for issuing concessions for recovery of shipwreck artefacts, and at the resulting treasure hunting activities (IDM 2013b). Archaeologists had been involved in the fight against treasure hunting for some time and had been further frustrated by government's perceived lack of willingness to confront the problem. As discussed, legislation promulgated in Mozambique has the necessary framework to protect archaeological sites, whether on land or in the water, should management agencies be willing to enforce it. Unfortunately, in the case of Mozambique, individuals and institutions at government level were active stakeholders in commercial operations (Duarte 2012). Researchers were excluded from accessing sites and were threatened by Arqueonautas both personally (Duarte, *pers. comm.*) and in legal actions (see also Arqueonautas' case against Alexandre Monteiro 2014[30]). Salvage operators established an environment of fear, backed by individuals in government and local institutions.

Community leaders at Ilha de Mozambique requested assistance in fighting treasure hunting around the Island, developing local heritage management capacity and developing economies related to tourism activity. Against this backdrop, UNESCO had been approached to provide support and establish a framework for developing local capacity that could champion the tenets of UNESCO's World Heritage Convention and the 2001 Convention as an alternative and preferable model for managing underwater cultural heritage. Based on the work carried out in South Africa, UNESCO invited representatives from CIE to participate in, and later implement, a programme for MUCH development at Ilha de Mozambique. An initial stakeholder meeting in 2011 highlighted the urgency of implementing a programme aimed at the protection and management of MUCH that would address local concerns and needs, would establish management capacity, would formalise an anti-looting lobby and would begin to confront some of the socio-economic problems that afflicted the Island's community. This resulted in a NAS training course being offered at Ilha de Mozambique that introduced stakeholders to some of the concepts and theory of maritime archaeology (CIE 2011). At the time, the NAS training structure was the accepted form of intervention in efforts to develop capacity in the region, having produced some successes in South Africa's MADP. It offered a ready-made, modular configuration for teaching maritime archaeology to non-archaeologists. It had been successfully used in various countries around the world, especially in the United Kingdom and Australia, where the course structure is used even as an introductory platform for familiarising archaeology students with maritime archaeological theory and practice (Staniforth 2004).

30 http://transparente.blogs.sapo.pt/tesouros-a-tonelada-ii-e-toneladas-de-25360

Launching traditional NAS course structures in Mozambique was, however, problematic especially in the context of Ilha de Mozambique where community stakeholders could not access underwater sites. Challenges were compounded in that regional tutors did not speak Portuguese or local Macua languages required for instruction. It was also questionable whether an archaeological course was desirable since stakeholders were not intending to conduct activities on archaeological sites. Instead, the island community was looking for support and for ways to show that the shipwreck sites were part of broader local MUCH narrative and should, therefore, enjoy local custodianship. Simply put, the Ilha de Mozambique community wanted a stake in decision-making processes related to the island's heritage (IDM 2013b). It was clear that a different approach to the one implemented in South Africa would be needed, but that similar outcomes would be desirable. Sites were being damaged and archaeological data lost. An emergency response to treasure hunting activities was obligatory (ACHA 2014a).

Having achieved success during the MADP at Robben Island in South Africa and having assessed the approach applied there and identified modifications, CIE and a newly formed African Centre for Heritage Activities (ACHA) drafted an intervention strategy for Ilha de Mozambique.

The challenges and requirements at Ilha de Mozambique first necessitated rethinking the approach to MUCH management. To tackle the Ilha de Mozambique context, it was necessary to develop a more amorphous, emergency-response focused methodology that could be applied at the island. A framework would need to provide space for rapid change, reactive implementation and deep stakeholder input. It should allow stakeholders, facilitated by external expertise where necessary, to structure a programme to suit local needs. The framework needed to ensure that decision-making was locally driven and that heritage practitioners could not dictate heritage benefits or significance as was the case with the World Heritage Site. A MUCH framework was designed and, funded by the Prince Claus Fund in the Netherlands, was implemented through an Underwater Cultural Heritage – Mozambique Project (ACHA 2014a).

As had been the case at Ronne Island, the critical realist framework suggested acting in the "actual" domain, by finding context appropriate methods to implement policy and management frameworks that existed on the "real" level. In applying the strategy in South Africa, the approach indicated that action at this level had influenced perceptions of MUCH at the "empirical" level, potentially resulting in inclusive management. The programme design at Ilha de Mozambique would test the efficacy of the critical realist approach to determine if, with an adaptation of programme components such as training to suit local needs, it was transferable to different environments.

To establish a locally appropriate baseline for management potential and isolate the management elements that were perceived to be most relevant, facilitators mediated a discussion amongst members of Ilha de Mozambique community, working associations and other stakeholders. The week-long workshop, together with informal meetings and interviews provided insights into the context and challenges of MUCH at the island. They also provided the framework in which a relevant and implementable community driven approach to management could be developed (ACHA 2013a).

Stakeholder views have been analysed to extract elements that determined perceptions of the existing management environment.

Condemnation of treasure hunting activities was universal amongst all interviewed residents, lobby groups, business owners, NGOs and expatriate community members (IDM 2013a, 2013b, 2013d). Stakeholders expressed concern for the loss of cultural remains through treasure hunting activities. There was a perception that government was unable to effectively stop treasure hunting activities and that the rules by which heritage was being managed were ineffective. Stakeholders expressed strong views that, despite its World Heritage Site status and the protections given to archaeological sites by national legislation, underwater cultural heritage around the

island was being destroyed. Stakeholders did not believe that they could change the management regulations, but felt that they were being unfairly applied. This was exacerbated by frustrations at unfulfilled promises of local inclusion from salvage companies (IDM 2013a, 2013b).

Stakeholders indicated that indigenous heritage was being ignored in favour of Portuguese heritage. Although they did not dismiss the importance of shipwrecks and the narrative put forward in the island's "outstanding universal values", there was a general feeling of an overriding disregard for local stakeholders' needs and desires in terms of representing the island's past. The narrative was being closely guarded by treasure hunters on the one hand and UNESCO's heritage experts on the other (IDM 2013a, 2013b, 2013d).

In cases where *bona fide* archaeological or historical research was being conducted, benefits and outcomes were not flowing into the local community who had a strong desire for objects recovered from submerged archaeological sites to remain on the Island (IDM 2013b, 2013d). They made no distinction between salvage and scientific recovery. However, they were satisfied that objects retrieved through authentic archaeological research programmes could be removed from the Island, but only for research purposes, and provided they remained the property of the Ilha de Mozambique community and were eventually returned. The sale of objects, even if proceeds were to be returned to Ilha de Mozambique, was generally (but not entirely) viewed as being an undesirable option (IDM 2013d). This ran contrary to the assertion that stakeholders opposed treasure hunters primarily on the grounds that profits from sale of cultural objects were not going to them. It was interesting that frustrations were aimed at the unregulated destruction of sites, the removal of cultural objects from their context (both on-site archaeological context and in the broader context of objects being associated with the Island's history) for sale, and the resultant loss of the community's tangible maritime cultural associations.

The loss of meaningful cultural material seemed to be causing significant distress. This was articulated in the language used to describe the situation at Ilha de Mozambique. There was a distinct anger which reflected the conflict between residents and external salvage companies:

- *"We are* at war *with [treasure hunters]"*
- *"International legal support is needed for this* conflict*"*
- *"We have many* enemies *..."*

In discussing capacity building programmes and the development of toolkits to stimulate local economies, words such as "*combat*" and "*weapons*" were frequently used to metaphorically describe the desired project results (IDM 2013b).

Stakeholders feared the salvage companies and associated government officials and departments and there was a perception that the companies posed a physical threat to individuals who spoke out against them. While individuals were willing to participate in discussions and activities that would lead to the banning of treasure hunting activities, there was a tendency towards working as a group. At the individual level, most (but not all) wished to remain anonymous (IDM 2013a, 2013b, 2013d).

Finally, the establishment of a shipwreck museum by Arqueonautas proved to be a complex and contentious issue. Entrance to the museum was controlled by local government administrators and the museum's display collection was assembled and curated by Arqueonautas (IDM 2013c). The entrance fee was perceived to be too high for local residents, thereby denying them access to their heritage, and the narrative that the museum presented was controlled by external stakeholders (IDM 2013a). The island community was both excluded from driving the narrative or engaging with their own history.

The Ilha de Mozambique graph clearly reflected the MUCH environment. Management had been focused on western values applied to MUCH and the graph was weighted toward those ideals. The activities of private community groups such as Arqueonautas were also reflected, but their actions had been undertaken within the western framework and had driven an orthodox narrative.

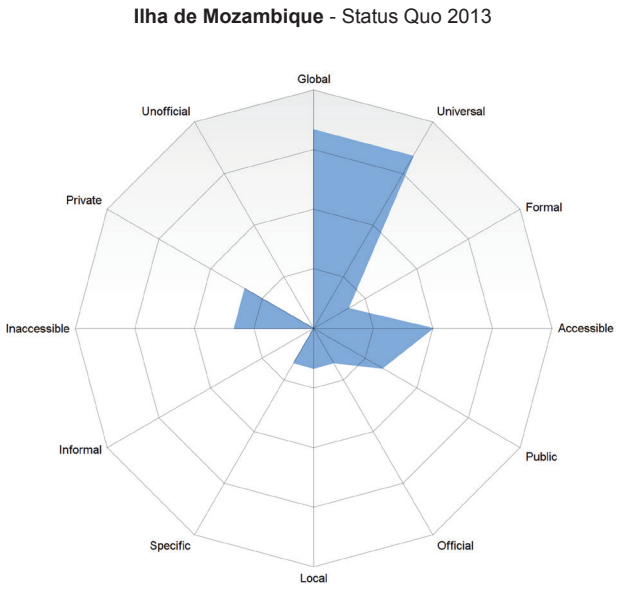


Figure 12 MUCH *status quo* at Ilha de Mozambique 2013

The graph showed that Mozambique lacked capacity and legal framework within which to operate. It further showed the failure of MUCH to engage with communities living at or near sites.

Facilitators proposed that a MUCH management toolkit be designed to address the gaps in the management of MUCH at Ilha de Mozambique. In the absence of a set of national regulatory guidelines, the toolkit would include a framework for good management practice based on the conservation and management principles of the Rules of the 2001 Convention and the practical realities of the local context (ACHA 2013b). Because facilitators already knew that local stakeholders could not access the underwater sites, the toolkit would also be rooted in the principles that had been proposed during the Robben Island MADP. Specifically, facilitators hoped to introduce the concepts of the maritime cultural landscape and legacy sites that linked terrestrial maritime sites and practices to shipwreck sites. By demonstrating the agency of shipwreck events in the cultural evolution of Ilha de Mozambique, thereby making them an integral element of the maritime cultural landscape, and, by extension, worthy of protection, facilitators hoped to support local lobby groups involved in fighting against policy that permitted treasure hunting in Mozambican waters.

While a toolkit for MUCH was a sound proposition on the conceptual level, its development and implementation required community engagement and training. Since the toolkit would be aimed at providing a platform from which community groups and individuals could continue to cultivate management and access practices for MUCH, it was imperative that those community members, who would be expected to implement management systems, determined relevant content. Directly transplanting the UNESCO or MADP management frameworks into the Mozambican context was impractical especially considering that the infrastructure and political support required to implement the 2001 Convention and legislation was not available to community heritage managers at the island.

To address the needs of the Ilha de Mozambique management context, practitioners needed to implement a support system that gave local stakeholders a voice by promoting community driven identification, interpretation and management strategies that support official heritage practitioners and traditional management processes.

4.3.3 CASE STUDY III: THE WILD COAST, EASTERN CAPE, SOUTH AFRICA

In 2013, the South African Heritage Resources Agency commissioned an oral history project on a small section of South Africa's East Coast. The project focused on a roughly 50km stretch of the Wild Coast between Port St Johns and the Msikaba River Mouth in the Eastern Cape Province. At least three shipwrecks lie within this area. The Portuguese ship *Nossa Senhora de Belem* wrecked in 1635 lies somewhere near the mouth of the Mzimvubu River at Port St Johns, the English East Indiaman *Grosvenor*, wrecked in 1782 at Port Grosvenor, and the remains of the Portuguese *Sao Bento* wrecked in 1554 can be found at the Msikaba River Mouth at the northern boundary of the research site (Turner 1988). Survivors of all three wrecks came ashore and trekked towards the closest European settlements – a long hike towards the trading posts at Maputo Bay, Mozambique for the Portuguese and a shorter, but no less treacherous march towards the Dutch farm settlements at Algoa Bay for the English (Vernon 2013). While the experience of each group of survivors had been different, there may have been individuals from each ship that remained near the wreck sites and integrated into the local villages. Today, people living near the wreck sites claim to be descendants of shipwreck survivors.

Because the wrecks are in rural or semi-rural environments removed from the heritage management spotlight, both the *Grosvenor* and the *Sao Bento* have been extensively targeted by treasure hunters and souvenir hunters. More recently, archaeologists have participated in excavating small sections of the *Grosvenor* (Sharfman 2001). The *Belem* has been spared because the site has not been located.

Local communities appeared to have little interest in protecting the wreck sites meaning that small scale looting continued to take place (Sharfman 2001). None of the objects recovered from these wreck sites remain in the vicinity. Instead they are housed at museums in East London and Pietermaritzburg, approximately 500km and 250km from the site

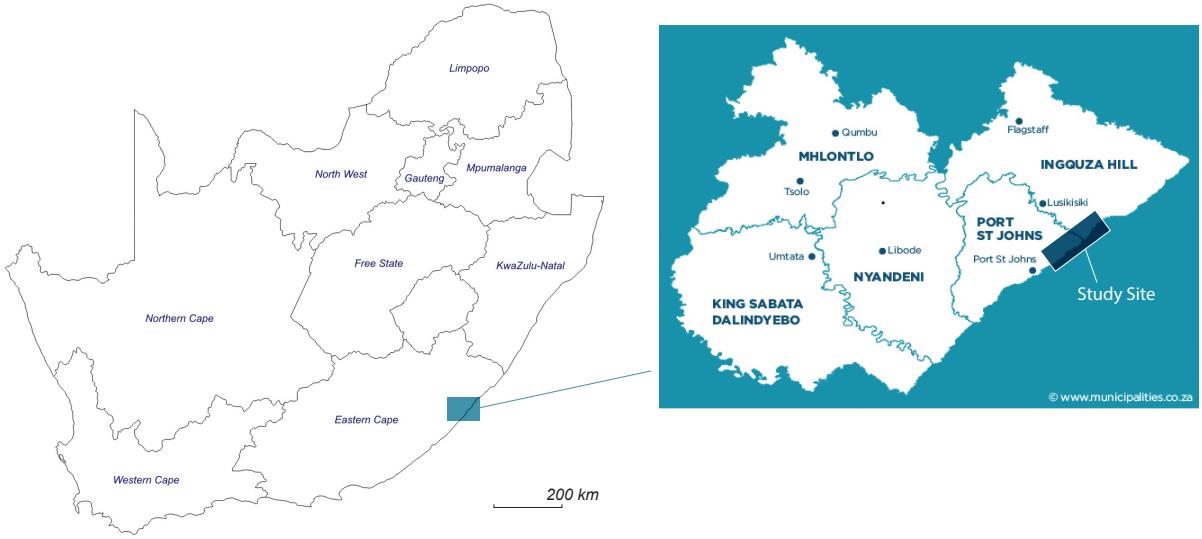


Figure 13 Locating Wild Coast study site (sources: d-maps.com and The Local Government Handbook)

respectively. Based on the apparent lack of interest of many South Africans in MUCH, as detailed above, and in an effort to better manage shipwreck sites by engaging local communities in heritage management, SAHRA hoped to make these shipwreck sites locally relevant. The oral history project's objective was to expand the scope of interest in underwater cultural heritage, and to enlist local assistance in site monitoring activities (ACHA 2014b). Using some of the lessons that had been learned during the workshops that had taken place during the implementation of the MADP, it was hypothesised that by validating local heritage narratives and by linking them to the tangible sites, local communities would take a greater interest in submerged cultural resources. Having stimulated interest, local heritage managers could be trained to support SAHRA's management goals (ACHA 2014b).

4.3.3.1 Site assessment: February 2014

In February 2014, researchers travelled to the study site and began assessing the relevance of MUCH to local communities. Their first task was to attempt to identify individuals who claimed to be descendants from shipwreck survivors and then ask them to recount their history. Researchers solicited answers to four questions:

- Are there any descendants of these shipwrecks living along this stretch of the Wild Coast?
- What sense of identity do these descendants have?
- How did the shipwreck survivors assimilate into the communities they found themselves in?
- Are there any artefacts from these ships that are passed down as family heirlooms?

SAHRA hoped that these questions would provide an entry point for designing a management strategy for shipwrecks and shipwreck objects that was sensitive to local history and placed them within a context that resonated locally (ACHA 2014b). It was anticipated that by identifying shipwreck objects that had been collected or preserved, it would be possible to record and database these items for future research. It would also be possible to determine if any conservation first aid needed to be included in follow-up interventions.

The assessment produced mixed results. While several individuals claimed to be descended from European coastal traders and fishermen and one individual, Matholakele Bhobosana, even traced her ancestry to the *Grosvenor,* it became evident that the tangible sites – the shipwrecks – were inconsequential to their understanding of their pasts. Only the *Grosvenor* descendant had any significant affiliation to the wreck site as a symbol of her heritage but she felt that she had been unhitched and excluded from it by salvage activities and heritage management practices (ECOHP 2014a). This was the first time she had been asked her opinion on the site. The respondents indicated that their knowledge of the shipwrecks was limited and none of the descendants had any objects from the wreck sites or any relating to maritime activities that had been passed down from ancestors. There were, however, individuals who collected beads, ceramics and other items that had been washed up onto the beaches adjacent to the shipwreck sites (ECOHP 2014a). These objects were sold to tourists although it appeared that the market was poor.

Coastal communities had a deep distrust of individuals representing government management agencies. This was based on previous experiences with marine conservation institutions and law enforcement officials who had interfered in traditional subsistence fishing practices by imposing quotas and size limits. This meant that researchers interested in management of anything to do with the marine environment were met with initial resistance. Despite scepticism of outsiders, individuals were willing to communicate their stories, but there was little enthusiasm for participating in shipwreck management and there appeared to be few connections between communities and individuals and MUCH. Reticence towards resource management may have been influenced by a fear that research outcomes would result in access and

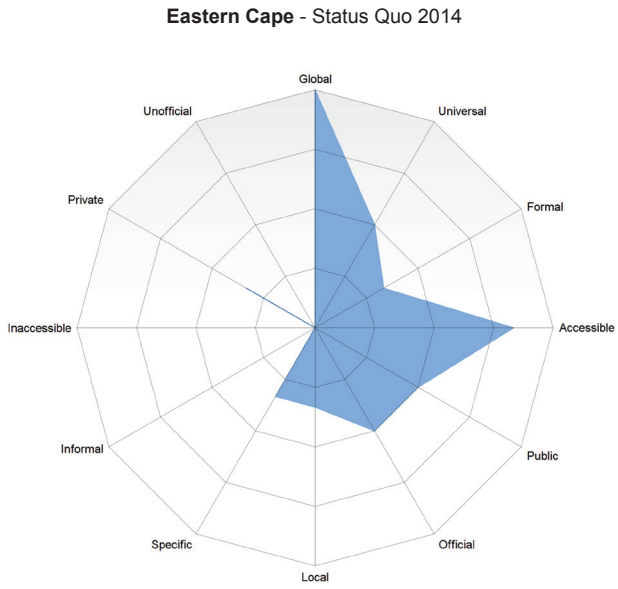


Figure 14 Eastern Cape MUCH *status quo* 2014

engagement restrictions as had been the case with environmental management (ECOHP 2014a).

Interestingly, despite several generations having passed, the individuals who had European ancestry viewed themselves as racially European or of mixed race. This did not influence their "African-ness" or the way they viewed themselves in relation to others, it was merely a statement of fact (ECOHP 2014a).

Lack of interest, distrust and a failure to engage people with MUCH made it difficult to analyse the state of MUCH management in the Eastern Cape study area. Reticence in sharing information made identifying elements that contributed towards people's perceptions of MUCH and its management uncertain. What was clear, however, was that the *status quo* had produced a poor management environment.

The shape of the Eastern Cape graph was as expected considering the broader South African MUCH context in which it existed. It showed that official management of shipwreck sites was in place through SAHRA and legislation. It showed that there was some local engagement with underwater cultural heritage, but that it was exclusively related to shipwreck sites. Finally, it showed that the shipwreck narrative had failed to engage with local communities, had failed to incorporate local voices and that the management approach had no local resonance or attraction.

The Eastern Cape case study highlighted the need for an approach that was inclusive of local perspectives, narratives and voices. In addition, it suggested that an unofficial management capacity vacuum may contribute towards poor overall management outcomes. Again, an intervention at the critical realist "actual" level was a clear requirement, in the absence of any perceived application of MUCH management in the area.

4.3.4 CASE STUDY IV: LAKE FUNDUDZI, LIMPOPO PROVINCE, SOUTH AFRICA

Lake Fundudzi is located in the Soutpansberg in South Africa's landlocked Limpopo Province. It is classified as the only true freshwater inland

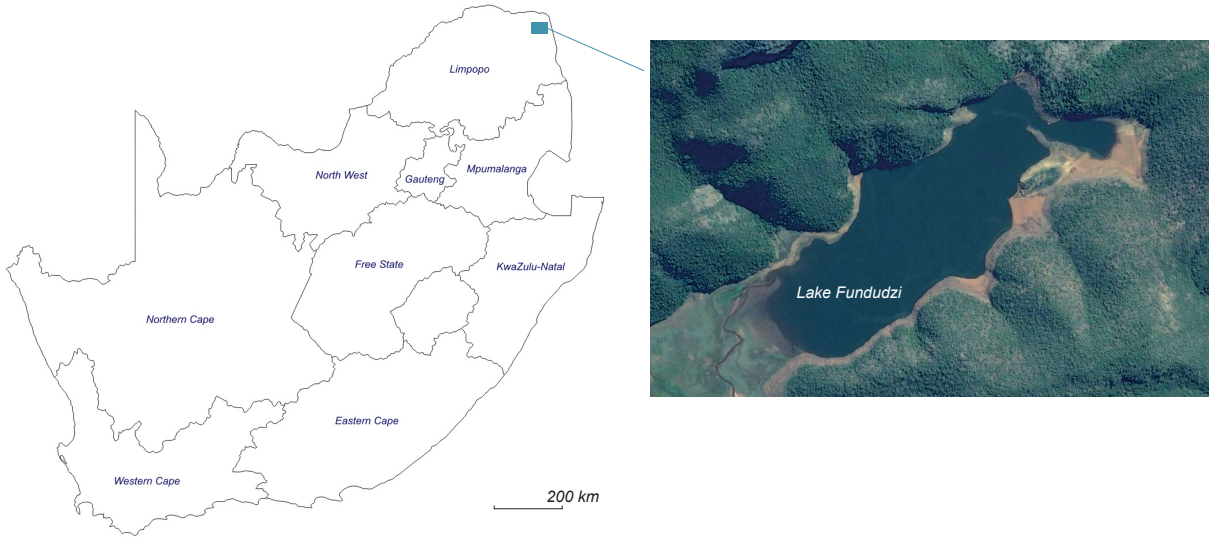


Figure 15 Locating Lake Fundudzi in the Limpopo Province (sources: d-maps.com and Google Earth)

lake in South Africa and, as such, has been the target of extensive environmental research and has been identified as a site worthy of environmental protection from urban development and activities such as subsistence farming and fishing that have been identified as potentially threatening (Wares 2014). Because the Lake is viewed as sacred by some local communities, underlying cultural values have also required attention in developing management strategies. This has resulted in a complex process for negotiating a protection framework that addresses the needs of many stakeholders.

Based on its cultural significance, SAHRA decided to declare the lake a National Heritage Site. The following summary of the fifteen-year declaration process is derived from data contained within the (SAHRA Case File 9/2/269/0023, National Heritage Resources Act (Act 25 of 1999)).

When SAHRA was approached in 1999 to begin the process to list Lake Fundudzi as a National Heritage Site, the stated significance criteria, i.e. those "… qualities so exceptional that they are of special national significance" (National Heritage Resources Act Section 3, 27), related to the environmental elements of the lake. The site was regarded as having exceptional qualities due to its being the only natural inland lake in South Africa. The lake was under threat from silting, over-fishing, farming and proposed development. Cultural values were listed as lesser criteria for consideration. Specifically, cultural significance was assigned to the heritage of the Vhatavhatsindi, one of the clans who occupy space around the Lake and whose royal family are traditional custodians of Lake Fundudzi. They regard the lake as a sacred burial site in which their ancestors continue to live[31]. There is a variety of other allegorical and intangible heritage associated with the Lake, including the presence of mythological creatures and spirits that demand particular rituals be performed when approaching the lake or entering it.

It appeared that approaching SAHRA to protect the lake was a response to failed efforts to have it protected as an environmental conservancy or park. It seemed that the cultural considerations had been added as an addendum. It also became clear that related sacred sites had been neglected in the list of heritage criteria that would contribute towards the specific values that would warrant declaration. In my opinion the omission of other geographically adjacent

31 See Loubser 1989 and Fokweng 2003 for detailed history of the Venda.

scared sites associated with Venda culture from the declaration dossier suggests that those who proposed declaration had a specific agenda in requesting protection and management only for the lake itself. This opinion was supported by data gathered during an assessment of management structures in 2014 and presented below.

As required by the Act, the submission was presented to SAHRA's Council, the oversight body that monitors the actions of the institution, whose members insisted that a more detailed cultural focus would be required in order for the site to be considered under cultural heritage legislation.

Almost a decade of community meetings, workshops and stakeholder consultation amongst the chiefs and community leaders of seven villages surrounding the lake, finally resulted in the nomination documents being resubmitted in 2008. Again, the Council returned the nomination with requests for further research that assessed the archaeological potential of the catchment area and a buffer zone around the lake. In 2009, visual surveys and further workshops were undertaken with the purpose of consulting communities to determine their views on the site and to inform them of the ongoing process of declaration.

In the subsequent years, SAHRA's officials were required to gain consent from tribal landowners, that is the chiefs of the villages around the lake, whose land would become part of the heritage site and, therefore, be affected by declaration. Consent from stakeholder would complete the declaration process and SAHRA's Council gave final approval for declaring Lake Fundudzi a National Heritage site in 2012. Its decision was advertised in the Government Gazette **(**SAHRA Case File 9/2/269/0023) as well as in local and provincial newspapers to allow for public comment, as required by legislation. SAHRA began to receive objections, primarily from community stakeholder groups living near the lake. Civic organisations including Ndima Community Services, Vhufa ha Vhangona, Vhember Traditional Healers Forum, Mupo Foundation, and Mudzi wa Vhurereli ha VhaVenda expressed their dissatisfaction with the decision based on three broad themes. Firstly, stakeholders objected to the site delineation and argued that other sacred sites such as Thathe Sacred Forest and the PhiPhidi Waterfalls that lie nearby should be included in a serial nomination. Secondly, it was argued that management strategies would not be able to effectively cope with potential new visitors attracted to the Lake Fundudzi site by its heritage site status, and that the environment would be adversely affected by tourism. In addition, visits to associated sites would suffer a drop in numbers because they were not themselves National Heritage Sites, thereby damaging other local tourism economies. Finally, objections based on belief systems were received. Some stakeholder groups felt strongly that SAHRA misunderstood the intangible significance of the site. They reasoned that that these were not heritage sites but sacred sites and, as such should be managed by the rightful custodians – local stakeholders – not by heritage management institutions. Objectors believed that the terms "heritage" and "tourism" were synonymous and that the intrusion of outsiders was fundamentally disrespectful to ancestors and the nature of a sacred site. The failure to properly define cultural attributes of the lake and to properly communicate the role of the state institution has resulted in much of the contestation around how it should be managed and protected, if at all, and who should be responsible for it.

Despite what was explicitly contained in the objections, it seemed clear that there were other underlying causes that stimulated stakeholders, individuals and communities to protest the proposed declaration of Lake Fundudzi. It appeared that the objections were rooted in fears surrounding exclusion from economic development and potential benefits that might accrue to some communities at the expense of others. Again, these concerns will be highlighted in the analysis of data collected in the area and described below.

Objections were considered by SAHRA but it was deemed appropriate to complete the declaration process. In February 2014, the declaration of Lake Fundudzi as a National Heritage Site was advertised in the Government Gazette (National Gazettes No. 37287). SAHRA committed themselves to organising an official declaration ceremony and to installing a plaque at the site but, because the declaration remains

controversial and contested, to date, neither has been undertaken and declaration has failed to deliver to the expectations of the lake community or found an appropriate platform for management.

4.3.4.1 Site assessment: July – August 2014

Because previous attempts at community participation by institutions such as the SAHRA had been met with resistance from residents and tribal leaders, it was necessary to assess the *status quo* using a different methodology. A combination of quantitative and qualitative data collection systems was devised to maximise information collected by researchers. Lusanda Ngcaweni and local research assistant, Edward Ramudingane were commissioned to visit the villages surrounding the lake to undertake random sampling of individuals from each village using a prepared questionnaire[32] as a data collection tool (see Appendix III). Researchers were encouraged to ask follow-up questions as appropriate to determine the hopes, fears and perceptions in relation to the declaration and management of Lake Fundudzi site and significant associated sites. Interviewers were asked to attempt to ascertain what meaning the interviewees placed on things associated with the area, including its heritage. Quantitative data was assimilated to determine demographics, attitudes, needs and desires. Qualitative data was used to explore the more implicit aspects of the heritage of Lake Fundudzi and individuals' perceptions of it being declared a heritage site. Follow-up questions also provided a tool for gauging the willingness of communities to be involved in the development of management strategies. Finally, an analysis of data allowed heritage managers an opportunity to interrogate existing heritage management practices (ACHA 2014c).

The approach taken to collecting data was based on allowing individuals to express themselves as they saw fit. Although structured questions were necessary to ensure that quantitative data was sufficiently rigorous for analysis and would answer the specific questions related to the declaration and management of the site, conversations were largely open ended, anonymous and allowed individuals the opportunity to convey those issues and elements that were important to them instead of dictating what it was that researchers wanted to know (LF 2014b).

An analysis of the elements affecting management at Lake Fundudzi showed a very different heritage environment than was reflected in the case studies related to shipwrecks and tangible underwater cultural heritage. Because the intangible heritage of the lake was related to private ritual, cosmology and sacredness, it fell within the unauthorised heritage narrative. This heritage had been curated over several centuries through oral traditions, local rituals and spiritual practices – all of which fitted poorly within an official heritage management regime. SAHRA's practitioners could not find a suitable regulatory framework within their legal mandate and had floundered in their efforts to manage the site. SAHRA could not determine, identify nor understand the heritage of Lake Fundudzi (LF 2014b), and so had failed to deliver at the "actual"/management implementation level.

The Lake Fundudzi radar graph showed that the approach to management lay almost entirely within the "alternative" value set. While these had safeguarded heritage for several centuries, the desire to share the Lake's heritage, the intrusion of western values and the global desire for heritage consumption within a traditional framework had subverted the efficacy of this approach. While it could be argued that the local approach should be preserved, the realities of globalised heritage consumption dictate that different methodologies be applied.

4.3.5 ACCESSING MISSING ELEMENTS

The variety of needs presented by each study site meant that different interventions were necessary to address the imbalances of the elements affecting management of the maritime cultural landscape. The introduction of the Legacy Sites at the MADP had afforded heritage managers an opportunity to engage with a broad cross section of South African society on MUCH issues by expanding the definition of the field. The MADP attempted to shift the MUCH narrative

32 Questionnaire content was designed together with a team of researchers with backgrounds in social history, education and economics. The questionnaire format was designed by statistician Ian Durbach.

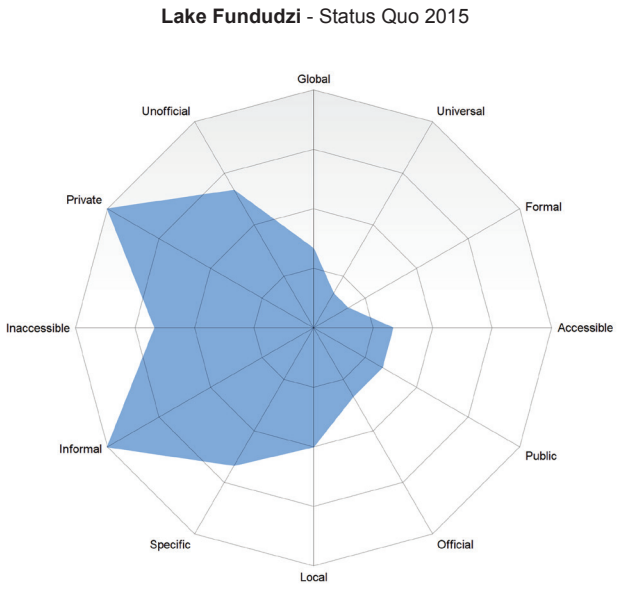


Figure 16 Lake Fundudzi MUCH *status quo* 2013

as a means to an end. The programme intended to develop management capacity at both formal and informal levels as its primary objective but needed to begin to explore the relevance of MUCH in post-apartheid South Africa to do this. South Africa had not considered the full extent of a maritime cultural landscape or the unauthorised narratives that may exist therein but believed that opening new sections of the landscape and showing an interconnectedness between submerged and terrestrial sites would lead to an understanding that all elements within the landscape should be protected. Shipwrecks, being the most threatened and the most well-known, would be the focus of management efforts. To realise this goal, South Africa required general capacity distributed in a coastal network, which could monitor wreck sites and provide support for heritage managers (Gribble and Jeffery 2012). South Africa sought to balance its management landscape by primarily addressing the two elements which were missing from its framework at the "actual" level: an informal management capacity network applying an unofficial code of ethics to MUCH.

At Ilha de Mozambique, needs, desires and concerns of the working group were collated and stakeholders were assisted to create a draft strategy for MUCH. The strategy included both short and long-term components. In the short-term, skills, capacity and management tools would be provided through a modular training system to allow stakeholders to identify, record and assess heritage sites and cultural narratives. This would assist Ilha de Mozambique in identifying its unauthorised maritime heritage and increasing local MUCH significance, to create a management methodology using informal capacity and an unofficial code of ethics. Training modules would be selected to meet immediate needs, but in the medium term, these skills would provide a foundation for the development of heritage trails and heritage tourism initiatives and extend public access. In the long term, the Ilha de Mozambique community could focus on the reclamation of community spaces that could be developed as meeting places for promoting maritime heritage, interacting with tourists and setting up markets to sell heritage related products such as jewellery, arts and crafts, object replicas and other promotional material.

Within the ambit of the Ilha de Mozambique programme, local stakeholders developed a strategic plan to achieve their goals and reclaim their maritime heritage (IDM 2013b). In it they proposed that, under the directorship of local NGO *Fundacao Ilha de Mozambique* (Ilha de Mozambique Foundation), and with the support of facilitators, a local team would coordinate community members to identify maritime related histories and sites on Ilha de Mozambique. This would include identifying experts who knew the oral traditions of the Island. Local histories would inform a training programme for stakeholders (IDM 2013a, 2013b).

The training programme content was based on the NAS training course, thereby providing trainees with an internationally recognised training certification, an outcome desired by stakeholders. Training needed to include survey skills and interview methods to provide participants with the theoretical and practical tools to continue to identify, record and assess sites and to collect oral histories. The NAS training programme was adapted to form modules that suited local needs and the local context (IDM 2014a).

Training needed to be applicable to terrestrial sites, but also to submerged sites should these sites become accessible. Basic site mapping skills taught through the NAS training system can be applied in either environment and with basic, low-cost infrastructure available to the island's residents.

Training provided a platform for the Island community to tell the stories "that can't be seen" (underwater and intangible) and reclaim Ilha de Mozambique's maritime heritage (IDM 2013b). The programme culminated with participants presenting the story of their maritime community by answering the questions: where do we come from? and, what is our relationship with the sea? It was stated that this should be juxtaposed with the academic research and a photographic record of contemporary Ilha de Mozambique that is currently being collected under guidance of Fundacao Ilha de Mozambique (IDM 2013b).

In an effort to link authorised and unauthorised narratives, formal and informal capacity and to develop an academic based code of ethics for heritage management, archaeology students, under the tutorship of Ricardo Duarte, an archaeology lecturer at the Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo, were invited to attend the training. Students were given the task of initiating research into the maritime histories of the island from an academic perspective to support the indigenous knowledge data collection undertaken by local stakeholders. As an added benefit, it was envisaged that qualified students would expand formal MUCH capacity in Mozambique, thereby placing increased pressure on government managers to retract commercial salvage permits (IDM 2014a).

The stakeholders' strategic plan laid out long-term goals that could be achieved on the platform created by the training programme (ACHA 2014a). These would further address missing elements that were perceived to be contributing factors to improved MUCH management. In particular, the island community wished to increase public access to MUCH. This, it was hoped, would stimulate tourism and associated industry and contribute to the Ilha de Mozambique economy (see Chapter 5). Stakeholders proposed collating the identification and assessment work carried out during- and as a result of- the training programme, together with academic research, to produce information boards for tourists and an A5 booklet (IDM 2014a). It was also proposed that partners could be coopted to generate a smartphone application that will guide visitors around significant sites as a virtual tour guide, and a short film on the maritime heritage of Ilha de Mozambique (IDM 2014a). Finally, the community wished to develop MUCH-related products that could be sold to generate income for the Island community (IDM 2013a, 2013b, 2013d).

While the Ilha de Mozambique community had initiated and desired a revision of MUCH management approach at the island, thereby providing access to missing heritage elements, people living in the villages of the Eastern Cape felt entirely disenfranchised from their maritime heritage (ECOHP 2014a, 2014b). The elements that informed the MUCH management approach in the area were entirely focused on shipwreck sites

and western perspectives. The initial assessment of the area had revealed a lack of interest in heritage management from a community that closed itself off from heritage practitioners. Little of the data that had been collected using SAHRA's four question survey suggested potential support for heritage management or a fostering of deeper community engagement with MUCH (ECOHP 2014a). These results were disappointing but led project leaders to a decision to implement a second fieldwork phase based on a community driven approach in an effort to establish a platform on which strategic management development could be based and from which a programme for community engagement could be launched. The establishment and training of a network of community MUCH managers required buy-in from local stakeholders. It was felt that training without purpose would do nothing to improve the perceptions of MUCH or contribute towards better heritage protection.

Within the scope of the project and the obligations placed on it by SAHRA, which required data on shipwrecks sites explicitly, it was not possible to discard the original research questions. Instead, it was decided that a question should be added:

- How does the ocean (specifically) and water (generally) feature in the day-to-day lives of the people in coastal villages?

The rationale behind the question was that it was imprecise enough to allow respondents the freedom to answer from their own perspective, but pointed enough to gather data focused on MUCH. It allowed people involved with the project an opportunity to engage with unsanctioned heritage spaces and shape a local, private heritage narrative that was accessible and locally relevant (ACHA 2014b).

Field researchers returned to the study area and initiated conversations with individuals and communities. Using the more open question, respondents were more forthcoming in their replies. A substantial amount of information surrounding activities and belief systems related to the maritime landscape emerged. Responses revealed intricate associations with water that shaped both peoples' perceptions of themselves (their heritage and identity) as well as the way they interacted with their environment (their current way of life) (ECOHP 2014b).

The results of interviews showed that people's relationship with the sea was more complex than previously thought. This meant that, in developing management strategies, a wider set of management issues needs to be considered and addressed. Using an approach that empowered communities and individuals to express their own management needs gave key insights into the motivation for coastal activities that impacted on management. For example, the collection of shipwreck artefacts, which had been perceived by heritage managers as illegal souvenir hunting was, in fact, a practice that had been taking place over several generations. It appeared to have its roots in issues surrounding ownership of the sea – a commonly raised issue amongst those interviewed (ECOHP 2014a). Collection practices also led conversations towards the economic realities of subsistence economies in rural areas and the desire for development. As had been observed in Mozambique, Eastern Cape communities felt that their heritage was being appropriated and exploited by interlopers (ECOHP 2014a).

The above must, consequently, inform the approach that official heritage managers take when attempting to set criteria for MUCH administration in the Eastern Cape. Management decisions need to access the elements missing from the public maritime cultural landscape by allowing local stakeholders the opportunities to explore and validate their own understandings of the past and the local heritage environment. Decisions must take account of how local people experience their heritage, their aspirations for intellectual ownership and their ambitions to present their heritage to outsiders.

The challenges of validating and presenting intangible MUCH were brought into stark relief at Lake Fundudzi. Management of the site had been delegated to the MUCH Unit at SAHRA only because its tangible manifestation was water **(**SAHRA Case File 9/2/269/0023). The Unit struggled to find management methodologies in the official heritage

rules that applied to an intangible, private and largely inaccessible heritage. As a result, the promotion of Lake Fundudzi as a heritage site fell short, and the management of the site became unworkable. The implementation approach taken by heritage managers failed to establish a working strategy to formalise the informal curatorship of the lake's heritage, access the unsanctioned narrative and assist communities to bring significant heritage of the lake into the public sphere (ACHA 2014c). The official management approach could not connect people living around the lake to the tangible site and failed to determine the multi-level, multi-vocal attitudes and needs of local communities and individuals (LF 2014b). SAHRA could only apply its generic management rules for declared heritage sites to Lake Fundudzi and dictate how the landscape should be utilised based on the significance of the site as determined by the heritage institution itself. The failure of Lake Fundudzi as a heritage site is a failure of the global rules for heritage management and engagement. Significance was assigned based on criteria set by the National Heritage Resources Act and cultural heritage experts in heritage institutions. By enforcing "one size fits all" approaches to Lake Fundudzi, the heritage agency has done a disservice to the site and to the people with whom it resonates. The approach applied in declaring Lake Fundudzi has missed all the underlying issues that affect it and its communities (LF 2014b). It had failed to engage relevant perspectives or examine meaning. It had failed to identify underlying feelings of disenfranchisement, disempowerment and marginalisation, and it had failed to address the needs of communities and individuals. Management strategies did not find a balance that brought a deeply "alternative" heritage site into a westernised management structure. The blind application of a policy framework and set of heritage management rules prescribed in the Act has ensured that Lake Fundudzi remains a contested and problematic site.

The controversy, lack of buy-in and, in some instances, hostility towards the heritage management agencies tasked with administering Lake Fundudzi prompted an analysis of strategies and the drafting of recommendations that would contribute towards an implementable management model (ACHA 2014c). This assessment was based on new survey data collected in 2014 and data collected during a survey conducted in 2000 (Khorommbi 2001) which examined some of issues associated with environmental management.

The survey engaged stakeholders at all levels. Prior to conducting individual interviews within village sites local municipalities and councillors were informed of activities and of the intentions of the assessment (ACHA 2014c). Researchers met with the Lake Fundudzi Steering Committee and Kennedy Netshivhase, the Paramount Chief[33] in charge of most of the villages surrounding the lake (LF 2014a).

These initial meetings highlighted many of the shortcomings of SAHRA's approach to the declaration of the site and its subsequent management. For example, despite prior support for the assessment, village Chief Netshiavha, suggested to the steering committee and ward councillors that researchers be denied access to the villages to conduct interviews. His objections were based on the assertion that nothing had come out of the long declaration process that had been implemented by the SAHRA. He said he had tired of reviewing processes, strategies and promises, and asked what was next. He highlighted some of the disagreements between officials and community leaders as well as between community leaders themselves, including disputes about whether the Lake should be declared a National Heritage Site at all (LF 2014a, SAHRA Case File 9/2/269/0023).

It was eventually agreed that researchers would be granted access to assess attitudes towards the Lake and its management but were urged to bear several considerations in mind including: people are "tired of empty promises" (LF 2014a) and things must be done the right way; the villages concerned are rural and poverty stricken because there is no work, and; stakeholders hope for development to take place so that people can get jobs (V LF 2014a).

33 Paramount Chiefs preside over several villages within a geographical area. In the case of Lake Fundudzi, seven Chiefs, who preside over villages adjacent to the lake, form a council that is headed by the paramount Chief. Several other villages around the lake have split from this structure and are ruled independently.

> *"What we are praying for is for Lake Fundudzi to be on the map of the world; that is our wish."* – Chief Netshiavha, July 2014 (LF 2014a)

These early discussions were an indication of the survey challenges to follow. Immediately, interviewed community members indicated that they felt excluded from both the declaration and management process as well as from local political administration and were angry (LF 2014a). From the local perspective, the complexity of the power relations between local chiefdoms was clearly divisive. For example, because the assessment questionnaire had been drafted based on the data contained within the SAHRA's documentation, it had listed only those villages that had participated in the institution's workshops and meetings. Other villages that had not wished to be part of the declaration process or had objected to the scope of the proposed declaration had been omitted. This omission from the questionnaire caused offence and internal conflict. Although individuals from unlisted villages eventually agreed to interviews, they expressed strong opinions on the processes that had gone before. There was a clear sense of disenfranchisement, highlighted by the diversity of the grievances that were expressed. Amongst their reasons for withdrawing from discussions related to declaration were (From LF 2014a):

- *"We won't allow a sacred place to be made into a commercial venture, then the next thing we know there are boats sailing on it. If that happens, our culture will be degraded."*
- *"A sacred place is not a place for everybody to enter without permission from us."*
- *"If we have that problem, if we do not do things the right way, the consequences in the future will be bad.[34]"*
- *"... the lake is not a tourist attraction."*
- *"It's amazing to me that the South African Heritage Resources Agency wants to do research here because I have outstanding issues that I raised with them but they did not respond. The South African Heritage Resources Agency wanted to side-line us indirectly."*
- *"I am not in agreement with the declaration of Lake Fundudzi as a heritage site. When you present this report to the South African Heritage Resources Agency you must mention that I, as chief of the area, am still worried because I raised some issues with them, I even wrote them a letter, but I never got a response. As of now, I say that even the research you are doing, we would not like to participate."*
- *"Why is Tshitangani [village] included but not Tshidzivhe [village], yet it falls under Tshidzivhe [chiefdom]? Why does it look like Tshitangani now wants [its own, separate] chiefdom?"*
- *"We are against the Paramount Chief because of the issue of communication between the royal family and the community – there is a disjoint. They can't ignore the community; the land belongs to the people, not the leaders."*

Management concerns featured prominently in forming perceptions about why official approaches might be problematic. Despite the low percentage of respondents claiming cultural affiliation with practices associated with Lake Fundudzi[35], there was a perception that disrespectful cultural practices such as might be performed by tourists in a sacred area, may have negative consequences in that they may incur the ire of ancestors.

It became clear that accessing unauthorised and private heritage elements was a significant weakness in the accepted management framework but would be key in developing a management approach to this type of MUCH site. In their enthusiasm to declare Lake Fundudzi a National Heritage Site, SAHRA

34 In reference to the consequences of angering ancestors and mythological lake dwellers.

35 Only eight percent of respondents claim any spiritual or cultural affiliation with the lake and only three percent make use of the lake for activities associated with their beliefs.

failed to take cognisance of the local context and could not find a suitable methodology to access hidden heritage. While numerous public meetings were convened during the fifteen-year declaration process, there was no community level engagement. The opinions expressed in the answers provided during the 2014 survey indicate that community voices were silent in the meetings arranged by SAHRA. It is likely that lower status community members were either intimidated by the presence of their chiefs and leaders at meetings or that in translations to English of dialogues taking place in Venda, their opinions were expunged from the official narratives that were the outcomes of meetings. As a result, the declaration of the heritage site has had little impact on the establishment of relevant protection protocols. In the absence of information, SAHRA could not produce even a high-level heritage management strategy or an implementable management plan that provided an official mechanism for communities to promote their heritage in an accessible, authorised and broadly significant space while retaining local management methodologies and contexts. The engagement process and subsequent decision to declare the site has, however, damaged relationships between local communities and authorities and within local communities themselves.

4.3.6 ADDRESSING MISSING ELEMENTS

The assessment of the *status quo* at the case study sites and the outcomes of the workshops that were held in the run-up to the MADP suggested that good MUCH management practices would rely on balancing the elements that affected the way people perceived and practised management, and how they engaged with MUCH. An approach towards developing good MUCH management models at diverse sites would need to find ways to address missing elements in a meaningful way. Considering the general lack of capacity, rules and understanding related to MUCH at the case study sites, it was deemed appropriate to approach the task of addressing missing elements from a capacity building and training perspective (ACHA 2014a, 2014b, SAHRA 2012).

A series of modular courses was designed using the NAS syllabus as a reference framework. This was chosen for several reasons. Firstly, by delivering NAS training, facilitators could offer international certification to individuals who completed the course. Official qualifications also gave participants an assurance of training quality. Secondly, the NAS structure already contained outlines for modules that addressed missing elements related to practical MUCH management including overviews of legislation and codes of practice, site identification and assessment methodologies, and an introduction to archaeology and conservation. Finally, the NAS system was flexible enough to allow tutors to adapt it to suit local needs and circumstances. Tutors could add new modules that addressed specific local requirements.

Relevant training components were selected from the bouquet of modules to suit site specific contexts and needs. Training was organised in a manner that allowed participants to determine the direction that it would take. This meant that it could adapt itself to contexts and could evolve as trainers began moulding an appropriate general approach to MUCH management. As will become evident, training interventions developed with each case study.

5 Balancing the Elements: Changing the *Status Quo*

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Defining a new approach to MUCH management was an iterative process that grew out of efforts to address the management imbalances in each of the case study examples. South Africa's MADP served as a starting point for examining the sub-Saharan MUCH context and proposing an approach for MUCH management that was applied at the other sites where applicable. The MADP made significant strides in advancing the agenda for developing a management approach that was relevant for sub-Saharan Africa and an approach to maritime and underwater cultural heritage that resonated broadly and throughout the African context (Gribble and Jeffery 2012). But while it made significant progress, the Programme did not produce a fully functional management solution. Instead it provided valuable data for evolving a management approach that was applicable at other sites. Observations made during implementing the project were continually noted and analysed, and adjustments were made as the programme progressed, as illustrated by the introduction of Legacy Sites.

In each case study instance, elements that displayed weaknesses or were missing were addressed in order to better manage MUCH. While the study sites shared weak elements, each had its own unique challenges based on context and needs. This again highlighted the impracticality of developing a single management model and the value of developing a management approach.

5.2 ADDRESSING CAPACITY SHORTAGES AND RELEVANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA: THE MARITIME ARCHAEOLOGY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

Management capacity at all the case study sites was either missing or biased towards the formal or informal. Each instance faced different capacity constraints. South Africa had a small pool of formal heritage managers who carried out their duties within the ambit of the relevant heritage legislative frameworks. In the Eastern Cape context, official management policy did not recognise the alternative MUCH narrative that resided in the intangible practices of local communities who, in the absence of validation, believed their heritage to be irrelevant and unworthy of conservation. Neither formal nor informal capacity was applicable in the Ilha de Mozambique context. Mozambican law, as applied, did not protect MUCH and local communities were excluded from shipwreck sites (which they perceived to be the MUCH resource) (IDM 2013b). Finally, Lake Fundudzi had a strong informal management system but inappropriate support from the formal structures had resulted in poor MUCH management.

Capacity shortages were addressed differently at each site, although both experts and communities saw formal training as a desirable tool in all cases.

The MADP was implemented by SAHRA in order to address South Africa's ineffectual MUCH management model (SAHRA 2012). MUCH was not widely relevant and not well protected (Gribble and Jeffery 2012). South Africa's heritage managers had recognised the value of expanding the scope of MUCH in order to make it more broadly relevant and entrenching it in the national narrative, but felt

that by addressing the noticeable gaps in informal capacity it could give MUCH a more visible and broad reach and better balance South Africa's management model. Managers believed that an increase in informal capacity which could apply a code of ethics for activities aimed at shipwrecks, and which formed a network along the coast, would support the identification, assessment and monitoring of submerged sites as mandated by the National Heritage Resources Act. To achieve its capacitation goals, the MADP delivered a series of field schools hosted at Robben Island.

Despite having identified the Legacy Sites, South Africa did not yet have a clear picture of what MUCH might include. In addition, SAHRA was attempting to develop national capacity which would operate within the scope of heritage legislation (SAHRA 2012). This meant that the training programme needed to focus on that section of MUCH which was most well-known and most in need of management – shipwrecks and associated maritime infrastructure. South Africa therefore chose to base its capacity building programme on a minimally modified NAS curriculum. But to establish MUCH more firmly within a cultural landscape model it was necessary to develop training methodologies that went beyond the shipwreck orientated NAS syllabus. Following a general introduction to archaeology and underwater cultural heritage, participants in the MADP received training in a variety of archaeological and management specialisations including artefact conservation, *in situ* preservation, remote sensing and recording and excavation, amongst others. Participants could either complete practical training on a shipwreck site or on the Robben Island maritime cultural landscape (SAHRA 2012).

While the key skill set for recording, assessing and managing underwater cultural heritage sites is provided by the NAS course, African MUCH contexts are not present in the syllabus. It was necessary to include local examples that illustrate the scope of MUCH with reference to non-traditional/indigenous heritage and to train people with the competences to apply management theory to intangible heritage. It was necessary that the NAS curriculum be reworked to suit local requirements. Early phases of the programme had shown that for participants to fully engage with capacity building there was a need for concrete, local examples of the diverse MUCH scope (Gribble and Jeffery 2012). Project designers reacted to this by including Legacy Sites and local maritime archaeological case studies in the training materials[36] (SAHRA 2011). The presentation of examples showcasing the diversity of local MUCH greatly increased the appeal of the field and its outputs for a broader South African public as shown by the expanding diversity of training groups. The inclusion of Legacy Sites as examples of MUCH's scope and potential also gave the programme greater freedom to attract non-diving participants who could adapt skills to terrestrial sites and intangible heritage (Gribble and Jeffery 2012).

As the MADP reacted to changing needs, it needed to adopt new processes in training and awareness raising. Heritage managers were forced to engage more profoundly with the local context and identify an increasingly diverse number of local sites and stakeholders. This, in turn, compelled officials to consult more broadly and involve a wider range of individuals in the MADP activities. Flexibility allowed the MADP to address the problems that were created by initial attempts to apply established heritage management rules and practices in a context for which they were unsuitable. It was suggested that the evolution of strategies for heritage interaction and management that allowed stakeholders an opportunity to be involved in MUCH would enhance buy-in and promote good management practices (Gribble and Jeffery 2012).

36 it was widely agreed that the NAS framework required a degree of development and "Africanisation" to ensure that it became understandable to those working in the African context. In developing the course for the MADP, local case studies and photographs remained focused on shipwrecks. Despite the introduction of the Legacy Sites in defining the field, training only made cursory reference to them. This occurred because, prior to 2009, maritime archaeological research had not ventured beyond shipwreck sites except for a post-graduate dissertation on maritime graffiti at prison sites in the Castle of Good Hope and Simon's Town, Cape Town (Horwitz 1997) and Avery's 1975 article on fish traps. Heritage managers had not, therefore, thought deeply enough about examples of human relationships with the sea. This meant that the use of examples such as stone age exploitation of marine foods, maritime oral histories or maritime influences on terrestrial sites were not considered.

The outcomes of the MADP were quantified in a programme evaluation and assessment conducted by Gribble and Jeffery in 2012**.** Evaluation took the form of a survey of programme participants selected from the three-year project cycle. A detailed analysis of the assessment is provided in Appendix IV. By interrogating the answers provided to the programme assessors, it was possible to extract the value as well as the deficiencies of the emerging approach design as it was applied in the MADP context. It is worth extracting and discussing some key observations in detail.

By 2012, the MADP had succeeded in its training objectives, and had shifted public perceptions of the field through awareness raising, thereby increasing informal management support. More than 100 individuals from a variety of institutions completed training. It was widely agreed that the MADP had added value to the MUCH field and had expanded its relevance as desired. However, the programme retained some of the weaknesses that had also been observed in the Sri Lankan and Tanzanian models on which it had been based.

The challenges of sustainability and continued engagement with the maritime cultural landscape that had dogged the Tanzanian MUCH programme became evident as the MADP drew to a close (Gribble and Jeffery 2012). The programme had undoubtedly created a social and political environment that was conducive to developing an effective and sustainable MUCH programme, but continuing efforts were necessary to reverse adverse perceptions of the field and its relevance in sub-Saharan Africa. A higher degree of political awareness would be required to reverse governments' unwillingness to allocate funding to MUCH management and development in order to increase capacity at institutional level, to establish MUCH in the heritage mainstream, and to allow communities to develop outlets to express their maritime heritage within a broader cultural landscape (SAHRA 2012).

The assessment identified the core issues of MUCH management. If underwater cultural heritage is to be brought into the mainstream, then specialised skills training, currently aimed predominantly at shipwreck sites and shipping infrastructure, must be diversified. It was envisioned that training in informal heritage communities would create a capacity pool of individuals that could be recruited to assist professional heritage practitioners in their management activities over a broad cross section of MUCH site types, but the proficiencies supplied in the training structure still found most traction with individuals and communities that interacted with shipwreck sites (Gribble and Jeffery 2012). While this was not a negative outcome – formal skills that address the needs of heritage managers working within the constraints of the global rules established by legislation are necessary – a set of more dynamic and malleable skills are required that allow individuals to identify relevant heritage within their own contexts and to engage in heritage production and expression outside of the narrow heritage management regime. The MADP therefore demonstrated the need for a design for MUCH management that applied a different methodological approach to connect a much larger population to their maritime past.

Feedback from the MADP stakeholders allowed the programme designers opportunities to reflect on potential strategies for incorporating informal participation to fill management gaps. It was thought that management planning and performance could be aided by the creation of a network of capacitated agencies, professionals, individuals and communities who were linked through the maritime cultural landscape (Gribble and Jeffery 2012). Connected networks could share skills and expertise, easing the burden on individual agencies. Individuals within the networks did not need to have the expertise to engage with all site types, nor did they need to identify with all site types. Instead, they would share experiences and expertise gathered from interaction with MUCH sites that resonated with them. The network proposed in the South African case study was an advance on the Tanzanian management model in that managers could not only make inter-institutional cooperational agreements, but could also call on a pool of public stakeholders to assist and advise at heritage sites. Basic capacity dilemmas that posed challenges to MUCH management could be significantly alleviated should the network be

established. This differed from Tanzania not only in the extent of the network, but in the way that the network functioned.

Unfortunately, the MADP failed to achieve or test this strategic goal. In hindsight, a decision to train larger numbers of people instead of providing longer term engagement with smaller teams was poor. Those individuals who participated in all the field schools offered by the programme formed a close professional group who continue to practise in the heritage field and continue to call on one another for advice and assistance. Instead, because a decision had been reached that each field season would target different stakeholder groups, individuals who would ideally have been able to come together to discuss and develop management strategies, capacity needs and training requirements did not return to the field schools every year.

Having taken the decision to make the programme broadly inclusive and accessible and to make every effort to publicise MUCH across a wide cross section of industries and communities, the MADP attempted to attract individuals from the various identified stakeholder groups including the diving community and public, governmental organisations and students from academic institutions. Institutional capacity development needs were addressed by inviting individuals associated directly with, or employed by, SAHRA. Only SAHRA affiliates and a handful of others attended all programme activities throughout its three-year lifespan (SAHRA 2012). Individuals who participated in single field schools have not remained connected and, in the absence of support, many have drifted away from MUCH and abandoned the skills acquired during the MADP. The result was that lasting networking opportunities did not present themselves to participants, hampering prospects of developing localised management systems. In terms of developing an overall strategic capacity model applicable to sub-Saharan Africa where formal capacity and governmental funding are limited, the creation of a supportive network for heritage managers is crucial. Links between managers and other experts would play a critical role in decision-making processes and strategic planning.

The establishment of local and regional networks would play a significant role in expanding the scope of MUCH to include the Legacy Sites and other non-traditional and locally relevant aspects of the maritime past. Not only would networks play a role in identifying new components of the maritime cultural landscape, but also in the continuing development of locally applicable management rules and practices. Specialist support and training targeted at network nodes would establish formidable backing for heritage management institutions. For example, instruction focused on heritage management, legislation and policy aimed at law enforcement agencies would supply officials with the armoury to combat illegal treasure hunting. By the same token, conservation training at museums would allow staff to better handle waterlogged archaeological finds. Identification and assessment training for coastal communities would support on-site monitoring and management. A separation of duties would empower individual specialists within their area of proficiency and, when included into a coastal network, proffer a cost-effective means to deploy a more extensive set of expertise required for MUCH administration.

The *status quo* of MUCH in South Africa exposed the capacity challenges faced by heritage managers. Yet it is unlikely that institutions will assign already stretched budgets to the creation of MUCH positions, let alone capacitated teams. The MADP management model proposed that individuals already in positions that involved daily marine activity, such as at marine parks, could be provided with entry level skills to make basic assessments of sites and propose best-practice management strategies (SAHRA 2012). Where further intervention was required, practitioners could call on practical assistance from the coastal network and expertise from professional archaeologists, conservators and policy makers. It was clear that a network of expertise and support could alleviate capacity shortages and could be an essential ingredient to the development of effective management systems in sub-Saharan Africa (Mediation and Transformation Practice 2010). This, however, meant that the success of the management model relied on individuals who had received skills training rather than job positions within organisations. If trained individuals left

their positions, a significant amount of management memory was lost with them. With this in mind, the proposal to diffuse informal management expertise amongst a network of individuals offered only a partial solution to critical capacity challenges.

While the notion of sharing specialisation and expertise across an institutional network appears to offer a solution to the capacity challenges of MUCH management, it exhibits some weaknesses as experienced in Tanzania and reinforced during the MADP. The dispersal of expertise over a relatively large geographical area and over a variety of institutions limits the opportunities for the group to co-ordinate work. Without an on-going, sustainable central management core with the ability to fund and commandeer experts when necessary, programmes become diluted by availability of individual members and bureaucratic processes. The formation of informal management expertise in avocational heritage groups may be a solution to alleviate this. For example, as a direct result of the MADP the University of Stellenbosch Underwater Club (MUC) and the Old Mutual Sub-Aqua Club (OMSAC) involved themselves in internally organised projects. OMSAC joined the Institute for Maritime Technology, a parastatal based at the Simons Town Naval Base in Cape Town in mapping the remains of the *Clan Stuart*, wrecked in Simons Bay in 1914, while MUC was enthusiastic to assist SAHRA in mapping the *Brunswick*, an English East Indiaman wrecked in Simons Bay in 1805**.** Harding (2013), supported by divers from SAHRA produced detailed geophysical and analogue site maps of the wreck as part of an archaeology Honours dissertation at the University of Cape Town. As these groups begin to implement projects, an awareness of their activities grows amongst their respective communities. The use of recreational divers as MUCH monitors is viable in South Africa where a relatively large diving community is active. Members of the Ilha de Mozambique community have also recently been provided with diver training through the Slave Wrecks Project to carry out a similar monitoring function. But there is a small pool of recreational divers in sub-Saharan Africa and they are not a widely practicable solution to capacity shortages. What the MADP showed, however, was that it was possible to involve avocational groups in MUCH management and monitoring. The willingness of members of the communities at the Eastern Cape case study site to participate in site management and monitoring supported this finding.

This approach attempted to stimulate a culture of reporting finds and activities and a policing network to monitor identified sites, inspire public interest, and encourage new entrants to the heritage management field. The outcome of the management model was envisaged as a network of stakeholders who acted as partners for heritage managers and management agencies in their efforts to administer MUCH sites (Gribble and Jeffery 2012). The potential to stimulate beneficial tourism spin-offs related to maritime heritage was seen as an economic developmental value addition that encouraged sustainability of the management model. Management decisions, however, remained within the competence of heritage management bodies.

In the absence of coastal networks, the ability to establish enduring and effective management capacity over a wide geographic or institutional footprint could be stimulated by sustaining public interest in project outcomes, such as those described above and by providing public access to MUCH. Public interest and access demands good management practice which may stimulate management institutions to design and implement better management strategies. Public awareness, however, requires an understanding of the relevance of both MUCH and maritime archaeology, and of their output. The MADP, therefore, devoted significant attention to the public sphere (SAHRA 2012). Although the analysis of management elements showed that MUCH in South Africa enjoyed good public access, the focus was limited to shipwrecks. In Africa, where the MUCH practitioners have a poor publication record, little information on maritime heritage is available. In an effort to bring MUCH into the public consciousness, South Africa's Department of Arts and Culture and Robben Island Museum hosted an extensive youth programme attached to the MADP that would introduce young people to underwater cultural heritage and associated disciplines. School children from coastal and interior provinces were invited to participate in a short MUCH

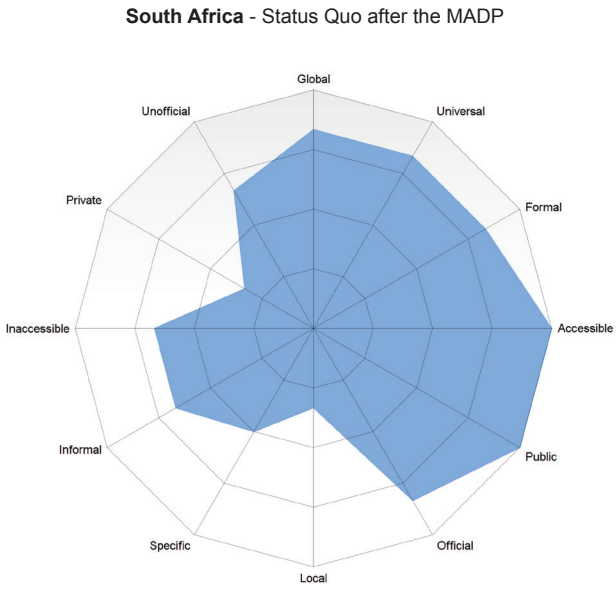


Figure 17 South Africa MUCH *status quo* post-MADP 2015

workshop. The Department hoped that by introducing school learners to the concepts of underwater heritage through Legacy Sites and maritime cultural landscapes, they would be able to create enthusiasm for both terrestrial and maritime heritage disciplines. Furthermore, by instilling the values, principles and ethics of heritage management, the benefits for both management and other social outcomes might be achieved (SAHRA 2012). SAHRA connected young people who had participated in the programme to each other through social media platforms allowing learners the opportunity to communicate. Poor social media management and a lack of opportunities to either discuss heritage or practise learned skills led to an eventual decline in online activity. By the end of 2014, the *SAHRA Maritime Youth* Facebook page had been taken down. The failure of the youth programme to gain traction could also be attributed to a lack of institutional support. Sustained communication was not included in SAHRA's operational strategies and it was left to individuals within the Agency's MUCH Unit to bear the burden of public engagement on top of their already heavy workloads (Sophie Winton *pers. comm.* 2015).

Media surrounding the MADP and its associated activities was also poor. Despite the presence of international expert trainers, students from around the world, an enthusiastic youth group and research outputs, media were given little access to information about the project and publicity was kept to a minimum. An opportunity for promoting MUCH was missed. It seemed inevitable that in the face of meagre public engagement, the programme's sustainability was compromised. By the close of the Programme in 2012, assessors, participants and implementation personnel had begun to examine this shortcoming in an effort to understand how their approach to such projects and heritage management generally could be adjusted to co-opt public interest (Gribble and Jeffery 2012, SAHRA 2012).

The MADP radar graph showed that some of the management elements in South Africa were being addressed. Challenges associated with expanding the narrative were clearly visible, as was the continued reliance on Western management values. The effects of this are observable in the Eastern Cape project outlined below.

An analysis of the MADP outcomes indicated it to be a feasible platform for managing and maturing MUCH in the South African context (Gribble and Jeffery 2012) – an encouraging endorsement of the approach taken by the programme designers – but components that would contribute towards sustainability and portability were still lacking. Addressing the capacity and legislative elements, while helpful, did not do enough to effect immediate change in management. Although practical management training was perceived as important, other pathways for developing an appropriate and implementable management structure were required. Designers continued to struggle to identify a potential approach to the MUCH disciplines that would fit with the constraints and context of Africa. It was clear to them, though, that the models that had developed from the MADP were not yet effective. A new approach would require a carefully balanced interaction between stakeholders at multiple levels. The outcomes of the MADP showed that in drafting an approach to MUCH management several considerations needed to be addressed. Firstly, a collaborative approach at institutional level was necessary to expand the official management footprint and available expertise and infrastructure. Secondly, MUCH needed to be positioned within a broader context to include global and local heritage perspectives. The process of contextualising MUCH would also highlight connections between environmental and cultural legacies in terms of both formal and informal management, scientific endeavour and socio-anthropological influences. Finally, a more appropriate modular training and engagement approach needed to be designed to accommodate varied capacity needs. While, for example, the NAS training curriculum was immediately suitable for the diving community, it may not be applicable to rural communities engaging with intangible maritime landscapes without modification (Gribble and Jeffery 2012). This did not imply that the spirit, principles and ethics of global heritage management were not equally applicable in non-western contexts, but methodologies may vary in diverse environments and must be adaptable enough to ensure flexibility to develop an appropriate set of processes that could be used by communities to develop management plans.

Despite the identified need for an evolution in approach, MADP participants from across the sub-Saharan African region expressed their satisfaction with the outcomes of the programme, and on a regional level, the MADP served as a template for development of the field (Gribble and Jeffery 2012). Regional participants felt that the project had successfully raised the profile of MUCH and that it had enhanced understanding of the diversity of heritage and management approaches. At a regional MUCH meeting in Dar es Salaam in 2011, delegates suggested that the MADP be used as a platform from which to establish a regional MUCH network (DES 2011, Sharfman 2011). The meeting further recommended that regional cooperation to develop awareness of- and access to- underwater cultural heritage sites should be explored based on the creation of capacity through regional iterations of an MADP-type structure (DES 2011, Sharfman 2011). Regional participants advocated for capacity building programmes that would establish national management teams and endow them with skills that could be applied to national and regional maritime sites or research. In addition, it was suggested that management programmes and strategies could be ignited through practical, high profile programmes that would engage authorities and the public. It was proposed that to aid capacity building, awareness raising and immediate protection of submerged sites, a regional capacity-sharing framework in which a regional MUCH team was established should be developed and tested (DES 2011, Sharfman 2011). While this model appeared to address several challenges for MUCH management in the region, it lacked structural support. Workshop delegates did not address mechanisms for overcoming the obstacle of achieving national buy-in. Without infrastructural and monetary support from Governments committed to developing regional strategies for heritage management as well as the flexibility of allowing officials to be seconded outside of national borders, the regional cooperative strategy cannot be implemented. Regardless of whether these difficulties could be overcome, the strategy continued to rely on a relatively small team of individuals specialising in traditional maritime heritage management. As described, issues of sustainable management following an intervention of the team remained

at the forefront. Systems for a locally embedded management procedure that could, and would, be implemented regardless of the presence of managers needed to be established. In the absence of informal capacity, cooperation relied heavily on the regional network.

Despite impracticalities, most regional stakeholders believed the omission of the MADP to create a regional network was a major weakness (Gribble and Jeffery 2012). Stakeholders believed that a regional network would enhance abilities to manage MUCH at regional, national and local levels, contribute towards a broader understanding of MUCH and alleviate the management pressures felt by practitioners (Gribble and Jeffery 2012).

A survey of literature shows that sub-Saharan Africa has enjoyed little underwater archaeological attention. Although some shipwreck sites have been located, identified and assessed, few have been excavated or scientifically examined. Other MUCH site types have been archaeologically ignored. My experience at SAHRA showed that because few examples of sites have been identified and scientifically scrutinised, managers tend to assign high significance values to many newly discovered sites, or sites that may be impacted by development. This has prompted managers to be overly cautious in their management decision-making, erring towards a MUCH management regime that attempts to protect everything (see, for example, my own recommendations for the assessment and possible conservation of two shipwrecks of low historical significance that were impacted by the extension of a breakwater at Salamander Bay near Cape Town, South Africa – ACHA 2013c). While arguments (based on the debate surrounding who determines significance, and how) may suggest attempting to safeguard everything until an agreement can be reached, the realities of the developing world context mean that, currently, best management practices would necessitate choosing to direct official funding and capacity at sites deemed most appropriate, while opening opportunities for community based administration of less threatened, locally relevant or more easily managed heritage. Formal management may target sites deemed to be of high archaeological, scientific or national heritage significance, or sites that are under direct threat while community managers may curate intangible heritage, local heritage, or sites where other non-traditional forms of heritage preservation and cultural expression are appropriate. By sharing knowledge and expertise amongst institutional and community heritage managers at a regional level, such decisions would be more informed and more appropriate.

It would be naïve to propose that the development of a regional network would be easy. It is, however, a key consideration in going forward with new MUCH approach designs. Communication was identified as a core element in designing a regional network and concerns surrounding the processes for disseminating and sharing management expertise were raised. The proposed development of a heritage app at New York University Abu Dhabi (NYUAD), on which stakeholders and practitioners could exchange information on projects, developments, challenges, potential solutions and progress reports would intensify interactions between communities and countries and would benefit regional capacity growth.

Funding, administrative and infrastructure constraints are listed as primary challenges in the development of a regional network (Gribble and Jeffery 2012). The absence of basic support structures following *ad hoc* capacity building programmes has meant that training has had limited impact. These limitations were illustrated in Tanzania. While Tanzanian MUCH expertise was established on multiple levels within institutions and government departments, they were not supported through funding that was a necessary requirement to deploy the team from their various locations, and equipment was not readily available or accessible. Because the managers of the MADP were not able to implement the proposed network of expertise and capacity even at a national level, the practicalities of overcoming these constraints have yet to be adequately addressed.

In 2015, efforts to revitalise regional networks and re-establish maritime cultural landscape programmes began to address public participation challenges. Parthesius brought together a variety of individuals

and experts from academia, heritage management and heritage stakeholder groups at NYUAD to participate in a workshop focused on heritage research, production and collection. Amongst other outcomes, the workshop concluded that by providing spaces for communities to authorise their unauthorised heritage it might be possible to create a wide web that connected social subgroups to each other and to official heritage managers. The benefits included the expansion of the global management rules to include community-level management approaches, and the integration of marginalised groups into the global heritage narrative. It was proposed that a network of networks could be established through introducing various technologies into heritage engagement methodologies. Specifically, a heritage app would provide a place in which small private networks could collaborate on collecting and producing relevant heritage data before sending them to the larger network. Other network nodes could access narratives and collaborate with private networks in instances where similar challenges or stories existed. Heritage managers and researchers could access and utilise the networks to support relevant, implementable and sustainable decision-making processes. A final, public access layer would stimulate interest and engagement.

Despite the collapse of the proposed South African heritage network, analysis of the MADP outcomes supported the development of a network approach to heritage management and engagement. Although it was not understood at the time, the assessment of the MADP hinted at the possibilities of linking heritage clusters through a network system. The recommendation for diversification of training offerings to include a wider range of sites and histories, and therefore to include a more comprehensive range of stakeholders and publics, suggested that heritage managers cast their nets more widely. Allowing stakeholders to determine the direction for public engagement, as would be the case in the release of the NYUAD heritage app, immediately translates to broader appeal.

In this vein, heritage programmes could be implemented at a variety of sites and pitched at a variety of levels to showcase examples of the diversity of MUCH. Furthermore, it would bring together heritage professionals and community stakeholders and facilitate discussions for the development of interactive management strategies in which all stakeholders were equally involved. Indirectly, an inclusive approach had already been tested in a confined environment during the MADP. Students from Leiden University had conducted research aimed at Robben Island's maritime cultural landscape under Parthesius' supervision (SAHRA 2012). The implementation of a multi-vocal approach that collected heritage narratives from multiple perspectives served as a precursor for the development of the heritage app and highlighted the necessity for further adaptation of the approach to MUCH that the programme aspired to implement. The outcomes of student research showed that the official narrative assigned to the Robben Island cultural landscape excluded the heritage component that connected staff, but not visitors, to the island. Stakeholder interpretations of the past needed to be included if people were to connect fully to the maritime cultural landscape in which they lived, worked and visited and, therefore, lobby for better management and protection, in which they played a role. To ensure that this would happen, it would be necessary to establish and validate the empathetic heritage experience and to look more deeply at the layers that defined why people wanted to visit the site or share it with visitors. In other words, it was necessary to authorise individuals' *perceptions* of the *heritage* of the island, not just its history. The approach to heritage engagement needed to evolve in order to access those elements of heritage that remained hidden. While it is possible that local maritime perspectives were withheld from researchers because the island communities did not want this heritage known, it seems more likely that the residents, staff and visitors to Robben Island were simply unaware that these histories formed part of the greater maritime cultural landscape. In this regard, it appeared that the MADP had failed at the level of its core audience in its efforts to raise awareness of the scope of the field. Communities continued to associate MUCH with the colonial assemblages and infrastructure that was visible on the island and they did not consider personal engagements and associations with the maritime

landscape as being relevant or important. While they recognised the diversity of the Legacy Sites, it is possible that they still relied on heritage managers to identify the acceptable heritage narrative. This again pointed to the need to adapt the approach to validate hidden heritage. How this could be done was explored, tested and refined at Ilha de Mozambique and in South Africa's Eastern Cape region, as will be described below.

5.2.1 CHALLENGES

In the absence of organised programmes such as the MADP, the approach applied at Robben Island did not provide avenues for individuals or communities to engage with MUCH. Awareness raising had highlighted the scope of the field, training had skilled a pool of heritage managers, and the introduction of Legacy Sites had offered points of entry to non-traditional maritime culture but programme participants were not given the tools to truly connect with MUCH outside of official programmes such as the MADP or university field schools. This lead to perhaps the greatest failing of the MADP's strategic approach – the inability to sustainably engage in the communities in which it had operated. It became increasingly evident that a shift towards community driven identification of significant MUCH sites was necessary to ensure that MUCH resonated more broadly, making it relevant and accessible to a wider public. Engagement needed to be reinvented to incorporate needs beyond archaeological methods and mapping.

The partial success of the introduction of Legacy Sites showed that it would also be necessary to examine the scope of MUCH more closely to establish what really captivated people. This required action from stakeholders. As long as projects continued to be planned by practitioners, academics and managers, no space would be offered for an approach in which participants, who were the focus of studies and the intellectual custodians of heritage, to provide their own direction or perspective. This would not mean that scientific inquiry should be diminished. Instead, research would continue to allow experts to produce data that they felt was relevant and measurable and disseminate it publicly, but that alternative interpretations would enhance analysis. For the endurance of MUCH, such a shift is critical. While an approach that highlights managers' and academics' perceptions of heritage values, and the resultant need for management, might achieve some measure of protection for sites, management will unlikely be sustainable without local input. Awareness raising may generate initial excitement for heritage resources, but the implementation of formally proscribed management activities would diminish as initial interest diminished.

It would perhaps have been prudent for the MADP designers to draft a policy document that outlined regional needs, challenges and approaches in detail as well as other documentation detailing the programme outcomes and recommendations that could be utilised as a template by regional stakeholders and government agencies to support ongoing MUCH initiatives. Although a booklet entitled *Towards Best Practice in Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage in South Africa* (SAHRA 2011) was drafted for internal use at SAHRA, it enjoyed limited circulation and was not regionally relevant, its primary function being a template from which a South African management policy framework could be developed. Despite its narrow applicability, the booklet was utilised as a "vision document" that was briefly available via the South African Department of Arts and Culture website, and was intended to guide heritage practitioners at statutory level in their approach to dealing with MUCH. It again made use of the Legacy Sites concept as a foundation from which to engage stakeholders and sketched a future approach to MUCH in which multiple voices could contribute towards redefining the field and identifying Africa's maritime links. This content could have formed the backbone of the more detailed regional policy Manual.

As it stood, however, the approach format could have served as a foundation model for regional application although it would be hindered by the training modules being heavily funding dependent. Although costs of the MADP were relatively low when compared with field schools offered internationally, the model remained out of financial reach in countries in which maritime heritage is a relatively low priority area,

often perceived to be in juxtaposition or conflict with official heritage narratives. This poses a significant hurdle in implementing the approach more broadly and limits opportunities for continued engagement and participation. The MADP still pushed national and regional MUCH management practices in a new direction. By adopting a maritime landscape approach to research activities; by expanding the scope of what constituted a maritime site; and by attempting to identify non-traditional maritime stakeholders in its engagement processes, the programme had the potential to appeal to a broad public. It brought together international leaders in the fields of site and object conservation, underwater survey, training, maritime archaeology and heritage management from across the world. The programme also supported a MUCH Youth Development Programme, funded by the South African Department of Arts and Culture, which brought together high school learners from across the country and introduced them to the field. As such, it had the potential to generate global interest and publicity and establish potential access to further funding. Although the Public Relations and Media divisions of SAHRA and the Department of Arts and Culture achieved a degree of local coverage for the programme, they failed to take advantage of the international reputations of trainers and experts, the enthusiasm of youth and the excitement of submerged heritage to attract widespread media interest. As a result, opportunities for planting MUCH firmly in the public mind during the lifespan of the programme were missed.

In spite of gaps, the MADP achieved many of its capacity building aspirations and resulted in an extensive pool of potential supporters and practitioners. The basic programme components could, with some adaptation, serve as a template for the development of MUCH at a regional level. Sub-Saharan states facing similar challenges could model their own programmes on the South African example, which may, in turn, stimulate regional cooperation and collaboration.

In their summary of participant assessments of the MADP, Gribble and Jeffery (2012:21) concluded that:

> *" ... the [MADP] has done a great deal to spread, to a wide local, national and regional audience, the message about what [maritime and underwater cultural heritage] is and why it should be managed and protected into the future. The wide range of [MADP] course participants – national institutions, local community and stakeholder groups, young learners, regional participants – has meant that a truly diverse cross-section of ... society has been exposed to what [maritime and underwater cultural heritage] is and means in their own personal or professional contexts and, hopefully, how it is relevant to them as modern South Africans. In addition, the involvement of sub-Saharan Africa in the [programme] has meant that links have been forged with new regional partners and stakeholders, and existing relationships within the region and beyond have been reaffirmed and strengthened."*

The MADP at Robben Island and the associated Youth Development Programmes provided important data for the development of practical, relevant and implementable strategies for managing and promoting MUCH in the sub-Saharan African context. Specifically, the programme provided for the expansion of the definition of the field, ensuring that participants immediately identified more strongly with the field and with heritage that they felt was directly influential on their identity.

- Interestingly, it was possible to identify patterns of interest in various MUCH components during the adult training courses. There were some discernible differences between the various groups, which showed the different emphases which individuals and clusters from different communities and cultures put onto sites related to MUCH. In the adult groups, university students, researchers and vocational divers appeared to identify maritime heritage strongly with shipwrecks and recognisable maritime infrastructure (harbours, lighthouses) while non-diving heritage managers and practitioners, such as employees of the Robben Island Museum,

identified more easily with the maritime sites that they could see and which dovetailed most closely with the heritage context within which they worked. In other words, an employee of the Robben Island Museum, when asked to choose a maritime cultural research topic for training purposes, might choose maritime infrastructure related to the prison or World War II installations while divers or archaeology students might choose an aspect of a wreck or jetty (SAHRA 2012). This observation is relevant to designing a modular training and development framework to support new management approaches in that it emphasises the need for locally contextualising MUCH.

5.2.2 CONCLUSION

By making the observations early in the MADP about what excited different groups and individuals about MUCH, trainers, practitioners, managers and researchers interested in promoting underwater cultural heritage were provided with an opportunity to shape training courses to suit diverse needs and backgrounds and to begin to identify and design new, adaptive approaches to managing maritime cultural resources that would be inclusive and would stimulate management interest.

The architecture of the training and engagement approach of the MADP was of primary importance in the development and execution of the programme and in meeting the implementers' and funders' needs and desires for sustainability. The MADP needed to be guided by the requirements of adhering to the global heritage management rules but needed to also be flexible enough to evolve as discussed above, should modification be warranted. The general apathy towards underwater cultural heritage in the form it existed in 2009 needed to be consistently challenged, even if it meant abandoning or changing accepted methodologies for engagement, if the programme was to attain any degree of success. To make the disciplines associated with maritime and underwater cultural heritage sustainable and accessible, it was essential that it began to resonate with- and become relevant to- a broad cross section of African society. As discussed, this had prompted the programme designers and implementing agencies to look closely at the definitions and perceptions of what constituted the MUCH resource. Heritage practitioners' emphasis on shipwrecks, driven by work that has been done under the banner of maritime archaeology, particularly by commercial salvage and treasure hunting companies appealed to middle to upper income publics. However, as South Africa's political landscape has changed, questions as to the relevance of shipwreck sites have been raised. The notion that wrecks are merely the historical remnants of the oppressor and, therefore, a part of European history rather than African history has been a prevalent argument for not expanding management networks and infrastructure. Through the design processes of the MADP, however, the importance of these sites as archaeological indicators of social development on the African continent has gained momentum.

The MADP failed to comprehensively assess or address public needs (Gribble and Jeffery 2012). An assumption that heritage managers and practitioners knew what was best for the public and for heritage development meant that capacity building was undertaken to support management needs (Pikirayi 2016), and the identification of Legacy Sites was a means to justify the need for MUCH management. While the Legacy Sites stimulated a deeper conversation about the scope of MUCH and its relevance to the region, they did not allow non-heritage managers any opportunity to drive the MUCH narrative. The Legacy Sites remained those sites that were relevant to heritage managers. Practitioners continued to instruct the public regarding what heritage sites they should find important, how they should be managed, and what data from those sites should be studied. Expert opinion and narrow legislative prescripts remained the dominant forces behind MUCH identification and management. In examining the relevance of MUCH to the broader population, the MADP had begun to look beyond shipwrecks and associated infrastructure to a wider scope of the field. In doing so, it had encountered Africa's rich and ancient connection with water, but did not know what to do with it.



Figure 18 Diving and youth activities during the MADP

Importantly the MADP fired enthusiasm for MUCH within South Africa's heritage ministry, the Department of Arts and Culture (Gribble and Jeffery 2012). The broad appeal of the programme presented opportunities for the Ministry to showcase its officials and its work. The Department showed its support by funding a national MUCH youth event. The undertaking saw the Department sponsor school children from across South Africa to attend a three-day programme that aimed to introduce them to the maritime heritage field. Presentations outlining the scope and substance of maritime archaeology and MUCH were supplemented with practical activities including an introduction to snorkelling, amongst others. The experience culminated in a snorkel dive on a local shipwreck and a ministerial function aboard a naval vessel. For the school children, the programme offered their first encounter with a submerged archaeological or heritage site and, for many, their first sight of the ocean (SAHRA 2012).

Despite not realising some of the important programme goals, the MADP had garnered public and community support (Gribble and Jeffery 2012). This was a critical outcome for the project designers in that it showed that the developing approach to MUCH had advanced from its pre-MADP position. The introduction of Legacy Sites had captured new, previously marginalised maritime heritage audiences and had involved them in strategic thinking about management of maritime sites. This was an important step in reintroducing maritime heritage into the heritage management mainstream. As Gribble and Jeffery (2012:25) pointed out:

> *"[a]lmost from the outset, and through [its lifespan], the programme has shifted elements of its focus to broaden perspectives of what Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage is, to engage with how Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage sites and histories are viewed and valued … and to make the programme as relevant as possible to as wide an audience as possible."*

Elements of a community focused heritage management approach that had been designed for the MADP required testing in various African contexts to assess its efficacy. While designers were confident that the MADP foundation would be adaptable to the region, they could not be sure without applying it in divergent environments. The approach was therefore tested during programmes at two locations: Ilha de Mozambique, in Mozambique a site where communities had been disconnected from shipwreck elements of their heritage, and the Eastern Cape Coast in South Africa where communities had

been marginalised and the status of their heritage had been suppressed. These sites presented opportunities to test and manipulate the approach under difficult circumstances. At neither of the two sites was it possible to effectively communicate with communities and individuals without an interpreter, Portuguese and isiXhosa being the native languages at each site respectively. This meant that implementers were divested of a degree of power and influence over outcomes.

Although the MADP was concluded, activities are ongoing. Robben island continues to engage with its maritime heritage through its Research Strategy (Robben Island Museum 2015b) and students continue to support the development and implementation of heritage research, management strategies and tourism models.

5.3 ADDRESSING ACCESS AND PRESENTATION: ILHA DE MOZAMBIQUE

5.3.1 INTRODUCTION

During the assessment of the *status quo* at Ilha de Mozambique, stakeholders had requested that the Underwater Cultural Heritage - Mozambique project be designed to address the capacity and awareness challenges at the island through the development of training activities that placed underwater sites within the context of the broader maritime cultural landscape and MUCH narrative (IDM 2013b). This, they believed, would go some way to alleviating the issues associated with the inaccessibility of submerged sites and potential negative perceptions of colonial heritage while at the same time establishing an environment in which all stakeholders could provide input and find their own sense of place. It was the philosophy of the Underwater Cultural Heritage - Mozambique project that, in order to make heritage sites which may have no tangible association or significance to the community in which they exist relevant within the local and national heritage paradigm, it would be necessary to examine and reposition the MUCH narrative. Again, the maritime cultural landscape was a valuable contextualising tool. It produced opportunities for stakeholders to position sites which had broader cultural significance and required protection and management within a framework that was globally, locally or personally significant.

In addition to awareness raising and capacity building, stakeholders suggested that the Underwater Cultural Heritage - Mozambique programme focused on the social and economic benefits of good heritage management and best practice (IDM 2013a, 2013b, 2013d). By underlining the potential economic benefits derived from conservation above those resulting from treasure hunting, the Underwater Cultural Heritage - Mozambique programme could attract buy-in at local and governmental levels. The programme aimed to provide skills, support infrastructure and promote activities that could contribute towards economic development through tourism and associated activities (ACHA 2013b).

Ilha de Mozambique had a more focused approach to MUCH than South Africa. The island community is relatively small and the threats to MUCH were well defined (Duarte 2012). In analysing stakeholder needs it became clear that, in the absence of a national MUCH policy, local capacity would be a necessary component of any management approach. Unlike South Africa, stakeholders wanted training that was locally relevant and that contributed towards their objective of reclaiming their maritime past. Although Government licences still granted exclusive access to wreck sites to the treasure hunters, there were several important training objectives and outcomes that the community hoped could be implemented that would contribute towards countering the treasure hunters' dominance of the island's underwater cultural heritage. Explicitly, community stakeholders expressed a desire that training should be a means to empower and capacitate the Ilha de Mozambique community (IDM 2013a, 2013b, 2013d). This meant that while the universal theoretical concepts and principles of archaeology and heritage management were acknowledged, it was important that they could be applied to locally relevant sites and adapted to encompass local approaches, perceptions and attitudes towards heritage.

5.3.2 PROGRAMME DESIGN

Stakeholders indicated that (from ACHA 2014a):

- Training should provide the skills necessary to identify, record, promote, manage and protect the rich and multi-layered maritime history of the island. Training must provide islanders and university students with technical skills, capacity and tools to survey and interpret accessible sites, objects and histories while preparing them to apply those skills to the underwater sites once they had been reclaimed from treasure hunters.

- The myriad cultural influences of Arabian, European and Eastern traders, explorers and settlers that have become interwoven with East African culture for over a thousand years should be equally reflected in any representation of the Island's past. These influences have contributed towards the modern make-up of Ilha de Mozambique society and should be reflected as such. No single cultural impact should be explored at the expense of another. In other words, heritage skills training should be broadly applicable and not exclusively focused on recording shipwreck remains.

- Training must assist in developing a new narrative for Ilha de Mozambique that positions the island as a unique yet multi-cultural entity within a vast global cultural context. This heritage goes beyond Portuguese shipwrecks, but incorporates them as a key marker in its evolution. By exploring the broader context and the role that the shipwrecks play in cultural development, the Ilha de Mozambique community should be able to lobby government to protect its heritage as a whole. While the community recognised the fact that MUCH training and skills transfer will not provide a "silver bullet" for stopping treasure hunting, capacity building would provide the tools for showcasing the relevance of the island's past in the development of modern Mozambique. Skills should also allow local communities to interpret their maritime cultural landscape and underline the importance of submerged heritage resources as part of the broader historical context. Furthermore, by highlighting the role that heritage resources that exist on the Island play both as a driver for economic development through heritage tourism and as a factor in developing a national identity, the importance of preserving and protecting the Island's heritage sites would be promoted on government agendas.

- Training must create an environment in which the community gains access to the sea and to its maritime past.

- Training must contribute towards economic development whether underwater sites are accessible or not. Economic development through the tourism sector was the preferred option for the island's stakeholders. Industry associated with heritage tourism, such as art, craft and artistic performance would supplement and support a heritage economy. The sale of shipwreck artefacts was viewed by most of the individuals interviewed, as a poor, unsustainable and morally inexcusable option for creating jobs and generating income.

To build on the models for MUCH management and promotion in the developing world that had been tested in the implementation of the MADP, an approach that took cognisance of the multi-layered and multi-vocal nature of heritage, allowed for input from all stakeholders and addressed local needs, needed to be formulated and verified.

Several workshop participants raised concerns regarding training and the implementation of a capacity building programme (IDM 2014a). Chief amongst these concerns was that project implementation had come too late. Because no hard data regarding salvage activities had been provided, stakeholders assumed the worst. In addition, many of the buildings associated with maritime culture on the

Island had been sold or earmarked for use by non-residents (IDM 2013d). Stakeholders wanted to know what actions could be implemented to reverse or halt the loss of cultural objects and disenfranchisement of residents, and how training would contribute towards changing government and local attitudes towards heritage management. Based on what stakeholders had observed in the museum established by Arqueonautas and what individuals who had taken up short-term contracts with Arqueonautas had seen in the course of their work, the working group was generally in agreement that damage had already been done to wreck sites. Some believed all wreck sites had been destroyed (IDM 2013d, 2013d, 2014). Despite this, the majority believed that training interventions would be valuable. The value of acquiring skills that could be applied to underwater heritage sites was supported by the only qualified diver amongst the working group. Having worked with treasure hunters around the island, he could confirm that many wrecks were still undiscovered, that many were of little interest to treasure hunters and that in some instances local divers had rescued and hidden objects such as cannons to preserve them underwater. He added that treasure hunters had targeted "easy" sites to turn quick profits and that many of the less accessible wrecks would therefore remain intact. Finally, he argued that if the wrecks had been destroyed, it would be unlikely that the treasure hunters would actively be pursuing a renewal of their licence to work in the area, as they had (IDM 2014a). An assessment of activities carried out by Arqueonautas was undertaken in 2015 and supported this analysis (Appendix V).

The workshop participants expressed concern that training content would focus on high-level archaeological concepts that would not provide practical solutions to site identification, recording and promotion. This was based on the training that they had received during the UNESCO run workshop in 2011 (Jeffery 2011). This concern echoed the working groups' call for training that was locally relevant and their desire that learned skills should be applicable in the Ilha de Mozambique context. This concern could be mitigated through careful programme planning and course content development. Of particular relevance to course designers and facilitators was the expression of a need for training that focused on management capacitation rather than on archaeological skills development. Stakeholders felt that a skill set addressing assessment, monitoring and promotion of sites would be of higher value than competence in archaeological recording and artefact conservation at that time (IDM 2013b). It was proposed that university students, heritage NGOs and other heritage professionals (archaeologists, museum specialists, conservators, etc.) could be coopted to support local managers and stakeholders where necessary and in the course of academic interventions and activities (ACHA 2014a). This did not exclude training at a level that provided participants with the basic proficiencies that would allow them to assist academic endeavours and offer potential economic benefits in that visiting researchers could employ competent field assistants from the local labour pool, but they were realistic in their expectations of programme outcomes.

The destruction of natural heritage was of concern to many stakeholders (IDM 2013b). Although no formal assessment of environmental change has been undertaken, fishermen and community stakeholders reported the following trends that they believe present challenges for developing marine tourism including diving and fishing charters:

- Destruction of corals for use in building, dyes and curios.
- A reduction of biodiversity through over-fishing and indiscriminate catch.
- Migration of marine mega-fauna such as dolphins to better feeding grounds.

In addition, there was a growing concern that, should natural heritage not be properly managed, a resultant collapse of the food chain would cause basic nutritional staples to disappear with catastrophic consequences for the Ilha de Mozambique community. While these concerns were not directly related to the MUCH of Ilha de Mozambique, stakeholders believed that a holistic approach would better address their needs. This approach may assist in developing better heritage management practices. Worldwide, the diving community has recognised the urgent need to protect natural marine resources

including coral reefs and fish stocks and there are numerous advocates for marine conservation. Diver certification organisations teach marine conservation (see PADI Project AWARE, for example) and dive operators enforce strict rules for their diving clients. Together, these have contributed towards legislation, policy and best practice that protect marine life. More recently, MUCH has begun to enjoy similar attention, but such ethical considerations are still not universally practised and treasure hunting and looting remain globally prevalent. By promoting the benefits of conservation of natural resources, the Ilha de Mozambique stakeholders hoped to highlight the long-term benefits of cultural conservation (IDM 2013b, 2014).

As had been the case during the MADP, the training team utilised the NAS structure to design a programme that included all the necessary materials and content required for official certification but that was supplemented with customised activities that would offer opportunities for the course participants to explore local narratives and histories. This format allowed training to focus on elements of maritime heritage that reflected the culture of Ilha de Mozambique that the inhabitants perceived as important. This meant that the programme adopted a community approach and that research design was locally driven rather than determined by the agendas of trainers or external researchers.

In the wake of political uncertainty that had resulted from violent clashes in the run-up to general elections in November 2013, a community approach served to allay a degree of distrust that was evident on the facilitators' return (IDM 2014a). It was unclear if the lack of trust was a result of internal political discord at the island or at a national level. Shortly after training workshops had been initiated, a participant travelled to Maputo to report on activities. Perhaps because of policies surrounding treasure hunting licences, or because of internal political agendas, several external stakeholders from the government and academic sectors expressed disapproval at the intervention. Most programme participants, however, articulated their desire to continue, arguing again that Government, in providing and extending contracts for historic shipwreck salvage despite community objections, had failed them (IDM 2014a). Although the training programme would not immediately deliver access to submerged sites nor endow stakeholders with authority to expel commercial salvage operators, they believed that it would establish a platform for the reclamation of maritime heritage and illustrate the will and capacity of the Island community to participate in heritage management decision-making processes.

Damage to the confidence of the participants had, however, been done and it was necessary to rapidly reiterate the programme approach's shift from a student-teacher course structure to a structure of mutual learning and mutual authority in which stakeholder needs guided the curriculum (IDM 2014a). Again, the provision of a space in which local stakeholders could re-appropriate the maritime heritage and historical narrative and refocus it onto themselves, was a means to re-establish trust and create an appropriate heritage management environment. In addition, it shifted power from facilitators to participants. This was an important transferal for several reasons. Firstly, it gave status to individuals within the stakeholder group. Because the community determined the direction that the programme would take, it was easier to express opinions within their trusted network instead of in a classroom context where facilitators would impose their authority and experiences onto the drafting of potential management strategies. Secondly, because the stakeholders themselves had the power to determine strategies, the onus of implementation fell onto their shoulders. Management plans would be formulated within the context and constraints of Ilha de Mozambique by the islanders themselves. This approach differed from the programme strategies employed during the MADP. The approach did not allow outsiders a platform to prescribe management policy that adhered to globally accepted rules, but which was impractical in a developing world context. Unlike South Africa, where the common narrative aligned somewhat with local narrative, the official chronical of Ilha de Mozambique had been determined by UNESCO and treasure hunters. This sat uneasily with local stakeholders. The local community saw little value in the infrastructure that came with the authorised narratives (such as signage)



Figure 19 Reclaiming the Sea at Ilha de Mozambique

or the contribution that this would make to their own development goals (IDM 2013d). While this infrastructure may have been well suited elsewhere, it added no apparent benefit at Ilha de Mozambique and did not resonate with the history that the islanders used to define themselves.

The programme approach was adapted to provide management skills and tools that allowed local managers to establish relevant management goals using locally available resources that resonated with the heritage and economic milieu of the island, but still adhered to globally acceptable conservation, management and preservation standards.

Having established the context of the relationship between facilitators and stakeholders and between stakeholders and their heritage it was possible to

translate this into a relevant training structure. Within the NAS course framework, four modules in key areas at the foundation/introductory levels were identified to address community ascertained needs. These were preceded by a facilitated introduction in which course participants could introduce themselves, identify their role in the stakeholder group and within community associations (including fishing, crafts, tourism, etc.) to which they belonged. This open session also provided opportunities for participants to air their grievances and articulate the challenges that they believed hindered good practice in the management of MUCH. For the most part these did not differ from those identified in the site assessment workshop discussed above, except that the continuing lack of economic benefit from heritage was felt to be a limiting factor in gaining broad community buy-in for management.

Training and awareness modules were organised in a standard NAS format consisting of presentations and practical tasks. An introduction to MUCH outlined basic archaeological and heritage management concepts, gave an overview of the scope of maritime heritage, and began to ask programme participants to apply these concepts to their own maritime cultural heritage landscapes. In the critical realist framework, this section outlined the "real" domain – the base environment in which management and development would take place, including the national and international legislative frameworks and guidelines that would be universally applicable, whether they accepted them or not. Participants were asked to begin thinking about what heritage meant to them, their communities and Mozambique as a whole. The module was designed to begin to stimulate participants to think about alternative perspectives of MUCH and what these contributed to their lives and social environment.

A series of presentations outlining site types followed. Facilitators give examples of site types from their own experiences, such as shipwrecks, maritime infrastructure and the Legacy Sites of the MADP, as well as sketching what elements might constitute other MUCH sites. The section expanded the definition of sites to include intangible heritage, heritage landscapes and heritage systems. This training component also highlighted the importance of context and the complexity and interconnectedness of heritage sites. Participants were again asked to apply this framework to their own MUCH environment to identify sites, in any form, that they felt were significant to them and/or which may be important for others (including the international community, tourists and treasure hunters). As will be discussed, participants' responses focused largely on the monumental, tangible sites on the island. Many of these were the same sites that formed part of the built heritage fabric identified in the World Heritage Site documentation. When asked why they had chosen these sites, participants indicated that they sites that could immediately attract tourist and stimulate economic, development. Participants felt that this would focus community attention on the value of heritage conservation even if it was not locally significant. In addition, it was thought that by identifying maritime sites that formed part of the World Heritage Site and required management attention from heritage authorities, government action aimed at protecting the threatened submerged sites would be stimulated.

This did not mean that other sites or site types were excluded from the participants' frame of reference. Instead, they viewed other heritage types, especially intangible heritage, as a focus for longer term goals, such as the creation of tourism precincts at the *Capitania* site (see below).

A short set of presentations on site and artefact dating completed the theoretical component of the course. Although participants would neither have access to dating technology nor would they be excavating archaeological materials, methodologies such as typographic dating and historical association could be applied to sites and available objects that would form the physical reference points to a historic narrative. Dating of the prevalent porcelain fragments and glass beads that wash up along the shore from the shipwreck sites may contribute something towards composing the historic narrative presented to tourists, for example.

The training portion of the programme concluded with the practical application of site identification and

mapping. The session provided course participants with the two-dimensional site survey skills used in the mapping of archaeological sites. This skill set was provided for four purposes. Firstly, the mapping techniques could be used for drawing plans of any site. This meant that they could be used immediately to record terrestrial sites and, should stakeholders be granted access to underwater sites, they could be used to produce shipwreck site plans. Practical applications showed the challenges of site recording both above and below the water and ensured that participants engaged with planning processes through answering questions – What needs to be recorded? Why does it need to be recorded? How is it recorded? Secondly, site mapping could be used as a management tool for assessing and monitoring heritage sites, both underwater and on land. Participants could use the basic mapping methodologies to create site plans and detail site features. Combining maps, photographs, drawing and descriptions of sites provided a baseline assessment of state of preservation. Reassessment of sites in the future will show any deterioration or change. These data could be stored in a site database and would form the backbone of a management decision-making tool. Thirdly, by establishing a set of recording criteria, stakeholders were encouraged to identify methods that were applicable to the local heritage sites and site types that required management interventions. Survey and mapping training supported development of critical thinking around what participants wanted and needed to know to protect and promote relevant heritage. Again, participants were encouraged to apply universal rules to local sites and to develop local rules and processes that were specific to the Ilha de Mozambique context. Finally, site recording could translate into tourist offerings. Mapped sites and site features could be transposed onto information packs provided to tourists wishing to follow heritage trails or visit heritage sites.

In addition to the above lesson plan, course participants were taught basic interview skills, site identification skills and the theoretical knowledge required for elementary site interpretation. This section of the course was conducted informally allowing course participants the opportunity to devise their own, culturally relevant approaches to collecting field data. By combining theoretical and practical skills, participants could conduct fieldwork that would allow them to complete a course project.

Having completed lecture activities, groups were given an opportunity to test and refine the skills that they had learned and practised in the classroom environment.

Practical activities were divided into two parts. Firstly, course participants were asked to survey and draw sites within the *Capitania* complex, as it had been identified as significant for heritage development on the Island. These surveys allowed participants to practise mapping large site areas as well as detailed drawing techniques. Having collected data, participants transferred measurements to paper site maps and artefact drawings. Activities at the *Capitania* site were carried out for teaching purposes only, but data gathered would feed into and inform a broader set of identified development goals in the future. Having mastered survey techniques, participants were divided into groups and began collecting site data that could be used in immediate programmes for developing local heritage narratives and establishing tourist-orientated heritage trails. This phase included identifying tangible sites, collecting archival and documentary data, where available, gathering intangible heritage data and recording sites. The output from this exercise was a project which groups presented to classmates at the end of the programme and which contributed to data for use in producing a brochure. The brochure itself served as an example for developing the aforementioned heritage trails.

Four groups presented their project work. They identified several sites within the Ilha de Mozambique maritime cultural landscape that they thought were significant.

Group I was made up of three students from the Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo who were enrolled in an undergraduate course in archaeology and a commercial diver who, in the past, had worked with Arqueonautas. Because this group already had archaeological experience, it undertook detailed site drawings and produced a detailed site report. The group chose to examine dhow construction



Figure 20 Entrance to the *Capitania*

techniques. To this end they surveyed the remains of a dhow hull on the beach, collected information about current dhow construction and interviewed and filmed boat builders on the Island. Their investigation included identification of a shipwreck and its various constituents. It examined the site from the perspective of local artisanal ship construction techniques. The site served as a visual example of how individual ship construction processes such as design, carpentry and ironmongery came together to produce a vessel as well as how the shipbuilding tradition has been entrenched into the intangible heritage and passed through generations at the island.

It was expected that the group's report would be summarised and translated into English for submission to the Nautical Archaeology Society for inclusion in their quarterly newsletter, but this has not yet been forthcoming.

Groups II, III and IV were made up of a broad cross section of the Ilha de Mozambique community including fishermen, artists, tour operators, religious leaders, community leaders and ordinary community members. The three groups examined local culture by recording aspects of the Portuguese forts, the Macuti village and traditional fishing practices. The results of these projects provided a broad overview of Ilha de Mozambique society (IDM 2014a).

- Portuguese forts: While these forts are a significant marker for Portuguese occupation of Ilha de Mozambique, they also represent the European influences that have played a role in shaping local society. There is ample historical data on these buildings, but little has been recorded from a local perspective. The team that worked on these sites uncovered several oral histories related to the forts including that they were built by spirits and that one is built on a stone dhow.[37]

37 The mythology of stone dhows has been recorded in several places along the east coast of Africa. While details differ, the circumstances of events remain uniform. Underlying the tradition is a perceived maritime threat. Local people pray to a deity asking that, if approaching ships are hostile, they are turned to stone. The "hulls" of these stone vessels are found at various sites in Mozambique and Tanzania.

- Macuti Town: Modern Ilha de Mozambique culture has been influenced by cultures from across the globe. For over a thousand years, the island has been occupied by people from Africa, Europe, Asia, and the Arab world and has traded extensively with people from the African mainland and Indian Ocean nations. As a result, the people of Ilha de Mozambique have a rich multi-cultural heritage. The Island is divided into two distinctive sections, a Stone Town established by European settlers and a Macuti Town established by local inhabitants. The diverse influences that have been exerted onto Ilha de Mozambique are reflected in the architecture and life-styles of the people living on the Island. The team began to collect information about local architectural traditions and ways of life, an area of research that has been secondary to examinations of the European cultural influences on the island.

- Fishing Traditions: The final group explored fishing and oral traditions related to fishing practices. The group interviewed fishermen and members of the fishing association. Numerous stories, songs and mythologies were uncovered. Since fish plays such an important role in the Ilha de Mozambique diet, the heritage of fishing is deeply embedded in the local psyche and is integral to notions of identity.

The course concluded with an oral examination and course participants were presented with their certificates at a traditional ceremony hosted by the mayor of Ilha de Mozambique and the Muslim Brotherhood.

Following the completion of the training course, the Mozambican government began reassessing its stance on the management of underwater cultural heritage generally and wreck sites in particular. The intervention was not, of course, solely responsible for a reassessment of policy regarding underwater cultural heritage. Lobbying pressure from a variety of sectors, including the Ilha de Mozambique community, the international community and Eduardo Mondlane University personnel, forced government to suspend the salvage concession given to Arqueonautas and undertake a forensic examination of activities. While the described programme cannot claim to be the sole driver or catalyst behind this reassessment, as mentioned, its contribution has been recognised by the Island community. By supporting Ilha de Mozambique and assisting in the creation of a competent MUCH management team, the Underwater Cultural Heritage - Mozambique programme provided the foundation for a local management alternative to counter externally operated commercial salvage. The local management team had the skills to identify, record and promote maritime heritage sites on and around the island and to generate locally beneficial programmes around heritage tourism. With capacity in place, arguments that sites would be lost unless external intervention was permitted; that external salvage teams were assisting inexperienced local communities; that underwater cultural heritage was the heritage of others; and the other justifications used by commercial salvage companies (Hall 2007), were no longer valid in the Ilha de Mozambique context. Local teams had shown that they cared about their maritime heritage and that they were serious about protecting it and taking ownership of it.

A third intervention at Ilha de Mozambique was initiated because of this governmental policy shift. The Mozambican Ministry of Education and Culture tasked the Eduardo Mondlane University with assessing archaeological standards applied to shipwreck salvage projects carried out by Arqueonautas at Ilha de Mozambique. The university enlisted the assistance of the Slave Wrecks Project, an international partnership co-ordinated by Stephen Lubkemann at George Washington University. For an overview of the assessment of Arqueonautas's activities see Appendix V.

The Ilha de Mozambique radar graph highlighted some of the challenges for MUCH management at the island. Although some of the elements have been balanced and there are strong indicators that MUCH management can be further developed, it is clear that there are still problems associated with access, rules and significance. Access is being addressed through

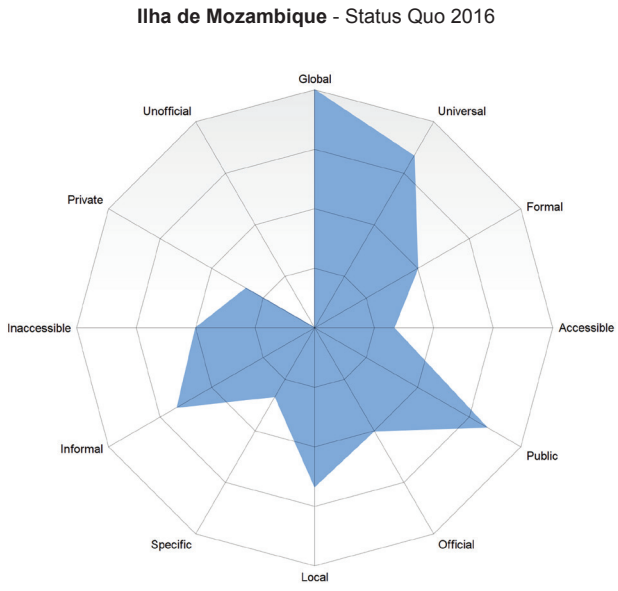


Figure 21 Ilha de Mozambique MUCH *status quo* 2016

training of community divers who will begin to monitor sites. This could alleviate the current discord associated with questions of who is responsible for unofficial management (IDM 2014b). Greater access to submerged sites will also stimulate the local perceptions of significance.

5.3.3 CONCLUSION

The maritime nature of Ilha de Mozambique, together with an entrenched maritime culture and a community that was willing and desirous of protecting its maritime past meant that a platform on which to build a MUCH management strategy already existed. Although global protection models were inappropriate and ineffectual within the Ilha de Mozambique context, it was not necessary to identify, underscore and promote the value of maritime heritage within the broader heritage context. In the Ilha de Mozambique case study, the management focus was shifted to include and promote local maritime heritage and its role in the development of the Island society. The heritage of both insider and outsiders could be shown to be equally significant in a socio-historical context and as a tool to drive economic development through tourism. By raising the profile of the local context and connecting it to international maritime culture and influence, heritage could be better protected. In this instance, maritime heritage already formed part of the Mozambican historical consciousness and it was clear that a community approach to heritage management would work.

The apparent successes of the approach applied to the Ilha de Mozambique programme were encouraging, but there was a recognition that the circumstances that existed at the Island were highly conducive. Communities were already receptive to the idea of taking ownership of local heritage and were enthusiastic about defining their own historical narrative. Individuals within community groups were also eager to involve themselves in heritage management. It was questionable whether the same approach and the application of a modular training methodology would be effective in different circumstances.

5.4 ADDRESSING AUTHORISATION AND RULES: EASTERN CAPE COAST, SOUTH ARICA

Having established a theoretically sound approach to managing maritime heritage during the MADP and tested it in the Mozambican context, it was necessary to determine whether the approach could be more universally applied. Would the Ilha de Mozambique model work in different circumstances and in a more challenging environment? Would a community whose historical relationship with the maritime environment differed vastly from Ilha de Mozambique benefit equally? A test case was identified on the Wild Coast in South Africa's Eastern Cape province where the approach could be trialled differently. The choice was based on various factors. Firstly, I was already involved in an oral history project aimed at the communities living in the area and could use this programme to test the management frameworks. Secondly, the maritime histories of the target communities were complex and unconventional. In this instance, the study group did not recognise their heritage as MUCH and individuals were resistant to their history being classified as maritime given the context within which South Africa has developed. Finally, the communities were relatively small and the study area could be limited.

Challenges of defining a balanced narrative used the same evolving management approach at each case study despite the requirement to establish context specific management models. In the Eastern Cape, it appeared appropriate that a re-examination of the narrative be implemented and used as a tool to fulfil the needs of Wild Coast communities.

As had been observed in Mozambique, communities within the study area had a distrust of outsiders (ECOHP 2014a, 2014b, 2014c). Heritage management practices related to access to shipwreck sites and permitting of their excavation laid a platform for misgivings related to government officials. Top-down environmental conservation efforts and subsequent law enforcement practices exacerbated an already poor relationship. Neither heritage nor environmental managers had consulted locally meaning that, while there was a clear understanding of the need for resource management, communities felt side-lined (ECOHP 2014a). Communities felt excluded from decision-making processes and from management implementation in the "actual" domain of the critical realist framework and from subsequent application of legislation and management rules. Their perceptions of both environmental and heritage management at the "empirical" level, clouded their responsiveness to managers.

Resistance to outside officials and rules has been intensified by their experiences. Communities, through traditional leaders, have communicated their need for economic development, health facilities and education infrastructure to both government and non-governmental organisations, but have not found beneficial assistance (ECOHP 2014c). Private sector intervention has focused on economic development and education. Mutually beneficial actions, such as Drifters tourism company establishing a series of lodges which employ local staff and contribute towards conservation efforts, and private individuals donating funding to school building projects, had met with some success. While both face challenges they are the only sustained development projects in the area. Other programmes that have been established have relied heavily on the continuing involvement of the outside institutions or organisations. For example, NGOs have supported the development of tourism along this stretch of coast but have implemented structures that depend on the external infrastructure provided by NGO websites, marketing or funding. In some instances, NGOs provided services in return for commissions but, because the NGOs were not part of the tourism industry, income was limited (ECOHP 2014c). In light of the financial challenges currently facing NGOs, it is no surprise that they are closing down or needing to focus efforts elsewhere in order to source funding. In these instances, the infrastructure is removed with the departure of NGOs and local gains diminish. While NGOs may have legitimate reasons for withdrawing from these communities, the perception on the ground is that NGOs are exploiting local circumstances and local industry.



Figure 22 *Whispers of the Sea* Exhibition. Castle of Good Hope, Cape Town

Those projects that have had a longer-term sustainability have presented their own drawbacks. For example, although schools have been built, they are privately run. Because there is no government backing, there is a shortage of teachers and a shortage of funding for teacher salaries. Communities also feel that initiatives such as those implemented by Drifters do not contribute sufficiently to local economies. Drifters is a commercial company and strives to profit from its tourism offerings. Money generated by local lodges and camps is paid to head offices in Johannesburg. Drifters' contributions to salaries for guides and other staff is generally considered to be low, and conservation efforts (wildlife reserves and environmental regeneration programmes) are perceived as contributing more to Drifters' business than benefiting local development (ECOHP 2014c).

Considering the above, a major outcome of the Eastern Cape programme was the drafting of a MUCH management strategy that stimulated local economies through community operated heritage tourism. This model included heritage trails that incorporated house-stays and local catering as well as continued training in the tourism sector. This strategy, designed by local stakeholders, was presented to the Chief who would present it to local government for approval (ACHA 2014b).

The adoption of a maritime cultural landscape approach to fieldwork in the Eastern Cape provided a space for respondents to describe their cosmology more clearly. Whereas during the site assessment people had been asked to describe themselves and their histories in relation to heritage sites and objects, being afforded the freedom to describe their heritage within a landscape revealed that these communities

had a different perception of heritage and identity than had been assumed. Traditional heritage management attempts to draw direct associations between people's history and cultural features; objects or sites were not appropriate in this context. Management practices needed to focus on preserving tangible and intangible cultural links. In addition, management needed to blend historical fact and heritage perception. In the Eastern Cape context, the divisions between cultural and natural landscapes are blurred. Plants, animals and places are imbued with meaning and significance which is lost outside of their particular environment. Water also has different meanings depending on where it is (ECOHP 2014b, 2014c).

The above must, consequently, inform the approach that official heritage managers take when attempting to set criteria for administration. Management decisions need to be made to take account of how local people experience their heritage, their aspirations for intellectual ownership and their ambitions to present their heritage to outsiders. With this is mind, the Eastern Cape project designed a training workshop that addressed the needs of both heritage managers and local communities (ACHA 2014b). Its purpose was to create a structure that enlisted the support of local communities in protecting heritage that fell under the ambit of SAHRA, while providing local benefits.

The training modules that were offered prompted participants to engage with local maritime historical contexts, and at the same time identify management options that fitted with the official rules but employed unofficial, informal management systems.

Training used the NAS syllabus as its core structure. As had been the case in Mozambique, it was desirable to be able to supply participants with recognition and formal qualification. Again, content was shaped to ensure that examples were recognisable and relevant. Additional content was included to address the Eastern Cape context. The modular teaching platform that had been refined from undertakings in Mozambique could be easily reapplied in the Eastern Cape. An initial module encouraged participants to explore definitions of MUCH through the examination of different site types that were applicable within their perspectives and cosmologies. In this instance site types included plants, animals, features in landscapes as well as tangible cultural heritage sites (including wreck sites and archaeological sites). This first module included methods for identifying, recording and assessing heritage sites. To meet NAS syllabus criteria, this module included the required teaching of definitions of MUCH and maritime archaeology, site types, site formation processes and site survey.

The global rules were presented in a second module. Representatives of SAHRA outlined legal structures through which heritage is managed and protected and opened opportunities for participants to share local approaches to heritage conservation such as through ritual, oral tradition and physical maintenance. Finally, heritage management strategies were discussed and presented.

A practical survey of locally relevant MUCH culminated in groups of participants being asked to identify a site or heritage feature, conduct research and present a strategy for management and engagement. Groups could present their heritage in any way that they saw fit.

On completing the course, groups chose to present their projects. Each group chose a cultural or natural object or drew a picture to represent the element of their maritime heritage that they wished to narrate. These were placed inside solar jars that could be used in an exhibition. A representative of each group explained their exhibit to the larger group and course facilitators. Following the presentations, the group discussed management strategies, raised concerns and sought solutions amongst themselves. Only what was deemed public was translated and shared with facilitators (ECOHP 2014c).

To promote public access to the MUCH of the Wild Coast and to address the economic challenges of the area, the project culminated in the curation of an exhibition, "Whispers of the Sea[38]", based on the

38 The exhibition name was coined by Robert Parthesius during the programme implemented at Ilha de Mozambique. It was suggested as a name for an installation at the Island that safeguarded local mythologies contained within oral histories.



Figure 23 Collecting hidden narratives in the Eastern Cape

work presented by course participants. South African artist Janet Ranson used the solar jar displays created by Eastern Cape communities as inspiration for an exhibition that combined an expanded number of jars with the audio recordings of the people who had been interviewed during the research phase of the programme. Extra jars were filled with objects and artworks representing elements of the narrative of the maritime cultural landscape. Jars were suspended from the roof of a darkened room to form a circle. Visitors were invited to walk amongst what appeared to be floating, illuminated exhibits while listening to stories of the sea.

It was felt that it applied equally to the research in the Eastern Cape.

The updated radar graph for the Eastern Cape highlights management capacity challenges. It is essential that SAHRA continues to stimulate cooperative management with follow-up engagements and transfer of management duties.

5.5 A NOTE ON LAKE FUNDUDZI

The complex politics of Lake Fundudzi exacerbated by economic hardships and coupled with local frustrations surrounding management has created an environment that is hostile towards outsiders. There is an unwillingness from local communities to participate in heritage interventions. This has meant that fieldwork at this site has not been able to continue.

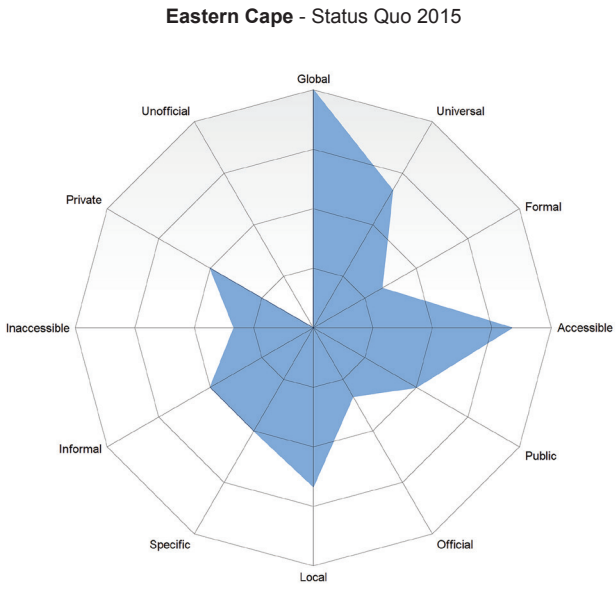


Figure 24 Eastern Cape MUCH *status quo* 2015

5.6 OBSERVATIONS AND ANALYSIS OF CASE STUDY OUTCOMES

Through the efforts aimed at addressing and balancing deficiencies in the MUCH management elements the Ilha de Mozambique and Eastern Cape case studies had highlighted the need for an approach that went beyond providing formal capacity building and conducting research into the unauthorised and private aspects of MUCH. The MADP platform needed to be adjusted to not only convince *managers* to address the "alternative" elements, but to engage communities in identifying them and providing decision-making input into their management. A review of management interventions at the "actual" level of the critical realist framework would be imperative if "empirical" perceptions were to be changed and communities were to be engaged in MUCH management. The MADP had already shown that an approach to MUCH needed to find pathways to help people recognise the resource and its heritage relevance. Analysis leading up to the MADP had shown that several key areas stimulated interest in MUCH and the management thereof. These have been discussed above but can be summarised as follows:

1. It became clear that the narrowly focused perception of what constituted the field needed to be changed if it was to appeal more broadly in Africa (Mediation and Transformation Practice 2010). The definition needed to be expanded to include non-traditional, non-shipwreck heritage sites. While the identified Legacy Sites began to fulfil this need they were, by their nature, limited. Because they were selected from a national context, they were not universally relevant or applicable (SAHRA 2012).
2. The concept of heritage landscapes was a useful model with which to highlight the interconnectedness of heritage and show that even while specific sites and practices might have no obvious, direct link to individuals, the connections and influences of those sites on others that were more relatable warranted their protection. For example,

although an individual had no ancestry from shipping, the effects of shipping had a profound influence on the development of the region. Hence, shipwreck sites, and the heritage they represented and contained, were relevant when placed into a broader context.

3. With respect to the above, sites and practices meant different things to different people. The meaning of a building may be interpreted as a symbol of oppression by one community, a symbol of military dominance by another or a representation of the glory of a past age for a third. The importance of being receptive to multiple narratives was highlighted by the analysis of the various case study contexts.
4. Individuals and communities expressed a need to have their voices heard and contextualised within the heritage landscape. Academics, heritage practitioners and communities held different views on what aspects of the landscape were important. While the *status quo* afforded opportunities to the former to drive research agendas and identify "important" heritage sites and practices, thereby shaping the heritage narrative, the latter had little say in determining which aspects of that heritage were truly relevant and which aspects they felt defined their identities. This meant that the former controlled heritage management practices. There was an identifiable need for management and research to be driven by multiple voices.
5. Heritage needed to be presented to stakeholders at all levels and needed to resonate with them for them to assimilate it into their heritage conservation thinking.

In updating the MUCH approach, the cultural landscapes paradigm immediately resonated with me as a framework on which a relevant, implementable and sustainable management system could be built. This, however, necessitated a reassessment of the way heritage concepts could be communicated within a publicly palatable heritage research and management context. Because most publics had been exposed only to formal heritage management systems, it would be difficult to shift thinking towards the landscape approach as illustrated in interviews conducted prior to the training interventions at the Eastern Cape case study site (ECOHP 2014a). To facilitate a shift in thinking, it was determined that the principle that heritage is important to society on a fundamental level should be brought to the fore (Mediation and Transformation Practice 2010). While heritage managers recognised that in the minds of the public heritage was a low development priority (Breen 2007), and that the process of changing attitudes towards the field would be difficult, they also recognised that a shift of perception was possible, and necessary for the advancement of heritage management strategies that suited African conditions. The case studies indicated that to transform public heritage thinking, it was necessary to first create an environment that would allow a new conversation about promoting and developing heritage to emerge in which societies could explore the intrinsic values of protecting and preserving heritage. Heritage needed to be presented as having value to a broad cross section of society rather than being merely the pursuit of academia or "the gentleman academic" who popularised antiquarianism in the 19th century (Renfrew and Bahn 1991). Furthermore, the role of heritage as both a societal benefit, as discussed below, and a driver for economic and socio-political development needed to be underscored (Smith 2006).

Despite the advances of the MADP, management approaches to MUCH in South Africa remained guided by legislation that put a premium on monuments and objects. This appeared to be the case in other sub-Saharan countries, such as Namibia whose legislation mirrored South Africa's, or Mozambique where legislation continued to allow treasure hunting in return for a handful of shipwreck objects for museum displays. National heritage in the southern African region was, and is, promoted largely as heritage sites connected with specific events or individuals or which are representative of national historical episodes in these countries as evidenced in the national monuments of both South Africa and Mozambique. Single, representative objects deemed to be of outstanding historical significance are also protected. Additionally, legislation aimed at the

management of sites and research activities elevated tangible sites above intangible heritage qualities. In South Africa, permits are required for intrusions or alterations to tangible heritage sites (but interestingly not for intangible heritage where interference may impact on a community's understanding of their past by, for example, drawing a line under a current tradition or practice, ignoring the possibility that such practices evolve over time).

Heritage practitioners' reluctance to develop management strategies for non-conventional heritage types is understandable given the diversity of sites and the unique challenges of heritage regulation that are particular to intangible practices. South Africa's heritage managers, for example, have not drafted national policy for intangible heritage management and SAHRA, the agency that must manage tangible national heritage, has no framework in place for dealing with intangible heritage associated with tangible heritage sites. One of the most significant complications faced by managers is the difficulty of assigning significance or creating a set of predetermining criteria that indicate significance. What is perceived as undoubtedly significant to a member of the public may be less clearly relevant to a heritage manager or government regime. This was clear at all the case study sites where stakeholders identified MUCH that was unknown to managers. Heritage values and significances are often highly personal. And it is difficult to mitigate for subjectivity. Managers cannot know everything that an ordinary citizen feels is important. Ignorance of public perceptions does not recuse heritage administrators from their official duty to manage sites, and they must find mechanisms to determine what sites should be deemed significant. In the case of MUCH, and in the absence of MUCH research, they invariably turn to the significance markers established by legislation or by the academe. The result is that the significance or value of a site is determined by the interpretation of legislation by managers or the research interests of academics (see, for example the focus of maritime archaeologists proposing projects at Ilha de Mozambique whose interests lie in ship construction and slavery). Sites deemed to be significant by "experts" are managed, while other sites are ignored. Even then those sites that have been identified by heritage managers are approached from the perspective of the disinterested practitioner and fail to take cognisance of the emotions embedded in heritage.

National legislative frameworks have been drafted to provide a set of umbrella principles and policies for the management of heritage sites. Because the tenets of the law cannot anticipate the wide variety of site types, it is necessary to create a set of generalities for determining significance. Unfortunately, these tend to favour the management of sites to which significance criteria can be easily assigned, i.e. *tangible* heritage sites and objects. Often these are, by default, heavily biased towards sites that possess perceived conventional values. This marginalises heritage that resonates on a more personal level with individuals and localised communities. Various countries have tried to deal with this challenge. South Africa's three-tiered legislative structure, for example, attempts to provide a framework for a national, provincial and local heritage management system in which agencies at each level are tasked with identifying, conserving and managing sites within their sphere of competence or jurisdiction. While this promotes a multi-layered heritage configuration, it is implemented at relatively high level. Because the structures for promoting and managing locally significant heritage are missing, there is a disconnect between the public and government. Lack of capacity and funding have resulted in managers relying heavily on practices and policies dictated by a set of legislations that was not designed to be a catch-all for heritage practice. Ageing policy and outdated management approaches have compounded the problems faced by heritage managers and have fuelled the perceptions and misconceptions about the role that heritage plays in society, and focused heritage management on monuments with universal or national appeal, but of little interest locally. The knowledge contained within archaeological sites and heritage objects has become the domain of academics, museum curators and pre-eminent journals. Little of the character and essence of heritage that makes it so dynamic, valuable and exciting is shared with the public.

Government heritage agencies can ill afford to identify, assess and manage heritage down to the

individual or even community level but in the absence of recognition, individuals and communities are disempowered. Simply put, the public have little access to heritage managers and managers are disengaged from grassroots heritage issues. The determination of significance is processed through the lens of legislation and regulations at heritage management agencies. These, in turn, determine how sites are managed and what protective measures are put in place. This, generally, ignores input from people living near, and interacting with, sites. The result is that the local perspective, and the perceptions of how that heritage has affected local development, is left out of management and protection strategies (Ndlovu 2016, paragraph 5). Aspects of heritage values that are not immediately visible and clear, are lost. Consequently, people become increasingly detached from sites whose significance is no longer personally relevant and are uninspired to contribute towards the protection and promotion of what have become irrelevant and soulless heritage display cases (Mediation and Transformation Practice 2010, LF 2014b). Sites become meaningful for others, not for them.

The MADP, through identifying heritage landscapes, made efforts to link the sites and objects protected by traditional management systems (such as shipwrecks) with marginalised, but locally important, heritage through which individuals and communities developed their cosmologies and identities. While the landscape approach used to do this was conceptually strong in the case of the MADP, it was necessary to provide examples of site types that might spark further discussion of the scope of MUCH and help those, whose perceptions of the field had been skewed towards shipwreck sites, understand the interconnected nature of heritage generally (Gribble and Jeffery 2012). To do this, Legacy Sites were introduced to participants in both the training and youth portions of the Programme, as described above. This was a necessary step in advancing the field, but may also have limited the possibility for the communities involved in the MADP to make their own voices and interpretations heard. The Legacy Sites were still identified by heritage practitioners and were representative of larger, national heritage. The same significance criteria, applied by heritage management officials and determined by narrow legislative prescripts, were being employed by programme designers to identify the Legacy Sites.

The knowledge gained from the shortcomings of the MADP allowed for amendments to the methodology to be applied to subsequent case studies. Several of the perceived hurdles to managing MUCH in sub-Saharan Africa that had been highlighted prior to the MADP had already been challenged. The perception, for instance, that maritime heritage was unimportant to local stakeholders was invalidated. In the Robben Island, Ilha de Mozambique and Eastern Cape environments, it was made clear that the marginalisation of local contributions to the maritime past together with the promotion of colonial and European sites and impacts in the authorised narrative had diminished the importance of MUCH in the local experience, but not eliminated it (Gribble and Jeffery 2012, ECOHP 2014c, LF 2014b).

But conditions differed across the region. In South Africa, both the common and hidden narratives had suffered because of the *status quo*. In the case of Robben Island, South Africans recognised the impact that maritime based colonial expansion and trade, in all its forms, had exerted onto the country and the region, but the ships themselves were perceived as being irrelevant to this impact and merely as sites that were present through accident. Many had failed to identify any connection with that part of their maritime history. Rather, the relevant aspects of maritime history were the observable *consequences* of shipping activities such as slave importation, the dispossession of land from indigenous people by foreign settlers, the resulting political systems and colonial impacts. The dissonance between authorised and unauthorised maritime heritage was entrenched to the degree that even where local communities were connected to water as a means of subsistence, religious practice or other cosmology, this connection was ephemeral in the management context. Perhaps the intangible nature of the connection excluded it from heritage management oversight, but it remained outside of both the official and unofficial heritage management consciousness.

At Ilha de Mozambique where the island community recognised their connection with the sea and water (IDM 2013a, 2013b, 2013d), a heritage management disconnect based on the inability of local stakeholders to advocate for localised heritage to be included in the broader narrative existed. Furthermore, the exclusion of local voices from decision-making meant that the community felt that it had been dispossessed of authority over the value of the past (IDM 2013a, 2013b, 2013d). The provision of a community space for discourse surrounding the MUCH of Ilha de Mozambique established a position for confronting treasure hunters, academics, government officials, NGOs, UNESCO and other outsider interests both on a physical and symbolic level. The training interventions provided individuals with the theoretical tools and knowhow to make informed, practical management contributions to decision-making based on knowledge of legislation, international best practice and an academic theoretical foundation enhanced by local knowledge systems and heritage practices. Stakeholders could converse in the language of the global rules to insist on the inclusion of local perspectives and approaches. From a symbolic standpoint, community heritage managers could propose alternative narratives and position them within the historical context of the island. Observing the examples provided in the projects completed by the course participants, it was clear that stakeholders had a need for validation of their own heritage interests, but also a vision for a holistic model for heritage management and promotion that did not belittle the heritage of other stakeholders (IDM 2013a, 2013b, 2013d). The contributions and influences of the African, European, Asian and Arab worlds had equal authority within the story of Ilha de Mozambique. The approach applied at Ilha de Mozambique went to great lengths to stress the validity of multiple perspectives.

Having been provided validation of heritage, stakeholders could begin to have the difficult conversations surrounding their past and their present. Having been offered equal status, an African postcolonial discourse could be initiated that would continue to contribute towards undoing the institutionalised inferiority assigned by colonial rule (Memmi 2003). Where the Ilha de Mozambique socio-political environment differed from that observed in South Africa, was that local culture already enthusiastically embraced "outsider" culture (particularly Islamic and Portuguese cultural influences) in present society. Because of this it was easy to make firm links to the submerged sites and begin to lobby for local access and control.

The Island community also began expressing their demands for a revised strategy for presenting their heritage (IDM 2014b). This strategy must include local histories and be driven by local inputs. Although at the time the discourse on heritage production did not explicitly identify the need to redress the social imbalances resulting from the unequal representation between colonial and African heritage, two strong messages were evident. Firstly, there was strong agreement that local heritage should be advocated. Secondly, the narrative endorsed by treasure hunters, government and the academe, which focused on commercial interests, tourism development and colonial history respectively, must be cognisant of local interests and the local voice (IDM 2013a, 2013b, 2013d, 2014a, 2014b). Again, this was not intended as a means to suppress colonial heritage, but to examine it within a broader context and from a local perspective. In addition, this argument sought to provide a space in which local stakeholders could contribute to and initiate heritage management and engagement methodologies and practices.

The knock-on effect of the initiation of conversations about the past has been that the Ilha de Mozambique community has been able to come to terms with some of the social challenges of the present. In follow-up interviews with the course participants in 2014, two individuals (a tour guide and a commercial diver) indicated that they had both supported treasure hunting activities when Arqueonautas had first proposed their programme to local stakeholders and, consequently, the promotion of colonial era history (IDM 2014b). Others, specifically the employees and associates of local development NGO, *Fundacao Ilha de Mozambique*, supported the inscription of the island into the World Heritage List and the establishment of a buffer zone around the island that would protect shipwrecks from looting (IDM 2014a, 2014b). Again, the narrative revolved

strongly around the colonial past. Both propositions came with a promise of jobs and heritage promotion that would stimulate tourism. Both were, therefore, attractive offers. It quickly became clear, however that neither employment nor tourism marketing would be forthcoming. Jobs that were available from Arqueonautas were not sustainable. Local specialists were reportedly employed on short-term contracts but were quickly dismissed once valuable objects were recovered from wrecks (IDM 2013b, 2013d, 2014a). The objects that were being removed from the sites were being exported elsewhere. Only a small museum was erected to house some shipwreck artefacts and shipping/maritime related information boards. The museum was operated by local government and proceeds were filtered into non-heritage budgets (IDM 2013c). Since the same applied to the Portuguese fort and other parts of the World Heritage Sites, and UNESCO had erected some signage around the island, tourists had little need for local tour guides. This, in conjunction with the skewed relevance of this heritage to local stakeholders, meant that the site received little local management attention. It was only when external funding, through UNESCO or NGOs, became available that conservation work was undertaken on tangible historical sites. Initiatives to "improve" the tourism experience, such as the erection of monuments and benches and the rehabilitation of the fort's water collection system had minimal impact on local developmental needs (IDM 2013a, 2013b, 2014b). In the case of monuments and benches, materials used in their construction proved more useful for other applications and were thus scavenged and destroyed. Since salvors refused site access to anyone outside of their company, conservation strategies for wreck sites were entirely determined by company insiders and the subsequent assessment of wreck sites excavated by Arqueonautas has shown that little, apart from often ineffective reburial, was done to preserve wrecks (IDM 2014b). Tourism related to wreck trails was also not possible in light of Arqueonautas's refusal to grant access to sites.

Neither commercial exploitation of archaeological sites nor the global conservation rules espoused by UNESCO through its various conventions, policies and treaties was an effective means through which to manage heritage at Ilha de Mozambique. Neither did either of these approaches effectively market the Island's heritage in a manner that would produce visible economic benefits. While it is my opinion that the approach adopted through listing the island as a World Heritage Site is a preferable option to the approach taken by Arqueonautas, neither can be advocated as entirely effective[39]. Neither of the approaches appears to take cognisance of local heritage environments and local needs. Neither approach has resulted in confronting local socio-economic challenges.

Because the heritage management approaches implemented at Ilha de Mozambique failed to address either local needs or local heritage and neglected to consistently engage with local stakeholders or provide them with authority to determine management strategies, neither found traction. Commercial salvage of wreck sites was particularly irksome in that it excluded the community from both financial benefits that may have derived from sale of heritage objects or shipwreck tourism potential, and from having any access to heritage sites (IDM 2013d, 2014b).

The approach utilised during training and during the development of MUCH management strategies at Ilha de Mozambique gave stakeholders the opportunity to engage with heritage at multiple levels and at a pace that was suitable to them. Whether stakeholders chose to look towards economic models through which engagement could take place, such as the development of heritage trails, or at social models that contributed towards cohesion at the island, such as collecting oral histories, it was possible to explore the past without judgment. Stakeholders' narratives were given equal status and were the basis from

39 The inscription of sites onto the World Heritage List and subsequent management of World Heritage Sites is a complex process that requires the collaboration of multiple stakeholders. This dissertation does not wish to present a comprehensive critique of UNESCO's convention and policy and does not seek to dismiss the important and effective work that UNESCO carries out. Furthermore, while it is my opinion that there are shortcomings to the various UNESCO cultural conventions, this does not mean that I believe that the conventions are without merit or that they have no value. The scope of this argument does not, however, allow this to be discussed in detail outside of what is presented elsewhere in this text. Arguments presented here, while potentially relevant elsewhere, relate specifically to the heritage sites under discussion.

which future planning would take place. Stakeholders became heritage producers, heritage presenters and heritage managers. In addition, they were positioned in such a way as to be able to inform the activities of outsiders including academics, practitioners and others with economic agency.

The outcomes of the Eastern Cape programme reflected those achieved at Ilha de Mozambique. Communities and individuals revealed deep connections to their heritage and wished to have a voice in determining how it was produced, managed and presented. As had been observed in Mozambique, participants reported feelings of marginalisation on a number of levels. They referred to themselves as "the forgotten people" when discussing politics and their place in South African society and history (ECOHP 2014a, 2014b, 2914c). Treasure hunting, environmental management, archaeology and heritage management practices had all contributed to their feelings of disenfranchisement, especially as they were excluded from decision-making processes – a common perception amongst communities throughout the case study sites (ECOHP 2014a, 2014b, 2914c, IDM 2013a, 2013b, 2013d, 2014a, 2014b).

The research and training interventions in the Eastern Cape attempted to reverse previous experiences and served a number social of purposes. This approach resulted in participants reporting a better understanding of themselves and their past, especially how they and their past were more broadly connected (ECOHP 2014c).

The maritime cultural landscape again resonated with the community and with individuals in that it provided a platform for cultural validation and cultural expression. The exhibition produced by stakeholders included displays drawn from diverse elements in the landscape such as natural features or conventional heritage objects passed from one generation to the next. Despite the diversity of heritage contexts from which the items were drawn, programme participants agreed that each contributed to the local heritage narrative equally and that the "story" of the Wild Coast would not be complete should any of these elements be removed. The landscape approach connected the various villages that participated in the programme and allowed for the creation of a framework for cooperation and collaboration. It was fortunate that a collective social structure was already familiar to local communities. Community leaders have already established a co-operative system which allows for funding, acquired through government grants, to be pooled between several villages. Regular community meetings, at which agreement is reached on how money should be spent, are convened centrally. The co-operative system is governed by rules that ensure that spending is directed towards projects and programmes that benefit the region, that projects are community driven, and that money can only be disbursed by agreement (ECOHP 2014c). This co-operative framework fits well with proposed heritage tourism development in that villages and individuals can contribute as tourists move through their environment but generated income is diverted into community trusts. The system allows downstream communities to benefit regardless of whether tourists are active in all the villages' areas of control.

As had been experienced in Mozambique, the inclusion of local contributions in heritage development and management strategies and the empowerment of local communities within academic and heritage management decision-making processes were key constituents in the programme. Villagers were committed to assisting in monitoring of heritage sites if such activities were beneficial to them and if sites included locally relevant heritage (ECOHP 2014c). In other words, if the heritage narrative included ingredients identified by local communities and the presentation of heritage included local perspectives, people were willing to support management initiatives across the maritime cultural landscape. Surprisingly, in the exploration of local maritime heritage, it became clear that shipwreck sites were more important in local cosmologies and heritage themes than had been initially determined. Individuals like Matholakele Bhobosana were connected to wrecks through ancestry while others had included them in mythologies, economies and practices (ECOHP 2014a, 2014b). Most had not voiced these opinions as they felt that they had no legal or ownership rights under legislated heritage management practice.

Training and research at Ilha de Mozambique and in the Eastern Cape was not without challenges. Providing training in English in a Portuguese and Macuti-speaking environment at Ilha de Mozambique and in a Xhosa-speaking environment in the Eastern Cape came with both advantages and disadvantages. Disadvantages were observed mainly in attempting to translate technical terms and concepts. Because translators were enlisted from within the pool of participants, they lacked the jargon and terminology required to directly translate facilitators presentations into relevant languages. It was fortunate that in both instances, at least one translator had some heritage background. At Ilha de Mozambique one of the translators was completing an undergraduate degree in archaeology at the Eduardo Mondlane University and had a firm grasp of some of the archaeological concepts and in the Eastern Cape one of the participants worked for SAHRA, but it remained necessary to remove jargon from teaching materials and to ensure that concepts were explained using their basic building blocks. While this slowed teaching, it contributed to the development of heritage training approaches and models. Facilitators were forced to rethink the way in which heritage management was taught. Even within English-speaking communities, the assumption that archaeological and heritage management terminology and hypotheses would be readily understood was a fallacy. This was especially true in presenting courses developed around the NAS model, taught within the western maritime archaeological paradigm and espousing heritage management standards that may not be implementable outside of a developed world context. Even when training individuals from museums, heritage agencies, environmental management services and universities, as had been done during the MADP, it could not be assumed that all would grasp official heritage terminology and approach.

Teaching through a translator provided benefits for course participants as well. Since facilitators did not understand what participants discussed, the participants had a freedom to debate amongst themselves in a private and trusted network. Participants were empowered to give opinions, argue and deliberate, giving them equal authority to facilitators. In being authorised to speak and in being admitted into the discourse that explained and formulated the definitions and theoretical frameworks of heritage management and maritime archaeology, course participants could participate and engage more deeply with the training course and with their heritage. Participants could also significantly contribute towards defining management strategies that were locally appropriate and implementable using local knowledge and available technology. Participants were, in essence, designing the course content themselves, within the global theoretical and methodological frameworks provided by the specialists, the NAS training syllabus and the legislative frameworks provided by Mozambican and South African law and the 2001 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage.

Several questions presented themselves during the interventions at Ilha de Mozambique and in the Eastern Cape. Principal amongst these were the questions surrounding the preservation of intangible heritage. While the evolving approach to heritage management and engagement did not promote drawing a line under a dynamic and changing intangible heritage by collecting histories and practices, there was a danger that this might be a result of doing so. Collection and presentation of heritage gave only the current iteration of this heritage a value. This danger is especially present when heritage is presented in exhibition form as was the case in the *Whispers of the Sea* and the tourist brochures published at Ilha de Mozambique. To showcase the past through display, media or other cultural expression, requires making it static. An exhibition must choose a position and display it, a dance or song must choose an agreed narrative positioned somewhere in its evolution for it to be rehearsed and shared. The danger of this is that whatever is presented becomes the norm. It becomes the authorised narrative through which formal management understands a culture. In turn it may become entrenched in the perception of the individuals who participate in heritage presentation as they forget the meaning of the practice they are performing as it loses relevance. While many cultures may not wish to share their heritage in its entirety, aspects of it must be shared if communities wish to balance elements of access, presentation

and formal management of their heritage. But if the representation of heritage becomes completely separated from its meaning and function in a society, communities will again lose authority over their own culture. For example, the ubiquitous lei, handed out to visitors to Hawaii, has become a tourist expectation. It says little about contemporary Hawaiian culture and has probably lost its meaning in the local context. Whatever the meanings that local cultures associate with this garland, they have been appropriated by the meaning that has been given to them by tourists. It is too early to tell whether this will impact on the management and presentation of heritage at Ilha de Mozambique and in the Eastern Cape where communities have only just begun to explore their own heritage and have not yet agreed a strategy for presentation.

The management approach applied to the Ilha de Mozambique and the Eastern Cape programmes relied on local stakeholders setting the heritage agenda. The recognition by global heritage managers, practitioners and archaeological scientists of a need to protect shipwrecks as symbols of the authorised narrative did not necessarily translate locally. To engage the community with their own maritime heritage it was necessary to reframe the questions that had been asked of them in the past. For the most part, salvage operators and archaeologists approached the stakeholders with a set of questions related to satisfying their own research interests and agendas. The programme's research approach adopted a different stance and by asking stakeholders to propose aspects of their MUCH that they wished investigators to know, provided freedom to participants to develop a maritime historical narrative that was unique and relevant to themselves and which resonated locally. The intention was twofold. Firstly, the creation of a heritage that would be unfamiliar to visitors might assist in attracting tourists seeking new experiences. A new and different historical story, interlaced with the official site history would make Ilha de Mozambique and the Eastern Cape more attractive destination than another site that relied on a single historical layer. Secondly, by applying the philosophy that individuals would protect what is valuable to them, and by showing how heritage is connected, the intention was that community heritage managers would protect both those sites that resonated with them personally, such as the oral traditions, as well as sites that were associated with related or parallel histories, such as colonial buildings or shipwrecks in the maritime cultural landscape.

A set of implementable longer-term activities that could be realised by the working group in the absence of the facilitators or NGOs was set out as a means to highlight long-term commitment by participants and partners. These goals represented actions that would contribute to the economic sustainability of heritage management as well as to improvement of island infrastructure and society. Based on the experiences of previous NGO interventions, the stakeholder group indicated that it was imperative that strategies reflected independence and maintainability.

There is a new discord developing at Ilha de Mozambique which may also be an important consideration in developing management strategies for the Eastern Cape communities. Academic investigators are keen to fill the gap left by Arqueonautas and to begin the scientific examination of shipwreck sites. There is no debating that this is important (IDM 2016). As discussed, the local community recognises the impact of colonists on the development of local culture and the shipwrecks around the island contain a wealth of archaeological data that will contribute towards the understanding of multiple histories. But, there is a concern that the island community will again be excluded from contributing to the analysis of this history, its management and the sites themselves by new academic treasure hunters (IDM 2016). Workshops and interviews with residents revealed that, for some, an opportunity just to view the shipwreck sites would have significant meaning, be this for cultural reasons or merely to see what the debates of the last decade have been about. For most though, management of the wrecks and, more specifically the heritage narratives associated with their historical period, are the more important motivation for being granted site access and for being integral in determining a direction for their study (IDM 2016). How these wrecks are represented and how the knowledge associated with them is shared is at the centre of the discord. Archaeologists and other academically trained

heritage practitioners wish to apply the science of their disciplines to the interpretation of wreck sites. For the scientists, data on ship construction, trade, armaments, trading routes and shipboard life are the sought after academic commodity. Ethical archaeological practice dictates that objects be removed to conservation facilities, studied objectively and displayed in suitable premises with scientifically suitable associated interpretations. Archaeological ethics dictate that sites should only be accessed by professionals equipped with the experience and qualifications to undertake investigations that adhere to the rules of archaeological best practice. On the other hand, individuals who participated in training stated that, while they understood and supported scientific research, they had concerns that academics would again prevent them from accessing sites and objects and that scientists would remove objects and knowledge from the island for analysis and display elsewhere. Islanders would again be disenfranchised of the benefits of being curators and owners of their own heritage, and would be excluded from the interpretation of the past. Despite assurances from archaeologists and heritage management officials, there is a distrust of the motives of outsiders that is rooted deeply in the treasure hunter experiences of the past.

There is an ideological dissonance that flows through the confrontation between community and the academe that is not unique to Ilha de Mozambique (see, for example Pikirayi 2016, Ndlovu 2016, Abungu 2016, Apoh and Gavua 2016, and others in Schmidt and Pikirayi 2016). It originates in the contradiction between heritage and history, facts and cosmology (Lowenthal 1998, Graham *et al.* 2000, Smith 2006, Scarre and Coningham 2013). The primary role players at Ilha de Mozambique have, if not opposing, at least divergent visions for the future of the heritage of the island. Academic interventions are focused on establishing archaeological excavations on shipwreck sites while community activists wish to develop a locally interpreted heritage narrative that can be presented to tourists. While the goals and contributions of these approaches are not mutually exclusive, their ultimate efficacy relies on determining a middle ground and a mutual relinquishing of power. Academics must allow space for an interpretation of the past that is not determined exclusively by analysis of tangible objects. Maritime archaeologists must allow interpretation to appreciate imbued meaning of objects outside of their mere function and must recognise that the use of objects occurred within a social context. An object and its presence in an archaeological assemblage can only be understood within the context of both its function and its meaning (Pikirayi 2016, paragraph 10). While this has been common practice in terrestrial archaeology, maritime archaeological work in southern Africa has been slow to adopt this interpretive methodology. For example, while a ship has a clear function as a vehicle for trade, it also has meaning to those who sailed in it and those who were impacted by its function or by its wrecking. In other words, as was observed in South Africa, ships and shipwrecks were both the tools of colonial expansion and the symbols of colonial oppression. The unemotional observation of the progress of history interprets ships only as concrete entities performing a function. Because they differ in form, in contents or role, they are distinguishable from site to site. Each represents a functional outcome (trade, globalisation, etc.). The emotional observer of heritage interprets ships differently, they are abstract symbols of changing sociologies, beliefs and fates. They may not necessarily have meaning as individual sites and are, therefore, indistinguishable from one another. Because each is not associated with a specific function, they represent a process (cultural change, colonisation, etc.).

The conflict developing at Ilha de Mozambique is rooted in the conflict between whether sites represent the *process* or the *function*. While the heritage practitioners wish to present only facts, islanders have a desire to present a story of their cultural development richly imbued with mythology. The challenge for Ilha de Mozambique is to blend these two methodologies in a manner that satisfies both the global rules and the local approach. Again, the key to resolving this conflict lies in enabling community participation in defining research goals. This would not exclude archaeology and historical research, but support scientific interpretation. As discussed, sites and objects do not exist in a vacuum. Individuals and communities use and live in these spaces and produce objects to satisfy needs and social mores. The

landscapes and objects are shaped by cosmologies (Pikirayi 2016, paragraph 17). Understanding these cosmologies, through an examination of heritage, can assist archaeologists to better understand and decipher the sites and artefacts they uncover. In turn, archaeological fact can support heritage narratives by explaining change, identifying pressures exerted on societies and connecting events to the origins of heritage-based historical chronicles.

The approach to developing heritage management strategies and encouraging closer heritage engagement that was established, applied, tested and refined at the case study sites has clearly been effective. But there are still some fundamental hurdles to overcome which cannot be alleviated through heritage participation and narrative development. Funding will be essential to kick start initiatives and ensure they are sustainable.

Each case study has its own set of challenges in this regard. Ilha de Mozambique, for example, has scarce infrastructure for scuba diving. It is lacking in both equipment and trained personnel. If local stakeholders are to physically access underwater sites, there is a need for diver training and for establishing a diving industry. Wreck sites are not the only underwater attractions around the island, which boasts clean, warm-water reef diving. Advanced training for dive masters and instructors together with access to boats and diving equipment would provide the platform for job creation. Planning for future archaeological fieldwork programmes on the shipwreck sites, such as the Slave Wrecks Project, has already included funding for diver training. It is envisaged that trained divers can assist archaeologists thereby contributing to heritage production and gaining access to previously restricted sites. While this training initiative is a positive step, it may require further incentivisation if there is to be local uptake. In the context of the island's economy, it is unlikely that unpaid divers will be able to substitute daily employment activities with archaeological ones. Furthermore, access to sites must go beyond volunteer opportunities that support academic endeavour. For the reasons outlined above, it is necessary to ensure that academic projects contribute more to local economy than treasure hunting undertakings did and must ensure that ownership remains local. Interestingly, informal interviews conducted outside of a group setting *after* several engagements had taken place showed that the desire to protect shipwreck objects and sites solely on the grounds of their significance to the local community (as opposed to receiving local financial benefits from sale) was less clear than had been expressed in 2013. In February 2015, interviews conducted with tour guides who had participated in training showed that they would be comfortable with removing objects from shipwrecks and selling them in the interests of acquiring income should the opportunity arise. Interviewees felt that the development of the island's tourism industry was not proceeding quickly enough and that they could not see significant growth in tourist numbers. Therefore, selling shipwreck objects was a more viable source of income than protection *in situ*. They did not feel that tourism would increase sufficiently to make conservation a worthwhile alternative as there is a lack of skills (such as diving instructors/dive masters who could take tourists to sites) and lack of infrastructure (dive lodges, equipment, etc.) that would make dive tourism a viable option for job creation (IDM 2014b, 2016). Until good heritage management practices showed tangible economic benefits to the local community, the guide remained adamant that if he could recover and sell valuable objects from the seabed he would do so without hesitation. To this end, training community members to become unpaid diving assistants on an archaeological excavation would be inadequate. Although most stakeholders are against sale of artefacts from heritage sites, it is important that there are broad community benefits to any future heritage initiatives that are implemented. Having been disappointed by broken promises made by treasure hunters and well-intentioned interventions made by UNESCO and various NGOs, the community is reluctant to embark on a project in which the advantages are poorly defined. There is a general understanding that no project will provide a quick-fix, but buy-in relies on the presentation of a clear roadmap for long-term local benefits.

The same held true in the Eastern Cape. A small industry based on digging up beads, ceramics, and on occasion coins and other shipwreck objects

provided modest but necessary income for villagers. Considering poverty and a lack of other economic opportunities in the area, was it fair for heritage managers to impose legislation to stop such activity? I would argue that in the circumstances it is imperative that managers support alternative income generation opportunities such as tourism if they are to expect local communities to give up this income stream.

There is a need for further training in fields associated with tourism. Heritage can provide content for tours but training in the skills required for the establishment of tourism businesses is necessary. Currently, these skills lie largely with outsiders. In addition, ownership and control of hotels, restaurants and other tourist infrastructure remains out of the hands of local people. It should also be noted that heritage tourism brings with it its own challenges (see, for example Comer and Willems 2011, Gao 2016).

Despite the above, the Ilha de Mozambique and Eastern Cape communities are generally positive about potential tourism benefits and excited by the outcomes of the programme to date. They are enthusiastic to draft strategies for future activities (ECOHP 2014c, IDM 2014a, 2014b, 2016). Training interventions and community engagement have sparked a newfound interest in both MUCH and the potential for its contribution to economic development, amongst both local populations and external researchers and academics. Planning around potential tourism initiatives based on maritime heritage has already been initiated by stakeholders at Ilha de Mozambique and a number of academic projects based at Eduardo Mondlane University are being implemented (IDM 2016).

Other large-scale infrastructure projects requiring significant funding were proposed for Ilha de Mozambique. They focus on creating and further developing a tourism hub in an area called *Capitania* (IDM 2013a, 2014a). The *Capitania* space lies behind a "gate of no return", possibly linked with the extensive slave trade at the Island. The gate is flanked by two anchors. The sea is visible through its opening. The portal has been adopted as the symbol of Ilha de Mozambique. After passing through the gate and walking along a short passage, the space opens into a large area, broken by several structures such as store rooms, maintenance sheds and work stations that make up a now defunct naval shipyard. The conservation laboratory and store rooms of Arqueonautas were located at the *Capitania* site.

The *Capitania* space has been identified by Fundacao Ilha de Mozambique as a potential central point for guided tours, information dissemination and performances (IDM 2013a, 2014a). In addition, the space could be utilised as a marketplace for local arts and crafts and the surrounding buildings could be converted into cafes, galleries and shops. The *Capitania*, with its cannons, anchors, military history, slave associations and maritime infrastructure, displays many elements of the colonial period maritime history. Its role as a slave port, its occupation by Arqueonautas and its use as a naval facility provides powerful symbolism for the community in its efforts to reclaim its maritime and underwater cultural heritage. The inclusion of local maritime perspectives will ensure that this site has broad heritage appeal and wide-reaching connections. The site has been widely accepted as an integral part of the Ilha de Mozambique maritime cultural landscape (IDM 2013a, 2013b, 2013d, 2014a). Reusing the space for community centred development is a powerful emblematic reclamation of the sea. It is a site that can benefit the community through creating a relationship between the community and the sea; being a place that shows the island's relationship with the rest of the world; becoming a meeting place for storytellers and historical narratives; and becoming a meeting point between tourists and local people. Most significantly, the *Capitania* complex will be community owned and the activities that take place there will be broadly beneficial.

Several external stakeholders and NGOs have committed to the further development of heritage tourism at Ilha de Mozambique. Follow-up phases plan to include an assessment of progress, an assessment of gaps in expertise, the development of a framework for future initiatives and a reassessment of the needs and desires of the island community in the light of changing policy frameworks.

Similar results seen in the Eastern Cape were also encouraging. Local co-operatives have indicated a desire to rebuild a ruined cottage used by salvors at the *Grosvenor* wreck site and utilise it as a museum (ECOHP 2014c), but several key supplemental activities are still required if such efforts to balance the management elements are to be implemented. In the regional context, heritage management agencies must reassess the avenues through which they approach heritage management, including examining current museum strategies and exhibition frameworks. Communities are eager to present and validate their heritage and should be provided with the skill sets and opportunities to engage in "alternative" cultural expression ECOHP 2014b, 2014c). These should not merely be the function of public relations divisions, but interlocking partnerships between academia, heritage managers and affected communities. Communities must be provided with support for the promotion of heritage resources through projects and programmes that include publicly accessible outcomes and popular media. This does not imply that such initiatives should be perpetually funded through government and NGOs, but rather that a strategy be developed that allows interventions to reach sustainable conclusions. It is perhaps in this area that the approach applied in the Eastern Cape falls short. Despite generating interest, achieving broad buy-in, providing social validation and upliftment and proposing models for both heritage management and economic benefits, further investment is required to make MUCH management a relevant and sustainable proposition in the region.

A deeper understanding of the narrative must be developed. For this to happen at formal management levels a more detailed research agenda should be set. As mentioned above, a clear understanding of local perspectives of the maritime cultural landscape would contribute substantially to the interpretation of archaeological sites and the further development of the maritime narrative. An understanding of an individual's cosmological awareness of his/her landscape is essential in decoding their interactions with their world and the motivations for transforming the landscape in a particular way. A holistic approach assists practitioners in forming a better interpretation of history. As already accomplished by their terrestrial counterparts, maritime archaeologists and historians must examine the vestiges of the past through contextualising both the physical remnants as well as the intangible world views of ancient cultures. How people see their world determines how they act in it – whether in the designation of sacred places or the design of city spaces. By gaining a better understanding of the meaning of the cultural landscape at a local level, heritage managers should be able to prepare better management strategies to protect those landscapes. The research agenda therefore requires input from both the academe and the target communities. In the Eastern Cape context, a detailed literature survey and archival research programme may expose potential research avenues and establish a foundation from which to conduct field research and from which to expand the local heritage narrative. This would form a platform from which further engagement regarding heritage management and economic development could be established.

While the Eastern Cape project generated enthusiasm within the Wild Coast communities, the challenge of promoting heritage as a relevant and integral building block for society remains. The project attained some success with its exhibition concepts and its approach to promoting heritage to a broader public. It was also successful in highlighting the importance of, and potential for, heritage and good heritage management on a local level. The project similarly provided an example of avenues for showcasing intangible heritage. Research analysis showed that it is vital, however, that support for heritage development and management is offered through official channels. Most significantly, funding of heritage development is required.

Despite the Eastern Cape project being well received by SAHRA and exhibition visitors, the programme and exhibition have not yet had a significant positive impact on the communities living in the research area. Funding shortfalls have prevented the project team from returning to the site. SAHRA has not followed up activities or returned to the area to support local developmental initiatives. This means that while the approach to maritime heritage engagement and

management had proved successful, it was clear that longer-term commitment was required to ensure sustainability.

The assessment of Lake Fundudzi supported the observations in Mozambique and South Africa. Lake Fundudzi has been provided with theoretical protection for all the wrong reasons. The failure of heritage practitioners and experts to identify multi-level significance of the site constituents, to provide management guidance that was practical within the environment and infrastructure available at the site, and to collaborate with local stakeholders in the design of a development strategy, has made declaration of the site meaningless. Instead of the site being available as a node around which beneficial activities and the promotion of culture can take place, it has become a contentious site around which mistrust, division and conflict occur (LF 2014a). In the absence of a relevant management strategy, no protective action is taking place. Based on an analysis of data collected at the site, Lake Fundudzi finds itself in a more precarious position than it did prior to the intervention of the heritage authorities (ACHA 2014c).

It became clear that SAHRA had taken little note of the concerns and needs of the communities surrounding the lake. Both the 2000 and 2014 surveys showed that at least 73 percent of respondents identified infrastructure and unemployment as the primary problems facing local communities. Few appeared concerned for the need for protection of the lake as a cultural entity. While 100 percent of respondents agreed that declaration of the site based on cultural significance would be worthwhile (99 percent agreed that environmental protection would be valuable), most stated that the value of declaration lay in creating a potential for developing tourism economies and in establishing the infrastructure required to accommodate tourists rather than as a means to safeguard heritage. Most envisaged that protection would have environmental benefits for the site itself rather than cultural benefits (LF 2014a).

Responses supported the proposition that the desire for declaration and protection of Lake Fundudzi had its roots in the potential that this might offer a route to alleviation of economic stresses experienced in the area. Evidence reinforcing this view can be found in the following (from LF 2014a):

Despite only eight percent of respondents claiming any spiritual or cultural affiliation with the lake and only three percent making use of the lake for activities associated with their beliefs, there was unanimous support for the declaration of Lake Fundudzi as a heritage site. All of those interviewed believed that a heritage site would attract tourists, jobs, and infrastructure development. No-one objected to tourists being allowed to responsibly access heritage sites at Lake Fundudzi as long as they paid an entrance fee. The view that community involvement was first and foremost about employment opportunities was shared by 82 percent of respondents. There was unanimous support for developing tourism facilities such as restaurants and parking lots at the heritage sites, even where these might be considered excessively commercial.

Individuals and communities feared that there would be an unfair allocation of benefits (particularly money, jobs and related infrastructure such as roads, clinics, etc.). This was associated with a concern that land utilised for the development infrastructure associated with a site, such as for roads, accommodation, interpretation centres, etc., would be unfairly appropriated by government agencies or neighbouring communities.

6 The Evolution of a New Approach to Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage Management in Sub-Saharan Africa

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Before developing a management approach in which multiple values could be incorporated, it was necessary to test whether a realignment of elements in the management *status quo* of mainstream MUCH research and management in the "actual" domain has altered the efficacy of MUCH management at the "empirical" level at the case study sites. This needed to be done within the context and aftermath of the training, workshops and meetings held at these sites in order to assess how the programmes had contributed towards the public perception of the field, and if the balanced heritage management approach could be a worthwhile evolution towards contextually relevant management best practice. Through testing, it became clear that merely balancing the elements that contributed to MUCH management would not be sufficient. It was also necessary to examine the context within which people accessed their heritage and engaged with it. How managers approached social and economic contexts determined the efficacy of management models that strove to address missing elements for holistic MUCH management.

The management of MUCH had failed at each of the case study sites. An analysis of where the heritage narrative lay, how sites were accessed and how they engaged visitors, communities and practitioners had shown that the application of a management model based on conventional or western values was ineffectual in the southern African context. An approach focused on the alternative spectrum of management values and heritage elements had also proved inadequate within the context of an increasingly global claim to heritage (Graham *et al.* 2000). It appeared that wherever heritage elements were weighted too heavily towards either side of the spectrum, a management failure would occur. A closer examination of management elements, both present and missing, revealed that there could be no "one size fits all" management model. Instead, a hypothesis was developed, which argued that by balancing elements of the maritime cultural heritage landscape and allowing managers, communities and individuals to engage more deeply and more inclusively in heritage production and decision-making, an effective, relevant and sustainable management *approach* could be developed. The approach can be used to identify the relevant elements that are required to strengthen a management model and provide mechanisms to address gaps through relevant engagement, implementation of modular training interventions and/or activation of networked support structures.

6.2 CHANGING THE MANAGEMENT APPROACH

Having established a basic framework for engaging a broader public in MUCH during the three-year MADP implemented at Robben Island, South Africa, it was possible to draft a theoretical approach to MUCH management that was applicable within a developing-, postcolonial- world context. The approach could be refined for broader applicability based on an analysis of data collected from the observations of respondents to the post-MADP questionnaire. Although this analysis showed that the approach resulted in identifiable benefits for both Robben Island Museum and the individuals who participated in the training elements of the Programme, it was premature to assume that the

Programme could be transplanted elsewhere without alterations, or that the approach would be effective in another environment.

Ilha de Mozambique and the Eastern Cape provided two opportunities for testing the broader applicability of a more open management approach. Using the methodologies from the MADP as a template, it was possible to establish a preliminary engagement structure with community stakeholders. As work progressed, corrections and variations to the approach could be applied as necessary. The results were that the approach that emerged at the two case study sites differed from, and advanced upon, the approach applied at Robben Island. Whereas the MADP had expanded the scope of MUCH, identified several Legacy Sites and maritime cultural landscapes and then developed expertise to support and contribute towards the management elements required to formally administer those landscapes, the latter programmes had allowed internal stakeholders and internal networks the space in which to identify elements within a maritime cultural landscape that *they* felt were relevant. This differed from the previous iteration of the management approach in that the MADP's Legacy Sites had been identified by the heritage practitioners in an environment in which stakeholders could not readily make connections between themselves and MUCH. At Ilha de Mozambique, stakeholders were already embedded in a rich maritime culture, although the significance matrix applied to identifying meaningful sites was skewed heavily towards western or colonial heritage constituents. Management principles applied to this heritage were, in turn, rooted in the fundamentals of the principles and practices that would be applied to similar sites in the western world. While the Eastern Cape communities also enjoyed a rich maritime culture, it was not validated as a heritage component and therefore deemed not conservation worthy.

The marginalisation of local heritage in the greater narrative had resulted in a perception that the significance of those segments of the history that did not contribute towards official values were inconsequential. In both instances, an unauthorised heritage played a considerable role in daily life. At Ilha de Mozambique, MUCH was present in intangible heritage activities such as dance, music and religious practices; in economies and social structures such as boat building and crafts; and in the physical fabric of the island including the Macuti village. In the Eastern Cape, the role of water in subsistence, leisure and health connected people to their landscapes and defined belief systems. For example, the belief that using beef to fish would result in catching a mermaid (and the consequences of that) has caused certain taboos to be put in place. Even shipwrecks and shipwreck survivors played a role in the concealed narrative, both positively and negatively. A belief that there are people living in the sea, for example, would have influenced the way that shipwreck survivors would have been perceived as they struggled from the surf[40]. But in both instances, these were seen as unimportant heritage elements both by heritage managers and local communities. The evolving approach applied to MUCH management made every effort to bring relevant heritage to the fore and to give it substance and validity both in the eyes of local stakeholders and the broader public. By providing status to, for example, rituals surrounding the completion of a traditional apprenticeship, these practices were brought into the mainstream and recognised as conservation worthy. To do this, the new approach needed to legitimise ignored heritage by awarding unauthorised heritage the same status as was afforded the scientific research and management principles that were applied to the authorised sites and narratives.

MUCH management challenges have been worsened by presentation of the singular authorised narratives to outsiders. The visitor experience at Ilha de Mozambique has been largely shaped by the outstanding universal values identified through the process of inscribing the island onto the World Heritage Site list, while the maritime heritage of the Eastern Cape has been defined by actions aimed at salvaging or excavating shipwreck sites in the study area. These markers of significance, as detailed above, have an external bias. They are largely western leaning and concentrate on the European trade and social infrastructure. The strong Portuguese, Arab and Indian influences at Ilha de Mozambique are

40 Go to www.acha.co.za to listen to respondents talk about their association with the sea.

plain to see and appear to be embraced by the local community. However, stakeholders indicated that the African/Mozambican/local cultural contributions were being marginalised. Island residents identified their society and culture as an amalgamation of global cultural influences and were concerned that all factors that shaped that society should be recognised. The influences and products of historical shipwrecks are not as overt in the Eastern Cape but this does not mean that the vestiges of that heritage are not deeply embedded in the culture. The tendency of some of the people interviewed to identify themselves *in relation to* shipwreck survivors indicates the entrenched legacy of a European presence and the subsequent narrative of western dominance that developed in South Africa.

The establishment of working groups that could begin to explore local perspectives on the past, albeit from the maritime viewpoint, was seen as an important step towards generating a historical narrative that was relevant to local stakeholders, that validated individuals' sense of identity and recognised the roles that the communities currently living at the case study sites (African, European, Muslim, Christian, etc.) play in the evolution of local societies. By contextualising locally relevant histories, traditions and heritages within the sanctioned western history, residents became role-players and authorisers of an unauthorised past. This connected them directly to the heritage sites and practices in their cultural landscapes, including the shipwrecks, making them heritage management shareholders. People were given a voice to identify and manage their own past and supply personally relevant content to the historical account.

In summary, the management challenges experienced at both sites were perceived by local stakeholders to be primarily created by the considerable imbalance between the sanctioned and unsanctioned MUCH narratives, as is illustrated by Figures 11 and 13. This could be addressed by allowing communities to define their own MUCH landscape. By creating a platform for local voices at the "actual" level – within the broader historical narrative – the local community reported being able to engage more fully with their past. By identifying their own strategic objectives, they could contribute towards balancing heritage management elements and towards fulfilling heritage management goals.

Having exchanged the power to authorise relevant and significant heritage from "experts" to the community, interventions could focus on capacitating community members to identify, assess and manage landscape elements within the available infrastructure and local knowledge systems that were already available. Furthermore, the approach could establish pathways for developing economies based on heritage. Again, this was an incremental advance on the approach applied at Robben Island where tourism infrastructure and policy was already in place.

6.2.1 NOTES FROM ILHA DE MOZAMBIQUE

As discussed, programme participants at Ilha de Mozambique did not have access to underwater sites at the time of the programme being implemented. The strong treasure hunting lobby together with the Mozambican government's apparent unwillingness to stop looting activities meant that local communities saw little hope of regaining access to submerged heritage sites in the near future. Rumours of permit renewals and government involvement in salvage activities abounded (IDM 2013b, 2013d, 2014b). It was appropriate, therefore that any training intervention be realistically applicable to the maritime heritage at Ilha de Mozambique whether the situation granted access to submerged sites or not. By employing a modular training structure based on the NAS framework it was possible to transfer locally relevant skills for site identification, assessment, survey and management that could be applied above and below water. It was also deemed appropriate to ensure that the tools used for training and subsequent activities were available locally and affordable. The tape measure and paper based system employed by NAS met these requirements.

A modular training approach also meant that it could be tailored to suit specific, localised needs. At Ilha de Mozambique it was necessary, for example, to validate the variety of heritage that could be considered to constitute MUCH. By employing the

Legacy Site concept applied during the MADP as a foundation for identifying "alternative" MUCH types, it was possible to build a locally pertinent framework for site identification and authorisation. The stakeholder community who participated in training at Ilha de Mozambique identified with a Legacy Site concept, but in a different way to the South Africans. During the training workshops, participants identified sites (as described in Chapter 5) that represented significant heritage. Whereas in South Africa the Legacy Sites were used as examples of maritime site types and served as a platform for discussion and debate about how communities who perceived their heritage as wholly terrestrial were linked to the sea, and what other maritime sites or site types might be significant. At Ilha de Mozambique individuals and communities selected Legacy Sites that symbolised overarching themes. So, for example, where the South African group had taken a shipwreck as a site type and looked for relevant local examples, the islanders viewed the boatyard as a site that symbolised African influences in the ship construction segment of the maritime cultural landscape. Attached to the shipyard were associated heritages such as apprenticeships, rituals, songs and activities. Also significant was that whereas the MADP selected Robben Island as a specific example of a maritime cultural landscape, the Ilha de Mozambique stakeholders were more inclined to view the landscape as a global phenomenon connected through smaller landscapes, sites and cultures. Perhaps because they had been excluded from accessing a portion of their heritage, the Ilha de Mozambique stakeholders appeared to find comfort in establishing a global landscape in which significance was determined by connection rather than site contents or value. Because the shipwrecks were part of the island's broader cultural landscape they could be protected whether they were accessible or not, or whether they had been investigated or not.

Through conceptualising significance of heritage in a different way, that is through sites and their interconnections rather than just as the sites themselves, it becomes possible to develop a different type of management strategy. The Ilha de Mozambique community does not currently have access to either the funding or the expertise to, for example, undertake the restoration of the fort (and fortunately it does not need to since large-scale capital works projects have been supported by international funds raised through UNESCO structures). It is also unreasonable to expect community members to have the expertise to undertake archaeological object conservation or to establish a western-style museum of underwater archaeology. However, it is possible for stakeholders to participate in heritage management on an applicable scale. Because heritage exists in a landscape whether it visible or not, and because exposing a site is an unnecessary function in producing a heritage landscape narrative, Ilha de Mozambique can focus on managing aspects of the landscape that they can control. A hypothetical example might flow from the sites chosen by course participants in 2014. The three sites, the *Sao Sebastiao* fort, the boatyard and the Macuti village require different management strategies. The fort has already been restored as part of the UNESCO World Heritage Site and needs little maintenance. It is, however, not frequently visited. It is a monument to Portuguese expansion and trade but has little interpretive information associated with it. Because it is access controlled and under the authority of the local museum, stakeholders have not contributed to the building's management plan. There are efforts to establish connections between the fort and other Portuguese buildings such as the *Fortim de Sao Lorenzo* as well as to connect these building to local histories and mythologies, including, for example, that the forts were built by ghosts. While conservation of these structures must be done at heritage agency level, local input into how they are presented will ensure broader buy-in and potentially contribute towards management of surrounding landscapes and associated sites. By contributing to the heritage narratives surrounding the fort, the local community contributes towards the development of a more engaging history of the Island. This, in turn, may contribute towards growing heritage tourism and a heritage based economy. While financial benefits may not be directly acquired by the community, spin-off benefits may accrue.

The boatyard is a dynamic, living heritage. Boat building techniques change as new technology becomes available or to suit changing needs. A heritage

management strategy applied to the conservation of the boatyards and boat building traditions relies on continued activity and use. As described previously, it is important that the recognition of a living heritage does not draw a line under its evolution. While it is unlikely that boatbuilding will cease, a management approach in which boatyard stakeholders play a key role will ensure it is ongoing and continues to change. Currently, community heritage managers are involved in a programme that records the oral histories and traditions associated with maritime life including boat building, fishing and trade. This project also records the tools accompanying these activities and their development.

Finally, the Macuti village presents several management challenges. It is a place where people live and is subject to rapid change as individuals and families seek to improve their circumstances. Traditional building techniques survive, but television, electrification and other modern conveniences have reshaped day to day life. Community managers should not strive to stifle change, nor would they be able to. Instead they can record change in the physical fabric, the indigenous knowledge systems and in the intangible oral histories, rituals and traditions and place them within a dynamic heritage narrative of the island. At the same time, records will create an archive of daily life. Again, the management strategy is focused on preserving what is possible and what is relevant. Should heritage tours include the village, the economic benefits of preservation may result in a slowing of change or in the conservation of an example of a traditional house. In any scenario, choices would be made by local stakeholders within the local infrastructural, capacity and relevance structures. By adopting this approach, the community has a direct interest in ensuring that strategies are implemented and sustainable.

Each site requires a different strategy, but each is viewed as equally significant within a maritime cultural landscape framework. Each is a tangible entity through which heritage can be kept current and alive and in which visitors can observe and engage with the Island's past. Each is an entity in which the community has a stake.

To balance the management elements, the strategy applied at Ilha de Mozambique needed to create a platform for the Ilha de Mozambique community to express aspects of their maritime history that had been subverted by the treasure hunters' focus on shipwrecks. This allowed new emphasis to be placed on the local heritage element and supported access and presentation of the island's MUCH. Furthermore, verifiable maritime links between local societies and, predominantly, European shipwreck sites were established, allowing the islanders to reclaim a part of their history that had been wrested from them by individuals attempting to conduct commercial activities that relied heavily on shipwreck sites being unimportant within the local historical milieu. The value of the shipwreck sites as locally relevant heritage symbols needed to be promoted while, at the same time, local histories needed to be given greater status in the region's maritime past, again validating local cultural traditions and practices. Any management strategy drafted with the above requirements as its focus would produce an environment in which local ownership of the past could be promoted, maritime heritage could become more broadly relevant and myriad research opportunities could be created. Missing elements including management capacity shortfalls, and a set of applicable rules could be addressed by creating space for a community driven management approach.

By applying a contextually based malleable management strategy to maritime cultural landscapes the approach allows strategic decision-making to be directed at unknown sites. Conservation of shipwreck sites around Ilha de Mozambique is currently impractical. Neither excavation nor active *in situ* conservation is a viable option for the island community, although external researchers have proposed maritime archaeological projects. Both would be expensive and would require expertise that is currently lacking. However, because the sites lie within the cultural landscape and therefore have significance, the community agree that they should be protected. Currently the threat of looting has been alleviated but treasure hunters are being replaced by archaeologists and other researchers. Having claimed ownership of their past through claiming ownership of the cultural landscape the affected community has

the authority to participate in management decisions and make recommendations surrounding how academia approaches these sites. The wrecks are no longer the heritage of the other so can no longer be officiated over by outsiders guided by unfeasible management strategies and methodologies.

6.2.2 NOTES FROM SOUTH AFRICA

The Eastern Cape project utilised a bouquet of training modules that addressed the needs of both heritage managers and local communities. The purpose of training was to create a structure that enlisted the support of local communities in protecting heritage that fell under the ambit of SAHRA while providing local benefits.

The addition of the open question to the Eastern Cape survey also shifted the power from "experts" to communities by repositioning research from a position of "telling us what we want to know" to "telling us what you *want* us to know". Furthermore, by allowing a degree of ambiguity, the focus was again swung from individual sites and objects towards a more holistic maritime cultural landscape.

The decision to allow the approach to evolve during training served two research purposes. Firstly, in recognising the need to analyse the MUCH engagement methodology in a specific southern African context, the Eastern Cape study served as a test case. Secondly, depending on the level of success achieved, the study could be used to incrementally advance a MUCH management approach that suited a wider range of environments.

While surveying attitudes towards heritage and heritage management at Lake Fundudzi, interviewees began to identify underlying causes for dissatisfaction and frustration at heritage management agencies' approach. Although concerns surrounding cultural integrity were offered as the primary motivation for withdrawing from discussions with SAHRA and others during the declaration process, more fundamental challenges lay at the root of discontent. These revolved around poverty, unemployment, poor infrastructure and a lack of opportunity for the economic development of the area as a tourist site associated with both natural and cultural heritage. It was believed that management of the resources would be beneficial to local business expansion and for local citizens, the protection of the lake promised sustainable infrastructure development, economic development and poverty alleviation for all stakeholders. However, by promoting only the sanctioned cultural significance of the lake as contained in the declaration dossier, communities which were not directly associated with cultural practices felt disempowered and disenfranchised. By being unable to claim ownership of cultural practices, villages felt they would be barred from sharing in potential economic gain. Furthermore, people participating in cultural practices that did not form part of the recognised narrative may find their belief systems undermined by the customs and traditions associated with the declared site (LF 2014a).

Both the Eastern Cape and Lake Fundudzi highlighted the need for any approach to MUCH management to take cognisance of external socio-economic factors in its effort to balance the management elements. It is necessary to include economic and social development in MUCH management strategies. In both the Eastern Cape and Lake Fundudzi case studies this may be accomplished by focusing training and development efforts on restructuring the balance of elements such as access and authorisation by bringing more people into the narrative and developing public access to some currently inaccessible heritage.

Conclusion Recontextualising MUCH Management in Sub-Saharan Africa

REPOSITIONING THE MARITIME CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

In determining the MUCH *status quo* in the case study examples, it became increasingly evident that there was a lack of awareness about what MUCH was. As discussed, the perception that MUCH meant shipwrecks was the most widely held understanding. This perception had resulted in the field being largely irrelevant to most, which in turn meant that few wanted to engage with it. In order to balance management elements, it would be necessary to establish a definition of the field that opened the space for broad engagement. Managers needed to accept certain fundamental realities, some of which forced them to change their own perspectives.

It had become clear that the narrowly focused perception of what constituted the field needed to be changed and that the shipwreck focus of legislative frameworks needed to be adjusted if MUCH was to appeal more broadly. The concept of heritage landscapes was a useful model with which to highlight the interconnectedness of heritage and show that even while shipwreck sites might have no obvious resonance with individuals, the connections and influences of those sites on others that were more relatable warranted their protection. For example, although an individual had no ancestry from shipping, the effects of shipping had a profound influence on the development of the region. Hence, shipwreck sites, and the heritage they represented and contained, relevant when placed into a broader context. The Legacy Sites identified during the MADP made use of a landscape approach and invited individuals to engage with MUCH in a non-traditional manner. They suggested that people could identify similar sites that resonated with them, but since significance and heritage values underlying examples were still defined by heritage managers and did not take cognisance of what might resonate with others, this limited the scope for engagement with MUCH and a user-driven definition of the field.

Even though the authorised heritage narrative puts restrictions on what can be considered significant, sites and practices mean different things to different people. The importance of being receptive to multiple narratives was highlighted by the analysis of the *status quo*. In most instances, individuals and communities had expressed a need to have their voices heard and contextualised within the heritage landscape. The analysis identified the need for management and research to be driven by multiple voices.

The challenge for designing new management approaches for MUCH lies in encouraging people to interact with this aspect of their past. Fortunately, societies interact with their heritage whether they like it or not, whether it is tangible or not, regardless of its significance to others or of its protection status. While the tangible aspects of the past may represent or illustrate an aspect of heritage, it is not the objects or sites themselves that determine a society's understanding of its own history. Rather, individuals and communities (at local, national, regional and global levels) imbue their environments with significance and interact with them accordingly. In other words, communities and individuals create landscapes in which they position and identify themselves. Largely, these landscapes are conceptualised through a heritage lens. It was by utilising the abstraction of the maritime cultural

landscape that a fundamentally different approach to MUCH management could be proposed. The design could be tested by focusing on the heritage elements within the landscape as described above.

Before examining the approach, it is necessary to look again at the concept of the maritime cultural landscape, as applied and understood in MUCH practices and maritime archaeological theory.

As outlined in Chapter 3 the principle of a cultural landscape did not enter into the lexicon of maritime archaeology and MUCH until relatively late. The concept was introduced by Christer Westerdahl in 1978 and gradually expanded in the 1980s and 1990s when it was finally concretised and termed the *maritime cultural landscape* (Westerdahl 1992). His articles urged researchers to look more deeply at maritime sites within a broader context. This meant examining sites as a series of linked entities which apply influence on one another. He defined the maritime cultural landscape as:

> *"... human utilisation (economy) of maritime space by boat: settlement, fishing, hunting, shipping and its attendant subcultures such as pilotage, lighthouse and seamark maintenance."* (1992:5).

Westerdahl subsequently expanded on his definition:

> *"the archaeological concept combining sea and land would be the maritime cultural landscape. It means that the starting point for the subject of maritime archaeology is maritime culture"* (1998:1).

While the concept was not new, it was not formally utilised within the sub-discipline of either maritime archaeology or MUCH management. Maritime archaeologists had made natural links between their shipwreck sites and the maritime infrastructure or activity on shore, but had not specifically premised these links using a landscape approach. Heritage managers, on the other hand, were less likely to link sites above and beneath the water. They managed sites on an individual basis. For example, in South Africa, SAHRA's MUCH Unit has made management decisions on submerged sites, harbour infrastructure, shipwrecks located under reclaimed land and ships' cannons lying in private collections and salvaged long before protection legislation was put in place, but has not connected these MUCH constituents.

Despite widespread enthusiasm for the landscape principles advocated by Westerdahl, uptake of the concept has been slow. This could partly be due to the separate-ness of the maritime heritage and archaeology disciplines and there being fewer sites through which links could be made. Because the fields have not reached the maturity of their terrestrial counterparts, sites that are scientifically excavated and interpreted are often geographically distant and, therefore, difficult to contextualise with others in a landscape. This is not to say that distance diminishes influence. Shipping and maritime expansion have unambiguously impacted on societies and landscapes on distant shores. The study of the maritime past being one of the newer sub-disciplines in the archaeological sciences, historical research and heritage practices, should no longer be an excuse for falling behind terrestrial counterparts. It has been more than a half century since George Bass formalised the maritime archaeological sub-discipline and practitioners can no longer claim that their field is in its formative years. It is timely that academics and practitioners in the maritime heritage and history disciplines begin to examine and develop the theoretical elements of their fields within the same discourses as their terrestrial counterparts.

Efforts to develop a new approach to maritime heritage management has prompted a re-examination of the cultural landscape within the maritime perspective. Building on Westerdahl's definition, which focuses on moulding linked physical remains and the activities associated with them into a maritime culture, the new approach puts society firmly into the landscape. People, with all of their irrationalities and unpredictabilities, cannot be extracted from the physical landscape (Claus and Marriot 2012). Building on Westedahl's maritime cultural landscape, this study bases many of its conclusions on the assertion that the cosmologies of communities shape their interactions with their environment and these interactions determine the physical use of space.

The interpretation of archaeological sites based solely on the presence or absence of an object will be limited. This has been extensively discussed in archaeological discourse. A bowl is not necessarily just a bowl – it may be a tool, a religious symbol or a decoration – and it is, therefore, necessary to understand the processes that shape behaviours in order to understand functions. Given the irrationality of human behaviour it would be foolhardy to proclaim that the influence of "being human" is irrelevant. Heritage would, for that type of sceptic, be irrelevant: all that would matter in determining the past would be the physical archaeological remains and written histories. But people do not act predictably and have deeply ingrained belief systems that determine their behaviours. Belief, emotion or environment may influence actions and behaviours. The same is true for heritage. It does not matter, for example, whether fish traps are the vestiges of Dutch or indigenous cultures. They have impacted on South Africans and have shaped identities and inspired action. Their perceived origins, whether truth or mythology, are relevant for interpreting the past.

A landscape is shaped by the people in it, and an understanding of human behaviour is therefore essential in an interpretation of the past. A revised definition of the maritime cultural landscape must therefore be proposed:

> The maritime cultural landscape is made up of the physical traces of humans' interaction with the sea and associated activities *as well as the societies located therein*.

It is within the framework of this definition of the maritime cultural landscape that a new heritage management approach was designed.

EXPANDING THE MARITIME CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

In 2011, midway through the MADP being presented at Robben Island, we had begun to struggle with notions of relevance of underwater cultural heritage and maritime archaeology. Robert Parthesius and I grappled with theoretical and practical frameworks that governed the ways in which individuals studied and connected with MUCH. As we embarked in the pursuit of potential approaches to MUCH that would identify relevance, be inclusive of previously marginalised maritime communities, and lay the groundwork for implementable management strategies, we reappraised the various structures through which heritage practitioners were approaching their discipline. But while we shared a common vision on what an approach should look like and how it would work we could not find a suitable framework onto which the approach could be hung. The concepts of the maritime cultural landscape offered entry points into aspects of what we wished to achieve, but none provided an enveloping structure that would allow us to formulate the envisaged approach.

In an effort to elucidate the doctrines which underpinned the approach that we wished to implement, it was necessary to create a social and environmental space in which maritime heritage could be considered. The critical realist framework was utilised for this purpose. This was supported by borrowing elements of postmodernism and postcolonialism that allowed for multiple narratives and perspectives and inserting them into the maritime cultural landscape, thus a new concept of what the maritime cultural landscape was created. This incorporated new heritage constituents that current, accepted meaning of the maritime cultural landscape could not address.

Various considerations led to the conceptualisation of an updated landscape model. As described above, the maritime cultural landscape is generally understood to be made up of a series of interconnected sites that are part of the maritime environment, such as shipwrecks, and part of the associated terrestrial landscape, including maritime infrastructure and the physical vestiges of maritime communities. The landscape is linked temporally, through geographical proximity or through a non-physical relationship such as trade networks. Therefore, a maritime cultural landscape can consist of a coastal village and the geographical environment around it, or it can consist of two port cities on opposite sides of the globe linked by trade. Examination of these landscapes is done through interpreting sites, artefacts collections,

the effect of the environment on the development of these sites and the subsequent effect of human interventions in the landscape. The physical remains paint a picture of what has happened, how it has happened and how people have interacted with their environment. Since the maritime cultural landscape model was developed in relation to archaeological science, this definition encompassed the foci of research and satisfied archaeological objectives.

In terms of implementing archaeological research and other heritage activities in sub-Saharan Africa, the maritime cultural landscape fails to fire the imagination of individuals and communities whose histories are being studied or impacted upon. The approach does not sufficiently address the questions of why landscapes have developed in the way that they have, does not take multiple perspectives into account and does not include the impact of intangible heritage and local cosmology on social and historical development. It is imperative that an approach be developed that incorporates multiple ways of thinking about the past and the world. Increasingly, it is becoming necessary to incorporate alternative thinking into a philosophy for heritage management and research. Indigenous knowledge systems and the physical manifestations of local cosmologies need to be accounted for in the interpretation of heritage sites and histories and in the way in which they are managed. The view of what constitutes the landscape needs to embrace both the physical and the meaning imbued into a landscape by the intangible. Westerdahl's definition of the maritime cultural landscape is not sufficient to interpret MUCH in the developing world in a way that fully engages communities to contribute towards the development and implementation of an applicable, relevant management framework. It is clear that the actions that shaped the landscape are more complex than merely societies taking advantage of environmental conditions or geographical features.

Others have begun to acknowledge the need for an expanded definition of the maritime cultural landscape. Freire (2014), for example, has used Westerdahl's approach to reassess the maritime cultural landscape of Cascais coastline, Portugal. This coastline was, and continues to be, critically significant in Portuguese maritime culture. It contains the mouth of the Tagus River and the entrance to the port at Lisbon, the centre of Portugal's historic maritime exploration, trade and colonial expansion empire. Freire assigns significance to the landscape based on Westerdahl's conceptualisation of the landscape as ''the whole network of sailing routes, with ports, havens and harbours along the coast, and its related constructions and other remains of human activity, underwater as well as terrestrial'' (Westerdahl 2008:212). He then examines both natural and built features and analyses human behaviour based on these. From an environmental perspective, tidal considerations, currents and navigable channels have determined the positioning of infrastructure and have influenced the locations where human activities, such as shipping, have taken place. Built infrastructure such as defences and the port have, in turn, governed activities. Together, these factors have determined shipping activities and have affected where shipwrecks occur (Freire 2014). Natural features have guided human activity and human activity has altered the landscape. The sites are interconnected and inter-influential. Freire presents a generally accepted overview of a maritime cultural landscape and links a series of sites and activities within it. Where, with reference to the current research, his work is more important, however, lies in his placing people within the landscape. Freire describes oral traditions, commemorations, rituals and symbols that have resulted from human's interaction with their landscape and with their past. He recognises that the landscape and maritime past can shape- and be shaped by- the human experience. This is a fundamental concept on which to establish an approach to MUCH in Africa, but needs to be expanded further to be applicable in the sub-Saharan African context.

Portugal, in the example above, and the West in general, have a long seafaring tradition and are able to make clear, physical links between contemporary culture and the maritime past. Historical trade and colonial superpowers such as the Netherlands, England, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and France as well as the Arab world view themselves as maritime nations whose seafaring heritage still dominates the architecture, politics, societies and economies of

their ex-colonies and outposts. The Portuguese *Fort San Sebastian* at Ilha de Mozambique, South Africa's political legacy and the Islamic influences on the Swahili coast are testimony to this history. UNESCO World Heritage Sites in sub-Saharan Africa such as Kilwa, Ilha de Mozambique, Zanzibar and Robben Island reflect global maritime connections but the imprint of the African contributions and influences on these maritime sites is not made as visible. There are also myriad other localised relationships with water that have shaped landscapes and social development in Africa that are essential cultural markers at individual, local community, national and regional levels that are marginalised or ignored (see, for example, the archaeological evidence of increasing Swahili ocean trade from the 13th century described by Fleisher *et al.* (2015, 107-108) and Lane (2007, 115). It is essential that these are recognised and made significant if the goals of the described approach to MUCH management are to be realised.

The adoption of a maritime cultural landscape approach appears to be a strategy worthy of further attention. People connect deeply with heritage and make new connections through associating sites within the landscape instead of identifying sites as separate entities. This is illustrated in examples such as the *Grosvenor* descendant's emotional retelling of her history within her social context and within a personal cosmology informed by African and European influences and stimulated by her (re) connection with a wreck site which she will never visit. By enabling people to engage with the landscape and the social implications of the past, it becomes ever easier to protect and manage sites even if they are out of sight or are disconnected with current communities.

Sub-Saharan Africa has deep cosmological connections with water and the ocean that undoubtedly influence its interactions with, and understandings of, the landscape. In a region where, for example, mythical creatures inhabit water bodies, such as at Lake Fundudzi in South Africa (Van Vuuren *et al.* 2007); where shamanistic experiences of fish-like states are depicted in rock paintings (Swart 2017); and where stone dhows are evidence of divine intervention in war; resulting cosmologies, access, taboos and rituals determine how people shape their landscape and use their environment. The landscape as well as human activities, in turn, reinforce beliefs or force societies to rethink their position in the world.

Sub-Saharan Africa, and the developing world in general, has borne the effects of colonialism, subjugation and sub-humanisation and has endured the consequences of a system dominated by European thought. The devaluation of local world views, histories and cultures is a necessary action for colonial rulers to impose their authority (Fanon 1963) but resulted in marginalisation and obscuring of heritage narratives and historical perspectives.

In terms of developing an approach to managing maritime cultural resources, adding social value and driving economic development that is relevant to sub-Saharan Africa, it is then essential that an underlying theoretical standpoint be proposed that recognises the effects of the above. This may be achieved by injecting the critical realist discourse into Westerdahl's maritime cultural landscape and expanding its scope to include the premise that societies do things in a landscape because of the meaning that it has, thereby expanding the landscape to include cosmologies and worldviews. The expanded maritime cultural landscape is defined at various levels. At the individual ("empirical") level, it is defined by the way a person experiences the world. This varies from individual to individual, from insider to outsider and from participant to observer. An individual is shaped by this perception and therefore attempts to shape the world to fit his/her own experience by attempting to influence the community around him/her. At community ("actual") level, an agreed upon set of rules and politics that are influenced by the "empirical" are applied. These, in turn, determine behaviours, actions and physical landscape use (and resultant infrastructure) in a feedback loop. Individuals are linked within a community by shared intangible and tangible experiences and objects. The same is applicable at local, national, regional and international level. The primary departure from Westerdahl's maritime cultural landscape is that there is recognition of the influence of the unseen and the perceived on human behaviour. To reiterate an example: although there

is no scientific evidence for the existence of a deity, this has not meant that deities have not influenced human actions. This, consequently, means that the belief in a deity must be recognised when interpreting and managing vestiges of past societies, be they archaeological, historical or ritual. African narratives of the intangible should also offer a context in which scientists can interpret archaeological collections. Much like the Judeo-Christian and Islamic religions have shaped the way in which towns have been built or societies have developed in the West and the Middle East, so too has the African perspective of the world. Where, for example, archaeological science attempts to explain and interpret past human behaviour based on objects and spatial distributions at a site, the alternative approach allows for the specific cultural logics of different societies in interpretation (see Holy and Stuchlik 1983). The approach validates individuals' understanding of their world and allows them to contribute to producing and managing the visible or intangible cultural outputs of this perception.

From a heritage management and engagement perspective the expanded maritime cultural landscape can also be understood on various levels. At the individual level, engagement with heritage is shaped by the way an individual perceives/experiences the world as mentioned. The perception of heritage is further defined by the interactions, management practices and approaches applied to heritage either by people living in a landscape or by outside managers, researchers or visitors. In many instances, the ways in which these interactions and interventions are carried out are driven by cultural practices or external motivators such as economics – the predominant economic drivers being related to tourism. Again, there is a feedback system of influence between the "actual" and "empirical" domains. Finally, a set of immutable laws and policies that govern and define the official heritage narratives, whether recognised or not exist in the "real" domain and are applied to establish a formal management structure for the (mostly tangible) constituents of heritage. In proposing an expansion of the maritime cultural landscape, it is necessary to also examine and expand the management practices assigned to the sites and practices therein.

The challenges of relevance and significance ascribed to maritime heritage in sub-Saharan Africa are discussed in detail elsewhere. It is necessary, however to make some brief points about how these challenges are influenced or could be resolved by examining them from within a framework of balancing MUCH management elements at the "actual" level and within an expanded maritime cultural landscape.

Most significantly, the challenge of overcoming the notion that maritime heritage in the sub-Saharan context is European heritage and the heritage of the "other" can be addressed by recognising the need for the re-identification of what constitutes the body of authorised heritage. The expanded maritime cultural landscape and MUCH management approach described above not only create the space for bringing different heritage and cultural narratives to the fore, but also for those narratives to be interpreted from multiple perspectives. This ensures that sites such as shipwrecks, traditionally managed using western values, remain culturally significant. The necessity for this is illustrated by the South African example. The "othering" of Africans and African culture by colonial rulers and the subsequent apartheid regime resulted in the need to redress imbalances in the official historical narrative when the nation finally transitioned into a democracy in 1994. A postcolonial stance in the re-examination of South Africa's past provided a suitable framework from which to rewrite national history. However, the understandable anger at the oppressive regimes meant that the sites that promoted or celebrated their history were perceived to be the heritage of a newly defined "other". By applying landscape principles to South Africa's heritage, these sites and their influences on the evolution of southern Africa are appropriately entrenched in the broader sanctioned and newly unsanctioned heritage narratives. Aspects of MUCH that may have appeared irrelevant are shown to have significance and can therefore be brought into the same heritage mainstream and be better managed.

Expanded maritime cultural landscape thinking may be particularly relevant when examining the way MUCH sites are formally managed in Africa and in proposing an alternative management approach. Heritage practice is largely delineated by a series

of "real" world laws and best-practice models that are firmly entrenched in western management philosophies and values. Documents such as the 2001 Convention, and even national legislations, are either drafted by developed nations, thereby addressing a particular subset of management needs, or are based on the legislative examples provide by the west. This was outlined in the critique of the 2001 Convention and the South African National Heritage Resources Act in Chapter 2. While neither of these documents should be dismissed as irrelevant to the developing world contexts, they lack local perspectives that would contribute significantly towards better management practices. By employing and utilising the tenets of an expanded landscape approach that incorporates connections and meanings into tangible heritage site management, a better approach to the "actual" world implementation of legislation can be proposed that will contribute more substantially to relevant management practices.

The expanded maritime cultural landscape does not provide a catch-all for developing heritage management best-practice. The approach to MUCH management described above is in its infancy and will require interrogation by other critical heritage discourses including postcolonial thinking and postmodernist theory. There are several important questions that must be addressed. If, for example, in attempting to balance global and local heritage elements, MUCH management focuses only on how people understand and interpret the past based on perceptions and unauthorised narratives, are we promoting a system in which facts are irrelevant, in which practices such as archaeology have no value? Does this framework limit the validity of research or prescribe who may conduct research? Which experience allows which individual to interpret which site? MUCH can learn from the experiences of terrestrial archaeologists, anthropologists and terrestrial heritage managers who have already dealt with these questions. Balancing heritage elements requires that flexibility be applied to research. It is hoped that the rationale for proposing an evolving approach to MUCH will be understood in the context of *balancing* elements and that the approach will be used as an *additional* string in the bows of researchers and managers working in the developing world. The approach underscores reasons for incorporating non-western approaches into public engagement, interpretation and management of heritage, not excluding western values.

The approach design and implementation described above takes western and non-western methodologies into consideration to validate multiple truths and interpretations without devaluing other perspectives. It allows western and non-western researchers and heritage practitioners the opportunity to apply multiple structures and practices to their work in the critical realist's "actual" domain to find the best possible answers to their research or practice questions. The maritime cultural landscape is changed and must be understood within the context of multiple narratives and multiple perspectives.

EXAMINING LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORKS WITHIN AN EXPANDED MARITIME CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

There is a vast body of work dealing with legislation aimed at underwater cultural heritage but little that proposes and tests strategies for real-world implementation. While "global rules, local approach" has become a catchphrase in heritage management, particularly in the context of various UNESCO conventions, it has found little traction in practical implementation, as illustrated by approaches and demands at sites such as Kilwa Kisiwani in Tanzania and Robben Island in South Africa where international missions assess site management and conservation practices based on global, developed world assessment templates. While theoretical and ideological frameworks have been proposed, and discussed extensively, their efficacy in application, especially in the developing world, has remained untested. NGOs and other private sector organisations working together with communities to implement strategies and local approaches are notoriously poor at publishing their findings and results outside of their internal reporting structures. This lack of published work and analytical evaluation of legislative, management and developmental models in the MUCH sector underlines the need for *this* study and the need for proposing management approaches that are applicable to the developing world.

While the concept of the maritime cultural landscape has found purchase in both the maritime archaeological and MUCH management spheres, the literature would appear to indicate a lazy approach by practitioners to the phrase. It has become a catch-all, used to contextualise and connect sites either by design or by necessity. While contextualisation of traditional maritime sites is commendable, many authors and researchers have chosen to make geographic or infrastructural links and have ignored the meanings, symbolic and intangible aspects of maritime cultural landscapes and the people who currently live in them. In short, the focus of research encompassing the maritime cultural landscape has been archaeologically inclined and heritage aspects are ignored (see, for example, chapters in Ford (2012) and Harris (2017) in which archaeological sites have, in some instances, been reconceptualised by authors as landscapes).

By proposing an expanded maritime cultural landscape approach to MUCH, it is possible to not only continue to link physical sites using the maritime cultural landscape approach and interpret them in relation to one another, but to enhance the understanding of sites, site development and landscapes by including intangible heritage influences to site interpretation efforts and to allow multiple perspectives and narratives to contribute towards deeper understanding of maritime heritage.

Having examined various approaches and applications of heritage management strategies aimed at the protection and promotion of MUCH, it is clear that a fresh perspective on the management of these sites in sub-Saharan Africa is essential. A better understanding of the many perspectives of heritage sites and practices, and the subsequent rationale for heritage production, will contribute towards an understanding of multiple significances. This, in turn, will promote better protection and management by expanding the stakeholder base. Finally, the validation of multiple narratives expands the number of potential connection points between individuals and a particular heritage. This enhances opportunities for developing tourism routes that resonate deeply with outsiders wishing to connect with and understand local cultures. The dearth of commentary and research of management strategies for underwater cultural heritage models in sub-Saharan Africa made this study necessary, relevant and valuable. The translation of the approach into legislative and policy frameworks is fertile ground for future research.

A COMMUNITY DRIVEN, MODULAR APPROACH TO MUCH MANAGEMENT

Heritage managers concerned with MUCH need to assess what they are managing and why they might focus attention on certain sites and not others. Mozambican and South African authorities have focused primarily on shipwrecks and have given management attention to those sites which were under direct threat. Threats usually took the form of looters, treasure hunters or industrial developers. In the absence of community consultation, the significance of the threats and the threatened sites were determined by what the managers themselves perceived as relevant or politically pertinent. As discussed, this led to a skewed portrait of what MUCH was and what it meant. While this resulted in differing management approaches in South Africa and Mozambique, the focus of management interventions was the same. Management methodologies and legislation coupled with the media attention given to potential submerged treasure from shipwrecks had focused public and governmental attention on a small selection of MUCH thereby removing the voices of non-traditional sites and peoples, resulting in a loss or marginalisation of many heritage strands. This approach was unsatisfactory in both Mozambique and South Africa. It was appropriate that approaches that sought to engage with the past in substantially distinct ways from those applied outside of the region be identified (Pikirayi 2016, paragraph 57).

In attempting to balance MUCH management elements in case study contexts, it became increasingly evident that a fundamental shift in approach was a necessary exercise. The narrow application of national and international legislation did not translate into good management. While addressing the gaps in elements at the case study sites several key factors that required different thinking began to emerge. As described in detail, there was

a need for MUCH to be reassessed and redefined. By opening the definition of MUCH and allowing communities and individuals the freedom to identify the sites, practices and beliefs that resonated most deeply with them, managers could begin to recognise alternative significance, find common ground and begin to validate heritage that people felt had been marginalised and ignored. By bridging gaps between official rules and formal management structures (the "real" and "actual" domains respectively), it was possible to allow disenfranchised communities the opportunity to participate in and engage with their heritage and the management thereof (the "empirical" and "actual" domains respectively). In all the identified management elements, power was shifted from what I termed western heritage tenets to include local values. Having opened a space that allowed people to determine what they found important for themselves, and then allowed them to participate in defining management processes, managers could begin to support structures for conservation for the benefit of all. In other words, the case studies resulted in a different approach to MUCH management: a community driven management approach that incorporated multiple stakeholders, multiple voices and multiple narratives to define relevance, contribute to management decision-making and control the authorisation of heritage.

An approach that was entirely theoretical was not enough, however, and it needed to be translated for practical application. Managers and stakeholders needed to access one another and collaborate. To do this a series of modular training or awareness raising interventions were designed that allowed communities to interact with and define their MUCH while at the same time providing managers with a structure through which they could apply legislation and gain informal management support. The modular system was chosen for its flexibility in coping with both differences and commonalities at a variety of sites. The modular system would allow stakeholders to select a bouquet of support elements provided by facilitators that best suited their specific needs. The first set of modules was drafted from the outcomes of the Mozambican and South African experiences.

By refining the experiences and observations of similarities and differences in the management contexts of Mozambique and South Africa, it was possible to extract themes around which three primary training or awareness raising modules and a series of specialist modules for development could be built.

Firstly, a module that explores the scope of MUCH is necessary. As stated, all case studies showed that MUCH required redefinition. The cultural background that shaped perceptions of the scope of maritime history, maritime archaeology and underwater cultural heritage had resulted in negative or neutral perceptions of the submerged resources, especially shipwrecks. It also meant that certain aspects of underwater cultural heritage were excluded from the thinking around what should be managed and how. Establishing a management strategy for maritime heritage resources therefore required a module be developed that allowed communities, from local to international levels, to determine the scope of their maritime heritage and the relevance it held for them. To address and rediscover non-traditional MUCH sites, an extensive community engagement campaign is required. By shifting the decision-making surrounding what is important in the broad heritage themes away from just managers and into the public, a better understanding of both the resource and management best practice can be achieved. Using the community-based, community driven approach that began to evolve during the MADP and materialised at Ilha de Mozambique and in the Eastern Cape, it is possible to establish both *what* requires management intervention, and *why*. Both the implementation methodologies and the outcomes of this module may vary considerably, but the purpose remains consistent regardless of context. The impetus for engaging with this heritage may also vary extensively, as observed in the differences between Mozambique and South Africa. On the one hand, the motivation had stemmed from the heritage practitioners' desire to better manage the resource in the face of government disinterest, while on the other, the desire for management intermediation stemmed from community concerns about local impacts of heritage disenfranchisement through salvage. In both instances, this module provides a

platform for illustrating the value of heritage and the need for conservation. This module is implemented within a theoretical framework underpinned by the concept of the maritime cultural landscape. This module may take the form of a structured NAS-type training programme that examines site types within the maritime cultural landscape and encourages participants to identify the MUCH that is significant to them, or it may take the form of a dialogue or conversation in which experts and communities share their experiences and perceptions. The module focuses on balancing the elements of A*uthorisation* and *Significance*. This module operates in the "actual" and "empirical" domains of the critical realist framework.

A second general module follows from the first and addresses elements of the critical realist's "real" domain. Having identified what requires attention and why it is of value it is necessary to explore the guiding framework in which management can take place. The framework is initially determined by legislation, policy and best practice. This module investigates the overarching rules governing management best-practices – the global approach – and the national laws which frame practical management methods. National laws will, of course, be context specific and the module needs to be adjusted to reflect this. The module then encourages the development of local, unofficial management methodologies that take account of local contexts and indigenous knowledge systems. The purpose of this module is twofold. Firstly, it establishes a set of conventions under which any activities may take place. Secondly, it encourages community or official managers to begin to engage with a process of conceptualising how heritage management is applied in their circumstance. This module focuses on balancing the *Rules*.

Finally, a general module exploring the drafting and implementation of management strategies can be applied. This module draws on the first two and examines the context in which heritage sites or practices exist. In drafting strategies, participants in this module must work within the realistic boundaries set by their environments and circumstances. For example, it would be unrealistic for Ilha de Mozambique's MUCH stakeholders to propose the construction of a purpose-built, high tech museum facility as a first stage management intervention. The expertise, funding and infrastructure are unavailable at present. This would also be an inappropriate strategy based on the goals that the islanders wish to achieve. In this instance, the inaccessibility of shipwreck sites and the desire to shift focus to local maritime histories mean that a solution that incorporates tourism development, story-telling and cultural immersion has been identified by local stakeholders as an appropriate strategy for protecting maritime heritage. This module addresses imbalances in *Accessibility* and *Disclosure*. Both of these elements are addressed through the implementation of MUCH management strategies at the "actual" level.

Three general modules for developing management infrastructure and applying a balanced methodology to management elements are followed by specialised training modules. These are based on a management strategy and evolve from community identified needs. These could take the form of anything from diver training to conservation to site mapping or archaeological investigation. In both the Robben Island and Ilha de Mozambique examples, capacity building facilitated, amongst others, the identification of pathways for heritage economies. In both instances, the development of heritage trails was seen as a significant objective in creating a sustainable heritage tourism economy and a sustainable management structure. At Robben Island these trails focused on a tangible built environment while at Ilha de Mozambique they highlighted intangible aspects of the island's maritime heritage that were underwritten by sites and practices. These specialist modules speak to *Capacity*.

The application of these modules in a variety of locations and contexts has broad benefits. It establishes a template for collecting data that can be accessed by researchers for academic investigation. It creates coastal networks of heritage practitioners, communities, managers and academia that provide broad access and sharing opportunities that have mutual benefit.

The modular approach does not suggest amending the global rules for heritage management. Wherever a management decision is to be made, managers will identify the object of management, determine a strategy for preserving it and deploy necessary capacity within the confines of best practice. Where this approach differs is in designing an underlying methodology for developing relevant and sustainable management strategies through ensuring that people engage with heritage at all levels and throughout the process. It provides managerial benefits by connecting officials and community managers and ensuring they work towards compatible goals. It promotes the social benefits derived from heritage engagement and good heritage practices. It further adds a layer of economic benefit that stimulates continued and sustainable conservation. Finally, from a local perspective, by validating multiple, non-traditional and concealed narratives it empowers communities and individuals to take control of their pasts and their identities through the production, consumption, expression and preservation of their heritage. Management plans and strategies become relevant, inclusive, engaging and effective and contain recommendations and instructions for practices that best protect MUCH resources.

As indicated, sustainability of management practices is key. Even the best intended programmes, strategies and frameworks are meaningless without being sustainable. The inclusive approach to strategy development provides a sustainability blueprint through providing widespread and equal input from stakeholders, encouraging ownership of heritage through broad involvement and access to resources. Stakeholders are supported by formal/global/official heritage management structures which provide the institutional tools, and practitioners are available to offer guidance for proposed activities, without removing heritage site users' title of their heritage. A sustainability programme must, through incentivising community managers by offering social and economic benefits, examine ways to promote MUCH, keep it in the public eye and ensure good management practices for the future.

A NOTE ON HERITAGE STUDIES IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

There is currently a significant gap in MUCH in sub-Saharan Africa. Furthering the field, including management and engagement, requires the development and implementation of an academic framework that will foster research and the growth of intellectual infrastructure. Currently, thinking around MUCH is limited largely to heritage managers and curators at institutional level. They are concerned primarily with archaeological and management methodology and interpretation and there is a vacuum in theoretical discourse.

The development of informal management capacity whose expertise could be employed in monitoring, assessment and management of submerged and terrestrial maritime heritage at the case study sites was tempered by the lack of academic infrastructure. Programme participants were trained in the basic skills needed to assist archaeologists and heritage professionals in their management efforts, but the programmes did not establish the framework for more advanced research and study and could not, therefore, create avenues for professional progression. This limited the opportunities for creating high level expertise and for expanding necessary heritage thinking in MUCH. Without a tertiary level programme being put into place, the field continues to fall behind its terrestrial counterparts on a theoretical level.

The lack of a formal academic qualification related specifically to MUCH and maritime archaeology is a hindrance to the development of the field. For example, only one South African university, the University of the Western Cape, currently offers a Degree-level heritage studies programme. The African Programme in Museum and Heritage Studies, in which a Postgraduate Diploma or Masters can be obtained, examines some of the broad concepts in heritage management in post-apartheid South Africa and postcolonial Africa. Universities such as the University of Cape Town, the University of the Witwatersrand and the University of South Africa offer short, certificate courses in various aspects of culture and heritage, but lean heavily

towards the arts, museums and tourism. While the African heritage discourse provides a foundation from which to examine cultural heritage, it is not the focus of these short certificate courses. No Sub-Saharan African university offers heritage courses that address MUCH.

Tertiary level maritime archaeological programmes are not offered in sub-Saharan Africa, although Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM) in Mozambique and the University of Cape Town include an overview of maritime archaeology in their archaeology degree courses and UEM allows students to focus on maritime archaeological projects at post-graduate level. Enlisting support and participation from students and faculty of the Eduardo Mondlane University in the Ilha de Mozambican context made it possible to apply scientific rigour to the study of the island's MUCH and supported the development of partnerships between Mozambican colleagues who could contribute to sustaining heritage management practices and further developing the field in the future.

South African universities such as the University of South Africa allow post-graduate students to submit maritime archaeological dissertations if an external supervisor can be coopted. The University of the Witwatersrand offered students opportunities to participate in a maritime archaeological field school in 2014 and 2015, as did Cheikh A. Diop University in Dakar, Senegal in 2016, but no classroom courses were offered.

In response to limitations on pursuing heritage studies in southern Africa, SAHRA established an Integrated Heritage Resources Management Practices certificate course, which included an introduction to MUCH, at Rhodes University, South Africa. Taking note of the dearth of heritage management programmes, SAHRA, through the heritage management course, tried to assist with the professional development of practising heritage practitioners[41]. Since many heritage staff had academic backgrounds in archaeology and, in some instances, history, the courses sought to fast-track knowledge of current heritage thinking and practices that would otherwise only have been gained through long-term job experience. Unfortunately, only one iteration of the course was presented, in 2012, after which bureaucratic and administrative problems resulted in its being discontinued.

In the absence of academic thinking and research around MUCH, and its associated disciplines, it is unlikely that the field will gain widespread acceptance in mainstream archaeology, history and heritage in sub-Saharan Africa and will, as a result, find it difficult to gain purchase in the management sectors. The development of new approaches to MUCH management and engagement that link maritime sites to terrestrial heritage through the maritime cultural landscape and do not rely on authorisation from the official agencies and the academe is, therefore, even more essential (Pikirayi 2016, paragraph 9).

RESHAPING THE HERITAGE AGENDA

Global, national and local heritage management agencies must operate within "real" world legislative frameworks that, by necessity, make every effort to be broadly applicable. The "global rules" approach attempts to create a set of "one size fits all" management strategies within the limited scope provided by a document of law. This tends to focus management implementation on specific areas within the heritage milieu. South African legislation, for example, puts a strong emphasis on monuments and objects and the national heritage it promotes largely converges on sites connected with specific events or individuals or which are representative of historical events. Legislation aimed at the management of research activities, therefore, promotes an examination of tangible sites. Legislation does not allow for the fact that societies interact with their heritage regardless of its physical manifestations. While the tangible aspects of the past may represent or illustrate an aspect of heritage, it is not the objects or sites in and of themselves that determine a society's understanding of its history. While a generalised management strategy is easily applicable to sites and practices deemed to be nationally significant, it sits uncomfortably with deeper heritage undercurrents that shape the identities and social contexts of individuals and communities. A management approach must,

41 www.sahra.org.za

therefore, accommodate understanding of the more localised nuances if it is to understand the essential elements of heritage that make it attractive and relevant to broader society.

The testing and application of community-centric heritage management strategies that focus on local needs and locally relevant histories as described in this book, shows significant gains in acceptance of the global heritage management principles when combined with inclusive local input and, therefore, support better implementation.

In light of the above, developing an approach to heritage research and management that brings the importance of heritage to the fore must be the heritage manager's primary goal. The manager must recognise that, in the minds of the public, heritage remains a low priority area (Breen 2007) and that changing attitudes towards the field may be a long, difficult process. However, the work described here shows that this shift is possible, and necessary for the advancement of heritage management. The successes of an approach that allows communities living at research sites to participate in setting the research agenda has been observed during all the case studies analysed above.

Even when a community driven approach is applied to contested, conflicted sites such as Lake Fundudzi where a constructive, relevant and beneficial management plan for the recently declared National Heritage Site has yet to be drafted, pathways for successful management planning can be identified. To support the various communities living around the lake in benefiting from its National Heritage Site status, the approach determines the broader socio-economic needs that exist in the area, the significance of the site to people living near it, and the potential for using heritage as a driver for economic development in the area. It is evident that a heritage component is seen as an important factor in economic development. It is also evident that it is necessary for locally relevant heritage be determined and recognised so that local communities feel validated and take ownership of their sites and their past. Simply declaring a site to be significant has failed to translate into successful management, increased tourist numbers or in an increase in local interest in the site. The management approach proposed here is dynamic.

In balancing the management elements applied to the environments at Robben Island, Ilha de Mozambique, the Eastern Cape and Lake Fundudzi several clear challenges were flagged that cannot, however, be overcome by researchers simply developing inclusive investigation strategies or heritage managers attempting to implement their mandates. Some fundamental shifts in the authorised and official structures are required.

Developing strategies and testing their veracity is important, but sustaining them is critical. While the models proposed above offer solutions to the challenges of disinterest in MUCH, poor local buy-in and feelings of disenfranchisement, they are not immediately sustainable in and of themselves. Having shown the approach to be successful, it is necessary for a next phase of support to be forthcoming. The management models that result from the approach outlined here propose strategies for MUCH management within the capacity and infrastructural contexts of the communities tasked with protecting their past, but there is still a need for heritage agencies and other official institutions to provide basic funding and infrastructure that is required to create sustainable management mechanisms. For example, there is a need for further skills development in tourism and heritage management. While an exhibition may be able to generate enough funding to make it self-sustainable, the seed funding for establishing a community museum or an exhibition is still required. The need for continued financial, infrastructural and knowledge support to allow maritime communities to transition into ownership roles was highlighted in this research. The tools that the described approach provided, transferred the basic building blocks for MUCH management to marginalised, sub-statused communities allowing them to begin to identify heritage that is important to them and which they wish to promote and record.

The implementation of the methodology developed at Robben Island, Ilha de Mozambique and in the Eastern Cape showed that the applied approach was effective in different contexts. The Ilha de Mozambique,

Robben Island and Eastern Cape *milieus* differed significantly, and the resultant management models would need to address these differences individually. Robben Island, and its associated communities, were disconnected from the maritime cultural landscape primarily because of the socio-political history of South Africa. The island community at Ilha de Mozambique was disconnected from elements of their maritime past by being physically excluded from submerged cultural resources. The value, contribution and status of the African perspective of maritime history had also been lowered which had led to a sense of disenfranchisement in the local population. The Eastern Cape communities had felt excluded from their maritime past by several factors. Firstly, heritage and environmental managers and legislation had silenced their voice in the management context and had prohibited them from engaging with their heritage. This was a double blow in that both the natural and cultural landscapes were heavily imbued with significance. Furthermore, management approaches did not address the heritage needs of communities whose cosmology did not separate natural and cultural landscapes. Finally, the Eastern Cape communities felt that their heritage was of little value outside of their own environment. They indicated that because of this they were disempowered and lowered in status – they were "the forgotten people" (ECOHP 2014a, 2014b, 2014c). The achievements of adopting the approach described here showed that it was applicable, relevant and implementable across a broad spectrum. It addressed challenges faced by communities with differing needs and it contributed to social building. The approach laid a platform for better management of cultural resources and engagement with the maritime cultural landscape and MUCH. The weaknesses tended to be clustered around an inability to hand ownership of community driven heritage management strategies over to those communities in a form that was sustainable. It is suggested that this shortcoming lies in the inability to implement follow-up interventions that would formalise community roles and provide the infrastructure to support self-sustaining activities for economic development and concomitant heritage management.

In addressing the challenges of sustainability, several additional structures are proposed. The first of these rests with government management agencies and institutions and administrative and policy development. Institutions such as SAHRA in South Africa and the Ministry of Culture in Mozambique, supported by museums, should involve themselves in the promotion of MUCH through encouraging innovative models for display and information collection and dissemination. Use of new technologies and methods of cultural expression that contribute to heritage collection and promotion such as the heritage app under development at NYUAD should be incorporated into strategic management. This may require further community engagement and consultation that would explore and examine heritage production.

Researchers and governments must recognise their responsibility to seek and assign funding and other support to MUCH initiatives and to local management teams. Having been disappointed by commercial salvage companies and NGOs in the past, it is important that programmes be established to ensure continued involvement in local stakeholder development to guarantee that heritage management and best practice models become sustainable and that MUCH teams become autonomous. This is particularly relevant considering the increasing access to underwater sites provided by recreational diving tourism. It is the duty of established management authorities to find pathways for providing the necessary tools and ongoing support that will allow communities to take full ownership of their past.

Deep political and social wounds have been inflicted by the long, and often confrontational processes of colonisation and decolonisation. People feel excluded and marginalised to the point where individuals have withdrawn their support for heritage management interventions shaped by western heritage theory and rules. The case studies showed an unwillingness to participate in activities aimed at management or development that exclude local participation. This has been exacerbated by interventions by various governmental and non-governmental organisations that have resulted in little or no feedback or change.

Decolonising the role of official heritage management agencies within a postcolonial context is an important initial step in reconciling people with their heritage as well as with actions of the agencies mandated to manage it. Applying an approach that is relevant and engages with individuals and communities at a humanistic level and initiates facilitated dialogue with community leaders and stakeholders allows people to express their perspectives and allows managers and researchers to integrate perspectives into management strategies. The approach allows people to have the difficult conversations about the past and to explore how heritage and history have influenced the present. These perspectives are, after all, what heritage means – the experiences of the past that provide the context through which societies define themselves. These dialogues provide heritage practitioners the opportunity to clearly outline their role as legislated authorities and define what this role means in terms of power. Community leaders, in turn, must be provided an opportunity to outline their own vision for management and the role that they will play in conservation, expressing equal power in decision-making processes. While roles are broadly defined by legislation, management agencies can contribute their legal powers and academic expertise as collaborators and co-ordinators for the implementation of community defined management strategies.

Disempowered communities that feel marginalised and excluded from decision-making processes and research carried out at heritage sites, require continued inclusionary actions to stop them losing interest. The deep mistrust and resentment of outsiders by people living around heritage sites that have been defined by the assignment of significance by practitioners, academics and managers must be reversed. Constant community reporting and consultation will contribute towards rebuilding trust.

Communication should shift power from outside groups to the communities at sites. This shift takes the form of empowerment in defining heritage narratives, but also of transferring ownership of heritage benefits. Business development and ownership should reside with local groups and individuals. By ensuring that the benefits of heritage industry are locally owned, that management decisions originate locally and that outsiders provide support rather than dictate direction, a sustainable development plan with local buy-in can be created and, with institutional support, implemented. Shifting attitudes should highlight the opportunities for both community and individual benefit that a management strategy might produce. Through being informed of the benefits arising from a well-structured management plan, individual fears surrounding forced displacement and exclusion will be allayed.

The implementation of the MUCH approach described above does not advocate that scientific enquiry dissociates communities from their heritage, nor does it advocate removing research decision-making from academics or stifling scientific enterprise. Scientific endeavour and archaeological research are crucial in furthering our understanding of the past, and archaeologists and historians play a significant role in expanding the body of scientific knowledge. But in societies that are indifferent to archaeology; that feel that their perspectives on heritage are being marginalised; and that must take, and benefit from, local ownership and responsibility for heritage site management, there must be opportunities to promote their own histories and tell their own stories. In turn, the production of local knowledge, rather than taking from archaeological and historical research, should enrich and empower archaeology (Pikirayi 2016, paragraph 2).

The purpose of starting an alternative discussion on the value of MUCH and new approaches to MUCH management and research is to bring new ideas into the mainstream and to raise awareness of the role that MUCH plays in society. While an awareness of the importance of this heritage manifests on a subconscious level in, for example, the instances described above, there is little conscious recognition of its importance. The approach to MUCH management outlined here seeks to showcase the role of heritage in society and make people conscious of the need for furthering heritage studies and management principles. It allows individuals and communities to involve themselves in heritage, to tell their own stories and to position themselves within their local, national and global contexts. This inclusive approach

ensures that individuals and communities can relate to MUCH in new ways. It aspires to raise perceptions of the value of MUCH within the African agenda through promoting the tangible benefits achieved through good management. The approach allows stakeholders to take cognisance of the positive and vital contribution that heritage makes to society and begin to actively support the development of the sector with funding, research opportunities and collaboration.

The management approach and resulting models described above have been built on the philosophy of heritage being a basic human need. They recognise that in Africa, and across the globe, heritage is perceived as a luxury that few can afford to support. If asked, most people would cite issues regarding housing, employment, infrastructure, access to basic services, crime, health and a host of others as being more pressing than heritage matters and worthier of funding. It would be disingenuous to suggest that these issues are unimportant, but the way these issues are addressed is determined by experience, societal attitudes, and social structures. These, in turn, are informed by a society's heritage. Heritage plays a vital role in shaping individual, community and national identity (Graham and Howard 2008). Because of the importance of heritage in society and because heritage plays a role on all levels in society, a community driven approach to the field allows for a multifaceted, inclusive and relevant strategy for heritage identification, protection and management.

Sub-Saharan Africa stands at a crossroads of MUCH management. The path that the nations that make up the region now take will determine the future longevity of MUCH, the disciplines associated with managing, interpreting and exploring MUCH sites and the sites themselves. What is required is wide ranging involvement and a commitment at all levels. Working together, stakeholders from across communities and authorities will shape the way forward.

Afterword Where to from here? Future Research Potential

LOOSE ENDS

There are many challenges that were made evident while completing this research but which could not be addressed within the scope of this book. It is important that some are highlighted here.

MUCH has developed significantly in the past decade. In the South African example, it has benefited from discussions surrounding the scope of the field and eventual production of strategic documents that informed an approach. Regional growth in the MUCH field has been observed. Robben Island Museum has remained committed to the field both in terms of developing their tourism offering to include a broader interpretation of the heritage landscape and in terms of continuing to develop capacity within the institution for the management of the submerged cultural resources that surround the Island itself. Madagascar has committed to developing a maritime museum that addresses local maritime culture as well as European maritime legacies. Awareness of MUCH has also increased as evidenced by an increase in reporting of inappropriate behaviour to heritage management authorities in South Africa and at Ilha de Mozambique. Awareness raising efforts for maritime heritage at government level have also found traction. While action has been slow, MUCH has remained on the government agenda in the form of policy development and project implementation. MUCH was identified as a key area for development in the South African Department of Arts and Culture's strategic goals and both Madagascar and South Africa have recently ratified the 2001 Convention. Field schools have been introduced at South African and Senegalese universities and UNESCO has completed a regional training workshop in Mombasa, Kenya. Nigeria, Kenya and Mozambique have hosted African Underwater Cultural Heritage Regional Meetings.

It is questionable, however, whether this is enough. In the four years following the conclusion of the MADP, continued participation in MUCH management and research has been low across the southern African region. At a very local level it is still necessary to assess how people assign value to MUCH and how maritime archaeological sites can be promoted as a valuable resource that can contribute to development needs if assimilated into development strategies rather than as a burden that should be put on hold until pressing social challenges are addressed. In Africa where the management systems for heritage sites remain deeply entrenched in a western legislative framework, pathways must be found to ensure a locally relevant and cosmologically appropriate context can be established that allows stakeholders opportunities to contribute towards safeguarding the past and that can be incorporated into legislation. Sub-Saharan Africa needs a management strategy that draws a line in the postcolonial sand. To address immediate needs and to set a course for MUCH in the developing world, legislators and managers must use the tools offered by the 2001 Convention coupled with national legislation that clearly define the national MUCH management strategies, and couple them with a new approach to the MUCH resource.

To expand on the concepts outlined above and propose a blueprint for the future of MUCH in the region MUCH managers could consider developing a detailed manual for a sustainable management approach that is relevant and applicable within local contexts and that promotes holistic management planning, and addresses capacity building strategies, training needs and educational necessities for MUCH

Technological advances and the availability of networking platforms will continue to play a significant role in heritage management and engagement. Applications such as NYUAD heritage app have been mentioned briefly in this context but opportunities in this area must be more deeply explored.

Finally, there is an urgency to review and revise development approaches and structures generally. New postcolonial discourses must be initiated to allow well-meaning practitioners opportunities to engage with and support the developing world more successfully. While this falls far outside of the scope of this dissertation, the approach proposed here may be an applicable tool outside of the heritage sector. A basic understanding that African society is no different from any other would go a long way to changing the *status quo*. Recognising that challenges in the developing world are more complex than can be addressed by short-term interventions and that long-term, sustainable and relevant support that results in independence is more valuable than the application of developed world solutions that rely on continual external input. It is also necessary for western development workers to recognise that, just like anyone in the developing world, Africans have jobs, families, daily chores and worries that require their attention and that two weeks of awareness raising away from their daily lives is disruptive and demanding.

HERITAGE AND TOURISM

While much has been written on heritage tourism in the last two decades, this study has focused on the development of practical strategies for managing MUCH sites and their direct stakeholders. It did not expand to include this area beyond mentioning its potential to contribute towards economies and management buy-in. However, management and tourism have been closely linked and there is rich potential for future research on opportunities and challenges.

The economic value of heritage, especially in the tourism industries, means that any interactions with- or activities aimed at- heritage must include proposals for using heritage as an economic driver. This is particularly true in the developing world where heritage may be perceived as a luxury. Research aimed at establishing a monetary incentive for preserving and engaging with heritage is vital both as a tool for development and as a tool for heritage management – it is easier to convince stakeholders that good management practice, conservation, access control and research are viable activities that should be promoted and facilitated if economic benefits are seen to accrue. Because economic benefits of heritage are an essential element of any heritage approach and because the proposed approach seeks to find conduits for local communities and stakeholders to directly access and retain economic benefits, it was important that there was a basic understanding of current thinking surrounding heritage tourism.

It has been recognised for some time that heritage tourism is not only a growing market, but that it can positively contribute towards growing economies in the developing world (Prentice 1993, Bowitz and Ibenholt, 2009). However, as Aas *et al.* (2005) point out, the goals of heritage management and tourism may not adequately align. Because tourism initiatives are driven primarily by profit, the potentially negative impact of visitors on heritage sites is of secondary consideration to business development. This does not suggest that business is unsympathetic to heritage management goals. It is, in fact, in the interests of tourism that heritage sites are not only conserved for their aesthetic value, but that heritage management strategies limit damage, promote continuing investigation and provide space for an evolution of product offerings. The Robben Island World Heritage Site is a case in point for this approach to management. Recognising the challenges of the limited scope for visitor activities together with the deterioration of the built and natural environment on the Island, the Robben Island Museum revisited and revised their Integrated Conservation Management Plan (Robben Island Museum 2013) to promote better sustainability. Amongst the strategic revisions were measures to open opportunities for using the Island's heritage spaces for promoting a more holistic narrative of the heritage landscape. It was concluded that by increasing visitor numbers to previously neglected spaces, it would be possible to better

conserve the associated buildings, intangible heritage and historical sites. The intentions to expand tourism offerings were made explicit in the proposition of heritage trails by students from Leiden University.

The power of heritage tourism lies in fostering narratives that are both locally relevant and that have global appeal. Heritage sites cannot be viewed as singular entities with singular meanings. Not only are sites reflections of historical events or epochs, but they are imbued with wide ranging significance. "[T]here is a more complex setting that includes the present-day ecosystem, local communities, and the socio-political networks that must also be considered" (Walker and Carr 2013:14). Because heritage had been a driver for tourism since long before archaeologists and heritage managers recognised its potential or brought it into the mainstream of practice, it is important that heritage managers take cognisance of some of the experiences of the tourism industry (Walker *et al.* 2013). In particular, heritage managers must adapt to the evolution of both the tourism and the heritage industries. On the one hand, tourism has entered heritage management as a means for engaging local communities at heritage sites and as a justification for better, localised heritage management practices while on the other hand, heritage has entered the tourism sector as a solution to the challenges of economic development in rural or poor areas. In both instances, sustainability is the powerful driver for promoting broad buy-in. As both sides have promoted their agendas in creating an environment for tourism, be they economically or managerially motivated, various universal concerns have presented themselves. Firstly, heritage managers, archaeologists and the tourism sector have questioned the impact that non-professional visitors will have on sites and, therefore, the sustainability of tourism (Comer and Willems 2011). Secondly, the challenges associated with engaging communities living at or near sites and satisfying their needs and wants, have forced heritage and tourism practitioners to reflect on the engagement process. Aas *et al.* (2005) summarised some of these challenges by asking whether community participation is truly possible. To best gauge community views, it is necessary to consult as widely as possible. But what is "the community", and how does it differ from a "stakeholder" (p 31)? How do heritage practitioners determine whether the individuals or groups that they have addressed represent the wider community views (p 30)? Aas *et al.* (2005) did not dismiss the value of community participation and collaboration in decision-making, but warned against the notion that a single-minded approach will satisfy any situation regardless of political, cultural or social constructs of different societies.

The issues associated with community participation and consultation have been illustrated by the Lake Fundudzi case study. In this instance, site declaration was delayed for several years as sectors of the community jostled to assert various agendas, priorities and needs. The process was further hampered by individuals or groups who felt that their voices were not being heard and that their needs were not being met. As discussed, low prioritisation and poor support for heritage is a recurring problem in the developing world (Breen 2007). While heritage managers in the developed world argue that heritage is poorly funded globally, a comparison between South Africa, ranked 25 on both the World Bank and the CIA World Fact Book in terms of Gross Domestic Product (purchasing price parity) and Africa's highest ranking economy in terms of GDP (PPP), the Netherlands, ranked 23, and Australia, ranked 17, shows that there is a substantial disparity between the developed and developing world. Between 2010 and 2014 South Africa's budget for all operational costs for SAHRA, including special projects and external fundraising, was approximately €12 million (SAHRA 2009 - 2013**)**. Over the same period, Australia spent €68 million just on special projects (Department of Environment, Water 2010), while, according to its website, the Netherlands' *Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed* boasted a budget of over €80 million for maintenance of monuments and sites for 2014 alone. If heritage is to become a driver for economic development in the developing world, it is essential that government spending and investment is increased to reflect a commitment to this sector of the economy and to provide a platform from which growth can take place.

In the absence of government spending, MUCH suffers the same challenges as its terrestrial

counterpart; it is compounded, however, by the lure of treasure. The global battle between archaeologists and treasure hunters underpins this issue. Although heritage practitioners promote good heritage management as a sustainable practice for long-term economic development, individuals and communities, in the developing world in particular, must weigh up the long-term benefits against their immediate basic needs. This opens the opportunity for treasure hunters promising quick gains to promote their own activities as preferable to those of the heritage specialists. Archaeology is particularly vulnerable in this regard. Small, local museums with small research budgets and poor funding support must ensure that their collections offer visitors the spectacular while maintaining low curatorial costs. Wares (2013), in her dissertation examining maritime museum collections noted: "In speaking to the management of the Bredasdorp Shipwreck Museum about the apparent disjuncture between underwater salvage and maritime archaeology, it is clear that although they are aware of the contests, they do not see it as their fight. Ultimately those in charge of the museum believe if the objects have been salvaged in the past, they deserve to serve a purpose to the public by being placed in collections and on display." (p 65). Museum managers' concerns are for their own institution's well-being. Because of this, museums often shy away from entering into the MUCH management debate and, inadvertently, promote treasure-hunting practices. Aside from ethical considerations, museums, through their collection or display policies, run the danger of creating false histories (Fabian 2013) or promoting only authorised narratives. The objects and sites targeted by treasure hunters are specifically commercial in nature. Treasure hunters search for and recover objects from treasure ships and ignore other vessels whose historical influence may be more important. In the Bredasdorp/Cape Agulhas area, underwater cultural heritage forms an important component in the fabric of the heritage landscape. There are numerous shipwrecks, stone walled fish traps, pre-colonial shell middens and other maritime related archaeological sites. In addition, there is a rich intangible heritage associated with the sea. Because the museum's acquisition policy is indiscriminate, its collection is formed by the discards of the treasure hunting community and is skewed. Wares (2013) indicates that the museum has neither a research focus nor is it representative of the history of the region, although this is not made explicit to the visitor. Important shipwrecks such as the Dutch slave ship *Meermin* (1766), fish traps and other archaeological sites lie within the catchment of the museum but none are represented. Visitors leave the museum with a constructed history and with little interest in exploring the surrounding region. The drawback of this from both a heritage tourism and heritage management perspective, is that the potential for visitors to go to the sites not represented in the museum is lost. Potential revenue streams flowing into the area outside of Bredasdorp are forfeited. In addition, the motivation for communities surrounding other sites to safeguard their history falls away. Finally, by marginalising the heritage of large sections of the citizens of the area, the museum marginalises their culture and identity.

The current economic climate and the challenges faced by developing world governments means that it would be unrealistic to expect heritage activities and tourism to attract government spending. But, since heritage will not provide economic opportunities is it then ethical to outlaw treasure hunting practices that might benefit those communities? The onus for stating the case for MUCH protection has been put firmly on archaeologists and managers. Treasure hunters have opened their treasure chests and allowed people to peek inside. The promise of museums, tourists and quick profits is alluring in the face of poverty and is attractive despite warnings against conmen and plunderers that shaped attitudes in the Ilha de Mozambique and Eastern Cape case studies. It is up to heritage practitioners to promote archaeological ethics and good practice, find ways to create low-cost heritage management strategies, encourage community buy-in and participation and, most importantly, show that they have a better alternative to treasure hunting.

Heritage tourism is undoubtedly a driver for economic development. Although the projects described incorporated tourism as an important element in developing management strategies it was not the focus of interventions and has, therefore,

not been rigorously assessed. However, there are many research opportunities surrounding heritage tourism still available and in need of investigation, and the use of the proposed approach offers solutions to accessing new data. Tourism strategies that will provide local benefit must be rooted in local infrastructural, expertise and capacity contexts. The constraints that exist in rural and semi-rural areas must determine how implementation of initiatives is executed. Again, by adopting the community driven approach to heritage tourism, it is possible to make it sustainable and viable.

SOME THOUGHTS ON POSTMODERNISM AND POSTCOLONIAL THEORY

The analysis of MUCH management approaches described in this book have been framed by a critical realist methodology. Although I chose a different theoretical approach, I recognised the postcolonial and postmodern undercurrent that ran through this work and believe that there is a need to expand these discourses more deeply into MUCH. This afterword therefore flags the need for further theoretical engagement and suggests a platform for future research.

To understand change, this research examined the effects of interventions in various aspects of MUCH engagement, management and archaeological practice and tested their effectiveness and influence using a critical realist perspective. Having now observed outcomes in case study applications, it is necessary to retest the approach through the lenses of alternative theoretical frameworks that operate within each of the critical realist domains and which have influenced the development of the MUCH management *status quo*. For example, colonial heritage management frameworks have formed the backbone of legislation in the "real" domain, have guided implementation methodologies in the "actual" world, and have influenced the way in which MUCH is perceived at the "empirical" level.

Given that the evolution of the approach to MUCH that has been described in this book was applied in contexts weighted with the postmodern and postcolonial constructs, it is perhaps prudent to identify some of the key concepts from each of these theoretical perspectives as they related to the work and offer some pegs on which to hang future investigations of new iterations of the MUCH management approach and MUCH research. It should be noted, however, that a rigid application of theoretical constructs may be a stumbling block in community engagements and developments in heritage practice (Mehari and Ryano 2016, paragraph 4) where "… stagnation, colonial legacies, and emerging postcolonial marginalization deny African communities engagement, … cultural respect, and basic community development" ((Mehari and Ryano 2016, paragraph 91).

Postmodernism is critical in the development of new approaches to MUCH in that it promotes and validates multiple historical narratives. Postmodernist thought gained traction post World War II as historians realised that the grand (authorised) narratives that were used to explain a progressive, developmental history were inadequate in explaining and recording events and could no longer be applied to historical research and thought (Claus and Marriott 2012). Instead, it was necessary to contemplate multiple influences that inspired an individual or group perception of the past and current events. Postmodernism proposed the possibility that historic processes were irrational and that progress did not inevitably equate to improvement on what had gone before. An illogical society influences historical sequence, which means that it is driven by human idiosyncrasy and perception rather than predictable advancement. This implies that history will be imbued with different interpretations depending on which side an individual or group happened to find themselves. It also meant that the meanings that historical narratives impart are shaped by the medium through which they are presented, be it political ideology, professional historical research or storytelling (Claus and Marriott 2012). Postmodernism has faced criticism in that it fails to ascribe historical truth to facts alone, but allows for historical truth to be shaped by societal perceptions of events. This malleability of meaning has meant that postmodernism is difficult to describe. However, As Leake (2012, 634) points out: "demonstrating the elusiveness of meaning is part of the point".

Postmodernism provides a theoretical understanding of the development of identity or identities of individuals and groups (Leake 2012) that is relevant to the arguments presented in the preceding chapters. Postmodernists argue that identity is flexible and that individuals can possess multiple identities that are influenced or made dominant by circumstances and by the environment of "truths" in which they find themselves. This is a key consideration when examining the ways in which societies produce, interact with and understand their heritage. Furthermore, it is a critical element in devising pathways for heritage communities to develop strategies for managing their past in a manner that accommodates both historical fact and historical meaning. A flexibility of management policy is needed to address the ebb and flow of significance of sites. The symbolism and value of shipwrecks, for example, changes over time. This does not imply that their management should be limited only to times when they are recognised as important. Heritage management should be cognisant of changing perceptions and multiple stakeholders and should ensure that sites (and practices) are safeguarded regardless of current expedience. Once again, the cultural landscape provides a powerful framework in which management can take place.

While postmodernism recognises multiple narratives, postcolonialism recognises multiple perspectives of single narratives. In other words, where postmodernism recognises that there are multiple versions of the truth, postcolonial theory recognises that there are multiple perspectives on any of those versions of truth. For example, colonial expansion may be viewed by the postmodernist as the story of developing trade, of globalisation or of changing politics. The postcolonialist recognises that changing politics can be an example of both dominance or domination at the same time. In other words, it could be understood from the position of both perpetrator and victim.

Postcolonial theory recognises that historical perspectives have traditionally been shaped by the view through the western lens and that the perspective needed to be expanded. Young (2003), describes postcolonial thinking as a set of perspectives that may be oppositional or contradictory, but that provide multiple spaces for, and relationships between, knowledges of both the west and the non-west. It also recognises that most narratives that have been produced have been achieved through western methodologies and theories that have been applied to the archaeological and historical sciences. The interpretations of archaeological assemblages and historical documentation assume that western culture, education, politics and economy are the pinnacle of society towards which everyone should strive. European colonial powers believed that by enforcing their own set of norms and standards, they were helping the "primitives" of the colonies to achieve a better, modern society (Claus and Marriott 2012). At the same time, those societies saw their own cultural norms and histories dwindling as they were superseded by western society. Postcolonial theory challenges dominant concepts of how we generate knowledge and how we have come to know things (Iwowo 2014).

By adopting the role of the driver in recording history, the coloniser is given the opportunity to describe the history of other people through his/her understanding of that people. Local perspectives or input is not solicited. As such local histories are decontextualised and made inferior (Young 2003). By giving the history of the "other" a lower status, the coloniser subjugates the colonised not only by physical, but also by intellectual force. The heritage that is taught is someone else's heritage, authored in academic research institutions and authorised by outsiders. Additionally, this historiography skews historical processes by writing a narrative that espouses European triumphalism and largesse. The example provided by Claus and Marriott (2012) of history recording that India gained independence because of British generosity rather than through nationalist struggles, effectively highlights the way history is distorted in favour of the coloniser.

Postcolonial theory is a platform from which imbalances and inequalities can be addressed. It provides a means for developing a system of heritage engagement that is culturally respectful and tolerant, that provides for rights to cultural well-being and that recognises the contributions of developing nations

and ex-colonial cultural influences on the west. (Young 2003). While the theory must differentiate the colonial rulers from the colonised to establish an alternative view from which to study the world and to delineate between the forced authorised narratives and the perspectives of unofficial stakeholders, it must also take care to ensure that the position is not reversed. Postcolonialism should not merely replace one dominant narrative with another, but must find ways in which the western knowledge systems find a voice where relevant. Postcolonialism must, therefore, not be about flipping the system to benefit a new master but must seek to find pathways to change the system.

The dominant western narrative of the past five centuries has, after all, had a profound influence on the way societies and the world have developed. Culture is not static, it can no longer be argued that a culture is purely African or purely European. Cultural mixing or cultural evolution has resulted in a hybridised heritage and a hybridised experience. Whether, in terms of history this is a shared, conflicting, contested, opposed or parallel set of heritages depends on the perspective of the individual or group experiencing them. By applying postcolonial thinking to heritage, it is no longer necessary to become something different, to become European or African, to assimilate cultural elements into one's own identity. A cultural disconnect is produced by efforts to retain pure cultural identities that are static and immutable, which has consequences for developing societies in a globalised world. For heritage managers, and for those espousing a new approach to heritage management in sub-Saharan Africa, a delicate balancing act that recognises a multiplicitous, evolving discourse and is acceptable to a diverse society must be achieved.

There is a profound need for postcolonial thinking to be applied to the management of MUCH in Africa. Not only will it open opportunities for new research and a better understanding of the past, but it will fulfil the human need to have personal perspectives and understandings of the past recognised and validated, as was required in all the case studies presented above. If the reader remains unconvinced of the need for recognition and validation of individual perspectives and self-determined narratives and is sceptical that this need is valid outside of contemporary developing world nations railing against the West, consider the following:

> *"When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation."*
>
> – Preamble of the US Declaration of Independence 1776

And it is with these words that my journey through this research comes to an end.

Appendix I Review of Legislation

REVIEW OF LEGAL OBLIGATIONS IN THE NATIONAL HERITAGE RESOURCES ACT, 25 OF 1999, RELATING TO COMMERCIAL EXPLOITATION OF HISTORIC SHIPWRECKS.

In 2008, the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) received queries regarding its refusal to issue permits for the commercial salvage of historic shipwrecks. These queries prompted SAHRA to re-examine the criteria for adjudicating permit applications in order to adhere to various legislative directives governing permitting decisions and in order to ensure that it did not open itself to possible legal challenges resulting from misapplication of legislation. Specifically, SAHRA needed to adhere to the requirements of National Heritage Resources Act, 25 of 1999 (NHRA) and its associated Regulations (Regulation No 6820). Also of relevance in this regard was the Promotion of Administrative Justice Act, 2000 (PAJA).

BACKGROUND

On 25 January 2007, a meeting to discuss objections to SAHRA's Shipwreck Policy was held between The South African Heritage Resources Agency, the Department of Arts and Culture and interested public parties. The primary objection to the Policy was that it did not allow for the consideration of permit applications by the SAHRA Permit Committee if those applications proposed a commercial component to projects. Because the Policy could be legally interpreted to be in conflict with the National Heritage Resources Act, 1999 (NHRA), the SAHRA CEO agreed that, subject to Council approval, it would be repealed. The matter was subsequently discussed by SAHRA's Council and the Policy was repealed. The result of this was that the shipwreck permitting system that had been in place since 1986 was re-opened and permit applications for commercial salvage of historic shipwrecks had to be considered. The decision also meant that guidelines and principles that were contained in the Shipwreck Policy were no longer applicable. This in turn meant that consideration of permit applications must be concluded in light of both existing and previous legislation.

At the same meeting, it was agreed that the Department of Arts and Culture and SAHRA would co-operate to develop a comprehensive policy on underwater cultural heritage management in general and historical shipwrecks in particular. It was agreed that this new policy would come into force in 2010 and would be advised by the UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage. Although South Africa has not ratified the UNESCO Convention, the Department of Arts and Culture has recommended ratification and implementation by South Africa. The recommendation has been submitted for the Parliamentary agenda. A draft Underwater Cultural Heritage Policy has also been completed. Both the Convention and the Policy work towards halting commercial exploitation of historic wrecks in South African waters. At the time of writing neither has been implemented.

LEGISLATIVE SHORTCOMINGS

1. Commercial Exploitation of Underwater Cultural Heritage

Although it is recognised that archaeology and commercial exploitation of wrecks are fundamentally incompatible, the NHRA does not specifically ban commercial exploitation of the shipwreck resource

and, in some instances, implies that sale of maritime and underwater cultural heritage resources is condoned. Section 35 (4) states that:

> (4) No person may, without a permit issued by the responsible heritage resources authority –
>
> > (c) trade in, sell for private gain, export or attempt to export from the Republic any category of archaeological or palaeontological material or object, or any meteorite;

Section 32 of the NHRA states that:

> (1) An object or collection of objects, or a type of object or list of object, whether specific or generic, that is part of the national estate and the export of which SAHRA deems it necessary to control may be declared a heritage object, including –
>
> > (a) objects recovered from the soil or waters of South Africa, including archaeological and palaeontological objects …

It continues to describe actions that may be applied to such objects, including:

> (12) The owner of a heritage object… must notify SAHRA of the name and address of the new owner when such an object is sold or otherwise alienated …

Chapter VIII of the NHRA's Regulations applies to permit applications for shipwrecks. It contains the following stipulations:

> 25 (2) these regulations do not apply to any person applying for a permit to trade in, sell for private gain, export or attempt to export from the Republic any category of wreck material or objects. Such applications must be made in terms of the regulations in Chapter VII. [Application for Permit to Export a Heritage Object (Section 32(21))]
>
> 30 (4) No object recovered from a wreck may be disposed of except to the collaborating institution without the prior agreement of SAHRA.
>
> 30 (5) Objects recovered from wrecks older than 1850 or deemed to be significant by SAHRA will be regarded as a study collection and may not be dispersed, sold or otherwise disposed of without special permission of SAHRA.
>
> 30 (6) In the event that an agreement regarding the division of wreck material between the collaborating institution and the permit holder is approved by SAHRA …

Chapter VII of the Regulations referred to above applies to applications to:

> 1 (c) trade in, sell for private gain or export from the Republic
>
> > (i) any category of wreck material or object;

Although the Act does not deal specifically with the details of sale of wreck material or objects, the implication is that it is permissible under current legislation. For this reason, an application for a shipwreck permit cannot, at this time, be refused on the grounds that it is for a commercial project. Because new policy and the UNESCO Convention for the Protection of Underwater Heritage have not yet been accepted into South African legal framework, these cannot be used as reference tools for decision-making on permit applications.

2. Minimum Archaeological Qualifications

The South African Heritage Resources Agency may prescribe standards of practice and minimum qualifications for working on heritage resources. Section 25 of the Act stipulates that:

(2) A heritage resources authority may –

> (h) subject to the provisions of section 59, make and from time to time amend regulations relating to any matter which the

> heritage authority concerned considers to be necessary or expedient to prescribe to fulfil its functions and implement its powers and duties under this Act, including —
>
> > (i) the standards of practice and qualifications required of individuals, institutions or other bodies for the performance of work on heritage resources protected in terms of, and in the various fields covered by, this Act;

Regulations, however, refer only vaguely to required qualifications in Chapter VIII (28):

> (3) If a wreck is older than 1850 or deemed to be significant by SAHRA, a suitably qualified maritime archaeologist, approved by SAHRA and preferably employed at a recognised institution, must be included as a full member of the team: Provided that if a maritime archaeologist is not available, a suitably qualified approved archaeologist may be included in the team, on condition that he/she remain in regular contact with SAHRA during the work. If there is no archaeologist available at the collaborating institution, arrangements for the inclusion of a suitable archaeologist on the team must be made in consultation with SAHRA.

Section 29 of the Regulations adds that:

> (5) The team archaeologist referred to in regulation 28 (3) is not obliged to dive with the team, but may do so at his/her discretion.

Although SAHRA may approve or disapprove of an archaeologist, the criteria by which qualifications can be judged, are lacking. Following the SAHRA Council's repeal of the Shipwreck Policy, SAHRA has no guidelines in place that would determine minimum qualifications, professional affiliations or experience of archaeologists working on a shipwreck site. Legal opinion has, therefore, deemed that any decision regarding qualifications cannot be unreasonably prejudicial to the applicant should an archaeologist be able "to demonstrate a knowledge and understanding of, and commitment to, the use of underwater archaeological recording and excavation procedures and methods" as required by Chapter VIII 28(2) of the Regulations. The development of an excavation strategy may be the most suitable way for the archaeologist to demonstrate his/her competence and a suitable document on which the Permit Committee can adjudicate applications. The development of guidelines, standards and qualifications that can be included in the Regulations has been suspended until the Department of Arts and Culture gives a directive for maritime and underwater cultural heritage resources management through the implementation of its national Policy.

3. Minimum Standards and Suitability of Collaborating Institutions

Permit applications for activities aimed at underwater cultural heritage require that the applicant have a written agreement from a collaborating institution which "supervises and advises on the recovery of objects, accepts objects as part of its collection and undertakes their curation and conservation", and performs other agreed upon functions. Again, legislation does not elaborate on the standards. Chapter I of the Regulations defines a collaborating institute simply as:

"collaborating institution" means a museum or university or other institution approved by SAHRA, which has a written collections policy, a proven capacity to conserve and curate objects and the will to do so;

Further functions of the institution, or other parties to the application, may be further defined in a Heritage Agreement as elaborated in Section 30 of Chapter VIII of the regulations.

As was discussed above in reference to minimum qualifications of archaeologists, no guidelines for recognition of institutions exists at present. Again, the request for a detailed conservation plan may be the most suitable manner in which to judge the suitability of an institution. Conservation and curation require specific facilities and are perhaps more easily assessed prior to commencement of excavation or issuing of an excavation permit.

CURRENT REGULATORY CRITERIA FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF APPLICATIONS FOR PERMITS TO EXCAVATE HISTORIC SHIPWRECKS

Current criteria for the assessment of applications for excavation permits for shipwrecks are largely contained in the Regulations. In the absence of Guidelines, these criteria relate principally to administrative procedure and refer only to standards and qualifications as described above. There are, however, certain sections of the Regulations (with reference to sections of the NHRA) that allow SAHRA to establish conditions, standards and requirements of an excavation should a permit be issued. Chapter VIII allows SAHRA to assess whether or not requirements are being met on an annual basis through reports and, during excavation through monitoring and site visitation. Specifically:

> 32. (1) Every permit holder must, by 31 December of any given year, submit to SAHRA-
>
> (a) an annual progress report, in accordance with Guidelines, which must include a description of the work done during the year, an accurate site plan with the positions of all objects excavated or collected clearly marked, and a list of all objects removed from the site and their current whereabouts;
>
> (2) A final report, conforming to the standards set out in the Guidelines, must be submitted to SAHRA within six months of the date of expiry of the permit.

Should a permit be issued, the requirements can be determined by SAHRA in terms of Section 48 of the Act:

> (2) On application by any person in the manner prescribed under subsection (1), a heritage resources authority may in its discretion issue to such person a permit to perform such actions at such time and subject to such terms, conditions and restrictions or directions as may be specified in the permit, including a condition —
>
> *(a)* that the applicant give security in such form and such amount determined by the heritage resources authority concerned, having regard to the nature and extent of the work referred to in the permit, to ensure the satisfactory completion of such work or the curation of objects and material recovered during the course of the work; or
>
> *(b)* providing for the recycling or deposit in a materials bank of historical building materials; or
>
> *(c)* stipulating that design proposals be revised; or
>
> *(d)* regarding the qualifications and expertise required to perform the actions for which the permit is issued.

The authority of SAHRA to conduct on site monitoring is given in Chapter II of the Regulations:

> 6. A heritage inspector or other authorised representative of SAHRA may at any reasonable time inspect any site or object for which a permit has been issued or for which a permit is being applied.

Conditions for granting of a permit and requirements for that permit to remain valid can be detailed in a Heritage Agreement as set out by Section 42 of the Act. Non-adherence to conditions stipulated in such an agreement would allow SAHRA to cancel a permit.

Appendix II Element Decision Tables

SRI LANKA pre-1990

	Narrative	Significance Values	Management Capacity	Accessibility	Participation	Rules
Individual	N	N	Y – treasure hunters and archaeologists attempted to manage sites	N	N	N
Local	P – Cmdr. Somasari Devendra initiated efforts to incorporate maritime archaeology and protection of shipwrecks into the Sri Lankan historical narrative	N	N	P – Treasure hunters and tour operations	N	N
Multiple Communities	N	N	N	P – some archaeological access	N – Although people accessed sites and looted artefacts, there was no developed narrative for MUCH	N
National	P – Sites discovered on the Great Basses Reef had become part of a national narrative, particularly through tourism	N	P – Cmdr. Somasari Devendra and maritime historians undertook some research	N	N	P – The Merchant Shipping Act of 1971 ensured that abandoned wrecks in Sri Lankan waters belonged to the state. There was, however, no regulation of MUCH resources
Regional	Y –Regional trade was recognised	Y – Regional trade was significant	N	P – Although a maritime museum did not exist, artefacts were accessible in museums and through private trade	N	N
Global	Y – Shipwrecks form part of the global narrative of expansion and colonisation	Y – Global maritime trade and expansion	P – International experts implementing the project promoted the Rules of the 2001 Convention, although the convention was not ratified	P – Muckelroy and others published some work	Y – An increasingly vocal international community began to develop a narrative based on global shipping activities	N
	16.65% - 83.3%	**0% - 66.7%**	**33.3% - 33.3%**	**33.3% - 33.3%**	**0% - 33.3%**	**0% - 16.65%**

SRI LANKA – After *Avondster* Project (post-2004)

	Narrative	Significance Values	Management Capacity	Accessibility	Participation	Rules
Individual	N	N	N	Y – Some private collections exist	N	N
Local	Y – The World Heritage Site and Museum narratives related to single communities	N –Shipbuilding and maritime development do not apply to specific communities	N	N	N	N
Multiple Communities	Y – The World Heritage Site, Museum and shipwreck narratives related to multiple communities	P – MUCH is significant to communities that participate in maritime activities and associate with maritime history	Y – MAU, Central Heritage Fund, Department of Archaeology share capacity	Y – Archaeological / practitioner access	Y – Archaeologists and historians have written the MUCH narrative	N
National	Y – The MUCH narrative includes multiple sites and is part of the national history	Y – Sri Lanka recognises the role of maritime culture in its evolution	Y – The MAU provides national capacity	N	Y – Through cultural institutions it has been possible for the public to contribute towards the accepted MUCH narrative	Y – National legislation has been promulgated
Regional	Y –Regional trade and maritime activities are recognised	Y – Regional trade and maritime links are significant	N	Y – The maritime museum at Gale is publicly accessible	N – Regional consultation has not yet been achieved	N
Global	Y – Shipwrecks form part of the global narrative of expansion and colonisation	Y – Global maritime trade and expansion. Universal significance values of the World Heritage Site	Y – UNESCO has arranged some international training, and there are some international projects taking place, but capacity is temporary	Y – Extensive publication of Avondster and other MUCH research	Y – The international community has contributed to the MUCH narrative through the World Heritage Site and through projects	N
	66.7% - 100%	**16.67% - 100%**	**33.3% - 66.7%**	**66.7% - 66.7%**	**33.3% - 66.7**	**0% - 33.3%**

TANZANIA – Prior to MUCH Programme

	Narrative	Significance Values	Management Capacity	Accessibility	Participation	Rules
Individual	N	Unknown	N	N	N	N
Local	N	Unknown	N	N	N	N
Multiple Communities	P – Maritime culture is part of Swahili culture, but underwater cultural heritage is not recognised	Unknown	N	P – some archaeological access	N – The MUCH narrative is poorly defined. Archaeological interventions have been site specific	N
National	N	P – Swahili culture has a firm maritime component, but underwater cultural heritage is not included in the national significance values	N	N	Y – Zanzibar's House of Wonders has some artefacts recovered from shipwreck sites which have determined an accepted narrative	N
Regional	Y – European, Arabian and regional trade. Swahili culture, although maritime narrative is not clearly defined	Y – Regional trade was significant	N	Y - Zanzibar's House of Wonders has some artefacts recovered from shipwreck sites	N	N
Global	Y – the Zanzibar and Kilwa Kisiwani World Heritage Sites narrative on European and Arabian expansion	Y – Global maritime trade and expansion	P – International experts implementing the project promoted the Rules of the 2001 Convention, although the convention was not ratified	Y – Some maritime archaeological research was carried out at Kilwa Kisiwani (Pollard 2008a; 2008b)	Y – An increasingly vocal international community began to develop a narrative based on global shipping activities. Includes UNESCO, international managers and archaeologists	N
	16.67% - 66.7%	**0% - 66.7%**	**0% - 16.67%**	**16.67% - 66.7%**	**0% - 66.7%**	**0% - 0%**

TANZANIA – After MUCH Programme

	Narrative	Significance Values	Management Capacity	Accessibility	Participation	Rules
Individual	N	Unknown	N	N	N	N
Local	Y – Stone dhows and submerged walls were identified in the oral traditions. The origin of submerged walls is described differently within communities	Unknown	P - MUCH team members provide community management at their respective work places	Y – Oral traditions surrounding maritime heritage appear to exist	N	N
Multiple Communities	P –Local maritime histories were revealed – although limited – during oral history surveys	Y – Values ascribed to stone dhows are significant amongst several communities	P – It was envisaged that MUCH team members would be deployed across communities	P – Some archaeological access	N – The MUCH narrative is poorly defined. Archaeological interventions have been site specific	Y – MUCH team members have attempted to work with communities to manage underwater sites
National	N	Y – MUCH significance values e.g. at Kilwa Kisiwani and Zanzibar are nationally recognised	Y – A MUCH team was established	N	Y - Zanzibar's House of Wonders has some artefacts recovered from shipwreck sites which have determined an accepted narrative	N
Regional	Y – European, Arabian and regional trade. Stone dhow mythology appears regionally. Swahili culture, although maritime narrative is not clearly defined	Y – Regional trade and development of Swahili culture	P – It was envisaged that capacity could be deployed to similar sites in the region (e.g. Kenya)	Y - Zanzibar's House of Wonders has some artefacts recovered from shipwreck sites	N	N
Global	Y – the Zanzibar and Kilwa Kisiwani World Heritage Sites narrative on European and Arabian expansion	Y – Global maritime trade and expansion	Y – International experts support national initiatives	Y – Some maritime archaeological research was carried out at Kilwa Kisiwani (Pollard 2008a; 2008b; 2011, Jeffery and Parthesius 2012)	Y – International archaeological and heritage communities have developed a narrative based on global shipping activities.	Y – archaeologists and other practitioners have an agreed code of ethics and standards
	50% - 66.7%	**33.3% - 100%**	**33.3% - 83.4%**	**50% - 66.7%**	**0% - 66.7%**	**33.3% - 33.3%**

SOUTH AFRICA – Status Quo 2008

	Narrative	Significance Values	Management Capacity	Accessibility	Participation	Rules
Individual	Unknown	Unknown	N	Y – Treasure hunters have personal collections	N	N
Local	Unknown	Y – White South Africans attach significance to shipwrecks	P – Diving community managed wreck sites to some extent	Unknown	Y – Treasure hunters have contributed towards their MUCH narrative	N
Multiple Communities	P – Local maritime histories were revealed through archaeological excavations and treasure hunting	N	N	Y – Treasure hunters restrict access to sites and collections	Y – Multi-disciplinary academic investigation of wreck sites	N
National	Y – The impact of colonialism is significant in South Africa's heritage agenda	P – The impact of colonialism is significant in South Africa's heritage agenda, however, shipwreck sites and other underwater cultural heritage are not key markers of the colonial past for most South Africans	Y – SAHRA is mandated to manage shipwrecks by the National Heritage Resources Act (25 of 1999)	Y – Shipwrecks are popular diving attractions	Y – There is an accepted national MUCH narrative (closely aligned with the European narrative)	Y – National Heritage Resources Act (25 of 1999)
Regional	N	N	N	Y – Various maritime museums around South Africa have shipwreck displays	P – Although not regional, a shared European-South African narrative exists	P – An archaeological code of ethics is applied to shipwreck sites, but treasure hunters do not share this code of practice
Global	Y – South Africa's shipwrecks are relevant to a number of nations participating in European global expansion from the 14th century	Y – Global maritime trade and expansion	P – South Africa had not ratified the 2001 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage, but made efforts to apply its Annex as well as the 1996 ICOMOS Charter on the Protection and Management of Underwater Cultural Heritage	Y – Many popular, and some academic, works on shipwrecks are available	Y – International archaeological and heritage communities have developed a narrative based on global shipping activities.	N
	16.67% - 66.7%	**33.3% - 50%**	**16.67% - 50%**	**66.7% - 100%**	**66.7% - 83.4%**	**0% - 50%**

SOUTH AFRICA – Ideal (using Legacy Sites)

	Narrative	Significance Values	Management Capacity	Accessibility	Participation	Rules
Individual	Unknown	Unknown	N	N	N – "Experts" continue to drive narrative production	N
Local	Y – Non-shipwreck sites such as fish traps relate to single communities	Y - Single communities ascribe significance to Legacy Sites. For example, the ancestral heritage of Lake Fundudzi is uniquely associated with VhaVenda culture	P – Diving community managed wreck sites to some extent	Y – Rituals at Lake Fundudzi are limited to relevant communities	Y – Communities such as the community at Lake Fundudzi agree on public narrative	Y – The heritage of Fish traps and Lake Fundudzi comply with local community management processes
Multiple Communities	Y – Legacy Sites relate to multiple communities	Y – Multiple communities also ascribe significance to various Legacy Sites	Y – A coastal network of cooperating institutions was envisaged to assist with MUCH management	Y – Researchers have limited access to collections and sites	Y – Multi-disciplinary academic investigation of sites and resultant narratives	Y – Local management groups in coastal networks share responsibilities
National	Y - The impact of colonialism is significant in South Africa's heritage agenda. The shipwreck narrative is no longer dominant	Y – By identifying Legacy Sites that have relevance to broader audiences, MUCH becomes nationally significant	Y – SAHRA is mandated to manage shipwrecks by the National Heritage Resources Act (25 of 1999)	Y – Legacy Sites are popular tourist attractions	Y – There is an accepted national MUCH narrative	Y – National Heritage Resources Act (25 of 1999)
Regional	P – Legacy sites tie in with regional narratives	P – Legacy Sites link to regionally significant heritage narratives. For example, the Robben Island cultural landscape has important political links to the sub-Saharan region	Y – The MADP planned to create regional capacity	Y – Various maritime museums around South Africa have shipwreck displays	Y – Legacy Sites extended to regional stakeholders	P – An archaeological code of ethics is applied to shipwreck sites, but treasure hunters do not share this code of practice
Global	Y – South Africa's shipwrecks are relevant to a number of nations participating in European global expansion from the 14th century	Y – Global maritime trade and expansion	Y – South Africa planned to ratify the 2001 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage and several experts would be coopted into the MADP	Y – Many popular, and some academic, works on shipwrecks are available	Y – International archaeological and heritage communities have developed a narrative based on global shipping activities.	Y – South Africa would ratify the 2001 Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage)
	66.7% - 83.4%	**66.7% - 83.4%**	**50% - 100%**	**66.7% - 100%**	**66.7% - 100%**	**66.7% - 83.4%**

SOUTH AFRICA – *Status Quo* after the MADP

	Narrative	Significance Values	Management Capacity	Accessibility	Participation	Rules
Individual	Unknown	Unknown	P – Individuals have taken a more active role in MUCH management having completed training	N	N – "Experts" continue to drive narrative production	P – Individuals have taken an ethical stance on how sites should be accessed, e.g. dive operators stop divers from taking objects off of sites
Local	P – Non-shipwreck sites such as fish traps relate to single communities, but awareness remains low	Y – Single communities associate their heritage with Legacy Sites. For example, the ancestral heritage of Lake Fundudzi is uniquely associated with VhaVenda culture	P – Some community management capacity has been created at individual sites such as fish traps (Still Bay)	Y – Rituals at Lake Fundudzi are limited to relevant communities	N – "Experts" continue to drive narrative production	P – local management groups have become involved in managing sites such as Fish Weirs
Multiple Communities	P – Legacy Sites provided opportunities for multiple interpretations of MUCH, but uptake remained low	P – Multiple communities could associate with various Legacy Sites, but there is a need for communities to be able to determine their own sites	Y – A coastal network has been established although it is unclear whether it will be sustainable	Y – Researchers have limited access to collections and sites	Y – Multi-disciplinary academic investigation of sites and resultant narratives	Y – Local management groups in coastal networks share some responsibilities
National	Y – The impact of colonialism is significant in South Africa's heritage agenda. The shipwreck narrative remains dominant	Y – By identifying Legacy Sites that have relevance to broader audiences, MUCH becomes nationally significant. However, there has not been broad buy-in	Y – SAHRA is mandated to manage shipwrecks by the National Heritage Resources Act (25 of 1999)	Y – MUCH sites are popular tourist attractions	Y – There is an accepted national MUCH narrative	Y – National Heritage Resources Act (25 of 1999)
Regional	P – Legacy sites tie in with regional narratives, but regional networks did not endure	P – Legacy Sites link to regionally significant heritage narratives. For example, the Robben Island cultural landscape has important political links to the sub-Saharan region	P – The MADP created regional capacity, but South Africa cannot sustain capacity outside of its borders	Y – Various maritime museums around South Africa have shipwreck displays	Y – Legacy Sites extended to regional stakeholders	P – An archaeological code of ethics is applied to shipwreck sites, but treasure hunters do not share this code of practice
Global	Y – South Africa's shipwrecks are relevant to a number of nations participating in European global expansion from the 14th century	Y – Global maritime trade and expansion	Y – Several experts were coopted into the MADP	Y – Many popular, and some academic, works on shipwrecks are available	Y – International archaeological and heritage communities have developed a narrative based on global shipping activities.	Y – South Africa will ratify the 2001 Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage and has adopted the Annex
	33.3% - 83.4%	**50% - 83.4%**	**66.7% - 83.4%**	**66.7% - 100%**	**33.3% - 100%**	**66.7% - 83.4%**

ILHA DE MOZAMBIQUE – *Status Quo* 2013

	Narrative	**Significance Values**	**Management Capacity**	**Accessibility**	**Participation**	**Rules**
Individual	Unknown	Unknown	N	Unknown	Unknown	N
Local	P – Shipwrecks have, for various reasons described in the body of this dissertation, become part of the Ilha de Mozambique narrative	P – Communities ascribe significance to wreck sites, but degree of significance is unclear. The wrecks may be of economic interest	N – Although there are efforts to manage MUCH, there are no trained groups or individuals	Y – Arqueonautas controls site access	P – Treasure hunters partially control the narrative	N
Multiple Communities	Unknown	Unknown	N	N	P – Some academic work focused primarily on terrestrial infrastructure is available (see Duarte 2012)	N
National	Y – Maritime heritage is part of the national narrative	P – There is a recognition of the value of MUCH, but it is not entrenched in the national consciousness as evidenced by issuing permits to commercially exploit sites	P – There are no MUCH managers employed by the state and, while archaeologists exist, they are not provided with site access	N	N	P – Archaeological legislation may be applied to shipwreck sites, but is not
Regional	P – Coastal trade and the African slave trade are part of the regional narrative	Y – Shipping and maritime activities are significant in regional history and heritage	N	Y – A museum of recovered shipwreck finds exists on the island	N	N
Global	Y – The role of maritime trade is preserved in the Ilha de Mozambique World Heritage Sites values	Y – Global maritime trade and expansion	N – Despite international interest in Ilha de Mozambique, heritage practitioners are not permitted to access shipwreck sites or contribute towards management decisions	P – General Portuguese historic narratives include reference to Ilha de Mozambique, but no island specific narrative has been made available. Arqueonautas has published reports on its activities, but these are not easily accessible	Y – International archaeological and heritage communities have developed a narrative based on global shipping activities.	N
	16.7%-83.4%	**16.7%-83.4%**	**0%-16.7%**	**33.3%-50%**	**33.3%-33.3%**	**0%-16.7%**

	Narrative	Significance Values	Management Capacity	Accessibility	Participation	Rules
Individual	Unknown	Unknown	Y – Members of the group that participated in training have taken up responsibility for management on an individual basis	Unknown	Unknown	N
Local	Y – Local MUCH related to terrestrial sites has become part of the Ilha de Mozambique narrative	Y – The Ilha de Mozambique community has identified sites with local significance values	P – Community members have been trained, but more training is necessary for the community to implement management strategies, especially related to shipwreck sites	Y – Religious and other local practices	Y – Small local networks are working on developing a narrative	N
Multiple Communities	Y – Narrative spans multiple communities at Ilha de Mozambique and elsewhere	N	P – Local community and academic community share expertise	P – Arqueonautas's collection of objects is accessible to curators and archaeologists. It is unknown if other private heritage collections exist	N – No new archaeological work was under way in 2015	N
National	Y – Maritime heritage is part of the national narrative and is becoming increasingly relevant	P – There is a recognition of the value of MUCH, but it is not entrenched in the national consciousness as evidenced by issuing permits to commercially exploit sites	P – Archaeologists are being trained to work on shipwreck sites, but there are no government managers	P – Not all sites are accessible yet	P – Community meetings (academic, government, local) are taking place. Following agreement, it is likely that new narratives will develop	Y – Archaeological legislation is now applied to shipwreck sites
Regional	Y – Coastal trade and the African slave trade are part of the regional narrative. Sites such as stone dhows occur in Tanzania and Kenya	Y – Shipping and maritime activities are significant in regional history and heritage	N	N – Arqueonautas's shipwreck museum is currently closed	Y – Expertise from South Africa, Europe and America is being coopted to assist on developing MUCH at Ilha de Mozambique	N
Global	Y – The role of maritime trade is preserved in the Ilha de Mozambique World Heritage Sites values	Y – Global maritime trade and expansion	Y – Several international institutions are assisting with management, including training local divers	P – Portuguese historic narratives include reference to Ilha de Mozambique, but no island specific narrative is available. Arqueonautas' reports are not easily accessible	Y – International archaeological and heritage communities have developed a narrative based on global shipping activities	P – The rules of the World Heritage Convention are being applied to terrestrial MUCH sites on the island
	66.7%- 100%	**33.3%- 83.4%**	**66.7%- 50%**	**50%- 33.3%**	**33.3%- 83.4%**	**0%-50%**

EASTERN CAPE – *Status Quo* 2014

	Narrative	**Significance Values**	**Management Capacity**	**Accessibility**	**Participation**	**Rules**
Individual	P – Descendants of shipwreck survivors have determined an individual narrative, but it is not dominant	Unknown – Descendants of shipwreck survivors don't appear to ascribe significance to shipwreck sites themselves	N	Unknown	P – Shipwreck survivor descendants participate in developing local narratives, but these are not well known	N
Local	Unknown	Y – White South Africans attach significance to shipwrecks.	N	Unknown	Unknown	N
Multiple Communities	Unknown	Unknown	N	N – In the past, salvage companies have had exclusive rights to wreck sites, but this is no longer the case	P – Treasure hunters and archaeologists have contributed to the local shipwreck narrative	N
National	Y – The impact of colonialism is significant in South Africa's heritage agenda	P – The impact of colonialism is significant in South Africa's heritage agenda, however, shipwreck sites and other underwater cultural heritage are not key markers of the colonial past for most South Africans	Y – SAHRA is mandated to manage shipwrecks by the National Heritage Resources Act (25 of 1999)	Y – Shipwrecks are popular diving attractions	Y – Museums and national managers have determined a general narrative for the shipwrecks of this area	Y – National Heritage Resources Act (25 of 1999)
Regional	Y – The shipwreck history of the Eastern Cape includes Mozambique (shipwreck survivors trekked north to the Portuguese settlements)	N	N – not at this site	P – Museums in East London and Pietermaritzburg have displays from shipwrecks in this area. There are no local museums	N	P – An archaeological code of ethics is applied to shipwreck sites, environmental management contributes somewhat to site management
Global	Y – South Africa's shipwrecks are relevant to a number of nations participating in European global expansion from the 14th century	Y – Global maritime trade and expansion	N – Not at this site	Y – Many popular, and some academic, works on shipwrecks in the case study area are available	P – International archaeological and heritage communities have developed a general narrative based on global shipping activities.	N
	33.3%- 100%	**33.3%- 50%**	**0%- 33.3%**	**0%- 83.4%**	**33.3%- 50%**	**0%- 50%**

EASTERN CAPE – *Status Quo* 2015

	Narrative	Significance Values	Management Capacity	Accessibility	Participation	Rules
Individual	P – Descendants of shipwreck survivors have determined an individual narrative, but it is not dominant	Unknown – Descendants of shipwreck survivors don't appear to ascribe significance to shipwreck sites themselves	Y – Individuals are curating oral histories	Unknown	P – Shipwreck survivor descendants participate in developing local narratives, but these are not well known	Unknown
Local	Y – New MUCH narratives are emerging from oral histories	Y – Values are relevant to local communities	P – communities hope to support management efforts	Y – Religious activities access MUCH. Tour guides are building MUCH into their offerings	P – Local narratives are being produced, but are not widely acknowledged or accessible	Unknown
Multiple Communities	P – Some aspects of cosmologies are seen in multiple communities in South Africa	P – Some intangible heritage values are applicable across multiple communities	N	N	P – Treasure hunters and archaeologists have contributed to the local shipwreck narrative	Unknown
National	Y - The impact of colonialism is significant in South Africa's heritage agenda.	Y – The MUCH of this area is of national significance. The significance of emerging narratives has not yet entered the national consciousness	Y – SAHRA is mandated to manage shipwrecks by the National Heritage Resources Act (25 of 1999)	Y – Shipwrecks are popular diving attractions	Y – Museums and national managers have determined a general narrative for the shipwrecks of this area	P – National Heritage Resources Act (25 of 1999) is applied to tangible heritage, but not intangible heritage
Regional	Y – The shipwreck history of the Eastern Cape includes Mozambique (shipwreck survivors trekked north to the Portuguese settlements)	N	N – not at this site	P – Museums in East London and Pietermaritzburg have displays from shipwrecks in this area. There are no local museums	N	P – an archaeological code of ethics is applied to shipwreck sites, environmental management contributes somewhat to site management
Global	Y – South Africa's shipwrecks are relevant to a number of nations participating in European global expansion from the 14th century	Y – Global maritime trade and expansion	N – not at this site	Y – Many popular, and some academic, works on shipwrecks in the case study area are available	P – International archaeological and heritage communities have developed a general narrative based on global shipping activities.	N
	66.7% - 100%	**50% - 66.7%**	**50% - 33.3%**	**33.3% - 83.4%**	**50% - 50%**	**0% - 33.3%**

LAKE FUNDUDZI – *Status Quo* 2015

	Narrative	**Significance Values**	**Management Capacity**	**Accessibility**	**Participation**	**Rules**
Individual	Unknown	Unknown	Y – Individuals are curating oral histories	Unknown	Y – Interviews with individuals showed that personal understandings of the site contributed towards its narrative	Unknown
Local	Y – What is known of the intangible heritage is part of the local narrative	Y – Values are relevant to local communities. Vhatavhatsindi, for example, perform rituals specific to their royal status. Other villages understand the heritage of Lake Fundudzi differently as evidenced in the submissions and objections to declaration	Y – Communities have curated the heritage of the Lake over several centuries through ritual and spiritual practices	Y – Burial and worship rituals of the Vhatavhatsindi royal family are performed at the Lake	Y – Consultations with stakeholders showed that the lake communities stubbornly fought any expert interpretation of the site. The narrative was determined by people of status and elders	Y – A code of ethics surrounding the approach and viewing of the lake has been determined by local communities
Multiple Communities	P – What is known of the intangible heritage is related to multiple communities around the lake	Y – Intangible heritage values are applicable across multiple communities	Y – Different stakeholders manage different aspects of the heritage. For example, elders curate oral histories, royal family curates burial rituals	Y – Only members of the Vhatavhatsindi tribe participate in burial rituals	Y – Only members of the Vhatavhatsindi Royal family can access burial rituals and determine narratives	Y – Different stakeholders in villages around the lake appear to be responsible heritage associated with their vicinity
National	Y – In initiating the site declaration process, SAHRA brought Lake Fundudzi into the national narrative	P – The significance values assigned to Lake Fundudzi during the declaration process are ill defined	P – SAHRA is mandated to manage a declared site in terms of the National Heritage Resources Act (25 of 1999), but has failed to do so in this instance	P – Visitors may view the lake after performing certain rituals, but may not enter it or view rituals	Y – Museums and national managers have determined a general narrative for the shipwrecks of this area	Y – National Heritage Resources Act (25 of 1999) is applied to the National Heritage Site
Regional	N	N	N	N	N	N
Global	N	N	N	P – Some popular works on the mythology of South Africa mention the mythical creatures of Lake Fundudzi. Some academic research describes the sacred significance ascribed to the Lake	N	N
	50% - 33.3%	**66.7% - 16.7%**	**100% - 16.7%**	**66.7% - 33.3%**	**100% - 33.3%**	**66.7% - 33.3%**

Appendix III Lake Fundudzi Questionaire

Hello, our names are Lusanda and Edward. We conduct interviews for the African Center for Heritage Activities, an independent research organisation. We carry out research on heritage places and activities across South Africa and are conducting a survey on the heritage in your area, including the economic effects of heritage activity. [*Define/explain heritage – to be added separately*]. We wonder if you would be so kind as to participate in our study. All the information that you give me will remain strictly confidential. You will not be asked to give your name, or any information that might be used to identify you. We will only be studying the responses of the community as a whole. The interview will take about 40 minutes. Are you willing to participate? If no or in doubt, close interview.

SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHICS AND GENERAL ATTITUDES

1	Gender	Male	Female	
2	Age in years	Specify either in years or in terms of event/chief at time:		
3	Place where born (village/town)	Specify place:		
4	How many people live permanently in this household? *Specify a number for each of the age categories given.*	Under 18 years	18-65 years	65 years and over

5	Are you currently being paid a wage or salary to work on a regular basis, whether full time or part time? Regular means you would get this wage or salary in most months (more often than not)	Yes	No			
6	What kind of work do you usually do in this job? In other words, what is your occupation or job title?					
7	How much do you earn in an average month?	Less than R1000	R1000–R3000	R3000–R6000	R6000–R10000	More than R10000
8	How many people in your household earn a regular income? Regular means a wage or salary you would get in most months (more often than not)	Specify number:				
9	Do you or anyone else in your household receive a government grant? Please remember that all your responses are confidential and will not be shared with anyone else.	Yes	No			
10	What type(s) of government grant do you or anyone else in your household receive? Again, please remember that all your responses are confidential and will not be shared with anyone else. *Tick as many as apply.*	State (South African Government) old age pension				
		Unemployment insurance (UIF)				
		Workmen's compensation				
		Disability grant				
		Child support grant				
		Foster care grant				
		Care dependency grant				
		Other (specify)				
11	Have you ever earned money from work relating to your heritage? For example, showing people around your village, or selling traditional clothing or ornaments. If so, what work was it?	Ever earned	Yes	No		
		How	Selling art work/curios			
			Tour guiding ((having tourists or visitors pay you to show them around?)			
			Home stays (having tourists or visitors pay to stay in your home?)			
			Language courses (teaching people to speak your language?)			
			Living heritage performances (performing traditional music, dance or poetry?)			
			Cooking classes (teaching people to cook traditional food?)			

			Other (specify)			
12	What is the total monthly income in your household, from all sources (salaries, wages, grants)?	Less than R1000	R1000 – R3000	R3000 – R6000	R6000 – R10000	More than R10000

13	What cultural activities and beliefs are important for you? *Open-ended response.*		
14	I'm now going to read out a list of nearby places. Please tell me which of these places in your area are important for your traditions and culture, including your religion? *Tick as many as apply.*	Dzivha Fundudzi (Lake Fundudzi)	
		Bako la Raluvhimba	
		Phiphidi waterfall system	
		Mapangubwe	
		Nevhutalu Forest	
		Thathe Forest	
		Vhutanda Forest	
		Musanzhe Forest	
		Dzata ruins	
		Raluvhimba Cave	
		Other (specify)	
15	What would you consider as the one biggest problem of your area (village)? Specify just one problem.		

SECTION B: ATTITUDES TOWARDS LAKE FUNDUDZI

16	Is Lake Fundudzi of cultural importance to you?	Yes	Not any more	No	
17	What kind of religion do you practice?				
18	What access does your community have to Lake Fundudzi?	Free access	Some access, but limited in some way (needs permission, payment, etc)	No access	
19	I'm now going to read out a list of activities. Please tell me which of these activities you or anyone else in your household do around Lake Fundudzi? *Tick as many as apply.*	I don't do any activities around the lake			
		Activities about my beliefs (e.g. religious or other)			
		Activities for my health and well-being (e.g. cleaning, cleansing, washing)			
		Activities for food or income (e.g. fishing, grazing livestock)			

		family sites, ancestry)		
		Tourism activities		
		Other (please specify)		
20	Do people agree what should be done with Lake Fundudzi?	Yes	Do not know	No
21	What are the debates or tensions or issues around the future of the lake?	*Open-ended response.*		
22	What do you think are the reasons why some people are not happy for Lake Fundudzi to be declared a heritage site?	Disrespect of cultural practices that make the lake sacred		
		Commercialising the area through making it into a tourist site		
		Don't want outsiders interfering with the site		
		Loss of control of activities associated with the lake		
		Unwanted free access to outsiders		
		Other (specify)		
23	Do you think the lake and the valley need protection?	Yes	Do not know	No
24	Do you think Lake Fundudzi should be declared a heritage site? **NOTE: If answered YES here, ask questions 25Y-32Y and end survey. If answered NO here, ask questions 33N-36N and end survey**	Yes	No	

For those answering YES to Q23, ask questions 25Y – 32Y and end survey

25Y	I'm now going to read out a list of possible consequences of building a heritage site at Lake Fundudzi. Please tell me which of these you think will happen if Lake Fundudzi is declared a heritage site? *Tick as many as apply.*	The area will be protected from industrial development	
		The environment will be protected from overfishing, mining, and cultivation of crops	
		The environment will be harmed because more people will come and have access	
		It will bring tourists to the area	
		It will take control away from traditional leaders	
		It will create jobs	
		It will bring infrastructure development to the area	
		It will anger the ancestors because of a lack of respect for the sacred status of the lake	
		It will not be managed properly (due to lack of skills of government officials, or corruption)	
		Other (specify)	

26Y	I'm now going to read out a list of groups involved in the area. Who do you think will **benefit the most** if Lake Fundudzi is declared a heritage site? If you think that only some people within a village will benefit (for example, if men and women would benefit differently), please give details. *Tick at most 3 responses.*	Everyone will benefit equally		
		People from the Vhatavhatsindi clan		
		People from Tshifume village		
		People from Tshiavaha village		
		People from Thononda village		
		People from Tshiheni village		
		People from Tshitangani village		
		People from Tsharotha village		
		People from Makuleni village		
		People from other villages (specify)		
		Fudzi Development Committee		
		Local interest groups (for example, Ndima community services, Vhuga ha Vhangana, LEDET)		
		Limpopo government		
		National government		
		SAHRA (South Afircan Heritage Resources Agency)		
		Outsiders (please specify)		
		Other (please specify)		

27Y	I'm now going to read out a list of groups involved in the area (this list is the same as the previous question). Who do you think will **benefit the least** if Lake Fundudzi is declared a heritage site? If you think that only some people within a village will benefit (for example, if men and women would benefit differently), please give details. *Tick at most 3 responses.*	Everyone will benefit equally		
		People from the Vhatavhatsindi clan		
		People from Tshifume village		
		People from Tshiavaha village		
		People from Thononda village		
		People from Tshiheni village		
		People from Tshitangani village		
		People from Tsharotha village		
		People from Makuleni village		
		People from other villages (specify)		
		Fudzi Development Committee		
		Local interest groups (for example, Ndima community services, Vhuga ha Vhangana, LEDET)		
		Limpopo government		
		National government		
		SAHRA (South Afircan Heritage Resources Agency)		
		Outsiders (please specify)		
		Other (please specify)		

28Y	I'm now going to read out a list of groups involved in the area. Who of these should have access to the heritage site? By "access" we mean that people would be allowed to visit the area. If you think that only some people within a village should get access (for example, if men and women should be treated differently), please give details. *Tick as many as apply*	Everybody should be able to visit the site		
		People from the Vhatavhatsindi clan		
		People from Tshifume village		
		People from Tshiavaha village		
		People from Thononda village		
		People from Tshiheni village		
		People from Tshitangani village		
		People from Tsharotha village		
		People from Makuleni village		
		People from other villages (specify)		
		Outsiders		
		Others (please specify)		
29Y	I'm now going to read out a list of groups involved in the area. Who of these should have ownership of the activities at the heritage site? By "ownership" we mean playing a role in managing the site and making	People from the Vhatavhatsindi clan		
		People from Tshifume village		
		People from Tshiavaha village		

	decisions about how the site is run and how income generated by the site is spent. If you think that only some people within a village should have ownership (for example, if men and women should be treated differently), please give details. *Tick as many as apply*	People from Thononda village		
		People from Tshiheni village		
		People from Tshitangani village		
		People from Tsharotha village		
		People from Makuleni village		
		People from other villages (specify)		
		Fudzi Development Committee		
		Local interest groups (for example, Ndima community services, Vhuga ha Vhangana, LEDET)		
		Government		
		SAHRA (South Afircan Heritage Resources Agency)		
		Outsiders with experience of running a heritage site		
		Others (please specify)		
30Y	How would you like your community (that is, the people from your village) to be involved? *Open-ended response.*			

31Y	I'm now going to read out a list of possible features that a heritage site might contain. Which of these features would you like to see at a Lake Fundudzi heritage site? Please also provide us with any other features you would like to be included.	A visitors center	
		Signs, trails and exhibits explaining the history of the area	
		Overnight accommodation	
		Restaurant	
		Parking for cars and buses	
		Toilets and washrooms	
		Education programs: materials and activities for telling people stories about the area	
		Participation of schools and universities (visits from these groups to learn about the Lake)	
		A museum	
		Training of qualified professionals to manage the site	
		Training of qualified tour guides	
		Volunteer programs (for outsiders to come and work	

		at the site during certain times of the year)	
		Other (please specify):	
32Y	Should tourists be allowed to visit the heritage site? If you feel that some restrictions or conditions should apply (for example, if only some areas should be open, or if the site should only open for some times of the year), please give these.	Yes / No	
		Restrictions/conditions: *Open-ended response.*	

For those answering NO to Q23, ask questions 33N – 36N and end survey

33N	I'm now going to read out a list of possible consequences of building a heritage site at Lake Fundudzi. Please tell me which of these you think will happen if Lake Fundudzi was declared a heritage site? *Tick as many as apply.*	The area would be protected from industrial development	
		The environment would be protected from overfishing, mining, and cultivation of crops	
		The environment would be harmed because more people will come and have access	
		It would bring tourists to the area	
		It would take control away from traditional leaders	
		It would create jobs	
		It would bring infrastructure development to the area	
		It would anger the ancestors because of a lack of respect for the sacred status of the lake	
		It would not be managed properly (due to lack of skills of government officials, or corruption)	
		Other (specify)	

34N	I'm now going to read out a list of groups involved in the area. Who do you think will **benefit the most** if Lake Fundudzi was declared a heritage site? If you think that only some people within a village will benefit (for example, if men and women would benefit differently), please give details. *Tick at most 3 responses.*	Everyone will benefit equally		
		People from the Vhatavhatsindi clan		
		People from Tshifume village		
		People from Tshiavaha village		
		People from Thononda village		
		People from Tshiheni village		
		People from Tshitangani village		

		People from Tsharotha village		
		People from Makuleni village		
		People from other villages (specify)		
		Fudzi Development Committee		
		Local interest groups (for example, Ndima community services, Vhuga ha Vhangana, LEDET)		
		Limpopo government		
		National government		
		SAHRA (South Afircan Heritage Resources Agency)		
		Outsiders (please specify)		
		Other (please specify)		
35N	I'm now going to read out a list of groups involved in the area (this list is the same as the previous question). Who do you think will **benefit the least** if Lake Fundudzi was declared a heritage site? If you think that only some people within a village will benefit (for example, if men and women would benefit differently), please give details. *Tick at most 3 responses.*	Everyone will benefit equally		
		People from the Vhatavhatsindi clan		
		People from Tshifume village		
		People from Tshiavaha village		
		People from Thononda village		
		People from Tshiheni village		
		People from Tshitangani village		
		People from Tsharotha village		
		People from Makuleni village		
		People from other villages (specify)		
		Fudzi Development Committee		
		Local interest groups (for example, Ndima community services, Vhuga ha Vhangana, LEDET)		
		Limpopo government		
		National government		
		SAHRA (South Afircan Heritage Resources Agency)		
		Outsiders (please specify)		
		Other (please specify)		

36N	What do you think should be done to manage the heritage of Lake Fundudzi? *Open-ended response.*	
37N	Under what conditions would you support the declaration of Lake Fundudzi as a heritage site? In order words, what conditions would need to change for you to change your mind? *Open-ended response.*	

Appendix IV MADP Assesment

ANALYSIS OF COURSE ASSESSMENT RESPONSES

Questionnaires were circulated to 39 of the 133 participants, including tutors, institutional managers and trainees and one-on-one interviews were conducted, where possible. Responses were received from 32 individuals (24% of total participants) . Although programme evaluators recorded responders' names, they were withheld from the evaluation report in all but one instance. When asked for general comments about the appropriateness and effectiveness of the Programme, 96.9% of respondents agreed that it had been successful. Gribble and Jeffery state that "there were a number of comments to the effect that practical skill development conducted during the courses was good and the value of the [Maritime Archaeology Development Programme] to people had been revealed"[42], and "all respondents considered that MUCH was an important heritage asset, requiring protection and management"[43].

When pressed for more detail, however, they allowed for some perceived shortcomings and commented that:

> *"... it made people aware and* is a very good start.*"* (author's italics)

> *"Training is relevant ... but it was difficult to judge if training is effective* [without long term monitoring and assessment]*."*[44]

Answers suggested that while participants identified value in the programme, both as a training venture and as an awareness raising initiative, and that it had shifted public perceptions of the field, it fell short of showcasing maritime and underwater cultural heritage as a generally relevant and mainstream sub-discipline within heritage. The Programme had gained success by moving the shipwreck-focused definition of underwater cultural heritage as specified by relevant legislative frameworks into an inclusive environment. By doing this it was possible to promote the importance of maritime and underwater cultural heritage in a more diverse manner and therefore garner acceptance of the field at public and political levels. The Programme also allowed heritage practitioners to draw local stakeholders into management roles. By showing that maritime and underwater cultural heritage provided a link between submerged and terrestrial sites, that both submerged and terrestrial sites formed part of the maritime cultural landscape, and that the events that played out at one site set the context for what happened at another site, heritage managers could show although sites may not be a directly recognisable part of an individual's history and heritage, their influence-consequence relationship with sites that were directly relevant made them worthy of protection. But these gains were generally limited for Programme participants and connections often felt forced. Neither experts nor trainers nor beneficiaries could, however, suggest a practical way forward for developing the field to achieve natural, widespread buy-in. Respondents to the questionnaire suggested the inclusion of non-traditional sites or moving training activities to better suit diverse narratives.

42 Gribble, J. and Jeffery, W. (2012). *South African Maritime Archaeology Development Programme. 2010-2012. External Evaluation Report.* Unpublished Report. South African Heritage Resources Agency. p 12
43 *Ibid.* p 14
44 *Ibid.* p 11

> *"[Maritime and underwater cultural heritage should include] maritime history, including examples of non-colonial wrecks."*[45]

> *"Move [training] onto traditional, indigenous sites."*[46]

The challenges that had existed during the development phases of the Programme proposal, including those related to an awareness of Governmental indifference towards underwater cultural heritage had continued into the implementation phases of the project. Although the South African Heritage Resources Agency's Chief Executive Officer was a vocal proponent of the Programme, Executive and middle management offered little support and while the Department of Arts and Culture had invested extensively in the Youth Development Programme portion of the project in its launch year, they had adopted a "wait and see" position in the second year. At the time of compiling the programme evaluation report, the Department had not announced its intention to hold a second Youth Development event and none of the participating institutions would commit funding to either continuing the Maritime Archaeology Development Programme in its existing form or with an adapted and updated approach. As Gribble and Jeffery pointed out, 75% of respondents or interviewees indicated that while the social and political environment that existed at the time was "conducive to the implementation of an effective and sustainable Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage programme in South Africa"[47], a lack of political awareness, an unwillingness for government to devote funds to maritime and underwater cultural heritage and a lack of political will hampered the implementation of an effective Programme and a viable management structure. Institutional inputs of this nature were key contributors if the Programme were to be sustainable. At the outset, maritime heritage practitioners had faced two primary obstacles as previously discussed. Firstly, there was negligible capacity in the field and secondly, there was relatively little public interest in underwater cultural heritage as a result of historical baggage related to treasure hunting and perception. These difficulties formed a negative feedback loop: public apathy meant that the field failed to attract new practitioners, and the lack of expertise meant that nothing was being done to indicate that protection, archaeology and scientific endeavour were preferable alternatives to treasure hunting and would lead to lifting public indifference. To overcome these obstacles, it was necessary to grow capacity from a base level and create an environment for engagement across a wide socio-cultural cross-section. Any intervention of this nature would, therefore, need to be accessible and require no financial outlay from its potentially low-income target audience. The scale of the programme, together with its intent to provide capacity and skills across the board therefore relied heavily on institutional investment and political will, as described above. Despite the best efforts of the Programme designers and implementers and despite verbal support from Government, the early phases of the Programme continually failed to gain commitment in real terms. The frustration felt by those who sought to establish long-term sustainability stemmed from a perception that extended Government patronage would rely on making the maritime theme more accessible to a new public. How this could be done eluded the implementing team and advocates of the project. When asked how the Programme could be improved to be more inclusive, respondents to the course evaluation questionnaire continued to espouse similar sentiments for enhancing the Programme's reach and applicability. The establishment of a management system in which maritime and underwater cultural heritage was shown to be universally relevant and a development programme that would benefit communities who engaged with heritage both socially and economically, was crucial.

> *"In order to reach a broader audience, candidates from the different provinces could be trained up to a certain level so that they can 'spread the word' in their communities. It doesn't have to be NAS training; it could be a variation that is relevant to the communities who live in a particular area – for example, Lake Fundudzi. Using relevant information and the local language, people will be empowered to protect* sites that are important to them [author's emphasis]. *"*[48]

45 *Ibid.* p 10
46 *Ibid.* p 11
47 *Ibid.* p 14
48 *Ibid.* p 13

The final phrase of this astute answer would unlock an evolution in approaching maritime and underwater cultural heritage and its management.

The response as a whole offers important insights into the degree of success achieved by the Programme. Specifically, it addresses core issues of relevance and the reach of awareness raising efforts. If underwater cultural heritage is to be brought into the mainstream, is specialised skills training aimed predominantly at shipwreck sites and shipping infrastructure the most effective approach to accomplishing this? While such skills undoubtedly benefit heritage managers and practitioners and even individuals or groups with a casual interest in conducting activities on submerged sites, the practical nature of these competences means that they do not capture the attention of stakeholders with an intellectual interest in the maritime past or those who do not identify a personal cultural link with submerged maritime historical sites. Again, designers of a relevant approach to maritime and underwater cultural heritage management needed to rethink methodologies that would connect a much larger population to their maritime past in developing new strategies and apply them to management models.

Management and development strategies needed to be practicably applicable. While the Maritime Archaeology Development Programme provided participants with a definite skill set, the challenge of applying skills acquired during the Programme within participants' day-to-day activities was a theme that ran throughout Gribble and Jeffery's evaluation report. Participants stated that while the acquired skills had value, they struggled to convert them into applicable strategies or practical actions that would assist with management of the sites that they interacted with[49]. The introduction of the Legacy Sites concept late in the Programme somewhat offset this obstacle, but was limited in scope. Sites that were included as Legacy Sites were still sites that heritage managers and archaeologists believed were important. They did not necessarily resonate across the spectrum of course participants. This did not wholly detract from their value. At the start of the Programme, the view that "underwater cultural heritage = shipwrecks" was strong. This was evident in the examples used for training and the composition of the participant body. The majority of trainees were divers from institutions interested in expanding their recreational diving offerings, or individuals interested in gaining new qualifications or in developing skills to work more effectively on underwater sites. It was envisioned that these individuals could be recruited as volunteers to assist professional heritage practitioners in their management activities. In the closing phases of the Programme, and following the introduction of Legacy Sites to introduce a more diverse audience to the discipline, 58% of those who responded to Gribble and Jefferey's evaluation questionnaire felt that the Programme had improved understanding of maritime and underwater cultural heritage and the reasons for its management[50]. This meant that a larger group of managers would be able to apply course content to their own sites by extrapolating management principles applied to Legacy Sites to similar sites in their environment. This did not, of course, mean that managers felt connected to sites. Rather, they understood the need for protection more deeply.

The response provided the designers of management approaches further opportunities to reflect on potential strategies that could both fill capacity gaps and broaden the appeal of maritime and underwater cultural heritage. Although not implemented, it was thought that management planning and performance could be aided by the establishment of a network of capacitated agencies, professionals and volunteers established in the course of the Programme. Connected networks could share skills and expertise, easing the burden on individual agencies to employ many teams all capacitated with the same competencies. The teams did not need to have the expertise to engage with all site types, nor did they need to identify with all site types. Instead, individuals from other agencies and teams within the network could be called upon to advise on policy decisions and management approaches as required. It would even be possible to call on capacitated individuals from within the private sector who had been upskilled through the training programme. The

49 *Ibid.* p 13

50 *Ibid.* p 15

network proposed by the Maritime Archaeology Development programme was an advance on the Tanzanian management model in that managers could not only make inter-institutional cooperational agreements, but could also call on a pool of public to assist and advise at heritage sites. Basic capacity dilemmas that posed challenges to individuals working in heritage management or interested in protecting and promoting maritime and underwater cultural heritage sites could be significantly alleviated should the network be established.

Unfortunately, the Programme failed to achieve this goal. The Programme's short-term goals hindered the establishment of the coastal heritage management network. Because a decision had been reached that each field season would target different stakeholder groups, individuals who would ideally have been able to come together to discuss and develop management strategies, capacity needs and training requirements did not return to the field schools every year. Although a small number of people participated in the training programme for the full three years, many who could make up the potential network did not meet and could, therefore, not continue to develop a shared capacity network. In hindsight, the decision to train larger numbers of people instead of providing longer term engagement was poor. Those participants that took part throughout the programme formed a close professional group who continue to practise in the heritage field and continue to call on one another for advice and assistance. Individuals who participated in single field schools have not remained connected and, in the absence of support, many have drifted away from maritime and underwater cultural heritage and abandoned the skills acquired during the Programme.

Having taken the decision to make the Programme broadly inclusive and accessible and to make every effort to publicise maritime and underwater cultural heritage across a wide cross-section of industries and communities, the Programme attempted to attract individuals from the various identified stakeholder groups. The first year focused on individuals from the diving community and general public, year two on governmental organisations and year three on students from academic institutions. Only a handful of individuals associated directly with the South African Heritage Resources Agency and identified as potential employees of the Agency were specifically invited to attend all three years. This did not exclude participation across the programme by others who wished to do so, but this was only by request. The result was that lasting networking opportunities did not present themselves to participants, and questionnaire respondents indicated that they were disappointed that they could not deem this Programme objective a success[51] as it would have assisted their own management objectives and mandates. In terms of developing an overall strategic management model applicable to sub-Saharan Africa where capacity and governmental funding are limited, the creation of a supportive network for heritage managers is crucial. Links between managers and experts will also play a critical role in decision-making processes and strategic planning and in lightening the load placed on practitioners who, in the absence of assistance, are often expected to be Jacks-of-all-trades.

Gribble and Jefferey agreed that the capacitated coastal network would greatly enhance management potential and capacity. In light of the expansion of the scope of maritime and underwater cultural heritage to include the Legacy Sites and other non-traditional aspects of the maritime past, they suggested that the coastal network would provide an opportunity to identify further unknown site types or provide further examples for comparison. By offering more specific training that centred on the competencies of members of the network, Gribble and Jeffery ventured that experts in a variety of capacities could be created. For example, instruction focused on heritage management, legislation and policy aimed at law enforcement agencies would give officials the armoury to apply their expertise in combatting illegal treasure hunting. By the same token, conservation training at museums would allow staff to better handle waterlogged archaeological finds. A separation of duties would empower individual specialists within their area of expertise and, when included into a coastal network, proffer a cost-effective means to better manage a more extensive set of endeavours required for administrating maritime and underwater cultural heritage. By creating a network of specialists,

51 *Ibid.* p 15

the management structures required for maritime and underwater cultural heritage would be more efficiently safeguarded. The *status quo* of maritime and underwater cultural heritage at the time of the Maritime Archaeology Development Programme exposed the challenges faced by heritage managers. It being unlikely that institutions would assign already stretched budgets to the creation of maritime and underwater cultural heritage management positions, let alone capacitated teams, this management model proposed that individuals already in positions that involved daily marine activity could use entry level skills to make basic assessments of sites and propose best-practice management strategies. Where further intervention was required, practitioners could call on practical assistance from the coastal network and expertise from professional archaeologists, conservators and policy makers. Because the coastal management network could not be effectively and sustainably established, limited capacity meant that there was a need for managers who were actively practising to carry a wide range of skills. In turn, this meant that the success of the management model relied on individuals rather than job positions within organisations. If any of the managers left, a significant amount of organisational memory was lost. With this in mind, the proposal to diffuse expertise amongst a network of individuals also offered a solution to critical capacity losses. It was clear that a network of expertise and support was an essential ingredient to the development of effective management systems in the developing world. Again, the contention was that it would be more effective to train a series of specialists at a variety of institutions than a generalist at a single institution.

An added advantage of this approach would be that it offered further opportunities to identify a variety of different, locally relevant maritime cultural sites, thus expanding the research potential of maritime and underwater cultural heritage and allow tailored training to suit these specific sites.

While the notion of specialisation networks appears to offer a silver bullet solution to maritime and underwater cultural heritage management in southern Africa, it exhibits some weaknesses as experienced in Tanzania. The dispersal of expertise over a relatively large geographical area and over a variety of institutions limits the opportunities for the group to coordinate work. Without an ongoing, sustainable central management core with the ability to fund and commandeer experts when necessary, programmes become diluted by availability of individual members and bureaucratic processes.

Public participation in a coastal network proved more successful. The difficulties of assigning institutional funding to the maintenance of official coastal networks and the implementation of out-of-mandate management strategies is alleviated by encouraging the diving community and other interested stakeholders to establish small community projects. By assisting in the formation of amateur archaeological groups, heritage managers could promote sustainability through awareness. As vocational groups begin to implement projects, an awareness of their activities should grow amongst the diving community. As a direct result of the Maritime Archaeology Development Programme the University of Stellenbosch Underwater Club (MUC) and the Old Mutual Sub-Aqua Club (OMSAC) involved themselves in internally organised projects. OMSAC joined the Institute for Maritime Technology, a parastatal based at the Simons Town Naval Base in Cape Town in mapping the the *Clan Stuart*, wrecked in Simons Bay in 1914, while MUC was enthusiastic to assist the South African Heritage Resources Agency in mapping the *Brunswick*, an English East Indiaman wrecked in Simons Bay in 1805. The former is ongoing and is producing a variety of outcomes including geophysical surveys and historical research. Because the South African Heritage Resources Agency did not assign funding to its Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage Unit, the latter partnership failed to materialise, although Harding (2013), supported by divers from the Unit produced detailed geophysical and analogue site maps as part of an archaeology Honours dissertation at the University of Cape Town.

In the absence of official coastal networks, the ability to establish enduring and effective management capacity dispersed over a wide geographic or institutional area could be stimulated by continued public interest in management or project outcomes,

such as those described above. Demands for good management practice at public level may stimulate network activities. Public attention, however, requires an awareness of both maritime and underwater cultural heritage or maritime archaeology as disciplines, and of their output. It was, therefore, to this sphere that the Maritime Archaeology Development Programme devoted significant attention. Public access to peer reviewed journals remains low. The joke amongst academics that published articles are read twice on average – once by the author and once by (one of) three referees – is, unfortunately, supported by a lack of knowledge surrounding maritime heritage practices and theory, at least in the public arena. An extensive public programme hosted by South Africa's Department of Arts and Culture and Robben island Museum was attached to the Programme. School children from coastal and interior provinces were invited to participate in a short maritime and underwater cultural heritage workshop. The Department hoped that by introducing school learners to the concepts of underwater heritage through Legacy Sites and maritime landscapes, they would be able to create enthusiasm for both the heritage and maritime archaeological and historical disciplines. Furthermore, by instilling the values, principles and ethics of heritage management (both submerged and terrestrial), the Department anticipated outcomes, on the micro-level, in which heritage began to become embedded in the thinking and therefore decision-making of young adults. As with the larger training programme, the Department invited different individuals each year, hampering the possibility of groups forming lasting relationships and communication systems. While the South African Heritage Resources Agency made efforts to establish social media platforms through which learners could communicate, lack of opportunities to either discuss heritage or practise learned skills led to an eventual decline in online activity. By the end of 2014, the *SAHRA Maritime Youth* Facebook page had been taken down. The failure of the youth programme to gain traction could also be attributed to a lack of institutional support. Individuals within the South African Heritage Resources Agency's Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage Unit (formerly Maritime Archaeology Unit) were expected to bear the burden of public engagement through social media but were unable to add this duty to their already heavy workloads. Assistance from the Department of Arts and Culture and the Public Relations division within the South African Heritage Resources Agency was not forthcoming.

Media surrounding the Maritime Archaeology Development programme and its associated activities was poor. Despite the presence of international expert trainers, students from around the world, an enthusiastic youth group and exciting research outputs, media were given little access to information about the project and publicity was kept to a minimum. An opportunity for promoting maritime and underwater cultural heritage was missed[52]. It seemed inevitable that in the face of meagre public engagement, the programme's sustainability was compromised. By the close of the Programme in 2012, assessors, participants and implementation personnel had begun to examine this shortcoming in an effort to understand how their approach to such projects and heritage management generally could be adjusted to coopt public support.

Respondents to the assessment of the Maritime Archaeology Development Programme questionnaire suggested that public awareness and interest could be better stimulated through an inclusive approach to the establishment of the coastal network envisaged by the Programme. Programme participants suggested conducting training initiatives more widely. Instead of focusing only on annual field schools at a central location like Robben Island, it was suggested that at least one activity be undertaken elsewhere on the South African coast. Gribble and Jeffery also recommended that the programme should diversify its offerings to include a wider range of sites and histories so as to include a more comprehensive range of stakeholders and publics[53]. Although specialised training remained an imperative, awareness raising initiatives and public engagement pitched at non-professionals could be attached to capacity building programmes to encourage broader appeal.

In this vein, a capacity building and training programme could be implemented at a variety of

52 *Ibid* p 26
53 *Ibid* p 22

sites and pitched at a variety of levels to showcase examples of the diversity of maritime and underwater cultural heritage. By strategically selecting sites for training purposes, the programme could bring together heritage professionals and other stakeholders from communities around heritage sites allowing discussion to facilitate the development of interactive management strategies in which stakeholders were equally involved. Gribble and Jefferey's recommendations for an inclusive approach had been tested in a confined environment during the Maritime Archaeology Development Programme. Under the supervision of Robert Parthesius, students from Leiden University in the Netherlands had joined the Programme to gain practical maritime archaeological experience and to conduct research aimed at Robben Island's maritime cultural landscape. In addition, the students were asked to contribute to a review of the Island's tourism offerings, make suggestions for new offerings and to establish pathways for growing the economy of the Robben Island Museum which has been experiencing a drop in visitor numbers over the past five years[54]. Indirectly, the implementation of a multi-vocal approach to site development and management was tested during the Programme. The outcomes of the students' efforts highlighted some of the necessities for further adaptation of the approach to heritage management that the Programme aspired to implement. Although they consulted widely amongst the Robben Island communities, including residents, employees and visitors, sites that were identified for being potentially included in a historical route tended to be those that were tangible and well known. They included military installations, pre-prison infrastructure, and archaeological remains related to the history of the Island. Intangible aspects of the Island's past and the interpretation of the experience of individuals and groups that were part of the Island's history were largely absent (with the exception of the experience of the political prisoners of the apartheid era). It is possible that this data was missing because the students had been set a specific task – identifying sites and proposing strategies for incorporating them into the tourism options offered by the Robben Island Museum. As observers and data collectors whose task it was to assemble data offered by the target communities, students would, for the most part, not attempt to solicit information that was not freely offered. Conversely, interviewees may have felt that the expectation was to provide examples of tangible, visible and objective aspects of the Islands' past that could be shown to tourists rather than personal interpretations of it. The project designers felt that while this places new historical layers into the consciousness of tour guides and heritage managers as both sources for tourism diversification and deeper research, a missing component of the Island's heritage, the personal interpretation of the past, needed to be included if people were to fully connect to the maritime cultural landscape in which they lived, worked and visited and, therefore, lobby for better management and protection, in which they played a role. To ensure that this would happen, it would be necessary to establish and validate the empathetic heritage experience and to look more deeply at the layers that defined why people wanted to visit the sites or share them with visitors. In other words, it was necessary to authorise individuals' *perceptions* of the heritage of the island, not just its history. How this could be done was explored and tested at Ilha de Mozambique and refined during Programmes in south Africa's Eastern Cape and at lake Fundudzi, as will be described below.

Programme designers had recognised the shortcomings contained in the outcomes of the student data – namely that interviewees only identified "classic" historical sites they believed would be of interest to tourists and researchers. Personal or community associations with a maritime past or the maritime cultural landscape, it seemed, were either not recognised as being relevant to the research or were not seen as having heritage value. It appeared that interview respondents were telling researchers what they believed the researchers wanted to know. Because the students were completely neutral in their interview approach, respondents were not prompted to expose potentially personal narratives related to water. This again pointed explicitly to the need to re-evaluate the Programme approach. Researchers and project personnel knew that there were deep heritage connections to the maritime landscape.

54 Visitor numbers have been affected by a variety of elements including employee strike action, unreliable ferry services, etc. Whether this is compounded by an increase in apathy towards the political history of the Robben Island on which the tourism offering is based and a desire for variety amongst tourists is unclear.

Individual conversations had, for example, revealed a belief system in which ancestors lived in the sea. But these traditional heritages remained hidden. While it is possible that local maritime perspectives were withheld from researchers because the Island communities did not want this heritage known it seems more likely that the residents, staff and visitors to Robben Island were simply unaware that these histories formed part of the greater maritime cultural landscape. The Maritime Archaeology Development Programme had failed at its core audience level in its efforts to raise awareness of the scope of the discipline. Because interviewees continued to associate maritime and underwater cultural heritage with the colonial assemblages and infrastructure that was visible on the Island, they did not consider personal engagements and associations with the maritime landscape as being relevant important.

The heritage trails that were created were not, therefore, vastly different from what was already known. Although the identified sites were of some interest to tourists, their narrative was skewed towards South Africa's "historical" period. The sites and histories were not unique and did not reflect the full antiquity of the landscape. In order to ensure long-term, sustainable protection and management of maritime and underwater cultural heritage in the developing world context, it is critical, as will be presented below, that local perspectives are recognised and incorporated.

In spite of the identified need for an evolution in approach, Robben Island Museum managers expressed their satisfaction with the outcomes of the Programme. They felt that the project had successfully raised the profile of maritime and underwater cultural heritage, that it had enhanced understanding of the differences between cultural and natural heritage management and that the heritage trails would contribute towards expanding the tourism offering of the Island[55].

A total of 77% of stakeholder reported that they considered the Maritime Archaeology Development programme to be a sustainable platform for managing and developing maritime and underwater cultural heritage in South Africa[56], an apparently encouraging endorsement of the approach taken by the programme designers. Respondents' enthusiasm and positivity for the Programme aside, there was a continual underlying sense that the programme lacked some component. This became clear in the wide array of answers that were provided when asked how the programme could be improved and what could be added. Unfortunately, since programme participants' goals were focused on skills development, they did not identify flaws in the design elements of the approach to maritime and underwater cultural heritage. It appeared that as individuals grappled to put their fingers on what was missing from the course, they tended towards adding further practical training features to the course curriculum.

Questionnaire respondents identified the following practical components for inclusion in an expanded programme, as reported by Gribble and Jeffery[57]:

1. Detailed analysis of the 2001 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Underwater Heritage and other pertinent legislation and policy.
    - Participants felt that a deeper knowledge of the Convention and the mechanisms for international cooperation contained therein would provide managers with a basic set of policy tools to initiate, establish and sustain collaboration at national, regional and international level.
    - Participants believed that a better understanding of the laws, policy and legislative best practice would contribute towards assisting in policing of activities on submerged heritage sites.
    - Respondents from the Robben Island Museum indicated that their obligations and management plans were at times contradictory in that they needed to fulfil the directives of both national legislation and the instructions of the various World Heritage committees and

55 *Ibid. p 13*

56 *Ibid. p 16*

57 *Ibid pp 15 -16*

assessors. It was deemed valuable to be provided with support and guidance in navigating the requirements of various policies and legislation and harmonising management documentation and strategy. Maritime and underwater cultural heritage management would be slotted into cohesive policies and would inform, and be informed by, the legislative obligations of the museum.

2. Remote sensing technology and practical use.
    - Still focused on shipwrecks, many participants determined that locating and identifying sites would be of value to improving management. Because so few sites are known to heritage managers, it is difficult to develop policy, focus protection and conservation efforts and strategically apply significance criteria to sites. This is, perhaps, an unrealistic training goal. Equipment is expensive and highly specialised. Should heritage management agencies have access to these tools, as the South African Heritage Resources Agency does, specialised, focused, individual training is warranted to ensure that operational capacity exists. However, broad training in this field is unnecessarily expensive and, without access to equipment, will not benefit the vast majority of trainees.
3. *In situ* conservation
    - Non-professional heritage managers indicated that they did not have the requisite skill sets to deal with submerged sites, should these be identified. Should sites be located within their management environments, they did not have the support capacity to work on sites and, therefore, preferred to be able to manage sites without disturbance.
4. Site recording, mapping and assessment
    - Managers believed they could make better management decisions if they possessed basic maritime archaeological mapping and assessment skills. These could be used to monitor changes at sites, especially in areas where diving was prevalent.
5. Site management – practical implementation including management plans
    - Participants deemed this a vital management skill. Individuals working in areas such as environmental conservation, recreational diving and law enforcement thought that they would be better prepared to convince their own managers to supply capacity and funding to site protection if they could develop strong management plans based on accepted site management policy and practice.
6. Artefact conservation
    - Individuals from institutions such as parks, conservation areas and museums indicated that they were often approached by members of the public who had recovered objects from shipwrecks, and sometimes other cultural sites. In most instances objects were donated to the institutions. Managers felt that they were not adequately equipped to deal with archaeological artefacts and, as a result, did nothing with them. By providing training and establishing protocols for receiving and stabilising objects, it would be possible to better protect and manage such items.

It was thought that refresher training every two years, for example, would be a valuable addition.

Questionnaire respondents were not convinced, however, that practical training was the only pathway for developing an appropriate and implementable management structure. But, as described above, they struggled to identify a potential approach to the maritime and underwater cultural heritage disciplines as a whole, that would fit with the constraints and context of the developing world. It was clear to them though, that the current models were not effective and respondents deemed this to be largely because of the exclusionary nature of a discipline focused on

colonial shipwrecks in a predominantly inaccessible environment. Suggestions for developing an approach and training structure that would be locally relevant clustered around the need to broaden the scope of the field. Propositions for doing this indicated an inclusive approach[58], including:

1. More public programmes and general awareness raising of the scope of and value of maritime and underwater cultural heritage.
2. Involvement of "other"[59] groups.
3. A broadening of the participant base (continuing to recruit new, entry level trainees while developing higher level skills).
4. More community participation.
5. Train the trainer programmes that provided course participants with a set of skills to train downstream communities without having to rely exclusively on course experts. These trainers would be able to introduce maritime and underwater cultural heritage to their communities following the course.
6. Opportunities for academic qualifications at primary, secondary and tertiary levels. Respondents indicated that future versions of the Maritime and Archaeology Development Programme could be used to provide foundation training that prepared individuals for further tertiary level studies. This included suggestions to develop multi-level programmes that could up-skill target audiences appropriately.
7. Awareness raising at a political level followed by training for specific bureaucratic skill sets such as policy making, assessment of impact reporting and legislation.
8. A collaborative management approach at institutional level. Trainees from institutions including various parks, museums, law enforcement agencies and management authorities recommended the development of memoranda of understanding between government institutions. These would, in effect, formalise a management network at the official level. It was envisaged that through this network, institutions could call on a wide variety of expertise without having to employ their own heritage management teams.
9. Positioning maritime and underwater cultural heritage within a broader context including global heritage perspectives and general historical development. The process of contextualising the discipline could also highlight connections between environmental and cultural legacies in terms of management, scientific endeavour and socio-anthropological influences.
10. The development of a training structure aimed at community groups instead of individuals, including developing a set of processes that could be used by communities to develop management plans.

The insights contained in points 8 to 10 above were of particular significance in drafting of the new heritage development and management approaches.

Respondents unanimously agreed that the Maritime Archaeology Development Programme's approach of improving management through institutional and individual capacity development faced serious sustainability challenges[60]. Because expertise was being created on an individual basis within institutions and because this meant that it was necessary for individuals to be available for one another across and between these institutions, the viability of the approach relied almost exclusively on a strong professional and institutional network. For the approach to succeed, institutions needed to form coherent and committed groupings and make provision for their employees to be seconded to others if necessary.

58 *Ibid* pp 15-16

59 It was unclear from the response whether "other" groups referred to different communities, institutions or racial groups (in light of maritime archaeology and underwater cultural heritage being predominantly white disciplines)

60 Gribble and Jeffery (2012, 16)

Programme designers had not thought deeply about the structure of the required institutional relationship. They had, however, recognised the need for a coastal network and had included it in the Programme's implementation documentation. The absence of an actual framework for establishing a network in the pre-activity planning phases resulted from two root unknowns. Firstly, because the goals of the Maritime Archaeology Development Programme included the development of improved management infrastructure, it could not predict in advance what that infrastructure would look like in reality. It was only possible to begin conceptualising the network once stakeholders had been identified and consulted. Secondly, the network needed buy-in at institutional management level and the programme designers could not be sure that decision makers could be convinced of the value of the approach. Should the Programme fail to bring institutions together in the network, it would be necessary to re-evaluate potential network structures.

Several propositions for actions that would assist in establishing and sustaining a coastal network were offered. Most ideas included regular central workshops and training. For example, annual or bi-annual field schools could be rotated amongst sites under the management of the network institutions. Submerged sites that lay within the environments managed by an institution such as South African National Parks and that faced specific management challenges could be used as field sites. This would not only support the institution itself, but also provide a platform for continuing skills development related to current management issues.

After setting up a South African coastal network, the evolution of a regional network seemed natural to field school participants. Regional stakeholders faced many of the same management problems, including the threat of treasure hunting, lack of capacity, lack of infrastructure and finance and low levels of government support. Many of the challenges for research activities aimed at maritime and underwater cultural heritage were also universal. Logistical difficulties related to accessing sites in remote and difficult environments could be alleviated through sharing resources and capacity (South Africa, for example, has a team of well trained, experienced diving archaeologists who could support field activities throughout the region).

Regional stakeholders believed that a regional network could help fill knowledge gaps that hampered management decision-making processes, with 69% agreement that the Maritime Archaeology Development Programme had been a significant kick-start to designing and establishing a maritime and underwater cultural heritage collaboration network at a national and regional level[61]. All but one of the respondents indicated their belief that a regional network would enhance abilities to manage maritime and underwater cultural heritage at regional, national and local levels[62]. Sub-Saharan Africa has enjoyed little underwater archaeological attention. Although some shipwreck sites have been located, identified and assessed, few have been excavated or scientifically examined. Nowhere have other submerged site types been investigated archaeologically. This has resulted in an assumption that every site that is discovered is the only example of its kind in the region and, therefore, significant, prompting management decisions that stipulate that all sites must be the subject of physical management intervention including active *in situ* conservation and continual monitoring. While there are undoubtedly arguments for attempting to conserve everything as well as debate about who determines significance, and how, the realities of the developing world context mean that, currently, best management practices would necessitate choosing to direct funding and capacity at sites deemed most appropriate. These might include sites of archaeological, scientific or heritage significance, or sites that are under direct threat. By sharing knowledge and expertise amongst heritage managers at a regional level, such decisions would be more informed and more appropriate.

As described above, the goal of establishing a coastal management network could not be achieved. Although the South African Heritage Resources Agency was a natural choice for acting as lead institution, and middle management from all potential partner organisations were enthusiastic to

61 *Ibid.* p 16
62 *Ibid.* p 16

establish an official institutional relationship, upper management at the South African Heritage Resources Agency failed to provide bureaucratic support in the form of upper lever approaches to counterparts in other agencies. The result was that individual participants in the field schools could agree to keep in contact and provide advice, but could not commit their institutions to any official collaboration.

Respondents felt that institutions may be hesitant to commit to a network of professionals due to the potential funding burden that might be incurred. While many looked to the South African Heritage Resources Agency and, by extension, South Africa as the regional leader in maritime and underwater cultural heritage, there was little indication of how this leadership role could be realised. It became clear that a concerted effort should be made to design a network structure that accounted for the restrictions faced by regional and national stakeholders. Funding and infrastructure constraints could be listed as primary challenges, but administrative and operational difficulties also needed to be examined. The individuals in the developing network were already fulfilling operational needs within their organisations. Would it be reasonable and possible to ask them to place additional items related to underwater cultural heritage management onto their workload? If the network required assistance, would institutions have the capacity to meet their own milestones and goals if individuals were seconded elsewhere? It seemed unlikely. Participants and stakeholders consistently indicated that momentum was key to collaboration and retaining capacity. There were several suggestions as to how momentum could be maintained. Communication was a core element in this. Participants thought that the development of a platform through which stakeholders and practitioners could exchange information on projects, developments, challenges, potential solutions and progress reports would intensify interactions between countries and would benefit regional capacity growth. The platform could be further developed as a tool through which resources and expertise could be requested and shared[63]. As mentioned, lack of resources and infrastructure, including financing, equipment and people has been a leading concern in the region. *Ad hoc* capacity building programmes have limited impact if basic support structures are not in place. These limitations had already been illustrated in the development of the Tanzanian maritime and underwater cultural heritage team. While expertise was established on multiple levels within institutions and government departments, they were not supported through funding that was a necessary requirement to deploy the team from their various locations and equipment was not readily available or accessible. The equipment that had been provided to the team was held in a central repository in Dar es Salaam, which meant that individuals at other centres could not easily use it in their daily operations. Because the managers of the Maritime Archaeology Development Programme had not been able to implement the proposed network of expertise and capacity even at a national level through a coastal network, the practicalities of overcoming these constraints were not adequately addressed. Possible resolutions were informally discussed and will be explored below, but none were formalised, costed or scrutinised.

Participants and stakeholders in the Maritime Archaeology Development Programme suggested that by structuring interactions through the formation of committees and task teams at national, regional and international levels, a network may be "forced" to cooperate[64]. By placing expectations and deadlines on individuals and activities, peer pressure may encourage ongoing dialogue and interaction. Again, this system relied on the establishment of a platform through which members could communicate and seek advice. Once more, this relied on securing funding to maintain the network and the enthusiasm of participants to involve themselves in a structure that increased workload. As an interim measure, it was suggested that contact be maintained through meetings and workshops perhaps biannually where experiences and challenges could be exchanged and policies and solutions to problems could be developed. These meetings would be attended by individuals at the practitioner level. It was recommended that regular regional conferences be organised where high ranking government officials could be informed of developing projects and lobbied for support[65].

63 *Ibid.* p 16

64 *Ibid.* p 16

65 *Ibid.* p 16

ASSESSMENT SUMMARY

Gribble and Jeffery's appraisal of the final outcomes of the three-year Maritime Archaeology Development Programme was, on the whole, positive. They concluded that the development of a well considered "Draft National Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage Strategy" together with a supporting "Vision and Mission Statement for the National Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage Strategy" that provided the rationale for the Programme's implementation approach contributed towards the evolution of a "clear direction [and framework] for a sustainable, future [Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage] programme[66].

Despite the lack of widespread publicity and the failures to garner media support, the positive feedback received from the participants of the Youth Programme as well as the individuals involved in the capacity building and training portions of the programme appeared to indicate that the Maritime Archaeology Development Programme had achieved public and community support[67]. This was a critical outcome for the project designers, for the South African Heritage Resources Agency and the Department of Arts and Culture. It showed that the approach to developing the field had advanced in the right direction. The introduction of Legacy Sites had captured new, previously marginalised maritime heritage audiences and had involved them in strategic thinking about management of maritime sites. This was an important step in reintroducing maritime heritage into the heritage management mainstream. As Gribble and Jeffery (2012, 25) pointed out, "[a] lmost from the outset, and through [its lifespan], the programme has shifted elements of its focus to broaden perspectives of what Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage is, to engage with how Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage sites and histories are viewed and valued by South Africans, and to make the programme as relevant as possible to as wide an audience as possible." Although an approach that evolved as the programme progressed brought with it some challenges surrounding convincing divers and heritage managers to alter their perspectives of what constituted the heritage resource and how it should be interpreted, it was generally agreed that the new approach enhanced, rather than detracted from the programme and its outputs[68]. In its current format, the approach of the programme could serve as a foundation model to regional partners involved in the development of their own national programmes[69]. Unfortunately, the programme is heavily funding dependent. Although costs are relatively low when compared with field schools offered internationally, the model may still be out of financial reach in countries in which maritime heritage is a relatively low priority area, often perceived to be in juxtaposition or conflict with official heritage narratives. This poses a significant hurdle in implementing the approach more broadly. In the South African example, the programme benefited from discussions surrounding the scope of the field and eventual production of strategic documents that informed the programme approach. Since these included the identification of Legacy Sites that helped make maritime archaeology and maritime underwater cultural heritage more accessible, it was possible to immediately form connections with communities who felt little connection to shipwrecks. It is questionable, however, whether this is enough. In the three years following the conclusion of the Maritime Archaeology development programme, continued participation in maritime and underwater cultural heritage management and research has been low. While it is true that at an institutional level jobs have been created, these jobs have focused almost exclusively on the management of shipwreck sites. Robben Island Museum has also remained committed to the field both in terms of developing their tourism offering to include a broader interpretation of the heritage landscape and in terms of continuing to develop capacity within the institution for the management of the submerged cultural resources that surround the Island itself. Awareness in the public domain has also increased, but this has been largely limited to individuals in the diving community who now take a more conservation minded approach to diving on shipwreck sites, as evidenced in an increase in reporting of inappropriate behavior to heritage management authorities. Awareness

66 *Ibid.* p 25
67 *Ibid.* p 25
68 *Ibid.* p 26
69 *Ibid.* p 26

raising efforts for maritime heritage at Government Ministerial level have also found traction. While action has been slow, MUCH has remained on the Government agenda in the form of policy development and project implementation. Maritime and underwater Cultural Heritage was identified as a key area for development, a large-scale "underwater museum" was proposed and South Africa ratified the 2001 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage.

Despite gains, there has been little opportunity for continued engagement and participation. Archaeological projects and field schools do not cater for public involvement or contribution and there have been few avenues for Government to develop their strategies and planning based on ongoing activities. Political and bureaucratic support that had been developed was neither consolidated, nor pursued[70].

Perhaps the greatest failing of the Programme was its inability to sustainably engage with black South Africans in the communities in which it had operated. Having generated enthusiasm amongst school learners and created a national network of interested individuals, the South African Heritage Resources Agency neglected to establish a forum through which students could communicate, remain informed and participate in heritage. No strategy for management of the *SAHRA Maritime Youth* Facebook page was put into place resulting in its stagnating and eventually becoming defunct. As with other aspects of the Programme, communication and maintenance of the network was reliant on the personal commitment of individuals who were unsupported by their institutional structures. Despite the investment of personnel and resources of institutions such as the South African Heritage Resources Agency, there seemed to be both unwillingness and lack of interest in maintaining the advances made during implementation. At the time of writing, there is no portal through which civilians can connect with government institutions.

This shortcoming of the Maritime Archaeology Development Programme was already becoming evident as the project drew to a conclusion in 2012. An examination of the sustainability and future of the Programme led Gribble and Jeffery (2012) to conclude that future iterations needed to continue to innovate and expand on identifying new approaches to management and research that would make maritime and underwater cultural heritage more relevant and accessible to a broader public[71]. It was suggested that this could be achieved through the creation of more bespoke training and engagement offerings. Future iterations of the Programme should:

- *"Consider carefully the targeting of participants in the programme and/ or how the training is packaged and delivered for different audiences.*

- *Consider packaging the Programme to suit specific contexts and stakeholders*[72]*. [For example, non-diving individuals should be given appropriate terrestrial site assessment skills, while divers would require other proficiencies.]*

- *Explore, develop and grow options for cooperative management of [maritime and underwater cultural heritage] between ... agencies."*[73]

Gribble and Jeffery had suggested that inter-agency cooperation be done at government level between, for example, the South African Heritage Resources Agency and Marine Parks. However, as will be shown below, this concept needed to be expanded more fully to include stakeholders outside of traditional, legislative management agency. To re-iterate Gribble and Jeffery's point[74], the Programme approach needed to be more inventive and locally relevant in its approach. Training, if it was to be the focus of future programmes, needed to be reimagined to incorporate needs beyond site identification and mapping.

While "innovation" was a key word that recurred frequently in the Programme assessment report it

70 *Ibid.* p 27

71 *Ibid.* p 26
72 *Ibid.* p 29
73 *Ibid.* p 31
74 *Ibid.* p 27

was unclear what this meant in reality. Gribble and Jeffery provided general direction for areas where heritage practitioners might find better community acceptance in the execution of their work, but were limited in their vision to activities aimed at already identified Legacy Sites. Prudently, they suggested that management and research projects "address the wide scope of South Africa's tangible and intangible maritime and underwater cultural heritage[75]" but still such projects were devised by practitioners, academics and managers. No space was offered for an approach in which stakeholders who were the focus of studies and the intellectual custodians of the heritage in question to provide their own direction or perspective. Instead, projects would highlight the need for heritage management and site protection, offer awareness raising surrounding sites identified by "specialists", and engage stakeholders on a level that satisfied management requirements. Projects would allow experts to produce data that they felt was relevant and measurable and disseminate it publicly[76]. In effect, maritime and underwater cultural heritage research would be carried out in a manner which satisfied funders and taxpayers but which had little local meaning beyond potential income from tourism. A sanitised version of the past that was relevant because managers believed it to be so would be presented through awareness raising initiatives and engagement. While an approach that highlighted managers' perceptions of heritage values and the resultant need for management might achieve some measure of protection for sites, management would unlikely be sustainable. Awareness raising may generate initial excitement for heritage resources, but the implementation of proscribed management activities would diminish as initial interest wore off. Again, the endurance of the Programme goals over the three years since its completion illustrates the failure of a top down approach and the need for an inclusive perspective of the past.

As the Programme reached its conclusion, a general perception that engagement and participation would shrink in the absence of continued funding permeated the group. The realities of what was possible in the future in light of the expense of continuing to offer the activities established during the project life cycle, especially field schools, had a negative impact on the participants. Despite the efforts of Programme leaders to elicit support from government, it became clear that a different approach would be necessary if the management and protection of maritime and underwater cultural heritage was to be brought into prominence.

In spite of shortfalls, the Maritime Archaeology Development programme was not without merit. Its capacity building aspirations resulted in an extensive pool of potential supporters and practitioners. Indeed, Gribble and Jefferey suggested that the basic Programme components could be used as a template for the development of maritime and underwater cultural heritage at a regional level. Sub-Saharan states facing similar challenges could model their own programmes on the South African example[77]. In addition, the use of a general regional template for developing capacity in the field could stimulate regional cooperation and collaboration[78].

Gribble and Jeffery recognised the challenges they faced in proposing a new direction and approach for maritime and underwater cultural heritage. Within the terms of reference for their assessment of the Maritime Archaeology Development Programme, they could not deeply explore detailed, specific solutions for the inherent shortcomings of the Programme. Instead, they could highlight concepts for building a new approach and advocate for regular (three-yearly) approach reviews of the aims, policies and strategies of such a programme in order to "tune the programme [activities] to changing circumstances and issues to ensure that it remains forward looking and relevant"[79].

This was true for all involved in the Programme. Broad conceptualisations for improvements did not automatically translate into actions. For example, to further ensure that the field, and training in the field specifically, became relevant to South Africans and to allow course participants to identify with the concepts and theory presented in the NAS training, it was widely agreed that the NAS framework required

75 *Ibid.* p 31
76 *Ibid.* p 31
77 *Ibid.* p 26
78 *Ibid.* p 31
79 *Ibid.* p 32

a degree of development and 'Africanisation' to ensure that it became understandable to those working in the South Africa context. The Programme opened discussions on ways to make the improvements and changes practical, but did not go further than including local sites as examples for case studies and changing some of the presentation illustrations to local pictures. Even in these instances, case studies and photographs were focused solely on shipwrecks. Despite the introduction of the Legacy Sites in defining the field, training only made cursory reference to them. Why this occurred, and why trainers and managers found it difficult to implement wholesale changes is easily explained in the context in which the Programme was introduced. Firstly, prior to 2009 and the realisation of the first field school, maritime archaeological research had not ventured beyond shipwreck sites with the exception of a post-graduate dissertation on maritime graffiti at prison sites in the Castle of Good Hope and Simon's Town, Cape Town (Horwitz 1999) and Deacon's short article on fish traps. Other archaeological, historical and anthropological research that had been conducted on societies that used the sea had not been undertaken from a maritime perspective. Heritage managers had not, therefore, thought deeply enough about examples of human relationships with the sea. This meant that the use of examples such as stone age exploitation of marine foods, maritime oral histories or maritime influences on terrestrial sites were not considered. Secondly, most recognised maritime archaeological projects had been conducted in association with treasure hunters. It must be pointed out, these were legal, sanctioned and in line with South Africa's existing shipwreck management principles and policies. But by 2009, when heritage managers were making efforts to discourage commercial exploitation of shipwreck sites, examples of archaeologists collaborating on treasure hunting projects were deemed undesirable for use as case studies. This severely hampered training efforts where local examples of sites and interpretations of sites would have been useful illustrative tools for presentation during courses.

A further contribution towards the programme's limited success was its inability to achieve all of its goals. Specifically, because the Programme failed to complete the production of a "Manual" for maritime and underwater cultural heritage in South Africa (and in the region); the development of a framework for academia and research in the field, and; the implementation of new management strategies, policy and legislative initiatives, there were no documents or structures that outlined how stakeholders could become involved, how students could continue research or how managers could implement better management models.

As described above, poor media coverage may have contributed to the lack of widespread, sustained interest in the Programme following its completion in 2012. Perhaps more relevant, however, was the deficiency of accessible projects and publications. Although the Programme had envisaged the production of a *Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage Manual* that would outline the enlarged scope of the field, provide information about current research trends and projects and offer a new vision for management, research and engagement, a detailed document was never generated. Instead, a booklet entitled *Towards Best Practice in Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage in South Africa* (SAHRA 2011) was drafted for internal use at the South African Heritage Resources Agency and limited circulation. Its main function was as a template from which a Manual could be developed. The booklet was further utilised as a "vision document" and was intended to guide heritage practitioners at statutory level in their approach to dealing with maritime and underwater cultural heritage. It again made use of the Legacy Sites concept as a foundation from which to engage stakeholders, and sketched a future approach to maritime and underwater cultural heritage in which multiple voices could contribute towards redefining the field and identifying South Africa's maritime links. This approach would have formed the backbone of the more detailed Manual.

As an internal document, the booklet enjoyed little circulation and while the South African Department of Arts and Culture briefly distributed it via their website, it is likely that neither participants in the Maritime Archaeology Development Programme nor members of the general public paid it much attention. It was, however, a valuable document for

the development of the next iteration of the approach to drafting a maritime and underwater cultural heritage management model, as described below.

The successes of producing a new group of capacitated individuals whose expertise could be employed in monitoring, assessment and management of submerged and terrestrial maritime sites was tempered by a lack of academic infrastructure. Programme participants were trained in the basic skills needed to assist archaeologists and heritage professionals in their management efforts, but the Programme did not establish the framework for more advanced research and study and could not, therefore, create avenues for professional progression. This limited opportunity for creating high level expertise and for expanding necessary heritage thinking in maritime and underwater cultural heritage. Without a tertiary level programme being put into place, the field continues to fall behind its terrestrial counterparts on a theoretical level.

Appendix V Assessment of Salvage Activities (Arqueonautas)

Between 21 July and 1 August 2015, a team was assembled to examine facilities, conservation standards, archaeological excavation strategies, site management strategies, museum displays, academic contributions and social investment contributions made by Arqueonautas. The team brought together experts from the academe (George Washington University, Eduardo Mondlane University), museums (Smithsonian Institute, Iziko Museums of South Africa, Naval History and Heritage Command) and NGOs (African Centre for Heritage Activities and Centre for International Heritage Activities).

The assessment of Arqueonautas's work resulted in the government finally cancelling their permits and halting commercial salvage operations in Mozambique. While this is a key development and the significance of the assessment cannot be overstated, only the role of the Ilha de Mozambique community in heritage management activities will be discussed here. For detailed discussion of the assessment outcomes and the activities of Arqueonautas and for a history of long-term lobbying efforts see Duarte (2010, 2012).

Based on the role that the community had played in training, capacity building and awareness raising, together with the positive outcomes of the Underwater Cultural Heritage – Mozambique programme, they were asked to assist with this assessment. A team made up of community leaders and those responsible for the implementation of the 2014 training programme was asked to focus on three key areas, namely:

- Community attitudes to Arqueonautas
- Arqueonautas's compliance with the Rules of the 2001 UNESCO Convention
- Archaeological project planning standards as relating to community benefits and development.

An analysis of community interviews and workshops, wreck site inspections and assessment of documentation reveals several relevant factors that support the MUCH approach applied during the Underwater Cultural Heritage – Mozambique programme. It should be noted that these are not final findings and are by no means a comprehensive analysis or list of findings of the assessment. Work continues at Ilha de Mozambique under the supervision of Ricardo Duarte and a team made up of community stakeholders and Eduardo Mondlane University students.

1. It was interesting to note that while the Ilha de Mozambique community was, as expected, strongly opposed to Arqueonautas's activities, these objections are rooted partly in the fact that local heritage was deemed unimportant while Portuguese heritage was highlighted. In addition, the community had no access to recovered objects and little has remained on the Island. Community anger and resentment, in this regard, would have been equally strong had excavation been done to high academic standards and objects removed to museums elsewhere in Mozambique or the world. There was little differentiation between objects removed and sold and objects removed and stored off site. While no one had objections to academic research (it was, in fact, welcomed), it was widely felt that research outcomes should benefit local museums and local opportunities for

economic development through tourism. From a community perspective, the primary failure of the salvage company was to ignore community needs and to exclude community in decision-making processes. This seems to indicate that opposition to salvage is rooted in perceptions of exclusion and marginalisation. It also implies that expropriation of heritage objects by any means would have brought Ilha de Mozambique stakeholders to the same point of frustration as experienced at the start of the Underwater Cultural Heritage – Mozambique programme.

2. By excluding community groups and by withholding information from residents, the salvage company invited speculation and rumour. It would appear from the initial examination of documents and sites undertaken during then assessment that excavation activities were focused on those wrecks that might result in higher commercial yield. This may indicate that a good proportion of less commercially valuable sites have been left relatively undisturbed. Because of the abundance of wrecks coupled with the expense of excavation, sites of little commercial value were disturbed only as far as necessary for identification, if possible, or to conclude an assessment of the accessibility and value of cargo. This reality appears to be in stark juxtaposition to the expectations of Ilha de Mozambique residents who fear that all the wreck sites around the Island have been plundered. While this is a preliminary observation and further analysis is required, it may indicate that there is still substantial potential for academic research. This may also mean that opportunities for local participation, tourism development, heritage narrative development and heritage presentation associated with shipwrecks still exist.

These attitudes towards the activities of the salvage company suggested a deep community connection with maritime heritage and a strong desire for a community driven approach to identifying, recording and promoting the heritage of the Island. The desire to retain the objects recovered from submerged sites at Ilha de Mozambique as well as the need for the inclusion of the local perspective on maritime and underwater cultural heritage was made clear to facilitators and assessors. The Island inhabitants understand the complexity of multiple heritage layers and multiple historical narratives and have a strong grasp of the value of heritage for tourism and community identity. There is a robust aspiration amongst groups and individuals to tell the story of Ilha de Mozambique from a local perspective. The trained MUCH team have continued to explore the maritime cultural landscape and have begun to identify research questions that might be taken up by academics. These include questions surrounding the contribution of local knowledge to maritime activities. This may be as diverse as contributions to shipbuilding, local navigation knowledge or the intangible rituals and practices associated with maritime life. Questions surrounding the evolution of the distinctive stone town and village sectors of the island or the local architectural features of maritime structures may also be constructed. Finally, the investigation of the role of the Island in Indian Ocean trade, including European-Eastern trade, African or Arabian coastal trade or the slave trade, as well as the impact of trade on the Island and the African mainland, will contribute significantly to academic and community goals. It is encouraging that research agendas are, in part, being set based on local needs and interests rather than by the interests of outside researchers. Again, while research is encouraged, it is important that it is locally relevant and contributes to the Island.

It was reassuring to note that that there was tremendous support at Ilha de Mozambique for the training and engagement approach described above. Facilitators were warmly welcomed back to the Island and specifically requested to continue with the programme initiated by the original capacity building and training project.

Appendix VI Much Capacity in Sub-Saharan Africa

CAPACITY AND PRACTICE: WHO IS LOOKING AFTER UNDERWATER CULTURAL HERITAGE?

Seen as a leader in the field of underwater cultural heritage and maritime archaeology, South Africa has set the standard for maritime heritage practice throughout the southern Africa. Since 1990, six individuals in South Africa have received formal maritime archaeological training at post-graduate level. Of these, just two remain in the field. Of the two who have specialist maritime archaeological training, one has a DLit from Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, the other a Masters Degree from the University of Cape Town, the latter supervised in his thesis by the former). Both have established non-governmental organisations and are self-employed. Maritime archaeology is no longer offered as a specialisation and no maritime archaeological programmes exist at any of the South African universities. A further three individuals have completed post-graduate studies focused on maritime archaeological themes, but outside of formal maritime archaeological programmes. The qualifications and university offerings suggest a European bias both in subject matter and in theoretical and methodological approach.

In 1988 Bruno Werz, the first specialised maritime archaeologist in South Africa, was coopted on a contract to assess and develop the field. Werz's interest lay in VOC shipwrecks and his early work emphasised this aspect. Between 1990 and 1999 he supervised five post-graduate students at the University of Cape Town, all of whom produced work related to shipwreck sites. It was not until 1994, when Werz recovered an acheulean hand-axe from amongst the artefact assemblage of artefacts uncovered on a shipwreck site, that the presence of other site types occurring in the underwater environment was considered in South Africa. Despite this discovery, archaeologists remained on the back foot. Legislation remained favourable to treasure hunters and, because shipwrecks were the singular target for salvage, management remained pursuant therewith.

Five individuals trained in terrestrial archaeology or history are currently active in maritime heritage practice in South Africa. Three have full time employment at governmental institutions, one is on a short-term contact at a governmental institution and one is self-employed.

Elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa others are slowly developing underwater cultural heritage and maritime archaeological capability, but this process is slow. Little maritime archaeological research has been carried out. Kenya is growing its maritime archaeological capacity through collaborations with UNESCO and the Chinese government. Currently, one maritime archaeologist practises at the National Museum of Kenya and is based at Fort Jesus World Heritage Site in Mombasa. Namibia has employed one recent Masters graduate at the *Bom Jesus* conservation facility in Swakopmund. He achieved his degree at the University of Bournemouth in 2011. Portuguese educated Ricardo Duarte practises maritime archaeology in Mozambique and teaches an introductory course at the Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo. Several of Duarte's graduate students have recently received diving training and are entering the maritime archaeological field. Six post-graduate archaeology students in Senegal received introductory training in underwater survey and mapping in May 2016.

UNESCO has convened three capacity building programmes for potential underwater cultural heritage managers from Africa at Selcuk University in Turkey and in Mombasa, Kenya.

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MAPS

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Abbreviations

ACHA	*African Centre for Heritage Activities*
CIE	*Centre for International Heritage Activities*
ICMP	*Integrated Conservation Management Plan*
ICOMOS	*International Council on Monuments and Sites*
ICUCH	*International Committee on Underwater Cultural Heritage*
MADP	*Maritime Archaeology Development Programme*
MUCH	*Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage*
NARA	*National Aquatic Resources Agency*
NAS	*Nautical Archaeology Society*
SAHRA	*South African Heritage Resources Agency*
STAB	*Scientific and Technical Advisory Body*
UCH-M	*Underwater Cultural Heritage – Mozambique*
UNCLOS	*United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea*
UNESCO	*United Nations Scientific, Educational and Cultural Organisation*

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Summary

Maritime archaeologists, historians and heritage managers have struggled to position maritime and underwater cultural heritage (MUCH) in the sub-Saharan African heritage context. Management of MUCH resources, based on Western values and legislation, has focused almost exclusively on shipwreck sites. Management strategies have been implemented either to stop treasure hunting or to limit the damage caused by salvage activities. The application of internationally accepted MUCH management practices has, however, failed to engage the public of many African nations. This, exacerbated by an absence of the capacity and infrastructure frameworks enjoyed by the global north, has meant that the application of regulatory strategies has been a challenging task which has ultimately failed to successfully manage MUCH resources or engage sub-Saharan communities in maritime history and resource preservation.

This research proposes, applies and assesses alternative management and engagement models applicable to case study sites at Robben Island, Lake Fundudzi and the Wild Coast in South Africa and at Ilha da Mozambique in Mozambique, and contributes towards establishing a new approach to MUCH.

The approach examines the context in which the heritage resource exists, including the socio-political and economic environments, as well as the available mechanisms in place, and available, for research and management. It considers the scope of MUCH in a regional context and seeks to establish some preliminary guidelines for management strategies that are built on local relevance and local buy-in.

Nederlandse Samenvatting

Maritieme archeologen, historici en erfgoedmanagers worstelen de laatste jaren met het beheer van het maritiem en onderwater cultureel erfgoed (MUCH) in sub-Sahara-Afrika. Het beheer van MUCH, gebaseerd op westerse culturele waarden en wetgeving, heeft bijna uitsluitend betrekking op scheepswrakken. Hierop zijn protocollen ontwikkeld die dit erfgoed tegen "treasure hunting" en commerciële berging moeten beschermen. De toepassing van dit internationaal geaccepteerde, Eurocentrisch MUCH-management heeft echter geen aansluiting gevonden bij de Afrikaanse context. Het heeft gefaald "communities" en het algemene publiek bij dit erfgoedbeheer te betrekken.

In deze studie worden alternatieve modellen van "management & community engagement" onderzocht voor zuidelijk Afrika. Aan de hand van verschillende casestudies op Robbeneiland, Lake Fundudzi en de Wild Coast in Zuid-Afrika en op Ilha da Moçambique in Mozambique, is een meer specifieke methode ontwikkeld die mogelijk ook voor de bredere regio toepasbaar kan zijn.

Deze methode bouwt op de lokaal aanwezige kennis en capaciteit en houdt rekening met de beperkte infrastructurele en materiële middelen om de Westerse protocollen te volgen. Uitgangspunt zijn de sociaal-politieke en economische omstandigheden van de gemeenschappen die nauw bij het beheer van het maritiem erfgoed moeten worden betrokken.

Curriculum Vitae

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Jonathan Sharfman was born in Cape Town, South Africa. After completing his schooling, he embarked on an undergraduate degree majoring in Archaeology and Ancient History. In 1999, he completed an MA specializing in Maritime Archaeology. He has been a PhD Candidate from 2012 to 2017. Jonathan is a qualified skipper and commercial diver.

In 2003, Jonathan joined the South African Heritage Resources Agency, the organization that manages heritage in South Africa, as was promoted to manager of the Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage division in 2005. In 2013 he founded the African Centre for Heritage Activities, an NGO working in heritage throughout Africa. In his role as director, he has worked extensively with CIE-Centre for International Heritage Activities on projects in Mozambique, South Africa and Tanzania. Since 2013, Jonathan has been working with Iziko Museums of South Africa, the George Washington University, the Smithsonian Museum of African American History and Culture and the National Parks Service on the Slave Wrecks Project, a multinational project researching the trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. This work has taken him to the United States, Mozambique, and Senegal.

Jonathan has worked on several maritime archaeological projects to date. His shipwreck projects include the wrecks of the *Oosterland* (1695) and *Waddingxveen* (1695) in Table Bay, Cape Town as assistant archaeologist, and the *Grosvenor* (1782), on the Eastern Cape coast, South Africa as chief archaeologist. Most recently he has been assisting the Slave Wrecks Project to excavate the wreck of the *Sao Jose*, a Portuguese slave ship wrecked off of Cape Town in 1794.

Jonathan is currently working as a Post-Doctoral Associate at New York University Abu Dhabi and is Council member of the South African Heritage Resources Agency.