Investigating the semiotic landscape of the house museum in Stellenbosch, South Africa
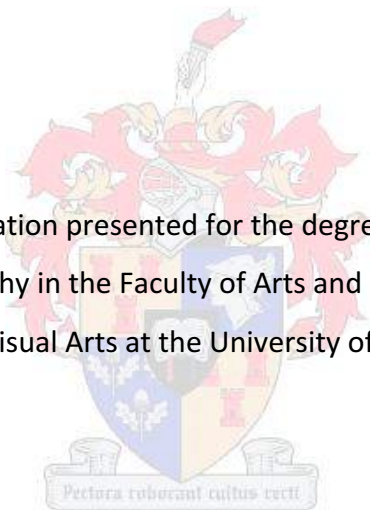
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DECLARATION

By submitting this dissertation electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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ABSTRACT

South Africa as a nation achieved democracy in 1994; however, the country's institutions of knowledge and power are still grappling with the ways that they can and must facilitate transformation. The White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage of 1996 and its subsequent revised draft in 2017 challenge organisations involved in arts and culture – such as museums – to democratise and decolonise in order to become inclusive sources of the country's varied history and culture. Museums attract a diverse range of the public and, therefore, have the ability to foster change through the narratives of the tangible and intangible history and culture that they provide. This study focused on the town of Stellenbosch, where there is a significant lack of inclusive museological institutions that share the histories and cultures of all of its communities (it is comprised of ten adjoining small towns and townships, of which the Kayamandi township is one). Stellenbosch has a complex history with colonialism and apartheid and this is the history that is predominantly associated with the town. Therefore, there is a need to redefine the discourses of difference and division between the town's various sociocultural groups.

Social semiotics and the dual theory of museology and curatorship formed the theoretical framework for this study. I followed a qualitative approach within an interpretive paradigm and a comparative case study research design was used. The research questioned what a comparative analysis of the semiotic landscapes of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum reveal about the broader historical and sociocultural contexts wherein each exist, with the aim to ascertain the extent to which the museums are appropriate house museum models in a post-apartheid context. The data in this study were collected mostly through individual interviews with management, staff, docents and homeowner docents of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum. Additional data were collected through individual interviews, workshops, observations, field visits, e-mail interview and correspondence, and document analysis.

The investigation revealed that the use of traditional museological practices, as mostly embodied by the Stellenbosch Village Museum, adds to the various deficiencies in

inclusivity regarding the history and culture of Stellenbosch. Conversely, the use of new museological practices, as mostly embodied by the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum, could address this lack, as the black, Xhosa history and culture it represents offers a balance to the white, colonial history of the town. The study found that in order for democratisation and decolonisation to occur, it is necessary that Stellenbosch's museums embrace new, innovative museological practices that cater to local knowledge and previously marginalised communities. The study offers the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum as a potential new museological model that could assist in reducing differences and divisions in Stellenbosch's sociocultural divide through the cross-cultural exchange of history and culture *by* and *in* the very community that the museum represents. This study aimed to contribute to the research field of museology and curatorship in a post-colonial and post-apartheid Stellenbosch context with the expansion of the dialogue on museological transformation through democratisation and decolonisation.

OPSOMMING

Suid-Afrika het in 1994 as 'n nasie demokrasie bereik, maar die land se instellings van kennis en mag worstel egter steeds met maniere waarop transformasie in die hand gewerk kan en moet word. Die Witskrif oor Kuns, Kultuur en Erfenis van 1996 en die opeenvolgende hersiene konsep in 2017 het organisasies wat by kuns en kultuur betrokke is – soos museums – uitgedaag om te demokratiseer en dekolonialiseer ten einde inklusiewe bronne van die land se diverse geskiedenis en kultuur te word. Museums lok 'n uiteenlopende publiek en het dus die vermoë om verandering teweeg te bring deur die narratiewe van die tasbare en ontasbare geskiedenis en kultuur wat hulle bied. Hierdie studie het op die dorp Stellenbosch gefokus, waar daar 'n aanmerklike gebrek aan inklusiewe museologiese instellings is wat die geskiedenisse en kulture van al die gemeenskappe daarin deel (dit bestaan uit tien aangrensende dorpies en townships, waarvan Kayamandi-township een is). Stellenbosch het 'n komplekse geskiedenis met kolonialisme en apartheid en dit is hierdie geskiedenis wat hoofsaaklik met die dorp geassosieer word. Daar is dus 'n dringende behoefte aan herdefiniëring van die diskoerse van verskil en verdeling tussen die dorp se verskillende sosiokulturele groepe.

Sosiale semiotiek en die tweevoudige teorie van museologie en kuratorskap het die teoretiese raamwerk vir hierdie studie gevorm. Ek het 'n kwalitatiewe benadering in 'n interpretatiewe paradigma gevolg, en 'n vergelykende gevallestudienavorsingsontwerp is gebruik. Die navorsing het bevraagteken wat 'n vergelykende ontleding van die semiotiese landskappe van die Stellenbosch Village Museum en die Kayamandi Creative District House Museum aan die lig bring rakende die breër historiese en sosiokulturele kontekste waarin elkeen bestaan, met die doel om die mate te bepaal waarin die museums geskikte huismuseummodelle in 'n postapartheidkonteks is. Die data in hierdie studie is hoofsaaklik deur individuele onderhoude met die bestuur, personeel, gidse en huiseienaargidse van die Stellenbosch Village Museum en die Kayamandi Creative District House Museum ingesamel. Bykomende data is deur individuele onderhoude, werkswinkels, waarnemings, veldbesoeke, e-pos-onderhoud en -korrespondensie, en dokumentontleding ingesamel.

Die ondersoek het aan die lig gebring dat die gebruik van tradisionele museologiese praktyke, soos hoofsaaklik deur die Stellenbosch Village Museum vergestalt, bydra tot die verskeie gebreke rakende inklusiwiteit ten opsigte van die geskiedenis en kultuur van Stellenbosch. Die omgekeerde is ook bevind, naamlik dat die gebruik van nuwe museologiese praktyke, soos hoofsaaklik deur die Kayamandi Creative District House Museum vergestalt, kan help om hierdie gebreke te oorkom, aangesien die swart, Xhosa-geskiedenis en -kultuur wat dit voorstel 'n ewewig bied teenoor die wit, koloniale geskiedenis van die dorp. Dit is bevind dat ten einde demokratisering en dekolonialisering te bereik, dit nodig is vir Stellenbosch se museums om nuwe, innoverende museologiese praktyke te aanvaar wat voorsiening maak vir plaaslike kennis en voorheen gemarginaliseerde gemeenskappe. Die studie hou die Kayamandi Creative District House Museum voor as 'n potensiële nuwe museologiese model wat 'n rol kan speel in die vermindering van verskille en verdelings in Stellenbosch se sosiokulturele skeiding deur die kruiskulturele uitruil van geskiedenis en kultuur *deur* en *in* die einste gemeenskap wat die museum verteenwoordig. Hierdie studie is uitgevoer ten einde 'n bydrae te lewer tot die navorsingsgebied van museologie en kuratorskap in 'n postkoloniale en postapartheid-Stellenbosch-konteks met die uitbreiding van die dialoog oor museologiese transformasie deur demokratisering en dekolonialisering.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Figure 1.1: Arial view of Stellenbosch and Kayamandi indicating the sites of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum (Source: Google Maps)

CHAPTER 1: ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

1.1   INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

This year marks 21 years since the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage (Department of Arts and Culture, 1996) was distributed by the South African government's Department of Arts and Culture. Among many things, the paper called for transformation in institutions of arts and culture in order to "achieve the vision embodied in our commitment to human dignity, the achievement of equality, and advancement of human rights and freedoms" (Department of Arts and Culture, 1996:n.p.). The paper asserted that this vision could only be realised with the assimilation of arts and culture into all aspects of life – including socioeconomic development (Department of Arts and Culture, 1996).

On Heritage Day in 1997, then President Nelson Mandela opened the prison-cum-museum on Robben Island – a place where he had been imprisoned for a great number of years. In his address he spoke of this museum as playing a role in turning former symbols of oppression and apartheid into those of hope and democracy. He said, "the people of South Africa as a whole, together with the international community, turned one of the world's most notorious symbols of racist oppression into a world-wide icon of the universality of human rights; of hope, peace and reconciliation" (Mandela, 1997:n.p.). He challenged museums to embrace transformation and to consider diverse ways of collecting and preserving the country's varied history and culture in order to foster inclusivity, empathy, and humanity.

Although many other new museums have been established in the interim years – the District Six Museum, the Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum, the Apartheid Museum, to name a few – museums have generally been slow to take up the task put to them by Mandela. The White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage is currently been revised (there was a draft in circulation dated February 2017) and it renews the challenge to the arts and culture sector to democratise and decolonise, to become inclusive repositories of the country's history and culture. This revised draft urges the decolonisation of South Africa's museums by "[p]lacing African knowledge, epistemology, art, culture and heritage at the centre of policies, practices, institutions and programmes" (Department of Arts and

Culture, 2017:8). The decolonisation of the museum goes hand in hand with the democratisation of the museum and the quest for equal representation.

This goal has the potential to be achieved through the introduction of egalitarian and, thereby, decolonised museum practices. This includes actions that step away from conventional Western practices, such as democratising the curation of museums and rethinking the museum's traditional physical makeup, to allow for museums to encompass much more than just a building and its collections. This can include initiatives such as a museum without walls, that includes the community and the environment; museums without objects, that constitute traditions, oral history, and rituals; and local museums that mindfully share history and culture to advance the community's socioeconomic status (Western Cape Government, n.d.:48).

Many theorists (e.g. Greider & Garkovich, 1994; Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010; Stroud & Jegels, 2014) understand landscape as being more than the material; it is the marriage of the tangible and intangible semiotic signs that we use to create and understand meaning. Museums are places that are heavy with semiotic signs; they are multimodal spaces where meaning exists in various visual, oral, and aural ways (Hodge & Kress, 1988; Kress, 2010). As containers of history and culture, affected by the histories that they foreground and background, museums are places by which individuals can create an identity for themselves; "[t]he making of place is a fraught practice involving the investment of social and affective capital of individuals tied to, identifying themselves with, or moving through a particular locale" (Stroud & Jegels, 2014:2).

The privilege and oppression of objects and histories in museums are considered by Hooper-Greenhill (1992; 2000), who argues that museums and their curation are key factors in helping communities to create identities for themselves and for visitors. She considers the semiotically charged ways that objects are used to create meaning within the museum. Kreps (2003; 2005; 2008; 2009) calls for a stepping away from object-centred, traditional museology and into new museology, which focuses on non-traditional museum practices and the communities that have been marginalised. She coined the term 'appropriate museology' (2008) as a strategy that works with communities and their local,

indigenous knowledge and resources to formulate a suitable museological output. In addition to Kreps' work, many scholars (such as Coombes, 2003; Crooke, 2005 and 2007; Marstine, 2006; McGee, 2006; Simpson, 2006; and Golding & Modest (eds.), 2013) argue the importance of democratisation and decolonisation in museums for the achievement of inclusivity and community upliftment.

This study utilised the perspectives of social semiotics and the dual theory of museology and curatorship. Social semiotics provides us with a framework through which to make and understand meaning. Museology and curatorship positions this meaning making and understanding within a museum setting – specifically, for this study, within the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum. In addition, democratisation and decolonisation – along with social justice, which calls for redistribution, recognition, and representation towards equality in society (Fraser, 2007) and also museums (Fleming, 2010) – assist in the analysation of the relevance of the two museums in a post-apartheid context.

Museums attract a diverse range of the public and, therefore, have the ability to facilitate cultural change through their creation of meaning and ability to impart knowledge about and to many different communities. Tangible and intangible culture and the places that hold them narrate and provide histories of the people or sociocultural group by whom they were created. Therefore, assessing the narratives produced by the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum can assist in creating understanding and inclusivity between the town's different sociocultural groups.

This study stemmed from a National Research Fund project titled *Rewriting the History of the Arts in Stellenbosch: Critical Citizenship in Community Engagement* (RHAS)*.* The RHAS study was initiated in 2014 with the aim of documenting the previously undocumented arts and culture that was – and still is – being created in Stellenbosch's nine surrounding communities. This project strives to form a more inclusive and diverse history of Stellenbosch's arts and culture. The overall aim of the RHAS project is to create a digital open-source archive that could facilitate engagement between the different sociocultural communities of Stellenbosch.

My particular interest in house museums and the complex and often complicated legacies that they narrate (and perpetuate) grew from my master's in Museum Studies programme, where my capstone project included an internship at Wilton House Museum in Richmond, Virginia. Wilton was built in the mid-18th century as the homestead of a tobacco plantation, which, consequently, was manned by many slaves – the histories of which Wilton was investigating during my time there. It also housed prominent people such as George Washington and the Marquis de Lafayette during a portion of the American Revolutionary War. Moreover, Wilton is owned by the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the Commonwealth of Virginia, which is a club where membership is by invite-only for women who can prove to be "lineal descendants of an ancestor who rendered significant service to his country during the Colonial period before July 5, 1776"[1] (NSCDA, 2017:n.p.); a club built on the burden of inclusion and exclusion based on tradition and propriety.

My time in Richmond sparked my interest in trying to understand a museum's role in the histories of privilege and oppression. Richmond was the former seat of the Confederacy during the Civil War that raged over the USA from 1861 to 1865. Due to this, the city is home to many Confederate statues, memorials, and museums that still stand over 150 years after the war's end and the subsequent abolition of slavery. These contested sites of history are issues that the USA is currently addressing – as sparked by the recent White Nationalist demonstrations and counter-demonstrations in Charlottesville, Virginia, which left three dead and many wounded. In response to this, numerous cities around the country have begun removing statues of controversial historical figures.

This is a subject with which South Africa is also grappling. Initiated in 2015, the Rhodes Must Fall movement began at the University of Cape Town, ostensibly over the issue of a statue of Cecil John Rhodes – the infamous imperialist who willed 'his' land to South Africa, a portion of which the university is built upon. However, the movement brought about much larger issues that touch many university campuses across the country, such as the decolonisation of space, university, and curriculum. As intimated, these issues do not fall

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[1] In other words, the day after independence from Britain.

on universities alone, but on all places of power and knowledge - also museums. It is therefore significant to consider new, innovative museological practices that cater to local knowledge and previously marginalised communities as a response to these issues and as a way to move Stellenbosch – and South Africa – forward.

1.2   THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The current perceived notion of Stellenbosch, the second-oldest colonial town in South Africa, is that the white, European history of the town is its only history – and this includes the history of its art and museums. This idea continues to be perpetuated because Stellenbosch is still largely associated with Afrikaans (in both language and culture) and, therefore, the previous apartheid regime and its lingering legacies of oppression and marginalisation. Stellenbosch Central is surrounded by nine previously disadvantaged smaller towns and townships that also contribute to the makeup of the greater Stellenbosch area, of which Kayamandi is one. The racial demographics of Stellenbosch are roughly 52% coloured, 28% black, and 18.5% white, with Afrikaans being spoken by 64% of the population, Xhosa by 20%, and English by 7% (STATS SA, 2011). Therefore, there is a need to redefine the discourses of difference and division between these various sociocultural groups.

The definition of 'community' is complex, but it is necessary to provide clarity on the way that it is used in this dissertation. Rather than focusing on location as a binding agent, as Bhattacharyya (2004:11–12) argues, community can be understood as being comprised of people who find solidarity within collective interests or circumstances. Kershaw (2013) echoes this in positing that community can be defined as people who identify with each other in geographical, cultural, circumstantial, or economical ways or in terms of interests and hobbies. The two museums in this study represent two different communities, Stellenbosch Central and Kayamandi, that form part of a larger community, greater Stellenbosch. While the definition of the communities of Stellenbosch Central and Kayamandi do incorporate geographic location, they are also places of communal history, culture, and socioeconomic conditions, and this is what I refer to in my use of 'community'. However, what is more difficult is the definition of the community of greater Stellenbosch, as all of its ten communities have varying historical, cultural, and socioeconomic conditions

that hinder the area from being seen as a cohesive unit in more than just a geographic way. This, again, highlights the need for inclusive museological practices that could foster engagement and understanding between Stellenbosch's various communities and could, ideally, nurture an inclusive community of greater Stellenbosch.

It is important to recognise and problematise the use of 'the other' that can arise in working with or speaking about communities that are either different from one's own or have been previously marginalised – for instance, in a study such as this one. In referencing bell hooks,[2] Hartman (1997:225, cited in Donaldson and Daugherty, 2011:85) asserts that "if we interpret the expereiences, the narratives of oppressed people though our own lenses and biases, if we privilege our truths, we colonize the other". This othering can be understood in museums as inclusion and exclusion regarding the tangible and intangible histories and cultures that museums provide.

Sandell offers Walker's (1997:8, cited in Sandell, 1998:405) definition of 'social exclusion' as "the dynamic process of being shut out, fully or partially, from any of the social, economic, political and cultural systems which determine the social integration of a person in society". This term is relevant for museums, because, as places of knowledge and power, they play a role in all of the systems Walker mentions and, thereby, effect a person's production of identity and sense of belonging. This social exclusion can perpetuate the production of 'the other' in a society.

Stellenbosch University has a well-established visual arts department and the town offers much in the way of arts and culture – from museums and galleries to an outdoor public sculpture initiative and more. However, these are all mainly concentrated in Stellenbosch Central (the predominantly white, affluent area of town) and follow the traditional, Western format for the dissemination of history, art, and culture. Moreover, many still preserve the narratives of privilege and exclusion that emanated from the eras of colonialism and apartheid. As learned during data collection for this study, Kayamandi also has a thriving arts and culture scene, but it is not known to or explored by the majority of

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[2] bell hooks purposefully uses the lower case in her name.

those living in Stellenbosch Central – even though the communities are roughly 3 kilometers apart.

In his 1997 Heritage Day address, former President Nelson Mandela (1997:n.p.) stressed,

> When our museums and monuments preserve the whole of our diverse heritage, when they are inviting to the public and interact with the changes all around them, then they will strengthen our attachment to human rights, mutual respect and democracy, and help prevent these ever again being violated.

The transformation of the South African – and, specifically, Stellenbosch's – museum landscape can only be achieved through a shift in museological thinking.

New museology, appropriate museology, and sociomuseology are all branches of museology that are community focused but that diverge in a few key ways: new museology refocuses the museum's traditional perspective from the object to the community and recognises its role in the creation of inclusive social narratives (Vergo, 1989); appropriate museology recognises that there are a myriad of different appropriate ways that museological practices can be undertaken – and that indigenous communities are often already practicing indigenous curation, which is their own unique and appropriate form of museological practice in the collection and preservation of their history and culture (Kreps, 2005; Kreps, 2008); and sociomuseology is most concerned with the role of the museum in the social and economic upliftment of its community (Assunção dos Santos, 2010).

Many nations are breaking away from the confines of Western traditional museology to embrace new museological (or sociomuseological, appropriate museological) thought, which challenges instead of accepts the museum's knowledge and power; this is evidenced by the Favela[3] and Maré Museums in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil,[4] and ecomuseums[5] in Italy

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[3] A favela is an informal settlement, much like a township, located in Brazil.
[4] The Museu de Favela is an open-air living museum that encompasses the Pavão, Pavãozinho, and Cantagalo favelas; its collection is the history, culture, and memories of the communities involved. Similarly, the Museu de Maré is a community museum about the Maré favela.
[5] Developed by Hugues de Varine and Georges-Henri Rivière, eco-musems are museums that switch the focus from objects to the community as a living museum (González, 2013).

(such as in the Piedmont region), and in Vietnam (Ha Long Bay). The Kayamandi Creative District House Museum attempts this as well, as it is a local museum created *by* and *in* the community. It is a living museum in the sense that the homes have not been musealised, but are lived in, and the museum's collection is the stories and memories shared by the homeowners-turned-docents in an effort to encourage inclusivity, cross-cultural exchange, and social upliftment. New museology acknowledges that "[t]o many Indigenous peoples, western-style museums are laden with associations of colonialism, cultural repression, loss of heritage, and death" (Simpson, 2006:153). They therefore call for a greater recognition of the social role of museums and of the museum's ability to present itself in more than just the accepted, traditional format such as in local, community, and eco-museums.

1.3   RESEARCH QUESTIONS, STUDY AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The primary research question investigated in this study was: What does a comparative analysis of the semiotic landscapes of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum reveal about the broader historical and sociocultural contexts wherein each exist?

The aim of the study was to ascertain extent of the appropriateness of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum as house museum models in a post-apartheid, Stellenbosch context.

The resultant study objectives were to:

(a)   investigate the similarities and discrepancies between the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum;

(b)   investigate the perceptions of the management, staff, and docents of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum towards their respective organisations;

(c)   investigate the semiotic spaces; the tangible (architecture, gardens, furniture, costumes) and intangible (stories, memories, narratives) historic and cultural landscapes of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum;

(d)   investigate the museological practices underway at the Stellenbosch Village

Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum; and

(e)   investigate what these similarities, discrepancies, and perceptions reveal about the historical and sociocultural contexts of Stellenbosch and Kayamandi.

1.4 OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study was undertaken using a qualitative approach within an interpretative paradigm. An interpretative lens posits that our knowledge of reality is created "through social constructions such a[s] language, consciousness, shared meanings, documents, tools, and other artifacts" (Klein & Myers, 1999:69). It also takes into account the various ways in which these social constructs can be understood, biased, or contradicted (Klein & Myers, 1999).

A comparative case study design (Yin, 1994) was used to develop an in-depth investigation of both the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum. A case study design was chosen above all other research designs, as the research aimed at discovering what the two above-mentioned museums reveal (through their similarities and differences) about the communities within which they are situated, along with their appropriateness in a post-apartheid South African context. The sub-themes for the data analysis arose in an organic way after much careful and close reading of the data. As a comparative analysis, it was imperative to find themes that were comparable across both case studies. I then grouped the sub-themes under the two overarching themes of democratising museum practices and decolonising museum landscapes because I realised that the road to transformation and social inclusion (Sandell, 1998:401) for our museums rests on these two ideals. It is through democratisation and decolonisation – specifically of the museum, but also of society – that a positive fostering of cross-cultural exchange and understanding could occur between Stellenbosch's multiple sociocultural groups.

The research sample consisted of individuals from the management, staff, and docent teams at the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum's homeowner docents and those who were involved in its management and running. In addition, a number of Kayamandi community members were interviewed in concert with the RHAS project and information was gathered from a handful of visitors to

the Stellenbosch Village Museum. Data were collected through individual semi-structured interviews, workshops, observations, field visits, e-mail interview and correspondence, and document analysis; a data-collection table can be found in Chapter 4 (Table 4.1). Inductive content analysis was used to examine the data, whereby themes were identified after repeated readings and understandings of the data, as suggested in Chapter 4, Figure 4.1, a guideline adapted from Creswell (2002) by Thomas (2006).

Ethical clearance for the project was obtained from the Research Ethics Committee: Human Research (Humanoria) of Stellenbosch University on 26 May 2015. Involvement in the research was voluntary, with signed consent obtained from those willing to participate. The confidentiality of the participants has been maintained. A more detailed discussion of the research methodology used in this study can be found in Chapter 4.

1.5 BOUNDARIES AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

In this study, the focus was on the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum specifically, and not on the museological landscape of Stellenbosch as a whole. As stated in Section 1.3, the aim of the study was to gain insight exclusively into these two museums (and not into all Stellenbosch museums, which would have involved many more case studies and interviews), and to look critically at their relevance in a post-apartheid context. While specific, the results of this study could be applicable to the broader Stellenbosch (and South African) museological landscape.

The study focused on responses from the management, staff, and (homeowner) docents of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum. Limited interaction was had with visitors to either museum, as this would have involved many more interviews to facilitate an appropriate sampling. Consideration would have had to be made for multiple perspectives from visitors – local, national, various sociocultural groups, international, etc. – in order to give justice to the many different voices of visitors to each museum.

The researcher acknowledges that she is a white, privileged woman who comes from a similar historical and sociocultural background to that represented at the Stellenbosch

Village Museum and, therefore, a very different background to that represented at the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum. Consequently, it is not in her repertoire to be able to suggest or create relevant, museological practices for the community of Kayamandi; this is something that must come from the community itself and is therefore why the participation of the homeowner docents was so significant.

1.6 STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

This section provides an overview of the content of each chapter in this dissertation. Within this dissertation, the Stellenbosch Village Museum is consistently spoken about first, because it is mostly representative of traditional museology. This is the museological practice that was established first and with the longest history in the Western world and its former colonial outposts. Consequently, the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum follows this, as it mostly represents the challenge to traditional museology: new museology. It was important to establish the characteristics of traditional museology so as to understand the ways in which new/sociomuseology confronts and breaks down long-established norms in museum practice and landscape. Photographs are provided throughout the dissertation so as to visually situate the reader within the context of Stellenbosch and the Stellenbosch Village Museum and Kayamandi and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum.

ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY: Chapter 1 provides an introduction and orientation to the study. This chapter includes the background, problem statement, research question, objectives, overview of the research methodology, and the limitations of the study.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES: Chapter 2 contains the literature review, which provides the theoretical and conceptual framework for the study. Two main theoretical perspectives are considered in this chapter, namely that of social semiotics (along with multimodality, material culture, and the issues of democratisation and decolonisation) and the dual theory of museology and curatorship (along with new museology).

CONTEXTUALISING THE STUDY: Chapter 3 creates the context within which the study is located, namely the history of place – which encapsulates a brief history of South Africa,

with a focus on Stellenbosch and Kayamandi, and the history of space – which is an overview of the advent of the modern museum, its history in Africa, South Africa, and Stellenbosch. The backgrounds of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum are provided in this chapter to facilitate an understanding of the two museums.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: Chapter 4 offers the research methodology used in this study. A comparative case study design with inductive qualitative content analysis was utilised in this research. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with management, staff, and docents from the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum as well as members of the Kayamandi community and visitors to the Stellenbosch Village Museum, and this data were supplemented with document analysis and researcher observations. In addition, this chapter elaborates on the validity and trustworthiness of the study according to the four criteria developed by Lincoln and Guba (1985): credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION: Chapter 5 presents the findings of the research within themes that emerged from repeated readings of the data collected from the study, namely democratising museum practices and decolonising museum landscapes. A discussion of the data follows the presentation of the findings. The findings and discussion are conducted in reference to the theoretical perspectives and contextual factors presented in chapters 2 and 3, respectively.

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS: Chapter 6 ends the study report with factual and conceptual conclusions and discussions of some implications of the findings for the study in regard to the research question, aim, and objectives. In additional, a critique and suggestions for further research are offered.

Figure 1.2: A street scene in Stellenbosch Central

Figure 1.3: A street scene in the township of Kayamandi

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

2.1   INTRODUCTION

This dissertation considers the semiotic landscapes of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum and the broader historical and sociocultural contexts wherein each exist. Therefore, this chapter frames the study within two established theories, namely social semiotics and museology and curatorship. Each section defines the theoretical study and identifies the key figures guiding each theory. It then unpacks the theory in a way that is relevant and pertinent to this research. The outline of the chapter is discussed here.

Social semiotics reveals that everything is made up of signs and the codes and modes – semiotic resources – necessary to make meaning in everyday life. This theory provides a framework for deciphering how meaning is made within the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum and in the communities that they inhabit – namely Stellenbosch and Kayamandi, respectively. Due to the far-reaching tenets of this theory, in a subtle way social semiotics forms the basis for any other theory interested in meaning making.

The discussion of social semiotics begins with a brief introduction to semiotics – the original theory developed separately by Ferdinand de Saussure and Charles Peirce. Semiotics was founded as a linguistic theory and was developed into social semiotics by Michael Halliday in 1987 and then furthered by Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress (1988). Subsequent to this, semiotic landscapes are examined as "reflection[s] of sociocultural symbols and meanings that define what it means to be a human being in a particular culture" (Greider & Garkovich, 1994:3). Multimodality – the idea that many modes can be used simultaneously during meaning making (Kress, 2010) – is then discussed. This section also examines material culture (and its extension, new materialism) – the culturally determined meanings given to the tangible objects of heritage. Lastly, democratisation and decolonisation are offered as theoretical points of departure through which to consider the transformation of the museum to better fit a post-apartheid South African context. The last part of this section offers a synthesis of the topics considered.

Following social semiotics, the joint theory of museology and curatorship is investigated. The section begins by introducing the definitions of museology and curatorship. A very brief history of the museum reveals the traditional, historical theory of museology, which posits the object and the curator at the centre of meaning making within the museum. A relatively new movement within museology is then examined: new museology (along with appropriate museology and sociomuseology), which challenges the old theory by calling for a refocusing of the museum onto society through the decentralising of museum power and greater community involvement.

The chapter concludes with a synthesis of the information provided in the previous sections. It offers a discussion on the key theorists of each section and organises the theories and key elements into a conceptual diagram (Figure 2.3). This chapter serves to create a discourse between the theories of social semiotics and museology and curatorship – and the sub-theories that they contain. It presents the theoretical framework for a comparative analysis of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum.

2.2 SOCIAL SEMIOTIC THEORY

Social semiotics is a branch of the theory of semiotics – the study of signs and how meaning is created – as developed by Ferdinand de Saussure and Charles Peirce. According to Italian professor of semiotics, Umberto Eco (1976:162), a sign is "used in order to name objects and to describe states of the world, to point toward actual things, to assert that there is something and that this something is so and so"; in other words, we make meaning through our use of signs. The term 'social semiotics' was first introduced by British linguist Michael Halliday (1925–1976) in his 1987 book *Language as social semiotic: The social interpretation of language and meaning*. Halliday employed a linguistic approach to studying and developing social semiotics and it is his work that formed the key impetus for the development of social semiotics as a theory (Van Leeuwen, 2005:xi).

Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress, noted social semioticians, expanded on Halliday's ideas in their seminal book *Social semiotics* (1988). The theories outlined by Hodge and Kress in

this publication laid the foundation for the expansion of social semiotics and the implementation of the theory today. Whereas Halliday was mainly concerned with linguistics, Hodge and Kress took a multimodal approach and realised that "meaning resides so strongly and pervasively in other systems of meaning, in a multiplicity of visual, aural, behavioural and other codes, that a concentration on words alone is not enough" (1988:vii). Therefore, the pair expanded their work on social semiotics to include these additional areas.

It is this departure from Halliday's original ideas – from it being a linguistically focused theory – that allows for social semiotics to be used as a theory in this study. Hodge and Kress's use of multimodality in regard to the creation of signs and meaning making allows for both the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum to be analysed as spaces that employ many modes to create and impart meaning. They are also social semiotic landscapes in which visitors are implored upon to engage with the spaces in a multimodal social semiotic approach.

A combined social semiotic and multimodal approach "emphasizes the social aspects of all communication, and pays special attention to the interplay between different modes of communication (i.e. speech, writing, images, gestures etc.)" (Insulander & Lindstrand, 2008:85). Material culture studies helps one to understand the ways that humans create meaning for themselves through the meaning made for objects. Visitors to a museum use many modes in their attempt to understand and analyse the museum's exhibitions and their meaning. In this study, it is I, the researcher, who used these modes to analyse the social semiotic codes contained within the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum.

Democratisation and decolonisation as a dual theory is also examined in this section, as South Africa calls on its institutions of knowledge and power (such as universities and museums) to find ways to transform and become more inclusive and considerate of the many voices, cultures, and races that help – and have helped – to create the country (and, specific to this study, Stellenbosch). Democratisation and decolonisation can be attempted through the modification of the codes and modes used in the creation of meaning; through

an adjustment of the social semiotic framework with which people read landscapes (especially the museum's landscape).

2.2.1 SEMIOTICS

As mentioned above, two scholars were integral in the development of the theory of semiotics: Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913) and American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914). While they were developed at roughly the same time, the theories were created independent from each other, and their two ideas are briefly discussed here as they pertain to the history and understanding of social semiotics.

While Peirce is important to its history, it is generally agreed that Saussure was the founding father of semiotics because he was much more influential (Hodge & Kress, 1988). Saussure defined semiotics as the study "of the life of signs in society" (Hodge & Kress, 1988:1). The term 'semiotics' refers to the way in which humans create meaning; the study of the way that we both make and interpret the myriad of different signs in the world. The sign is at the centre of the theory of semiotics; it is "a fusion of form and meaning" (Kress, 2010:54). This is what all of semiotics – and social semiotics – revolves around: the sign and the understanding and meaning making that develops from the study of the sign.

Since Saussure practised structural linguistics and structural semiotics, his theory was focused on the different linguistic signs that semiotics could use to understand and analyse meaning. However, he acknowledged that linguistics was only one aspect of semiotics. In his *Course in general linguistics*, Saussure (1983:15–16, as cited in Chandler, 2002:5–6) wrote that:

> It is … possible to conceive of a science which studies the role of signs as part of social life. It would form part of social psychology, and hence of general psychology. We shall call it semiology (from the Greek sēmeîon, 'sign'). It would investigate the nature of signs and the laws governing them. Since it does not yet exist, one cannot say for certain that it will exist. But it has a right to exist, a place ready for it in advance. Linguistics is only one branch of this general science. The laws which semiology will

discover will be laws applicable in linguistics, and linguistics will thus be assigned to a clearly defined place in the field of human knowledge.

Saussure's view of semiotics was two-part: He saw the sign as being composed of a 'signifier' and a 'signified' (as illustrated in Figure 2.1). The signifier is the physical manifestation of the sign and the signified is the concept to which it refers. Therefore, the sign is born through the interaction between the signifier and the signified (Saussure, 1974:67; 1983:67, as cited in Chandler, 2002:20). The relationship between the signifier and the signified is called the 'signification'. For Saussure, this link between the signifier and signified is arbitrary; there is no direct, one-to-one correlation between the two (Chandler, 2002:29).
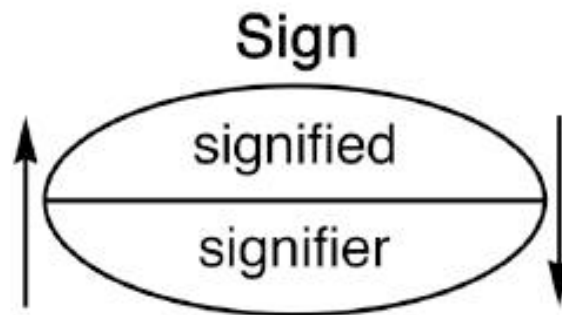
Figure 2.1: Saussurean model of a sign (Source: Chandler, 2002:18)

To use a popular semiotic example, let us consider the traffic light. In Saussure's view, the colour of the traffic light is the signifier (red, green, and yellow) and the signified is the action that is linked to the colour (stop, go, and yield) (Hodge & Kress, 1988:37). The link between these two – the signification: the reason for the message associated with each colour – is arbitrary, because, for Saussurean semioticians, there is no necessary, intrinsic, direct, or inevitable relationship between signified and signifier (Chandler, 2002:26). There is no basic link between the colours and the meanings that they signify; if things had been different, green could easily mean 'stop' and red 'go'.

For Charles Peirce, who developed his theory in the late 19th century, the field of study that he referred to as 'semiotics' was 'the formal doctrine of signs' and was closely related to logic (Chandler, 2002:6). Unlike Saussure, Peirce believed that semiotics was a three-part

system. It contains the *representamen* – the form that the sign takes (not necessarily material), an *interpretant* – sense made of the sign, and an *object* – a thing to which the sign refers (Chandler, 2002:32). Pierce (1931-58:228, as cited in Chandler, 2002:32–33) describes his theory as such:

> A sign … (in the form of a *Representamen*) is something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity. It addresses somebody, that is, creates in the mind of that person an equivalent sign, or perhaps a more developed sign. That sign which it creates I call the *interpretant* of the first sign. The sign stands for something, its *object*. It stands for that object, not in all respects, but in reference to a sort of idea, which I have sometimes called the *ground* of the representamen.
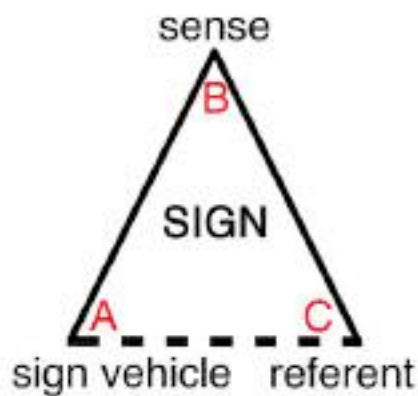
Figure 2.2: Peircian model of a sign (Source: Chandler, 2002:18)

To again reference the traffic light scenario, using Figure 2.2, the *representamen* – the form of the sign – would be the colour of the traffic light; the object – that to which the sign refers – would be the action of the traffic in reference to the colour of the light (i.e. – if the traffic is stopped, going, or yielding); and the *interpretant* – the sense made of the sign – would be that the colour of the light represents a concept: green means go, red means stop, and yellow means yield (Chandler, 2002:33).

One of the main differences between Saussure's theory and Peirce's is that Pierce's model features the referent, which is the 'object' – something beyond the sign to which the sign vehicle refers (not always material) (Chandler, 2002:59). In Saussure's terms, the

representamen would be the signifier and the *interpretant* would be the signified. His theory does not allow for a referent, for, as the signification is arbitrary, the sign does not refer to any specific thing.

While this section has briefly outlined two theories of semiotics, Hodge and Kress (1988:14) believe that Saussure's model is much stronger and more widely followed than that of Pierce's and it is the reading and discourse on this theory on which social semiotics is based. Further, Hodge and Kress (1988) posit that Freud, due to his influence and accomplishments, should be included among the 'founding fathers' of semiotics. This is of course in regard to his work in psychoanalysis, which used semiotics to decode meanings in the unconscious mind.

2.2.2   SOCIAL SEMIOTICS

While Saussure and Peirce laid the foundation for semiotics, Halliday first (and then, later, Hodge, Kress, Van Leeuwen, and other key figures in social semiotics) expanded the theory beyond its inception as a tool for understanding linguistics, to include societal, cultural, and historical factors. Social semiotics rests on …

> … several fundamental assumptions: signs are always newly *made* in social interaction; signs are *motivated*, not *arbitrary* relations of meaning and form; the motivated relation of a *form* and a *meaning* is based on and arises out of the *interest* of makers of signs; the forms/signifiers which are used in the making of signs are *made* in social interaction and become part of the semiotic resources of a culture (Kress, 2010:55).

Although it is generally accepted that the theory of semiotics was mainly influenced by Saussure, social semiotics, in contrast, appears to stem from "an oppositional reading of Saussure" (Vannini, 2007:115). This oppositional reading is due to the fact that social semiotics as developed by Hodge and Kress assumes that "signs are *made* (not *used*) and that the relationship between signifier and signified is motivated rather than arbitrary" (Böck & Pachler, 2013:227). In this theory, Hodge and Kress posit that signs are made specifically for a specific situation and, because of this, they are motivated – they always take the specific situation into account.

Kress contests Saussure's claim that signification is arbitrary because this idea does not take into account that humans have free agency (Kress, 2010). This thought disallows the ability of both the sign maker and sign receiver to modify the relationship to their specific circumstance. Social semiotics emphasises that signs are made and not used; that no one situation is the same, so there cannot be a ready-made, one-size-fits-all sign to assist with meaning making. Signs are also referred to as semiotic resources and they "do not stand for something that is pre-given and that transcends use" (Vannini, 2007:119). In contrast to Saussure's semiotics, social semiotics believes that signs are motivated and do not follow prescribed ideas. Their signification, therefore, is not arbitrary, but specific, as it is produced for a singular sign at a singular moment.

Halliday developed social semiotics as the study of "signifying practices in social and cultural contexts, to analyse human meaning making as a social practice" (Angermuller, Maingueneau, & Wodak, 2014:263); meaning making is dependent on a definite situation and on the social and cultural factors that influence that situation. The 'code' is the central framework of semiotics – and, by extension, social semiotics – and is used in the creation of meaning; codes are the signposts by which we decipher signs (Chandler, 2002:147).

In order to understand how meaning is made, "[s]emioticians seek to identify codes and the tacit rules and constraints which underlie the production and interpretation of meaning within each code" (Chandler, 2002:149). Much like signs that are socially produced and read, codes function similarly and the result of this is that the two are not static, but flexible (Stein, 2008:21). Codes are malleable and resilient to changes faced in cultures and societies due to social, economic, political, and technological influences. As these factors change, codes either change alongside them or new ones are created. Humans make sense of their surroundings and their lives through a number of different codes – some innately known to us, and others learned along the way. Kress (2010:5) reasons that codes must constantly change because communication is wrapped up in "a vast web of intertwined social, economic, cultural and technological changes". We are in a constant state of change and because of this, codes do and must also adjust.

Signs and codes are produced and interpreted differently by various cultural groups. Kress (2010:72–73) defines 'cultural groups' as "communities of people who by virtue of factors such as age, region, education, class, gender, profession, lifestyle, have their specific and distinct semiotic resources, differently arranged and valued". These signs and codes are read and understood not only by those in the same cultural group, but also by those in other cultural groups and, therefore, signs need to have the capacity to be modified and transferred (Kress, 2010). If a sign from one cultural group is communicated in a way that is foreign to a person from another cultural group, the meaning is lost – it must be communicated in a way that is understood. For instance, the meaning of a museum can be different between sociocultural groups – especially in a South African context. For many, museums are associated with oppression and the perpetuation of white ideologies and are perhaps not places that many black, coloured, or Indian people want to visit, as they might not see the relevance of the museum's narrative to their lives. As will be discussed, new museology endeavours to change this opinion of the museum, to redefine the way that people read the codes associated with museology.

Codes act as a system of resources for meaning making; they "organize signs into meaningful systems which correlate signifiers and signifieds" (Chandler, 2002:175). Codes provide a framework for both producers and interpreters with which to make meaning of a text (in whatever form it appears). The sign maker encodes the sign with meaning and the sign receiver decodes the meaning of the sign. However, the message encoded is not always the message decoded. The encoder and decoder both bring their own personal and societal codes into play when making or interpreting the sign. As such, in order to comprehend the signs with which we are confronted, we must not only recognise and understand them and their meaning, but also be able to analyse them with the use of relevant codes (Chandler, 2002:175).

Hodge and Kress (1988) state that social semiotics is therefore also concerned with a study into the inconsistencies (or consistencies) of meaning that occur between the producer and reader of a sign. Codes are not encoded and decoded in an unbiased way, because 'sign users' carry around with them their own associations – histories and subtexts – that are only shared with members of the same or similar cultural and social groups (Chandler,

2002). Codes are relative to the culture and society that create and interpret them and "we learn to read the world in terms of the codes and conventions which are dominant within the specific sociocultural contexts and roles within which we are socialized" (Chandler, 2002:156). Hodge and Kress (1988) articulate that sign producers place faith in their construction of the sign and its ability to translate meaning in the intended way; this is evidenced in the way that a curator designs exhibitions in the hopes of conveying a specific narrative to viewers.

Many codes play a part in identifying the context of a situation – gestures, clothing, architecture, etc. – and the specific signals change from society to society and from time to time. Kress stresses that "[t]here is no meaning without framing" (2010:10), by which he means that cultures need to provide a specific framework within which people create meaning. The cultural framework becomes the cultural resources that people use to understand and create a sense of their world and situation.

Codes are not steadfast; they are ever-changing and evolving according to changes in society and its powers. In a South African context, the country's history contains many different epochs that carried with them different codes – pre-colonial times, where the Khoi and San shared the land; colonialism, where the Dutch and British each had their hand at rule; post-colonialism and apartheid, where the white, privileged minority ruled the country with institutionalised racism; and now, post-apartheid, where the country is democratic. Throughout all of these different eras, signs functioned in ways that were in accordance with the ruling power and their beliefs; specifically they affected the way that people treated one another. Eco asserts that "Man is continuously making and remaking codes, but only insofar as other codes already exist" (Eco, 1976:256); a code is not a rigid rule, but one to be moulded and restructured as society evolves and restructures. With each of these different periods within the country's history, old codes were broken and new codes were instated – such as spaces where people could live, visit, work, etc.

Art history is a topic replete with examples of how codes are – and have been – changed and modified throughout the centuries. Many times throughout its history artists have expanded and broken artistic codes. Take, for instance, abstractionism, expressionism, and

impressionism – each artistic genre broke down previously accepted conventions to achieve something new and exciting. Art historian Ernst Gombrich (1977, cited in Chandler, 2002:161) mentions how "aesthetic codes … were regarded at the time of their emergence as strange and radical". Edouard Manet's *Dejeuner sur l'Herbe* (1863) shocked and scandalised viewers and the art community at the time of its unveiling because it defied artistic traditions. While drawing on art historical subject matter, "Manet's refusal to conform to convention and his initiation of a new freedom from traditional subjects and modes of representation – can perhaps be considered as the departure point for Modern Art" (Musee d'Orsay, 2006); in short, he created a new code.

Manet achieved what Eco (1976:188) describes here:

> [w]hen the painter begins work, the content is neither coded nor divided into precise units. It has to be *invented* … Thus the painter has to invent a sign-function, and since every sign-function is based on a code, he has to propose a new way of coding.

This illustrates how the formation and function of codes are changeable and malleable. More than that, a painting contains multiple layers of connotation: the physical, material aspect of what the painting represents and the intangible, emotional aspect regarding the painting's meaning (Van Leeuwen, 2005).

To borrow an art historical example provided by Chandler, linear perspective was developed by Filippo Brunelleschi in the early 15th century during the Italian Renaissance, and it "allows artists to determine mathematically the relative size of a rendered object to correlate them with the visual recession into space" (Kleiner & Mamiya, 2006:457). This technique was codified by Leon Battista Alberti in 1435–1436 and demonstrates that people were not previously taught to look at and interpret the landscape in this way (Chandler, 2002). Due to this 15th-century discovery, today "[w]e have become so accustomed to reading pictures in terms of this illusionistic pictoral code that it now appears 'natural' to us to do so: we are rarely conscious of it as a code at all" (Chandler, 2002:184), but, it is a code nonetheless.

While some codes are almost universally accepted and more or less firm – such as linear perspective – this is not always the case. There is no one way to look at and interpret art because every viewer arrives at the work equipped with his or her own cultural codes and thoughts on how to decode an artwork. Each artwork is open to multiple interpretations, which are at the mercy of the competing contexts and signs afforded to the viewer in accordance with their social semiotic references (Eco, 1976). The codes of the viewer and the codes of the artists are not always harmonious. It is the nature of art to elicit meaning and feelings within the viewer and also to educate. This is achieved by challenging the viewer and his or her cultural codes through the construction of meaning for the artwork; this allows viewers to modify their perceptions, thereby modifying their social semiotic framework (Eco, 1976).

Codes, as defined by semiotics and social semiotics, are found throughout the world in all countries and cultures. Often these codes are not readily recognised as codes, because many codes have been 'indoctrinated' in us through childhood or in subtle ways, where we do not distinguish that they are codes that shape our thoughts and feelings. Codes vary between cultures and often become inexplicit by those who practice them; they are taken for granted as universally known and accepted codes (Chandler, 2002:157).

Codes can be considered as 'reference points'. They are reference points for people within the same community to create cultural bonds. They are also reference points for people in different communities and cultural groups to use in finding commonalities. Codes provide a guideline for interactions within and outside of communities. Codes help people to establish their identity and place within the different cultural landscapes of the world. For codes to be understood, one must understand the cultural processes that affect the reading of the sign.

Codes can be thought of as the process of analysing cultural units. As suggested by Schneider (1968, cited in Eco, 1976:71), cultural units "are the signs that social life has put at our disposal: images interpreting books, appropriate responses interpreting ambiguous questions, words interpreting definitions and vice versa"; these are also considered modes and semiotic resources. These units are culturally defined and constitute material and

immaterial objects, emotions, or contexts. Everyone processes these codes differently and therefore, again, there is no one fixed way to read and interpret signs; this is situationally dependent – and socially and culturally dependent as well (Van Leeuwen, 2005).

The term 'affordance' was developed by the psychologist Gibson (1979), whereby he suggested that "affordances are the potential uses of a given object" (Van Leeuwen, 2005:4). Affordance is the potential for more meanings that have not yet been discovered or recognised. Semiotic resources have a *theoretical* semiotic potential and an *actual* semiotic potential. Theoretical potential consists of all of the resources' past uses and potential future uses, whereas the actual semiotic potential of a resource consists of the uses that are known by specific users with specific needs in specific contexts (Van Leeuwen, 2005; Vannini, 2007)

One place to recognise cultural codes embedded in signs that have changed throughout the course of history, or which vary from culture to culture and country to country, is to visit a house museum. A house museum displays the life and society of a particular time – be it long ago, like the Stellenbosch Village Museum, or, like the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum, a modern time. In this way, the visitor can more easily see and discern the aspects of life that have changed or the differences between cultures. These cultural codes – differences and similarities – help to form the social semiotic landscapes of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum, and of the town in which they are located.

The analysis of these social semiotic landscapes was assisted through the consideration of cultural studies. Lawrence Grossberg (1997:6) – a leader in the field – defines cultural studies as being used to describe …

> … how people's everyday lives are articulated by and with culture, how they are empowered and disempowered by the particular structures and forces that organize their lives, always in contradictory ways, and how their everyday lives are themselves articulated to and by the trajectories of economic and political power.

The overlapping of cultural studies and social semiotics is evident through this definition, as social semiotics is likewise concerned with the ways in which outside factors contribute to daily meaning making. It is generally accepted that cultural studies was 'created' at the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in 1964 by Robert Hoggart and Stuart Hall. Semiotics became a facet of cultural studies in the late 1960 due to the work of Roland Barthes (Chandler, 2002:7).

The most influential and widely quoted description of 'culture' provided by the early anthropologist and ethnologist E.B. Tylor in his 1871 book *Primitive culture* (1958:1, cited in Eller, 2009:25) is as follows: "Culture or Civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society". In short, all tangible and intangible material that relates to a specific community constitutes its culture, but as Kreps argues, culture is much more than the physical aspects, it encompasses the emotional "the spirit, soul, and mind of a community" (Pronk, 2006, cited in Kreps, 2008:38).

Just as they were important in social semiotics, codes are also a framework for cultural studies. Hall (1973:132, cited in Chandler, 2002:157), the founding father of cultural studies, discusses how codes are intrinsic parts of everyday human life, yet they are oftentimes unnoticed:

> Certain codes may … be so widely distributed in a specific language community or culture, and be learned at so early an age, that they appear not to be constructed – the effect of an articulation between sign and referent – but to be 'naturally' given. Simple visual signs appear to have achieved a 'near-universality' in this sense: though evidence remains that even apparently 'natural' visual codes are culture-specific. However, this does not mean that no codes have intervened; rather, that the codes have been profoundly *naturalized*.

Today advertising and popular culture helps to naturalise codes. In addition, naturalised codes are often passed down generationally or indoctrinated during schooling. Racism can be considered a longstanding example of naturalised codes.

Cultural studies is concerned with investigating the relationship between privileged and oppressed cultures, and to find a way to address this inequality (Fiske, 1992:164); in this way it is pertinent to this study because the cultures explored in the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum are very different and are expressive of the historically dominant and subordinate cultures of not only Stellenbosch but also of South Africa as a whole. Cultural studies is focused on the study of the whole "range of a society's arts, beliefs, institutions, and communicative practices" (Grossberg, Nelson & Treichler, 1992:4) and this is important as we look towards an inclusive history of Stellenbosch as a whole; as a social semiotic landscape.

This attests to the influence of cultural studies on (or from) social semiotics; how its views on society and culture affect the way that social semiotics is understood, and how meaning is made. Cultural studies theories will assist social semiotics in exploring how the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum are places that deliver historical and cultural information to the community and to outside visitors. This includes the perceptions or misperceptions of heritage and culture that are encountered during a visit to the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum.

Pierre Bourdieu's (1977, 1984, cited in Fiske, 1992:155) theory of habitus is also pertinent here. Accordingly, 'habitus' …

> … contains the meanings of habitat, habitant, the process of habitation and habit; particularly habits of thought. A habitat is a social environment in which we live: it is a product of both its position in the social space and of the practices of the social beings who inhabit it.

To Bourdieu, 'habitat' is not a physical space, but rather one's intangible positioning within society. His idea, however, allows for movement; it takes into account people's ability to visit and live in places that are unfamiliar or are different from the place in which they were born or in which they are most comfortable. In this respect, it allows for people to experience and gain understanding about cultures, societies, and histories – habitats – different from their own. However, Bourdieu (1977, 1984 cited in Fiske, 1992) and Fiske (1992) contend that while we are able to visit and appreciate other habitats, we can never fully understand what it is or was like to live there during a certain event. For example, one can visit the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam and form an understanding of what the experience *might* have been like for the stowaways; however, we will never fully understand or truly know what it was like for them during the Holocaust.

'Habitat' in Bourdieu's theory can also be thought of as constituting 'culture', because just as he postulates that people can move between habitats, culture is also mobile. Fiske (1992) posits that culture is imbedded into habitat, that it is linked to the historical and social life of place and the ways in which it functions in its social semiotic landscape. This materiality of popular culture is directly related to the economic materiality of the conditions of oppression. Under these conditions, "social experience and, therefore, culture is inescapably material" (Fiske, 1992:154–155).

Another aspect that can be considered alongside habitus is the voyeuristic nature of house museums. Vagnone and Ryan (2016:122) expand the traditional definition of voyeurism to include a range of activities that centre on the "viewing of other people's intimate lives". Therefore, it is due to their *in situ* location, the musealising of houses (or, of allowing their lived-in homes to be on display, in the case of the Kayamandi Creative District), and the focusing on a narrative about a specific family/person/group that house museums can be considered as voyeuristic. In a house museum, a visitor steps into another time, social class, or culture and these experiences allow visitors to understand in minutia the daily life of the particular habitat in which they find themselves. However, this 'tourist excursion' cannot fully articulate the reality of that life and time – only a feeling. This theory was especially interesting to consider for this study, as the Stellenbosch Village Museum presents a view into privileged life in early Stellenbosch and, in juxtaposition, the

Kayamandi Creative District House Museum offers an intimate glimpse into the modern lives of inhabitants of Kayamandi, a previously disadvantaged and predominantly Xhosa community on the outskirts of Stellenbosch.

Voyeurism can also be coupled with the tourist gaze; this is something that Urry (2002:1) describes as happening when we visit a place other than that which is known to us and we "look at the environment with interest and curiosity". The tourist gaze is, then, experienced through contrast; through the comparison of the familiar and unfamiliar social semiotic signs brought by and provided to the viewer. Landscapes are considered in a much more sensitive way than normal under a tourists gaze, as they are out of the ordinary – distinct from a viewer's everyday life (Urry, 2002:3). Urry (2002:2) suggests that it is through these distinctions and the reading of signs that 'normal' sociocultural constructions can be questioned.

Consider an excerpt from Faber, Rassool, and Witz's (2007:23) book, *South African family stories: Reflections on an experiment in exhibition making*:

> One can ask what motivated the visitors to attend the exhibition. Was it an unhealthy interest, the kind of ambivalent curiosity or voyeurism that drives people to watch television series …? Personally I think that people are interested in people, this is why they read biographies and appreciate stories with convincing personalities. This is a positive and human trait.

The above encapsulates why people are drawn to museums – especially of culture and history, and especially house museums. There is an undeniable voyeuristic element associated with the visit. Human beings are inquisitive in nature, and a visit to a house museum or a heritage attraction allows for visitors to semiotically locate themselves both within that history and culture and within his or her own history and culture.

2.2.3 MULTIMODALITY

Gunther Kress was not only instrumental in the foundation of social semiotics, but he also had a hand in "the related field of multimodality" (Böck & Pachler, 2013:3). In his own words he explained as follows (Kress, 2010:13):

> … the study of *modes* in multimodal social semiotics focuses on the *material*, the *specific*, the *making* of signs *now*, in this environment for this occasion. In its focus on the material it also focuses on the bodilyness of those who make and remake signs in constant semiotic (inter)action. It represents a move away from high abstraction to the specific, the material; from the mentalistic to the bodily.

Multimodal semiotics is interested in specific situational meaning making using semiotic resources (aka 'modes') and, more than that, in how and by whom meaning is created.

Van Leeuwen defines semiotic resources as "the actions and artefacts we use to communicate, whether they are produced physiologically … or by means of technologies" (2005:3). Van Leeuwen's definition of semiotic resources includes all man-made modes of communication – either bodily or material. In social semiotics the term 'resource' is used to encourage the idea that the meaning of a sign is created situationally (Van Leeuwen, 2005); that in each situation meaning is newly created through readily available semiotic resources. Kress (2011:241) agrees that "[semiotic resources] are specific at the moment of their making and are remade by those who interpret them also as specific albeit now differently specific signs".

Modes, much like codes, are formed by their position within certain cultures (their level of privilege). A society selects and personalises its own semiotic resources and they are, therefore, culturally, socially and historically shaped. These semiotic resources include physical and visual modes such as "[i]mage, writing, layout, music, gesture, speech, moving image, soundtrack and 3D objects" (Kress, 2010:79) – anything that is used to impart meaning and knowledge. Due to this, these semiotic resources differ from society to society because, like codes, they are made by specific situational requirements and are governed by the society in which they were created. Multimodality, in the context of social

semiotics, demonstrates that meaning is made using a number of different modes, because meaning is made through communication and "communication is always multimodal" (Kress, 2010:36).

Kress emphasises that people's *interests* affect their meaning-making ability and that people's situation within a culture and society not only shapes their thinking, but also their specific interests within said society and culture. Interest here is shaped by a person's engagement in a social frame. As Kress (2010:35–36) explains, "interest names the momentary 'focusing' of a social history, a sense of who I am in this social situation now, as well as a clear sense of the social environment in which the prompt occurred". For example, an artist might look at a mountain and consider the shades of colours needed in order to render it in a painting. A geographer might think of it in terms of height and circumference. A trail runner or hiker might examine it to determine the best route to take to the summit. An ecologist might study it in regard to the specific plant and animal life thriving on its slopes. Bezemer, Diamantopoulou, Jewitt, Kress, and Mavers (2012:6) explain this as such:

> Whether in meaning-making or in learning, interest is decisive. It forms the basis of the choice of what is taken as criterial about the entity for representation … the apt means for representation … and for transforming that with which the learner has engaged. In learning, the interest of the learner shapes attention to that which is to be learned, leading to selection from what is presented in the world, and (the learner's) interest determines the focus on what is to be engaged with in learning.

Individuals are more likely to involve themselves in a specific situation when they are attracted to it, when they have a vested interest in the situation. Likewise, a person's interest will usually guide their view of society. They will approach situations through their interests, because it is helpful to their personal formulation of meaning.

Social semiotics – especially in regard to this study – is best understood when discussed and analysed in a multimodal way. Museums are complex, and meaning for the Stellenbosch Village Museum and for the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum is

made through a number of different modes. This kind of approach "focuses on meaning-making, in all modes. It is a theoretical perspective that brings all socially organized resources that people use to make meaning into one descriptive and analytical domain" (Bezemer et al., 2012:1).

2.2.4   SOCIAL SEMIOTIC LANDSCAPE

Before delving into the topic of a social semiotic landscape, it is important to outline what is meant by 'landscape'. As simply defined by the Oxford English Dictionary, it is "[a] tract of land with its distinguishing characteristics and features" (Oxford English Dictionary, n.d.(c). However, Denis Cosgrove, a human geographer, who borrows John Berger's (1982) terminology, defines landscape more broadly and through a visually ideological perspective as: "a *way of seeing* the external world" (as cited in Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010:3).

Cosgrove's definition can be interpreted as a social semiotic view on landscape, as it gives agency to those who observe and/or are a participant in a specific landscape. It allows us to analyse space in a multimodal fashion; modes that pertain to "geographical, social, economic, legal, cultural and emotional circumstances" (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010:3) in addition to the physical, material landscape as seen by the viewer. It provides a platform on which to formulate a meaning of the landscape in question, as it encompasses the intangible, emotional experience of landscape as well as the social and cultural influences that are specific to each person. It is about landscape in its physical qualities – how an individual sees it – and also landscape in its emotional qualities – how it is perceived of and experienced by an individual.

Thomas Greider and Lorraine Garkovich (1994), both environmental sociologists, also posit that landscapes are more than just their material makeup; they are a combination of the tangible and intangible signs that humans use to create meaning. Social semiotic landscapes are created by individuals giving meaning to a physical place using a personal toolkit of biases and beliefs – of signs, modes, and codes. Greider and Garkovich (1994:3) refine this by explaining that "[l]andscapes are the reflection of sociocultural symbols and meanings that define what it means to be a human being in a particular culture". Each

viewer understands a landscape differently, for, while people may have similar 'values and beliefs', no two people have the exact same ones; we all have a unique '*way of seeing*'.

A "multi-level model for the concept of landscape" (Keisteri, 1990, cited in Abrahamsson, 1999:53) includes three points on which humans understand and create landscape. These are the 'material landscape' – the tangible, physical space as seen by the observer; the 'underlying processes' – the varying codes, modes, personal thoughts, experiences, etc. that shape the way the observer sees and understands the landscape; and the 'experience of landscape' – the emotional, intangible response felt by the observer upon viewing the landscape. This model again supports the idea that landscape is formed and interpreted in a multimodal way and that it is culturally and socially constructed.

This, then, underlies the belief that landscapes are social semiotic, as they are a "connection between ideologically charged sign systems and the material culture of everyday life" (Abrahamsson, 1999:52). Together with the physical and natural environment (material culture) we use our cultural identities (these ideologically charged sign systems) to create an understanding of our particular landscape (Abrahamsson, 1999:51). The environments that people inhabit, their own personal landscapes, are how they make sense of their place in society because people define landscapes in relation to themselves and themselves in relation to landscapes (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010).

Therefore, landscapes "reflect people's definitions of themselves and [in turn] landscapes are reconstructed in response to people's changing definitions of themselves" (Greider & Garkovich, 1994:1). Society and culture change constantly and with every rebirth people view themselves differently, and, therefore, observe their environment through new eyes. Landscapes are multi-layered, they accrue multiple meanings not only for many different individuals, but also for the same person. The same landscape may have meant one thing to an individual during an earlier part of his or her life, but now, over time, it means something completely different.

This is not only done on an individual level; cultural groups similarly construct and reconstruct the landscape to reflect themselves, their ideas, and beliefs. Landscapes are

many things to many different people and, therefore, have a multitude of meanings; these meanings become reflections of the way individuals and communities define themselves. Greider and Garkovich (1994) theorise that different cultural groups read the same material object or space in diverse ways because they are each equipped with a distinctive set of semiotic resources. This is especially true of public spaces, because they are 'owned' by multiple people and cultural groups. This allows for them to have many complex layers of meaning and "any physical space will host many different micropublics living together in 'proximities of difference'" (Mac Giolla Chriost, 2007, cited in Stroud & Jegels, 2014:180). These micropublics encompass the numerous different local individuals and groups who inhabit the space in addition to those who are there as mere visitors. Consequently, the same landscape can hold symbols that can be decoded in vastly different ways between locals and also between locals and visitors (Abrahamsson, 1999:51).

Therefore, for landscapes to be understood, they must be read in a way that takes into account the semiotic influences on the physical, material space – that it is a lived-in space with local and personal importance (Stroud & Jegels, 2014). A place is a place through an individual's interaction with it and the interpretations and understandings that are created from said interaction. Stroud and Jegels (2014:2) argue that in order to research and understand social semiotic landscapes, "an understanding of the situated social dynamics of multivocalitity in local spaces, manifest in the contesting lives of multiple publics [is needed]". This is multivocality in the sense of many voices – many individuals – laying claim to the same place that creates these 'multiple publics', these layers of personal and local meanings within the same space.

Cosgrove's definition of landscape provided at the beginning of this section expanded the term to encompass much more than the vast, physical, natural landscape. His definition allows for 'landscape' to also stand for less vast landscapes, such as the landscape of the home, or the landscape of a body, or even the imaginary landscape – the landscape of dreams or of memory. Urry (2007:32, as cited in Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010:6) explains:

> Landscape is … the world as known to those who have dwelt in that place, those who currently dwell there, those who will dwell there, and those whose practical activities take them through its many sites and journey along its multiple paths.

Landscape belongs to everyone and it is socially constructed. A landscape is a landscape because of those who inhabited it in the past, those who presently inhabit it, and those who will inhabit it in the future. In addition, it is defined by all of the people who may pass through it at one point or another during their lives. It is the sum total of its inhabitants, visitors and viewers – it is everything to everyone.

Landscape is defined by human behaviour and human behaviour is defined by landscape. This suggests that the relationship between landscape and human behaviour is symbiotic – each one influences the other. Therefore, landscapes are inherently socially semiotic because as humans we are constantly making and re-making meaning, and this is done in relation to our surroundings. Jaworski and Thurlow (2010:2) view all landscape as semiotic, as "its meaning is always construed in the act of socio-cultural interpretation".

Hall (2009:579) reiterates this message through his assertion that life "takes place, not just in place but with it"; that the histories of place and person are inextricably married because of this complex weaving of specific activities happening with and in a specific place. This is no more apparent than in a home. Here there is interplay between public and private life, which is socially and culturally constructed. The making of a home involves individuals investing materially, economically, emotionally, etc. into one specific place that they both bestow their identity on and take their identity from; where they feel that they can create their own space (Stroud & Jegels, 2014:2). In a house people are able to construct their own domestic landscape – a landscape that they personally define and by which they are likewise defined.

Lefebvre's theory on the *Production of space* (1991) is relevant to this section, as he contemplates the way that space is conceived, perceived, and lived. Gottdiener (1993:131) explains these three relations to space as such:

It is at once a physical environment that can be perceived; a semiotic abstraction that informs both how ordinary people negotiate space (the mental maps studied by geographers) and the space of corporations, planners, politicians, and the like; and, finally, a medium through which the body lives out its life in interaction with other bodies. Social relations also are spatial relations; we cannot talk about the one without the other.

Lefebvre's idea of space is a marriage of abstract and social spaces, whereby abstract space is the "intersection of knowledge and power" (Gottdiener, 1993:131) and social space encompasses daily life.

Semiotic codes are used to define these spaces, as codes are many and multifold and are inherent in all parts of life – from private to public. In a domestic setting, the proximity of bodies or objects within the space – the physical relationship of people and things to one another – can be associated with cultural codes. The use of these cultural codes can be witnessed during visits to historical house museums. In colonial times, the divisions regarding the physical spaces in the house were evident. There were different appropriate areas for men, women, adults, children, visitors, servants, etc. and these areas were culturally determined and accepted. The codes that determine the production of space, the appropriateness of the users of specific domestic settings, are no longer so strict. Yet, "[u]nderstanding such codes, their relationships and the contexts in which they are appropriate is part of what it means to be a member of a particular culture" (Chandler, 2002:150).

Further, Lefebvre's critique on urbanism looks at how people consume space and government's role in this production of space: "His work provides a conceptual framework through which the spatial practices of everyday life … can be understood as central to the production and maintenance of physical spaces" (McCann, 1999:168). McCann uses Lefebvre's *Production of space* to speak about the issue of conceived, perceived, and lived spaces being ways to racially divide a city – and to enforce these divisions; how public spaces have historically been places of exclusion – against women, race, based on sexual orientation, one's age, etc. – and are, therefore, of authority and privilege (McCann,

1999:168). The way that he speaks of the racialisation of Lexington, Kentucky (in the USA) in the early 1990s can be translated to the way that Stellenbosch was – and continues to be – racialised during (and due to) apartheid; where the privileged claimed authority over the public, capitalistic areas of the town and marginalised others (McCann, 1999).

2.2.5 MATERIAL CULTURE STUDIES

Material culture studies was an important theory to consider in this study, because it allows for us to contemplate why some things matter, and why they matter more than other things (Crooke, 2007). It assists with analysis of the museum, and especially the house museum setting, as it helps to provide meaning for the objects and collections exhibited inside. In a museum studies sense, Susan Pearce (1989:9) describes material culture studies as "embracing not only the formal interpretation of artefacts, but also the analysis of collections and their history, and … the museum as a cultural phenomenon". Unlike in social semiotics, this definition does not concern itself with how individuals use objects to create meaning about *themselves.* Rather, it places the emphasis on the object and its personal meaning. Pearce's definition of material culture studies focuses on why the object *itself* is important and how it has been modified by humans throughout time. It centres the focus of meaning making on the role of objects in the creation of narrative instead of on people.

Karen Harvey (2009:3), editor of *History and material culture: A student's guide to approaching alternative sources*, provides a more inclusive definition of material culture:

> Material culture encapsulates not just the physical attributes of an object, but the myriad and shifting contexts through which it acquires meaning. Material culture is not simply objects that people make, use and throw away; it is an integral part of – and indeed shapes – human experience.

This definition acknowledges humanity's role in the life story of an object.

Prown (1982:1) further defines material culture as "the study through artifacts of the beliefs – values, ideas, attributes, and assumptions – of a particular community or society

at a given time". Material culture recognises that it is through artefacts and objects – the material landscape – that a group of people can be described. Material culture focuses on objects that have been made or changed by humans; it is not interested in nature or the physical landscape – unless humans have touched it in some way. The study of material culture is important, because it seeks to provide a full biography of an object; this biography can then be used across many other disciplines.

This theory lays the foundation for discovering the way in which communities utilise their material culture in order to create a shared sense of history and culture. This fosters a sense of belonging and offers tools for people to understand who they are in relation to the community; this identity is something that museums have a role in creating. Material culture is the tangible aspects of a community's history and culture. It is a physical 'thing' that one can point to and use to explain with; it is either the explanation or an assistant to the explanation. This touches on why museums are important, as they encourage the reflexive nature of humans and objects and help in the construction of a narrative about why the object is important in itself and also in relation to culture, heritage, and personal identity

Political theorist Hannah Arendt (1958:137) describes the link between humans and objects as follows:

> The things of the world have the function of stabilizing human life, and their objectivity lies in the fact that … men, their ever-changing nature notwithstanding, can retrieve their sameness, that is, their identity, by being related to the same chair and the same table. In other words, against the subjectivity of men stands the objectivity of the man-made world.

Objects provide reference points for individuals to determining their place within the world – thereby 'stabilising human life'. These same reference points are oftentimes not just for one individual, but are shared by many different people. In using the object as a reference, it presents a common point from which to judge oneself against another individual who uses that same object.

Much as in social semiotics and its understanding of how humans make meaning through signs, material studies provides a platform for understanding both the past and the present through the interpretation of objects. This is dependent on a number of factors, namely a person's history, culture, and community (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000:119). It depends on the biography, background, and community in which the object was made and used and similarly on the biography, background, and community in which sense is to be made of the object. A museum forms meanings "through a range of semiotic frameworks, which include texts, artefacts, actions, events, and which involve active individuals within interactive communities" (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000:153).

Objects are the tools that can be used to analyse and understand cultures of both modern and ancient times. Artefacts uncovered in numerous archaeological sites throughout the world allow for glimpses into the lives of ancient communities. In creating a meaning for these uncovered ancient artefacts it is important to note that their meaning rests within the semiotic framework in which they were made (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). The artefacts are perhaps no longer physically useful to us, but they are intangibly useful because they inform and educate us about the past culture(s) in which they once operated. These objects are "material manifestations of societal transformations and form a crucial part of the understanding of society and culture and their changes over time" (Kaeppler, 1989:86). These ancient artefacts provide clues about how this specific community lived and also about how humans – and life – have evolved throughout the centuries.

The physical attributes of an object are relatively stable – a bowl has been a bowl for many thousands of years – and are therefore able to "reveal the continuity of the self through time, by providing foci of involvement in the present, mementos and souvenirs of the past, and signposts to future goals" (Csikszentmihalyi, 1993:23). While an object rarely changes, humans are constantly changing and re-evaluating, and although this may not change the physicality of the object, it has an effect on its life history, because their biography is intrinsically linked to our biography. An object is a stationary signpost in the march of time, it anchors us to a memory or a time, or shows us what we want to achieve in the future.

Material culture has the capacity to mean a multitude of different things. Objects are not

static, but rather, through humans' interaction with them, they are able to transform and have many new and different meanings transposed onto them. Object meanings are subject to the changing circumstances or contexts surrounding them. Although they are physically stationary, their meanings are constantly changing and, therefore, there is no one single definition for an object – it is subject to their relational and contextual situation(s) (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000:162); their significance changes as an individual changes, as a cultural group changes.

Hooper-Greenhill (2000:111) further asserts that objects are …

> … inscribed signs of cultural memory. Objects are used to materialize, concretise, represent, or symbolize ideas and memories, and through these processes objects enable abstract ideas to be grasped, facilitate the verbalization of thought, and mobilise reflection on experience and knowledge.

Objects have a multiplicity of meanings and uses – from real to abstract. This positions material culture as an apt sub-theory for this study, as it represents the role of material culture within social semiotics – how meaning is made – and museology and curatorship – how a museum preserves and makes meaning, and represents culture(s).

A museum collects material objects that form the material culture of groups of people – from not only the past, but also from the present, from different sociocultural groups all over the world. Objects by themselves are considered mute; however, through carefully curated exhibitions the object is given a voice – this is the "concept of 'signification', which can be described as an object having a meaning which is not inherent in that object, but which is socially assigned to it" (Pearce, 1990:51). Exhibitions turn material culture into symbols and create meaning for them, and as a result, for viewers as well.

Hooper-Greenhill (2000:3) discusses how meaning is made in museums:

> [It is c]onstructed in relation to the collections which the museum holds … One critical element in the construction of meaning within museums is the presence or absence of

particular objects … Objects in museums are assembled to make visual statements which combine to produce visual narratives … Both collections and exhibitions embody ideas and values, although the degree to which these are explicitly articulated is variable.

The significance of objects is interpreted through their relation to other objects in an exhibition. For a visitor, meaning is discovered in the objects and stories included in the exhibition and it is also found in that which has been excluded.

The objects and stories that are included in or excluded from an exhibition or museum collection are done so by choice, because "[p]eople have always had to make choices about what from the past should be preserved for the future. At issue is the question of who decides what gets preserved" (Kreps, 2008:37). This is why it is so beneficial and important for community members to be involved in the process of deciding what tangible and intangible history and culture is preserved and promoted, instead of leaving this task in the hands of one sole person: the curator. It is important that this curator should not act alone, but in tangent with other museum staff and community members, because this power cannot – and should not – be held in one person's hands. The traditional role of a single curator is antiquated and not applicable in all situations, especially not those that subscribe to new museum theory.

Having discussed material culture, it is important to consider another aspect of materialism. New materialism, or neomaterialism, a term coined by Rosi Braidotti in the early 1990s, is concerned with a new way of developing theory and originated in the field of gender studies (Schouwenburg, 2015:63). New materialism posits that it is not only humans who create nature, but also nature that creates humans; "nature is not a passive stage on which humans perform; nature shapes culture as culture shapes nature" (Schouwenburg, 2015:64). It stands against the thought that we are currently living in the Anthropocene – the age of humans. Le Cain (2015:21) provides this definition of the Anthropocene: "humans and their cultures are entirely distinct from the material world: shaping and perhaps being shaped by it, but not fundamentally a part of it".

According to William Connolly (2013:339), 'new materialism' is …

> … the most common name given to a series of movements in several fields that criticise anthropocentrism, rethink subjectivity by playing up the role of inhuman forces within the human, emphasize the self-organizing powers of several nonhuman processes, explore dissonant relations between those processes and cultural practice, rethink the sources of ethics, and commend the need to fold a planetary dimension more actively and regularly into studies of global, interstate and state politics.

New materialism seeks to provide an avenue through which multidisciplinary theories may be read in parallel instead of in opposition. It allows for the affirmation of past theories because new materialism "says 'yes, and' to all of these intellectual traditions, traversing them all, creating strings of thought that, in turn, create a remarkably powerful and fresh 'rhythm' in academia today" (Dolphijn & Van der Tuin, 2012:89).

In her article "Material thinking and the agency of matter", Barbara Bolt (2007) provides a metaphor of an artist creating artwork to speak about new materialism. She states that the current consensus is that all credit for an artwork should go to the artist, because he or she has demonstrated mastery of the tools and materials needed to create a work (Bolt, 2007:1). However, this sidelines the role of the tools and materials in the artistic process. Bolt uses Heidigger's framework to assert that it is an artist *together with* his or her tools that allow an artwork to emerge; this "suggests that in the artistic process, objects have agency and it is through the establishing conjunctions with other contributing elements in the art that humans are co-responsible for letting art emerge" (Bolt, 2007:1). Bolt (2007) further uses Haraway's term of the 'material-semiotic actor', by which she means that, regardless of its form – human or nonhuman, the actor "actively contributes to the production" of the artwork (Haraway, 1991, cited in Bolt, 2007:2). Bolt is concerned with showing that there are many facets that make up the production of an artwork and that all are imperative and provide their own agency and contribution to the end product.

Therefore, new materialism is concerned with theory and is "a new *conceptualization* of developing theory and reading texts, which cuts through established dichotomies between

matter and meaning or culture and the social" (Schouwenburg, 2015:59). New materialism does not deny, but rather seeks to make use of all theories in a multimodal or multi-theoretical fashion in order to reach an inclusive end point, through which humans and objects both emerge with agency.

2.2.6   DEMOCRATISATION AND DECOLONISATION

How meaning is made by and for specific communities and cultural groups is heavily influenced by societal and cultural codes. Specifically in South Africa, these codes have been affected by the country's tumultuous history of colonialism and apartheid – oppression and marginalisation. In response to this, there is a drive towards the Africanisation – through the democratisation and decolonisation – of institutions and public spaces. This is evidenced by many movements taking place on university campuses throughout the country in the recent years, such as Rhodes Must Fall, Fees Must Fall, etc.

Democratising is the process of widening public access to knowledge. In a museum context, it suggests multivocality in all aspects of the museum's life: space, programming, curating, exhibitions, etc. (Chaterera & Nyawo, 2013:217; Moore, 1997). Through the democratisation of museological practices, local communities are afforded a voice in the creation and dissemination of their own stories, in the depictions of their own culture and history in museums. In a South African context, democratisation legitimises the narratives of those communities who were disadvantaged and marginalised during and by apartheid.

Colonialism comes in a number of stages: first- and second-generation colonialism and neo-colonialism, to name a few. These stages are defined as such: First-generation colonialism is that of the seizing of indigenous land and bodies; second-generation colonialism is that of the mind through teaching; and neo-colonialism is when a colony is free of its colonisers, but the colonial framework is still in existence (i.e. in universities and museums) (Nkrumah, 1965; Odora-Hoppers & Richards, 2011, cited in Le Grange, 2016:4). This indication of the different levels of colonialism is important, because it lends understanding as to the multitude of ways that colonialism affected – and still affects – everyday life (such as symbolic racism, which will be expanded on further in this section) and advocates for decolonialism as a response to these issues.

Achille Mbembe (2015:16) offers wa Thiong'o's (1986) definition of decolonisation as "a project of 're-centering'. It is about rejecting the assumption that the modern West is the central root of Africa's consciousness and cultural heritage. It is about rejecting the notion that Africa is merely an extension of the West". With this he intimates that decolonising situates Africa at the centre of things, not just as a peripheral entity interpreted by others but, rather, that Africa is at the core and is defined by Africa.

Mbembe speaks specifically of the importance of decolonising spaces in order to foster an inclusive university atmosphere; however, he extends this idea to include other institutions as well, including museums. He expresses that in order to decolonialise, we – as a nation – must reconsider and redefine what is public, and that this is done by democratising access to public spaces; democratisation and decolonisation are interwoven issues in a South African context. Mbembe (2015:5) explains that by doing this, black (but also coloured and other marginalised communities) will no longer feel that they have to "assimilate into a culture that is not mine as a precondition of my participating in the public life of the institution".

This democratising and decolonising mission goes hand in hand with a concept called 'decoloniality'. 'Coloniality' is the phenomenon whereby the legacies of colonialism are continuing to be practised and perpetuated, despite the dismantling of the institution. The marginalisation of the previously disadvantaged is continued. Therefore, 'decoloniality' is defined in the opposite of coloniality, as the overcoming of coloniality. Maldonado-Torres (2016:10) defines it as such:

> [D]ecoloniality refers to efforts at rehumanizing the world, to breaking hierarchies of difference that dehumanize subjects and communities and that destroy nature, and to the production of counter-discourses, counter-knowledges, counter-creative acts, and counter-practices that seek to dismantle coloniality and to open up multiple other forms of being in the world.

Consequently, decoloniality is a call to redefine and restructure the semiotic landscape. In the context of this study, the call is for Stellenbosch to augment its view of itself and of its inhabitants in order to accommodate an inclusive history of the town and to help bridge the sociocultural divide.

In regard to the discussion of the democratisation and decolonisation of the curriculum happening at institutions of higher learning across South Africa, the term 'curriculum' can be understood using Madeleine Grumet's (1981, cited in Le Grange, 2016:7) definition as encompassing the narratives that students are given regarding their past, present, and future, and this definition can be translated to the 'curriculum' or the narrative of the museum. Le Grange also offers three additional levels of understanding of curriculum that could also be useful in considering the issue of the democratisation and decolonisation of the museum, namely explicit, hidden, and null curriculums. In a museological sense, the explicit is the narratives and material culture that are provided outright; the hidden is what is learned through the museum's material landscape, and the dominant narrative and values inherent therein; and the null is that which is excluded – such as the tangible and intangible aspects of the history and culture of the previously disadvantaged (Le Grange, 2016:7).

Decolonisation is achieved in part by removing statues and other material vestiges of colonialism, including the names of buildings and public spaces. These are material and linguistic semiotic codes, "the economy of symbols whose function, all along, has been to induce and normalize particular states of humiliation based on white supremacist presuppositions" (Mbembe, 2015:6) – such as the statue of Cecil John Rhodes on The University of Cape Town's upper campus at the heart of the Rhodes Must Fall movement. However, there is no one, easy answer to the issue of the democratisation of museum practices and the decolonisation of the museum landscape; it is an issue that must be considered by museum professionals alongside community members in order to establish the appropriate processes for each individual community.

Democratisation and decolonisation are matters that are found within whiteness theory. As Collier (2005:4) points out, race is still very much a way that South Africans use to

describe their own and other's identities. Apartheid was built on the the othering of races (Snyman, 2008) through the classification of South Africa's inhabitants into four different racial categories (black, white, coloured and Indian) and, thereby, on the reification of whiteness and its privileges. Whiteness still holds its status and is therefore considered as desirable and aspirational (Lopez, 2005). Whiteness theory is an interdisciplinary theory that investigates these white privileges and the way that they pervade daily life for all races – manifesting in positions of power and oppression in social, economic, political, historical, etc. situations (Green, Sonn & Matsebula, 2007:390).

Whiteness as privilege and blackness as 'other' are ideas that have been normalised – they are *naturalised* semiotic codes (Hall, 1973). Snyman (2008:403) posits that "the power of whiteness has never been critically analysed by whiteness itself"; that the issues inherent in whiteness cannot be addressed until whiteness is itself confronted from within. Snyman further highlights the interconnectedness of whiteness and religion, as religion (specifically, Christianity) is intrinsically linked with the colonialism and imperialism that contributed to racism (2008:21). Steyn (2005:132) recognises that because of three centuries of colonialism, whiteness in a South African context is a complex and hybrid identity and reiterates Snyman's position that whiteness needs to be confronted by "self-reflexivity amongst white people" (Steyn, 2005:133). Whiteness theory goes together with the matter of symbolic racism.

Symbolic racism is a generalised racism that upholds white privilege with underlying prejudice towards black people (Sears & Henry, 2003:260). It is an issue that has emerged from decolonisation and the coloniality that followed and it affects the semiotic landscape of a place. Symbolic racism is a phenomenon that was first recognised in the USA and focuses on white American's negative attitudes towards African Americans. It can be translated to the South African landscape (and, on a more microcosmic level, can be seen to affect Stellenbosch and Kayamandi). Sears and Henry (2003:259–260) offer four points on which symbolic racism is premised: White people feel that:

(a) black people no longer face much prejudice or discrimination;

(b) black people's failure to progress results from their unwillingness to work hard enough;

(c) black people are demanding too much too fast; and

(d) black people have gotten more than they deserve.

Brandt and Reyna (2012) posit that symbolic racism came about as the result of the official dissolution of segregation;[6] where outright racism was no longer socially acceptable and, instead, gave rise to this more subtle form of othering. Symbolic racism can be seen as another barrier in attaining inclusivity for black and coloured people in Stellenbosch and, specifically of representation of their history and culture in Stellenbosch museums.

In addition to his theory on habitus, Bourdieu (1991) identified the concept of symbolic power. He describes it as such: "For symbolic power is that invisible power which can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it" (1991:164). Symbolic power is related to symbolic racism because it allows for the oppression of a certain race through the privilege of a certain race, as it normalises, or *naturalises* these racial codes. In a South African context, symbolic power lifts on high the white race above the black, coloured, and Indian races and thereby permits symbolic racism. Symbolic power and racism are transmitted through gestures and body language, subtle linguistic turns – in ways that perhaps do not seem explicitly racist and oppressive, but are, in fact, so.

The theory of social justice is also applicable here, as it attempts to fight against racism and symbolic racism. Nancy Fraser (2007) posits that social justice rests on three levels: redistribution, recognition, and representation. She suggests that representation is politically charged, redistribution is economically charged, and recognition is culturally charged (Fraser, 2007:19). In a South African context, social justice strives for the upliftment of the previously disadvantage in all of these three notions: a redistribution of wealth, a fair representation in the political sphere, and recognition of the worth of their culture (and, by extension, their own identity). David Fleming (2010:1) defines what social justice means for the museum: "'Social justice' is a notion based upon the premise that *all* people should be able to derive benefit from museums, that they have an *entitlement* to access to museums, and to see themselves *represented* in museums" (Fleming's emphasis).

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[6] The legal abolition of racism in the USA occurred in 1964 with the passing of the Civil Rights Act.

2.2.7 SOCIAL SEMIOTICS SYNTHESIS

The way in which this study approaches social semiotics – together with social semiotic landscapes, multimodality, material culture studies, and democratisation and decolonisation – posits the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum as signs that seek to make sense of Stellenbosch as a community. It is through the thoughtful analysis of landscapes that one can identify "whose realities are privileged and whose are suppressed" (Chandler, 2002:15) and therefore work towards a more inclusive landscape through the recognition of all histories and cultures. 'Inclusive' in this sense means that regardless of the demographic and cultural differences, Kayamandi physically constitutes a part of the greater Stellenbosch area and its history and culture are embedded in the history and culture of Stellenbosch.

The physical aspects of the organisations – the houses – are, in terms of Saussure's semiotics, 'signifiers' and the histories that they hold and tell are 'signifieds'. However, as Hodge and Kress (1988) argue, the link between these two are far from arbitrary. The cultural codes that these signs have been encoded with, and are decoded with, are vast and rich. Meaning making within and about these organisations take many modes into consideration – architectural, contextual, material (meaning the collections within the houses), communicational (the stories told by the guides), etc.

As Chandler (2002:78) describes, "[s]emiotics helps us to not take representations for granted as 'reflections of reality', enabling us to take them apart and consider whose realities they represent". Semiotics allows for the dissection of reality – of signs; it teaches us how to analyse and be active participants in our meaning making, and to not just accept things at face value. Social semioticians emphasise the diversity of interpretation and the importance of cultural and historical contexts (Chandler, 2002:141). There is no one, universal truth. Everything can be interpreted in different ways and this is due to innate historical and cultural differences. The study of social semiotics reveals that everything functions due to signs and sign systems. Meaning is not just told to us but, rather, we employ codes and modes – semiotic references – that allow us to have agency in the meaning-making process (Chandler, 2002). Understanding social semiotics allows for us to

be aware of our roles in the constant and active process of making meaning, of creating social realities (Chandler, 2002).

2.3   MUSEOLOGY AND CURATORSHIP THEORY

The most generally agreed-upon definition of 'museology' – as suggested by the International Council of Museums (ICOM)[7] in their *Key concepts of museology* publication – was developed by French museologist, Georges Henri Rivière (1981, cited in ICOM, 2010:54). It states:

> Museology: an applied science, the science of the museum. Museology studies its history, its role in society, the specific forms of research and physical conservation, activities and dissemination, organization and functioning, new or musealised architecture, sites that have been received or chosen, its typology and its deontology.

'Museology' encompasses the study of anything that has to do with any aspect of the museum.

The term 'curator' is derived from the Latin word 'curare' and is translated as 'to take care of'. In a museological sense, a curator takes care of the museum's collection – the material culture of the past. More than that, the curator – through curatorship – interprets and creates meaning for the objects in this collection and presents them in exhibitions to the museum's visitors. In this way, the issues of museology are intertwined with that of curatorship and they are considered here interdependently.

As is common with many established theories, the traditional theory of museology has an opposing movement that is of interest to this study: new museology (along with its extension, sociomuseology). While it upholds the basic tenants of the tradition, new museology looks towards the future social and economic development of the community in which it is located (Mayrand, 2014). New museology is interested in working alongside communities in the collection, preservation, and interpretation of their tangible and

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[7] ICOM was founded in 1946 "by and for museum professionals" (ICOM, 2017a) and today is a global network of over 35 000 members.

intangible history and culture.

Museology and curatorship, alongside new museology (and sociomuseology), are important theoretical frameworks for this study. The research focused on the concept of house museums – their curation and formation of the museum landscape – and, specifically, on a new iteration of the house museum within a township setting. The Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum were analysed through a museological and curatorial lens.

2.3.1 MUSEOLOGY

A museum, as defined by ICOM (2017b) during a General Assembly in 2007, is …

> … a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment.

Museology, then, as the study of museums, seeks to understand and explain the way that museums function and their role within society.

In forming *wunderkammers* or *cabinets of curiosities* where personal collections of rare and unique objects and artefacts were saved, individuals aimed to not only glimpse life in other cultures and eras, but to also seem themselves cultured and knowledgeable about the faraway corners of the world. The modern museum evolved in the late 18th and early 19th centuries with the creation of public museums throughout Europe. These new museums were originally conceived of as nation-building and strengthening enterprises. In his publication *The birth of the museum: History, theory, politics*, Tony Bennett (1995:28) explains that the museum during this time was "an exemplary space in which the rough and raucous might learn to civilize themselves by modeling their conduct on the middle-class codes of behavior to which museum attendance would expose them"; this highlights the colonial nature of the museum, as it was used as a tool for reformation and education, and as a 'civilizing' influence on those who had a lower social status.

The French Revolution (1789–1799) is generally considered the impetus for the modern public museum. During this era, the public museum seized power over the French Royal and elite collections and turned them over to the people; it turned private collections into public collections (Bennett, 1995:89). It was in this way that "the Revolution transformed the museum from a symbol of arbitrary power into an instrument which, through the education of its citizens, was to serve the collective good of the state" (Bennett, 1995:89). The museum was recognised as an instrument of mass media through which the state could inform the public and foster a united nation.

This initial version of the public museum was concerned with providing a high standard of cultural knowledge to society in order to create a more refined class of citizens. This was achieved through the curatorship of the museum's collections in exhibitions that aligned with governmental and political agendas. In this new role, the museum was seen as a place of learning, as an extension of the school. It was – and still is – considered a space for education; however, in its initial inception it can be argued that it was used more for advancing a specific agenda in contrast to just benevolently providing information. Due to this new position, the establishment was opened to scrutiny and museums "had to be critiqued for effectiveness and popular acceptance. Museology was born" (Cameron, 1995:48).

As referenced by ICOM's definition of the museum at the beginning of this section, today's museums are much more nuanced institutions; however, many still have political leanings because, as governmentally funded institutions, they are considered an extension of the social and political agenda prevalent at the time. In essence, museums are vessels through which the tangible and intangible history and culture of a place or people are distilled and presented to visitors. This tangible and intangible history and culture are collected, documented, conserved, and exhibited and in these ways form the museum's collection and promote the museum's purpose.

The museum, as a container for history and culture, is an organisation for the people. It has the power to impact the way that we see ourselves and the way that we semiotically

construct our identity in relation to the information we receive from the museum – and the way in which the museum itself constructs (and reconstructs) our history and culture. Individuals and communities look to museums to formulate their own identities and legitimate their places within society – this is true for both large history museums in major cities and modest historic museums nestled in small communities. Museums of all sizes "are such a dominant feature of our cultural landscape that they frame our most basic assumptions about the past and about ourselves" (Marstine, 2006:1).

Most museums are created to educate visitors about the communities in which they are founded. They are also seen as an additional tool in creating communal pride about an area or a nation. As such, they are significant tools in helping to create community identities both for members of and for visitors to the community (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000:25). Museums present our similarities and differences through their collections and exhibitions and create a common point for individuals and communities to rally around.

Museums and their functions can be considered through the work and writings of French philosopher and historian Michel Foucault. Although he focused on prisons, hospitals, and asylums as "institutional articulations of power and knowledge relations" (Bennett, 1995:59), his ideas are transferable to other common institutions – such as museums. Foucault's theory of heterotopia focuses on the interplay between the physicality and the sociality of a place (Van Mensch, 2011:15): the tangible and intangible aspects of a space.

In his fourth principle of heterotopias, as described in his 1984 article "Of other spaces: Utopias and heterotopias", Foucault (1984:26) describes museums (and libraries) as "heterotopias of indefinitely accumulating time" and therefore …

> … the idea of accumulating everything, of establishing a sort of general archive, the will to enclose in one place all times, all epochs, all forms, all tastes, the idea of constituting a place of all times that is itself outside of time and inaccessible to its ravages, the project of organizing in this a sort of perpetual and indefinite accumulation of time in an immobile place, this whole idea belongs to our modernity.

The museum is a repository not only for the past, but also for the present and future (Starn, 2005:98) and as time marches on, the collection of the museum will continue to expand the physical manifestations of 'indefinitely accumulating time'.

Foucault states that this need to collect and preserve, to indefinitely accumulate time and things, is a concept that has been around for many hundreds of years. Yet, it is unique to this epoch of humanity – this modern time. This modern archiving – in whatever form it takes – is a way for us to preserve our own tiny part of history and to measure our contribution against the contributions of those who came before us. It is also an inheritance for future generations against which to likewise measure their successes and achievements.

It is imperative that a museum is always conscious about the material culture and heritage that it collects because society constantly changes. The collection is an extension of the values and beliefs of the museum and, therefore, about the society and community it represents. Museums are a metaphor, a symbol for history, culture, and identity and therefore they – and the collections that they hold – create a narrative about the past for the present. This is important to consider, as "[t]oday, as in the past, collections are an expression of our identity" (Crooke, 2007:14), and these collections decide what culture and history are included and excluded.

Museums are seen to be authorities on history and culture because they collect and preserve objects that they deemed worthy and memorable; they place value on objects (Knell, Macleod & Watson, 2007:276). Museums have the power to define history and culture through the objects that they accession into their collections. This seemingly vested authority allows museums the power to decide what and who is worthy of being saved, studied and seen, and, in turn, what is cast into the shadows. Museums are "not neutral spaces that speak with one institutional, authoritative voice. Museums are about individuals making subjective choices" (Marstine, 2006:2) through the information provided within the museum setting, and additional codes and modes acquired throughout a lifetime. Therefore, it is important to understand how they are managed and curated.

Curators attempt to create meaningful visual and written narratives through their exhibition design and texts (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000:4) and, thereby, to create a specific storyline for the museum visitor to follow. However, there are multiple factors that can disrupt this intended narrative and cause the viewer to semiotically decode the exhibition in a different way. Humans have free agency, which means that we are unpredictable and make choices based upon individual and social circumstances. In regard to an exhibition, no matter how much a curator might prompt a visitor to follow a certain path, ultimately we decide what we feel is important or unimportant for us to view (Christidou & Diamantopoulou, 2016:15). This means that people respond in a myriad of different ways to the same situation – to the same exhibition, to the same museum object.

It is this agency that allows visitors to freely choose which paths to take through a museum exhibition, which objects to consider, and which labels or wall texts to read. In doing so they create meanings that potentially differ from that which the curator intended. In this traditional role of museology, the curator is more often than not the overarching voice in the museum. It is the curator who decides the 'angle' of the exhibition or through whose eyes the exhibition is seen and where to place the exhibition's objects; the meanings of objects and exhibitions "are constructed according to the perspectives from which they are viewed and in relation to the discourses within which they are placed" (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000:76). The location of the objects within the space, their relation to other objects, and the presence – or absence – of object labels and descriptions are all factors that contribute to a visitor's experience and subsequent meaning making.

Framing is an important curatorial tool for creating an exhibition narrative, because it is through framing that museums suggest the semiotic tools with which they hope the viewer will decode meaning in their exhibitions (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000:110). Framing determines what objects and information are visible; this visibility augments their value because of the semiotic significance placed upon the object due to its privilege. The display of objects also creates a platform on which curators can frame the past and future through the present (Bennett, 1995:35; Marstine, 2006:4).

Objects and artefacts are contextualised by the museum in a way that infuses them with meaning and authority. It is within the museum landscape that objects are elevated to

being "more than just things; museum narratives construct national identity and legitimize groups" (Marstine, 2006:2). Their inclusion within a museum's collection demonstrates that they are important cultural heritage objects and that they should be preserved for the present and for posterity. It is important to recognise that the construction of the present is influenced by the past and the interpretations once placed on objects as important and unimportant have an impact on their reading and relevance today.

Being accessioned into a museum's collection entitles an object to be subjected "to curatorial procedures of registration, documentation, and classification" (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000:124–125). Accessioning allows for its life history to be recorded and for meaning and purpose to be attached to the object. In traditional museology, this often results in fixed (oftentimes biased) meanings being assigned to objects (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). Hooper-Greenhill (2000) concludes here that, in following traditional museum theory, once an object is welcomed into the collection, a meaning is set upon it – a meaning that can only change with difficulty. This gives a very narrow view of accessioning; it seems to say that museums only record one possible meaning for an object, when it is clear that objects are multidimensional.

As established in this chapter's section on social semiotics, museums are a social semiotic landscape in which objects operate. These museum objects are encoded with meaning by the curators and museological institutions in which they reside, and are then decoded for meaning by those who visit the museum and view the objects. Any number of meanings may be encoded onto (or decoded from) a specific object – this can include personal experiences, memories, emotions, etc.; viewers can decipher those meanings within the object and relate themselves to it, and through this discover a connection to their own culture and community (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000:109). This personal meaning may be offered by the curator or artist, or it could be elicited in the visitor upon viewing the work – a phenomenon Stephen Greenblatt (1990) describes as 'resonance and wonder'. Either way, it is the "tangibility of artefacts [that] makes abstract notions tangible. Acting as symbols, objects link unconscious responses to real issues or relationships in society" (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000:111).

Hooper-Greenhill (2000) theorises that the semiotics of these objects are "produced through complex and multi-layered museological processes where museum objectives, collecting policies, classification methods, display styles, artefactual groupings, and textual frameworks come together in articulation" (2000:124). Curators produce narratives through objects for visitors to discover in a multimodal way. Christidou and Diamantopoulou (2016) suggest that visiting a museum is a 'multimodal performance', as visitors engage in a number of different activities (such as walking, talking, taking photographs, reading, etc.) that can equally detract from and enhance their experience and understanding of the museum landscape. These modes work in collaboration with one another and they are employed by visitors in their quest to make sense of the objects on display, the exhibition as a whole and, ultimately, how this relates back to their own identity.

We use our historical, cultural, and social contexts to create meanings and identities for ourselves (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). It is virtually impossible to create an exhibition without some small personal bias – in one way or another – and likewise, it is virtually impossible to view an exhibition in a completely unbiased way. Visitors bring with them all of their prior ideas, reference points, and semiotic resources – their toolkit for meaning making – and therefore, "[t]he meanings made by museum visitors from the visual cultures of display are a product of both individual and social interpretive processes and are complex and unpredictable" (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000:124).

Yet, museums – if they are socially aware enough – may be able to anticipate a number of conceivable meanings visitors may gather from their exhibitions. This is because, "although we each separately interpret our experiences, 'using our individual strategies, capabilities and preferred learning styles,' our understanding is not independent from other influences" (Crooke, 2007:23). Though the use of semiotic resources, we are able to interpret and predict possible outcomes for situations. The importance of being aware of the potential of different reactions to museum objects and exhibitions is illustrated by the

fact that many museums and arts organisations now have firm directives[8] on how to deal with matters that can be considered controversial.

Museums are multimodal institutions and use as many modes as possible to articulate their viewpoint; these modes include wall texts, exhibition layout, object placement, etc. (Crooke, 2007). An often-overlooked semiotic object is architecture. Art and other non-site-specific museums are either newly built or contained in spaces that have been repurposed specifically for them. In contrast to this, house museums showcase their collections in the spaces where they were intended to be seen. House museums remain and present their collections *in situ*, as part of the space, community, and culture in which they were created (Milligan, 2007:111).

Architecture is a significant symbol within a cultural landscape as it is invariably linked to a place. When the Dutch colonised South Africa's Cape, they brought with them the architectural styles common to the Netherlands. This Dutch architecture was ultimately modified into a style typical of the Cape today: Cape Dutch architecture. This style of architecture characterises many of the houses that are a part of the Stellenbosch Village Museum. Conversely, the houses that make up the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum were constructed by the government and are not as elaborate in their design.

Architecture is a significant material object because it is intrinsically married to the location in which it was constructed. This allows a building (specifically a house) to carry the social, cultural, and historical context of the period and community in which it was built – and by which it is presently surrounded (Buchli, 2002:207); it acquires many different histories throughout its life. While it is possible for architecture to be moved – a house packed up brick by brick and relocated – it is a very rare occurrence. Architecture has usually been intended for a site-specific location and the aim is therefore to communicate harmoniously with its surroundings. Architecture can help to anchor memories or in the drawing of a mental map of a place – one does not have to have been to Paris to know about the Eiffel Tower and to picture its physical characteristics. Roland Barthes (1979:4) describes this

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[8] Consider the Smithsonian Directive 603 published on 6 November 2003 on the policies relating to dealing with backlash from controversial exhibitions.

architectural marvel: "[a]n object when we look at it, it becomes a lookout in its turn when we visit it, and now constitutes as an object, simultaneously extended and collected beneath it, that Paris which just now was looking at it"; it has become a symbol of Paris itself.

The architecture of a museum – its physical building and layout – is yet another tool used by the museum to create meaning. The museum's architecture, which has an effect on its exhibition layout and narrative, is a semiotic reference that begins to tell visitors what sort of experience they might have. This is precisely what makes house museums so special and unique; they are a container made exactly to hold domestic material culture: "The specific character of this type of building is the indissoluble link between container and contained" (Pavoni, 2001:17); between physical place and material culture. As opposed to an art museum in a refashioned old silo, the objects within a house museum are undeniably supposed to be there; they are at home in the home. While these modern art museums are powerful architectural statements, the architecture of the house is likewise a powerful semiotic resource made available to visitors to uncover meaning within the house museum.

It is universally accepted that museums are tasked with the education of its visitors.[9] Museums not only educate their own communities about themselves, but also – and equally as importantly – educate outsiders (those from other societies and cultures). Museums and curators offer meanings to visitors through the material culture represented by their collections, and through the intangible culture these objects signify. In turn, visitors "deploy their own interpretive strategies and repertoires to make sense of the objects, the displays and the experience of the museum as a whole" (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000:124).

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[9] This duty is upheld in the definition of museums supplied by ICOM.

2.3.2 NEW MUSEOLOGY

ICOM (2010:55) defines 'new museology' as a …

> … [c]urrent of thought [which] emphasise[s] the social role of museums and its interdisciplinary character, along with its new styles of expression and communication. New museology was particularly interested in new types of museums, conceived in contrast to the classical model in which collections are the centre of interest. These new museums are ecomuseums, social museums, scientific and cultural centres, and generally speaking, most of the new proposals aimed at using the local heritage to promote local development.

New museology is less concerned with the museum as an authoritative national institution and more interested in creating avenues for local – often marginalised – groups to collect and communicate their cultural heritage. Along with this, the organisational structure and built form of the traditional museum are not paramount.

Although it is suggested that the new museology movement began in the 1960s (Kreps, 2008:28), the term 'new museology' entered academic discourse in 1989 with Peter Vergo's *The new museology* (Marstine, 2006:6), in which he stated that the issue with old museology is that "it is too much about museum *methods*, and too little about the purposes of museums" (Vergo, 1989:3). The old methodology failed to recognise the social role of museums. The movement, it seems, was started in discontent of traditional museology and was "based on the idea that the role of museums in society needed to change" (McCall & Gray, 2014:2). Traditional museology held collections and curatorship at its core, and new museology advocated a theoretical shift away from this towards a fostering of a new relationship between the museum and the community that it represents (McCall & Gray, 2014).

This shift away from the traditional idea of museology allows for the challenging of museological ideals and museum models; it no longer considers the museum the pillar of knowledge and authority, and this allows for a re-examination of the narrative of inclusion and exclusion (Marstine, 2006:5). New museology encourages people to challenge the

centuries-old traditional ways of the museum. It reveals that the museum does not have to be unquestioningly revered and idolised and it advocates for discourse and an inclusive museum community. Moreover, this new movement re-evaluates the traditional role of the curator. It supports taking the power of decision making created in the museum away from one – the curator – and sharing it with many – the curator, other museum staff, the community, etc. This allows for the community to take ownership over their narratives, because "[n]ew museum theory is about decolonizing, giving those represented control of their own cultural heritage" (Marstine, 2006:5).

As a previously European colony, South Africa has been the recipient of many Western traditions, and the age-old museum model is one of these traditions. Throughout the country's history, "[c]ultural bias and limited access have been defining characteristics of these cultural heritage sites, and under apartheid white privilege and black exclusion became a matter of law" (McGee, 2006:180). South Africa's colonial and apartheid history and culture have long been privileged over the multitude of other histories and cultural narratives contained within the country's borders.

Following new museological ideals will allow for museums – and as by-product, society – to acquire "new [inclusive] narratives and [will shift] emphases away from western epistemologies and interpretations" (McGee, 2006:179). New forms of museums will begin to emerge; museum concepts that work for and in an African context. A well-known South African example of a museum that follows this new museological theory is the District Six Museum in Cape Town. This organisation is simultaneously a museum, a community centre, and a memorial for District Six[10] – a memory centre for those who were forcibly displaced from the area during apartheid.

In order to create a new and democratic museum – or cultural institution – organisations must re-examine and re-configure their musological practices (McGee, 2006:179). It is crucial that this re-examination and re-configuration includes active and constant consultation from the community (Kreps, 2008:28). In doing so, this will ideally encourage

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[10] District Six was a once vibrant, mixed-race community in Cape Town that was deemed uninhabitable by the apartheid government. The residents were forcefully evacuated and the buildings were razed to the ground.

the incorporation of modern, decolonised ideals from a democratic South Africa and turn museums away from their traditional, Western ideologies (McGee, 2006:179). For this to happen, South African museums must work towards "[r]ecasting cultural heritage, rewriting, re-examining, and recontextualizing social memory" (McGee, 2006:184) and this will, in turn, advocate new types of museums sympathetic to the South African social semiotic landscape.

Museums have long been seen as the arbitrator of knowledge and cultural meaning making, but new museology is now challenging this idea. Not only does new museology advocate for the refocusing of the role of the museum curator and the redistribution of power to the entire museum and to the community, but it also redirects the focus of museum studies from objects to ideas (McCall & Gray, 2014:3). It encourages individuals to question and provoke discourse on museums and the 'truths' they are assumed to uphold. New museology lifts the veil and reveals that, while they are exquisite repositories of material culture and knowledge, museums' ideas and contributions cannot, and should not, be blindly accepted. Rather, they should be challenged and a discussion should be encouraged to form about the "social and political roles of museums" (ICOM, 2010:55) and about the physical construct of the museum.

In referencing her work in Aboriginal communities in Australia, Moira Simpson (2006) speaks about how indigenous people often associate the traditional, authoritative museum model as symbols of oppression and colonialism – of marginalisation. This is undoubtedly an attitude also felt by many marginalised communities within South Africa. Just as the material culture museums collect is imbued with various meanings, so, too, is the very concept of a museum. Due to Western imperialism, many marginalised communities "view the museum as a foreign institution created by outside interests" (Kreps, 2008:35), as a place that appropriates their cultural heritage and makes it a spectacle for outsiders and tourists alike.

Many communities already practise some form of cultural heritage collection and preservation. A Western construct of this type of archive is not always the best or most effective way for communities to store and interact with their objects. It is therefore

important to develop a museum (or archive, or whatever term is most applicable) *alongside* the community and not just *for* the community. If the community does not feel invested in the project, they will not nurture it and the project will not be successful; "evidence shows that when local people have a greater say in, or control over, a project they have a greater stake in its outcome and sustainability" (Kreps, 2008:27). It is essential to consult local people when creating a cultural organisation, because it allows them to become invested in the success and effectiveness of the project; it instils a 'sense of ownership' within them (Kreps, 2008:35).

The interest of new museology in the preservation and interpretation of communities touches on the importance of finding new iterations of the traditional museum model. New museology expands the definition of the museum and opens the door to allow for "new models of preserving, presenting, and transmitting culture, challenging conventional models of what constitutes a museum and how knowledge is preserved and transmitted" (Simpson, 2006:173). The general concept of a museum is universal, but its traditional form is not universally suitable. Therefore, for it to function universally and efficiently, flexibility needs to be carved into museological practices to allow for the recognition of less institutionalised forms of museums and curation; for museums to focus on local, cultural needs. New museology involves a redefinition of the relationship that museums have with individuals and their respective communities. It encourages a more diverse and inclusive representation of communities within the museum sector, shared power of curatorship, a more active and interactive role of museum visitors, and – perhaps most importantly – museums as an ally in the fight against discrimination and inequality (McCall & Gray, 2014:3).

In her paper "Appropriate museology in theory and practice," museologist Christina Kreps (2008) discusses the need for appropriate museological practices. She defines this term as a methodology that "adapts museum practices and strategies for cultural heritage preservation to local cultural contexts and socioeconomic conditions" (Kreps, 2008:23). Appropriate museology, as coined by Kreps, focuses on the community and "combines local knowledge and resources with those of professional museum work to better meet the needs and interests of a particular museum and its community" (Kreps, 2008:23); it fits

within the ideals of new museology.

At some level all individuals – and communities – form collections; they exhibit 'museological behaviour' – defined by Kreps (2005:3) as "any activity, body of practices, and knowledge system that exhibits a concern for the preservation of valued cultural materials and traditions". Due to the inherent diversity among people around the world, there is no right or wrong way for communities to collect and exhibit their heritage. Individuals and groups collect many different things – music, art, books, shoes, porcelain figurines, stories, songs – and create a space in which to store and display these objects; these collections symbolise personal and cultural identities. It is part of human nature to have a reciprocal relationship with objects, whereby you define an object in relation to yourself and yourself in relation to an object.

Kreps (2005:3) also uses the term 'indigenous curation', which she defines as "shorthand for non-Western models of museums, curatorial methods, and concepts of cultural heritage preservation". Indigenous curation legitimises and encourages non-Western communities to continue (or start) to collect, preserve and safeguard their tangible and intangible heritage in the ways that they deem appropriate and beneficial for their own communal use. She stipulates that these methods of curation can be can be anything that follows the model of appropriate museology – that collects, conserves, preserves, exhibits, etc. (Kreps, 2008:26); she democratises the museological and curatorial practice.

Indigenous curation goes hand in hand with indigenous knowledge and, as Kovach (2010:40) surmises, indigenous knowledge is a framework for knowledge based on the oral tradition – of knowledge being orally passed down. The oral tradition is important for many African communities, as it is a way in which they remember their history and culture, and a way of asserting that this history and culture still exist despite colonialism (Sium & Ritskes, 2013:IV). Acknowledging the relevance of the oral tradition is important, because, as Whiteduck (2013:16) asserts, "[k]nowing ourselves means knowing our home, our ancestors, and where we came from; accomplishing such a feat is both the first and the final step toward decolonization". Therefore, assimilating the oral tradition (and indigenous knowledge) into museums is a way to democratise and decolonise, and thereby legitimise

indigenous histories and cultures.

The worth of a museum is "not just the heritage being preserved and shared but also how and why a museum is being used to communicate that message" (Crooke, 2007:40); new museology caters to this because it allows for new and different definitions and forms of museums. Along with new museology, Kreps's (2008:38) idea of appropriate museology confronts traditional museological theories and methods and is "a humanist approach that makes people and their *actual* cultural needs and circumstances the central reference point from which all work proceeds".

Prominent new museology theorist Rene Rivard (1984:84, cited in Kreps, 2008:28) encourages the idea of 'people's museography', which he defines as "a body of techniques and practices applied by a population to the conservation and enhancement, in a museum or otherwise, of the collective heritage of the community or territory". Kreps (2008) explains that this approach democratises the curatorial process because it does not ascribe to any one guideline for best curatorial practices, but rather that the appropriate curatorial technique be chosen according to specific needs. Just as there is no one 'type' of museum that fits the use of all communities, there is no one 'type' of curatorial practice that is appropriate for every museum or gallery or collection. These are nuanced roles that only succeed when played in a socially relevant and beneficial way.

In 1984, the International Movement for a new Museology (MINOM) was formed in affiliation with ICOM to promote the use of sociomuseology in museums. According to Paula Assunção dos Santos (2010:8), former president of MINOM, this movement, which is considered an extension of new museology, "concerns the study of the social role of museums and heritage as well as of the changing conditions in society that frame their trajectories". Sociomuseology began in Latin America with the Declaration of Santiago de Chile in 1972, which promoted the societal and community responsibilities of the museum. The Declaration of Santiago de Chile states (Round Table Santiago de Chile ICOM, 1972:14):

> That the museum is an institution in the service of society of which it forms an
> inseperable part and, of its very nature, contains the elements which enable it to help

in moulding the consciousness of the the communities it serves, through which it can stimulate those communities to action by projecting forward its historical activities so that they culminate in the presentation of contemporary problems; that is to say, by linking together past and present, identifying itself with indispensable structural changes and calling forth others appropriate to its particular national context.

The Declaration of Santiago de Chile was followed by the Declaration of Quebec in 1984, "which stated that they were *first and foremost* concerned with the improvement of living conditions, the development of populations and their projects for the future" (Assunção dos Santos, 2010:6) – this is a directive that is very niche to sociomuseology and is, therefore, perhaps not applicable to all new museological initiatives. While this movement does focus on local, community and eco-museums, it also incorporates more traditional museums that integrate inclusive initiatives into their museums – all who prioritise the importance of the social aspect of the relationship between the museum and its community (Chagas, Assunção dos Santos & Glas, 2014).

Sociomuseology is a multidisciplinary approach that "aims to strengthen the acknowledgement of museology as a resource for the sustainable development of Humanity, based on equal opportunities as well as social and economic inclusion" (Moutinho, 2010:27). Moutinho (2010) asserts that this theory works on the tangible and intangible aspects of a group's history and culture. He further says that history and culture are in a constant state of change and, therefore, so, too, is the museum, as "it aims to play a socially intervening role" (Moutinho, 2010:29). Sociomuseology considers the collections within museums as having "a social life inside museums. By looking at them as prime working tools, it is possible to explore how they relate to the lives of people outside" (Assunção dos Santos, 2010:75). Through the agency given to them by the museums, they are tools to assist visitors to make sense of their own life in relation to the museum's message.

In 2013, MINOM proposed the Rio Declaration for theoretical and practical purposes of sociomuseology. It states (MINOM, 2013):

> In defence of a museology aiming at social, political and economic change, by means of social mobilisation, through a process of awareness building, linked to memory, that recognises the tensions and the various types of violence suffered by humans and agents of memories …

The Declaration firmly addresses the intention of sociomuseology to "contribute to social, political, and economic change" (Chagas et al., 2014:102) by recognising the right and power of local, community, eco-museums, etc. to participate in and create these changes.

2.3.4 MUSEOLOGY AND CURATORSHIP SYNTHESIS

Hooper-Greenhill (2000:127) surmises that traditional museology of the 19th century is "based on an understanding of objects as sites for the construction of knowledge and meaning". In contrast to this, new museology strives to be inclusive, culturally, and community-focused and based. It strives to not only tell the story of a people, but also *by* the people. The two museums involved in this study, the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum, are demonstrative of these two museological movements.

The Stellenbosch Village Museum is mostly representative of the original version of museology and curatorship, because it foregrounds the importance of the object in meaning making. It follows a traditional historic house museum model in its treatment of the narratives within the different houses. These are narratives that support the white, colonial history of Stellenbosch.

The Kayamandi Creative District House Museum is predominantly situated within the new museology movement – or appropriate/sociomuseology. It is an organisation that emphasises Kayamandi's local heritage and focuses on promoting the cultural heritage of the community and its people. The Kayamandi Creative District House Museum is about providing the community with a voice and a sense of purpose and it endeavours to educate visitors about Kayamandi and life within a township. It is about giving the community the ability to express themselves, to create a narrative that is not dependent or overpowered by the usual white, colonial narrative of Stellenbosch.

Through the study of museology – along with new museology – it is revealed that "societies are not neutral and objects are not innocent; on the contrary they weave a web of dominance and exploitation" (Pearce, 1989:8). Objects and individuals are interdependent, their meanings depend on the codes and modes – the semiotic resources – available to them; one is defined by the other and vice versa. Kreps (2003:6–7) argues that museums are subject to the historical and cultural contexts of the time in which they were created,

> … and thus, in themselves, are unique cultural expressions and forms of tangible and intangible culture. Through cross-cultural studies we are continuing to learn that just as museums are as diverse in character as the communities they represent, so too are the ways in which people perceive, value, care for, and transmit their heritage.

Museums are themselves objects of material culture. Their architecture and collections give clues as to the historical and cultural context of when they were established. They are also multimodal semiotic resources available for visitors to use in their process of meaning making.

2.4   SYNTHESIS AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical perspectives discussed in the previous sections are synthesised and focused within this section by highlighting key theorists and the core and related concepts as gathered from the literature. In order to answer the main research question and address the aim of the study, the dissertation was contextualised through the theoretical fields of social semiotics and museology and curatorship. Figure 2.3 provides a synthesis of the basic theories, context, and participants found in this study. This type of visualisation demonstrates that these three factors are reliant and integral in forming the semiotic landscape of the house museum.

THEORIES:

Social semiotics:
- Social semiotic landscape
- Multimodality
- Material culture studies
- Democratisation and decolonialisation

Museology and curatorship:
- Museology
- New/appropriate/sociomuseology

HOUSE MUSEUMS

CONTEXT:

- Historical
- Sociocultural
- Post-colonial
- Post-apartheid

PARTICIPANTS:

Material:
- Architecture, layout, and gardens
- Furniture and household articles
- Costumes

Human:
- Management
- Staff
- (Homeowner) docents
- Visitors

Figure 2.3: Synthesis of theory, participants, and context in this study

According to Miles and Hubberman (1994:18), "a conceptual framework explains, either graphically or in narrative form, the main things to be studied – the key factors, constructs or variables – and the presumed relationships among them". Through the use of a conceptual framework, a researcher may map and explain the intended theories and thought process for the study. The conceptual framework is presented here in narrative form. The study was initially focused on the broad – being the context of South Africa's history, to local – being the history and culture of Stellenbosch and Kayamandi, to museological – being the investigation into the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum, to narrative/semiotic – being the meaning made from the study of the aforementioned organisations, to holistically – being an investigation into what the narratives of each reveal about the community in which they

exist and to what extent they are each appropriate models of a house museum in a post-apartheid, South African context.

The social semiotic theory was chosen, as it strives to present a 'toolkit' for individuals to use in order understand the world in which they live. This meaning making extends to the museum landscape and to the historical and sociocultural landscapes in which the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum exist. The work of Hodge and Kress (1988) – semioticians – is important because they built upon Halliday's (1987) theory of social semiotics to include more than linguistics. They opened up the field to allow for a multimodal approach to meaning making. Stroud and Jegels (2014) and Greider and Garkovich (1994) explain the multimodality and multivocality of the semiotic landscape and how individuals and cultural groups create their identities through tangible and intangible landscapes. Stroud and Jegels also offer a South African perspective on semiotic landscapes. Material culture studies (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000; Pearce, 1989; 1990) was considered, as it provides an understanding of how meaning about a particular group or society is constructed through objects. In addition, this section looks to Achille Mbembe (2015) and Nelson Maldonado-Torres (2016) in considering the dual theories of democratisation and decolonisation and their significance to museological transformation in South Africa.

Museology and curatorship were chosen as companion theories because they provide explanations for how museums and curators create and exhibit meanings. Hooper-Greenhill (1992; 2000) is a prominent museologist who writes on museum histories and the multimodal and semiotic ways in which objects and museums can be understood; how visitors and curators make meaning within the museum through its collections and how museums – through both traditional and new museology – shape knowledge and the role of material culture in this. Museologist Elizabeth Crooke (2005; 2007) discusses the relationship between museums and communities. She explores the importance of redefining and re-evaluating traditional museum techniques and ideas for a modern, multi-cultural world. Crooke (2007:21) asserts that because "communities use their material culture to construct a shared heritage, forge a group identity, define belonging to the community, and build community capacities" museums should therefore exhibit a more

diverse history and culture in order to accommodate a variety of communities and their construction of identity. Christina Kreps (2003; 2005; 2008; 2009) is a museologist who argues for advancement from traditional museology to 'appropriate museology' – which is akin to new museology. This appropriate museology encourages a community-based approach, whereby the community decides what type of archive they want or need and what collection it will hold – what material culture is important to the community. Further, Marstine (2006), McGee (2006), and Simpson (2006) argue the necessity for community initiatives that, through democratised and decolonised museological practices, foster inclusivity and positive cross-cultural exchange.

As a supplement to this chapter on theoretical perspectives and to provide background for the understanding of this study, the following chapter presents an overview of context pertinent to this study. Two areas are discussed: first, an overview of the history of South Africa with particular emphasis on Stellenbosch and Kayamandi and, second, a brief history of museums – the advent of the modern museum and, subsequently, the introduction of the museum and house museum in Africa, South Africa, and Stellenbosch. A synopsis of the histories of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum is included in this section.

Figure 2.4: Stellenbosch Village Museum entrance (Lubbe-Building)

Figure 2.5: Kayamandi Creative District House Museum signage

CHAPTER 3: CONTEXTUALISING THE STUDY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The research methodology employed by this study was a comparative analysis of two case studies undertaken at the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum. According to Robert Yin (2012:4), "case study research assumes that examining the context and other complex conditions related to the case(s) being studied are integral to understanding the case(s)". Therefore, it is important to devote a chapter to the discussion of the background of the study. This chapter presents two distinct but ultimately dependent areas of context: the first, an overview of South Africa's contested history – with emphasis on Stellenbosch and Kayamandi and the second, a brief history of museums and house museums worldwide, in Africa, South Africa, and Stellenbosch – including a summary on the two museums in question. This will provide a greater appreciation of the various issues inherent within the context of the study. Museums – as reflections of national identity – are a place of history, politics, and culture and because of this they "cannot be viewed outside [of these] spheres, since museums do not exist within a vacuum. Museums in apartheid South Africa and museums in the new democracy support this notion" (Gore, 2004:24).

3.2 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF PLACE

It is important to contextualise this study within the history of South Africa – and more specifically, Stellenbosch and Kayamandi – because museums are intrinsically about the history of the place within which they are situated. This history is a complicated history because of South Africa's colonisation and subsequent racial oppression; reverberations of which are still very much felt today. Yet, it is the acknowledgement and discussion of this history that will provide an understanding of the climate in South Africa today, and in the South African museum world.

3.2.1 SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa's history can be traced to "more than 100,000 years ago when the first modern humans lived in the region" (South African Government, n.d.). The original settlers of South Africa were the San and the Khoikhoi peoples. The San (also referred to as

Bushmen) were hunter-gatherers, and were those very first modern humans around 100 000 years ago, and the KhoiKhoi[11] were pastoralists who came to the Cape some 2 000 years ago. These two groups rendered the paintings found in many caves throughout this area of the country – including the image found on South Africa's new coat of arms.

While the Khoisan were the first modern humans to live in the area, Africa boasts the presence of *Australopithecus africanus*, which were the first human ancestors to walk upright. Their fossils have been found in the Cradle of Humankind in northern South Africa, an area that is now a World Heritage Site. Along with other remains found throughout the country, "South Africa has one of the longest sequences of human development in the world" (Huffman, 2010:n.p.). There is evidence of humans with increasing tool and social development in the Earlier, Middle, and Late Stone Ages – the latter of which had begun to produce rock art and are the precursor to the San peoples. Rock paintings, which commonly depicted men with animal body parts, are the oldest art traditions found in South Africa, dating back several thousand years (Peffer, 2007:59). This imagery has been seen as religious and linked to "shamanistic trance states and the animal characteristics and faculties taken on by traditional San healers while in altered states of consciousness" (Peffer, 2007:59).

Following the Stone Age was the Iron Age, which saw the advent of metalworking and the formation of agricultural societies. Around the 13th century AD in the Limpopo province, the first indigenous civilization in southern Africa was established: Mapungubwe. It became an important gold and ivory trading area due to its position from the Indian Ocean (Huffman, 2010:n.p.). Mapungubwe was perhaps the first place in southern Africa where cotton was grown and woven and where a king was venerated (Marsh, 2003:6). Gold objects were found during excavations of graves in the area (notably a golden rhino) and these golden objects and other treasures are now displayed in the Mapungubwe Museum at the University of Pretoria (Marsh, 2003:11). After the decline of Mapungubwe, the descendants of the Sotho-Tswana moved to the Limpopo province from East Africa and later, they moved to Gauteng and the Northwest province (Huffman, 2010:n.p.).

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[11] The Khoikhoi and the San can together be referred to as the Khoisan.

Despite this rich and varied pre-colonial history, the country's recorded history often begins with its 17th-century roots; for history is so often told by the conquerors. Janet Hall (1995:175) offers this African proverb: "Until the lions have their historians, tales of history will always glorify the hunter". She further explains (1995:175):

> Within this proverb lies the essence of South Africa, a country deeply rooted in the ancestral traditions of thousands of years, and at the same time one deeply divided and degraded through the ignorance and cultural arrogance of successive waves of colonists, missionaries and an apartheid government, all whom have failed to recognize the richness and complexity of the African peoples they met and subjugated.

The history of South Africa is complex; however, it is through an understanding of this history that the country can try to move forward. The acknowledgement of this history is important, too, in allowing those who had been oppressed to create and embrace their own identity and for South Africa to create a national identity.

In 1652, the Dutch East India Trading Company (VOC)[12] led by Jan van Riebeeck established a trading station in what is today Cape Town. This station was conceived of as a refreshment and refuelling station – for ship repairs, sailors to convalesce and rest, and the ship's supplies to be replenished (Ross & Schrikker, 2012:27). The station soon grew into a colony and slaves were brought in from East Africa, Madagascar, and the East Indies (South African Government, n.d.). Much like European colonists worldwide, the Dutch pushed aside and degraded the native people they encountered and claimed their ancestral lands for themselves (Van Wyk, 2016:33). In addition to numerous violent clashes, the settlers also spread germs and diseases against which the Khoisan did not have immunity. Consequently, warfare and disease took a large toll on the Khoisan population in this era (Van Wyk, 2016:33).

After 143 years of Dutch rule, the British took control of the Cape in 1795. In the 1820s, they established a colony in the Eastern Cape and began a long and bloody set of wars

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[12] In Dutch: Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie.

against the Xhosa people, again over land titles. Around the same time, tension between the original colonial settlers – referred to in Afrikaans as Boers, 'farmers' – and the British colonists was brewing and ultimately led to the Anglo Boer/South African War from October 1899 to May 1902, which found the British victorious (South African Government, n.d.). The Afrikaner nationalism movement was established in the late 19th century in opposition to British rule and in order to uphold Afrikaans language and culture (Kriel, 2010). South Africa was declared a union in 1910 and the government immediately began institutionalising racial segregationist policies.

This oppression was formalised in 1948, when the National Party led by D.F. Malan took power on the party's platform of apartheid in accordance with Afrikaner nationalism. This platform reinforced the racial oppression of various cultural groups within the country in accordance with the government's categorisation of citizens into four cultural groups: white, coloured, Indian, and black. The government passed many laws and prohibitions during this time: interracial romantic relationships and marriages were banned; residential areas were assigned to singular racial groups; education was made separate and black students were taught skills or were prepared only for labour jobs; public areas – toilets, benches, beaches, etc. – were segregated according to white and non-white people;[13] and various others that denied rights and upheld racial segregation in favour of the white minority.

The apartheid years were a tumultuous time for South Africa and included many mass protests and demonstrations, which often turned deadly – notably the Sharpville Massacre and the Soweto Uprising. In March 1960, an anti-pass protest took place in Sharpville, near Johannesburg, where the police killed 69 demonstrators. On 16 June 1976, school children in Soweto, also near Johannesburg, carried out a large protest against the teaching of Afrikaans in their schools; this clash left many demonstrators dead and wounded.[14] These

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[13] The Population Registration Act, Act No. 30 of 1950; the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, Act No. 55 of 1949; the Immorality Amendment Act, Act No. 21 of 1950; the Group Areas Act, Act No. 41 of 1950; the Bantu Authorities Act, Act No. 68 of 1951; the Bantu Education Act, Act No. 47 of 1953; the Extension of University Education Act, Act No. 45 of 1959; the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, Act No. 49 of 1953. This is not an exhaustive list of apartheid legislation. For more information, visit: http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/apartheid-legislation-1850s-1970s

[14] This day is memorialised in South Africa as a public holiday called Youth Day.

are examples of the extreme tension and violence caused by the racial situation in the country at the time. In objection to apartheid, many other countries implemented sanctions against South Africa as both punishment and incentive to abolish the legislation.

In the late 1980s, then president F.W. de Klerk, with help from Nelson Mandela, began to dismantle apartheid. De Klerk facilitated proceedings to free those who had been political prisoners on Robben Island; those people who had been fighting for racial freedom and equality – most significantly, Mandela. Democratic South Africa was born in April 1994, with Mandela's election as not only the first democratically elected president, but also the first black president of South Africa.

In an attempt to reconcile the atrocities that occurred during apartheid, the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was established with the aim to "investigate gross human rights violations between 1960 and 1994" (Coombes, 2003:8). The first of the TRC's hearings were held in 1996 under the leadership of Archbishop Desmond Tutu. In presenting a platform for the discussion of events that had occurred during apartheid, the TRC hoped to "heal the wounds of the divided society that had been so violently created" (Coombes, 2003:8); it tried to foster a climate of admission and forgiveness between those on both sides of the conflict. However, many did not find the promised peace in this commission and, therefore, museums and other sites of South African history and culture – places of power – must continue to be areas that contribute to healing, empathy, and transformation.

South Africa today is a country of almost 56 million people. It is a multicultural and multiracial society, and is, therefore, also multilingual – with 11 official languages.[15] As a young democracy, it still struggles with the deep and divisive impressions cleaved into the country due to its dual legacy of colonialism and apartheid. There are vast poverty and lingering inequality, and high crime rates that go hand in hand with these two issues. Recently, there have been numerous protests and riots on university campuses throughout the country relating to a myriad of issues: decolonisation of university space and

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[15] English, Zulu, Xhosa, Ndebele, Afrikaans, Swazi, Northern Sotho, Sotho, Tswana, Venda and Tsonga.

curriculum, university fees, outsourcing, housing, etc. Protesting is part of a healthy democracy and it allows for the underlying issues and causes of anger and frustration to be brought to the fore and, thereby, forces them to be addressed in the perseverance towards the betterment of the country for all.

3.2.2 STELLENBOSCH AND KAYAMANDI

Stellenbosch rests on the banks of the Eersterivier ('First River') against an expansive backdrop of mountains. It is located roughly 50 kilometres to the northeast of Cape Town in the Western Cape province of South Africa, which sits at the very tip of the continent. Commander Simon van der Stel from the VOC founded Stellenbosch in 1679 and lent his name to the area.[16] After Cape Town, it is the second oldest European settlement in South Africa, and the first to receive any form of local government (Fransen, 1967:3). In 1685, Stellenbosch was established as a village with the appointment of its first landdrost,[17] Johannes Mulder (Fransen & Cook, 1965:45), and it was initially "a regional centre to serve the existing farms and smallholdings in the surrounding area" (KrugerRoos Architects, 1997:12). The town today sits in the heartland of the wine-growing region of the Western Cape.

Also in 1685, H.A. van Rheede laid out the village in a "typical baroque authoritarian grid pattern" (KrugerRoos Architects, 1997:4) and oak trees were carefully planted down the streets – a characteristic that Stellenbosch is still known for today. A visitor to Stellenbosch may see that its architectural history speaks to its colonial foundations and that it spans several periods: "Early Cape, 'Cape Dutch,' Georgian, Victorian and Edwardian styles often coexist in close proximity" (KrugerRoos Architects, 1997:10).

Stellenbosch is not only synonymous with the winelands, but also with education. In 1859, the Theological Seminary of the Dutch Reformed Church was established and in 1866, the Stellenbosch Gymnasium was opened. This latter organisation was augmented and

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[16] Simon van der Stel also gave his name to Simon's Town, a village in the False Bay area of Cape Town. In addition, he established the farm Groot Constantia in 1685, which holds the claim of South Africa's oldest wine-producing estate (Groot Constantia, 2017).
[17] A landdrost was "[a] kind of magistrate in South Africa (under British administration, the office was abolished)" (Oxford English Dictionary, n.d.(b)).

renamed numerous times, with its final culmination as Stellenbosch University on 2 April 1918. During apartheid, Stellenbosch forcibly removed coloured residents from the centre of the town – an area called Die Vlakte ('The Flats') – and relocated them to an area further away. The University received some of this land and established part of its campus here; this caused a deep rift between the University and the previous residents of Die Vlakte that the University is still in the process of addressing.[18]

Stellenbosch has a further association with apartheid, as many of the regime's foremost thought leaders attended the University.[19] The town is still quite racially and economically divided. During apartheid, black and coloured communities were established on the outskirts of the town, and these are still active communities today. This is in contrast to Stellenbosch Central, which is inhabited by more affluent and privileged white people and Stellenbosch University students – who are also considered privileged, as they are able to receive higher education. Stellenbosch University was predominantly Afrikaans in language and culture but, with the adoption of a new language policy, is working towards becoming a trilingual, multiracial institution.[20]

The Stellenbosch municipal area includes Stellenbosch Central – which is a predominately white, wealthy area – and the nine previously disadvantaged communities that surround it: Kayamandi (speaking mostly Xhosa), Jamestown, Cloetesville, Idas Valley, Pniel, Klapmuts, Kylemore, Vlottenburg, and Raithby (the latter eight speaking mostly Afrikaans and English). Together they are referred to in Afrikaans as the 'tien dorpies' or 'ten little towns'. Although they are part of one municipality, these communities all vary in their ethnic, linguistic, and cultural makeup.

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[18] In 2006, the University collaborated with the community and published a book on the people of Die Vlakte called *In ons bloed* ('In our blood'). In 2007, an old school building once used by the residents before their forced removal and whose ownership was transferred to Stellenbosch University was dedicated back to the community and a photographic exhibition was mounted recognising notable former learners of the school (Stellenbosch University, 2013). Recently, a scholarship fund has been established for descendants of Die Vlakte to study at Stellenbosch University.

[19] Namely Hendrick Verwoerd, DF Malan, and John Vorster.

[20] In 2016 a total of 30 854 students were enrolled at Stellenbosch University. Of these, 61.3% were white, 18.3% African black, 17.6% coloured and 2.8% Indian. In terms of home language, 46.1% were English-speaking and 40.7% were Afrikaans-speaking, while 13.2% indicated other languages as their home language (Stellenbosch University, 2016).

While Kayamandi was formally established in 1941, it origins, however, precede this. Due to the economic and industrial growth of the Western Cape in the early 1900s, there was a steady influx of individuals migrating to the area in search of work. As much of the work in Stellenbosch focused on farm labour, the vast majority of these workers were single men and, initially, they lived on or near to the farm on which they worked. In the early 1920s, a settlement called the Du Toit section (behind the Du Toit Train Station) was established by the municipality on a farm close to where Kayamandi now sits. The creation of this area followed the previously mentioned laws that prohibited different races from inhabiting the same area of a city, and disallowed black, coloured, and Indian people from living within the city centre.

Census records reveal that the original Du Toit Station settlement became overcrowded and unsanitary, and fault was also found with the cohabitation of black and coloured individuals in the area (Rock, 2011:26). Therefore, the municipality decided to move the inhabitants to a new location that was close by but still on the edge of town. In 1941, Kayamandi, meaning 'sweet home' in Xhosa, was named and established. The government slowly built three types of housing options in this new location – two- and three-roomed houses for families and three-roomed buildings to house single men.

Soon after the founding of Kayamandi, a number of new industries were created in and around Stellenbosch. These industries required additional labourers and these labourers required housing. Two extensions of Kayamandi were undertaken in the 1940s, and by 1948 there were 115 houses in the area (Rock, 2011:38). In the 1950s, the Western Cape government became overwhelmed by the influx of individuals from the Eastern Cape in search of jobs. In accordance with apartheid ideology and laws, Stellenbosch endeavoured to restrict Kayamandi to be an area for only single male labourers and attempted to remove all women from the area. The idea was that this would help to control the housing issue, as there would be no families and individuals would not feel the need to settle properly (Rock, 2011:42–43). Further apartheid initiatives were undertaken in Kayamandi, such as curfews and the deportation of any non-working adult.

While Kayamandi was relatively non-volatile, the residents participated in the passbook

riots that took place throughout the country in March 1960 (Rock, 2011:76–80). However, due to its location, the existence of only one road in and out of the area, and its small size, the municipality was able to effectively control and quell the uprising (Rock, 2011:79). It is also thought that the lack of a high school in Kayamandi during this time helped to keep dissent down, as this removed "the most violently political segment of the population" (Rock, 2011:79), aka the youth.

Although Kayamandi was established as a black location, it was initially controlled by the Stellenbosch municipality – which was white-run – who installed a white location superintendent to manage the area (Rock, 2011:34). In the 1980s the residents were given more control over their area with the creation of the Kayamandi Town Council and the first mayoral election in Kayamandi (Rock, 2011:82). By the mid-1980s, apartheid laws were becoming more relaxed and women and children began to move back to the community without the threat of removal (Rock, 2011:86). This influx of people exacerbated the already overcrowded living conditions and was the catalyst for the construction of informal settlements in the area. In the early 1990s, the municipality began purchasing land around Kayamandi to expand the area; housing and a primary school were built there (Rock, 2011:92).

Kayamandi residents were – and still are – predominately Xhosa peoples with roots in the Eastern Cape. Therefore, many of the same cultural traditions and customs are shared and this fosters a relatively harmonious community life; a characteristic that is not ubiquitous among townships across the nation (Rock, 2011:56). While Kayamandi is still a relatively safe township in which to live (Rock, 2011:100), it has experienced an increase in crime and a few outbreaks of xenophobia in recent years; which can both be attributed to poverty, drugs, overcrowding, and high unemployment rates among its residents. Kayamandi today is a culturally vibrant place. It boasts many not-for-profit organisations and charities focused on many different areas of community empowerment and upliftment. This has also encouraged township tourism, or heritage tourism, to allow locals to not only earn an income but also to share their history, culture, and community with visitors from both outside and within the community – such as the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum.

3.3   HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF SPACE

The second focus of this chapter is on the contextualisation of the museum. It is essential to understand the advent of the museum on the many levels that affect this study: globally, nationally, and locally. The museum has a centuries-long history, and is an institution that is inherently linked with the Western world. It is important to discuss its foundations in order to recognise what the museum means in an African context, and how South African museums can find their own, unique identity within this longstanding tradition.

3.3.1   THE BIRTH OF THE MODERN MUSEUM

The very foundation of the museum has been linked with the formation of the Library of Alexandria in the third century BCE, which was a meeting place for philosophers, historians, etc. to study and discuss various topics (Vergo, 1989:1). It is said that this is the first time that the term 'museum' [μονσετογ] – or 'seat of the muses' in Greek – was used to describe an organisation and signify a place "where the arts and sciences were studied, typified by the mythological personages the Muses" (Siegel, 2008:64). Today we use the term to denote a collection of interesting objects that are grouped together and displayed for the enrichment of knowledge (Siegel, 2008:64).

The modern beginning of the museum certainly stems from the establishment by elite or royal individuals of private collections and *wunderkammers* (cabinets of curiosities) comprised of art and natural history objects. Collectors would open their stately houses to guests who were interested in viewing the homes and their interesting collections (Siegel, 2008:7). The princely collections were housed in their own galleries that became "state ceremonial spaces that were meant to impress both foreign visitors and local dignitaries with the ruler's magnificence" (Duncan & Wallach, 1980:452–453). The intention of the display was to present the collector's wealth of rare and interesting objects and artwork for awe and study and to create an aura of social prestige. Many of these 18th- and 19th-century European collections were oftentimes open to the public under the name 'museum' (Duncan & Wallach, 1980:452–453) and in this way they became the precursor to the public museum, because their practices and display techniques were copied by those that followed (Paul, 2012). Siegel suggests that the transition "from private collection

to public is the crucial development in the nineteenth-century history of museums" (2008:37).

While it is generally accepted that the first modern museum was created on 10 August 1793 with the opening of the Musée du Louvre, the movement can be dated even earlier to the founding of the Capitoline Museum in Rome, Italy, in 1733. This museum was established on the Capitoline Hill and holds the oldest "municipal art collection of the early modern period" (Paul, 2012:31), begun in 1471 when Pope Sixtus IV donated a number of important bronzes to the People of Rome (Musei Capitolini, 2006). Additional important museums that predate the Louvre are the Ashmolean Museum and The British Museum. The Ashmolean was opened to the public in 1683 after Oxford University completed a building to house the collection that Elias Ashmole bequeathed to the University. The British Museum was established in 1759, when the government opened the collections of Sir Robert Cotton, Robert Harley, first earl of Oxford, and Sir Hans Sloane, "not only for the inspection and entertainment of the learned and the curious, but for the general use and benefit of the public" (Lewis, 2000:9).

Nevertheless, the Louvre is considered the largest and most influential of the universal survey museums[21] (Duncan & Wallach, 1980:457). In a letter dated 17 October 1792, the Minister of the Interior under King Louis XVI discussed his thoughts on the imminent establishment of the Louvre (Duncan & Wallach, 1980:454):

> As I conceive of it, it should attract and impress foreigners. It should nourish a taste for the fine arts, please art lovers and serve as a school to artists. It should be open to everyone. This will be a national monument. There will not be a single individual who does not have the right to enjoy it. It will have such an influence on the mind, it will so elevate the soul, it will so excite the heart that it will be one of the most powerful ways of proclaiming the illustriousness of the French Republic.

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[21] 'Universal survey' denotes museums that provide a wide range of art and objects that span both the world and history.

Public museums were interested in celebrating the nation and proclaiming its greatness. The main task of the museum was to educate its audience, to elevate the minds of the public. In addition, it is significant to note that the museum wanted to be accessible to all citizens, not just one specific class.

The advent of the public museum made arts and culture available to everyone, and they became "a treasure house of material and spiritual wealth" (Duncan & Wallach, 1980:448). The ideals of exhibition and education are still upheld by museums today. ICOM (2017) defines a museum as …

> … a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment.

Although there are a number of different types of museums, this study concentrated on only one: the house museum. The definition of the house museum, as provided by ICOM's International Committee for House Museums (DEMHIST),[22] maintains the aforementioned definition and also provides that "House Museums range from castles to cottages from all periods. The interpretation of house museums includes historic, architectural, cultural, artistic and social information" (DEMHIST, 2008).

It is speculated that the preservation of historic houses began in earnest in the 1850s with a movement in the USA focused on protecting early American history, and especially that of the country's first president, George Washington. Therefore, the first historic house museum in America was Mount Vernon, the former plantation home of Washington and his family, founded in 1859 (Graham, 2014). Since then, thousands of house museums have been created throughout the world. Statistics from the American Alliance of Museums reveal that historic house museums make up 8% of accredited museums in the USA (AAM,

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[22] DEMHIST was formed in 1997 and is an abbreviation for the term 'demeures-historiques-musées', which translates from French to 'historic house museum' (DEMHIST, 2017).

2017).[23] Foy Donnelly suggests that the primary focus of a house museum "should be creating experiences and telling stories within the context of the lives represented by the house and its collection and about things that mean something to visitors – things that they care about and that bear some relation to their own lives" (2002:9).

3.3.2   THE BIRTH OF THE MUSEUM IN AFRICA

As mentioned in the previous section, it is thought that the very first classical museum to ever officially exist – and the first time the term 'museum' was used – was that of the Library of Alexandria in Egypt in the third century BCE. Therefore, the museum was born in Africa; however, under colonial influences. The library was the brainchild of Alexander the Great and its construction was carried out by his successors Ptolemy Soter and then his son, Ptolemy II, who were Greeks ruling over the Greek Empire in Egypt. As described, the museum has changed over the centuries, but its form and function are still very much modelled on Eurocentric ideals.

Art galleries and museums arose from Western capitalistic endeavours where arts and culture became a commodity that was separated from life (and the object's sociocultural roles) in order to make money. Therefore, African objects can often be found outside of their original or utilitarian roles and displayed as decorative objects, which thereby decontextualises them. Western art, too, has been greatly influenced throughout its history by African art and material objects. This can be seen in the late 19th and early 20th centuries when artists such as Pablo Picasso, Paul Gauguin, Henri Matisse and others were captivated by the stylistic elements of tribal objects and other non-Western art forms that they found primitive and exotic (The Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, 2017); therefore, abstract art was practised in Africa long before Picasso and his peers used it as inspiration for their own works (Odiboh, 2012).

Although a museum is a European idea – and the formal concept of the museum was brought to Africa by its European colonisers – it is evident that cultures all over the world have been practising museum-like concepts of collecting and preservation throughout their

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[23] This report is based on the answers from a self-reporting survey completed by 802 accredited museums since 1 January 2016 (AAM, 2017).

existence (Kreps, 2003). We seem to have an innate desire and ability to assemble and create collections of items that we deem important. Communities develop techniques to protect and conserve their heritage in ways that do not follow traditional museological practices, but can, however, still be conceived of as 'museum-like concepts'. This includes arts and culture that were (and are still) practised through rituals, ceremonies, storytelling, and oral history, along with the material objects that form part of these activities.

It seems that the first modern museum on the African continent was, in fact, the South African Museum founded in 1825 (this museum is discussed in the following section). Many other museums throughout the continent were established in the late 19th and early 20th centuries: Zimbabwe's national museums (1901), the Uganda Museum – the oldest in East Africa (1908), National Museum of Kenya in Nairobi (1909), Mozambique's Dr Alvaro de Castro Museum in Maputo (1913), the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (it has roots back to 1835) – and its branches the Museum of Islamic Art (1881) and the Coptic Museum (1908) (Lewis, 2000), and The Musée de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire (IFAN) in Dakar, Senegal – one of the oldest museums in West Africa (1938).

The Museum of African Design opened its doors in October of 2013 in Johannesburg, South Africa, as the first design museum on the African continent. The museum also endeavours to "become a pan-African platform for contemporary creativity and innovation" (Kermeliotis & Barnet, 2013). In addition, the Zeitz Museum of Contemporary Art Africa (Zeitz MOCAA) opened to the public at the end of September 2017 in Cape Town, South Africa, and claims the title of being the first and largest museum dedicated to contemporary art on the African continent (Zeitz MOCAA, 2017).

3.3.3   THE BIRTH OF THE MUSEUM IN SOUTH AFRICA

The title of the first established house museum in South Africa is claimed by the Koopmans-de Wet House, which was opened as a museum on 10 March 1914. This townhouse with its symmetrical neoclassical façade was built in the late 1700s on what is now Strand Street in the heart of Cape Town. It derives its name from its last and most famous resident, Marie Koopmans-de Wet, who was an advocate of Cape heritage and instrumental in saving many important buildings – including the Castle of Good Hope (Iziko, 2017).

As mentioned, the South African Museum was the first museum in the country. It was reopened in 1855 after a period of reorganisation and this seemingly ushered in the modern museum movement in South Africa (Gore, 2004:27). After this, the country followed the trend established by European museums in the 18th century and "museums began to proliferate … often originating from the collections of private collectors or of Literary and Medical Societies and supported by colonial governments" (Gore, 2004:27). These early South African museums, however, are a "legacy of the British colonial era, and are by their very origin a western Eurocentric concept" (Hall, 1995:176). They were affected and influenced by apartheid in context, content, and visitorship, which held white culture and history on high and perpetuated the alienation of all others. With the dissolution of apartheid in 1994, museums began to open their doors to all South Africans, regardless of race or creed.

The South African Museum faced huge controversy in the early part of the 2000s regarding their Bushmen dioramas and the controversial stereotyping of the group's physical attributes, which turned them into a spectacle and "encouraged the view of Bushmen as racial 'others'" (Davidson, 2001:7). One of the big issues regarding the dioramas was the way in which they were created: "Between 1907 and 1924 the Museum modeler, James Drury, photographed, measured and made plaster moulds of 'thoroughbred' Bushmen and Hottentots wherever suitable subjects could be found" (Davidson, 2001:12). This process of data collection was invasive to the Bushmen people and is now considered unethical. After much consideration, the dioramas were retired in 2001.

On Heritage Day in 1997, then president Mandela "criticiz[ed] museums as institutions which reflected colonial and apartheid points of view" (Kayster, 2010:3). He challenged museums to change in order to "reflect the democratic ideals and experiences of the majority, instead of focusing on a privileged few" (Kayster, 2010:3). The previous year, 1996, the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage was adopted, which pointed out various flaws and areas for improvement in South African museums. The Western Cape Government claims that since this publication the number of historical sites and museums has increased throughout the country – both governmentally and privately (Western Cape

Government, n.d.:10).[24]

The South African government has put forth a Draft National Museum Policy Framework as both a resource for museums and to provoke them into "Africanising their museum practice and exploring revolutionary and evolutionary notions" (Western Cape Government, n.d.:48). This involved suggestions such as the following:

- Museums without walls

- Museums without objects, and where 'collections' consist of memories, stories, performances, rites and rituals – activities that may be constantly evolving and are allowed to do so

- Museums that communicate in indigenous languages and from indigenous perspectives

- Democratising curation and design

- 'Collecting' and conserving objects and practices *in situ*

- Finding alternative forms of preservation and memorialisation, particularly in ways that maximise the transfer of value to beneficiary communities while minimising the cost to communities

- Embracing the economic value of heritage and growing a heritage economy that creates jobs and wealth (Western Cape Government, n.d.:48).

These are all suggestions that break away from the traditional, Eurocentric museum approach. It is not simply the idea of museums that is a Western concept – as many cultures and communities practise some sort of heritage-collection process – but rather its current traditional form and presentation.

The aforementioned policy framework allows for the recognition of long-practised collecting and musealising traditions of many cultural groups throughout Africa. It makes allowances for oral histories, cultural festivals, the practising of timeless traditions (such as

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[24] "In addition to the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage, 1996, and the Cultural Institutions Act, 1998 (Act 119 of 1998) (CIA), a number of heritage laws were passed between 1996 and 1999 that redrew the heritage landscape in South Africa, including: the National Archives Act, 1996; the National Arts Council Act, 1997; the National Film and Video Foundation Act, 1997; the South African Geographical Names Council Act, 1998; the National Heritage Resources Act, 1999 and the National Heritage Council Act, 1999" (Western Cape Government, n.d.:13).

initiations into adulthood), and other activities that take place *in situ* within a community to be considered as museological practices that have value and worth to be collected, conserved, and shared. It demonstrates that the museum – in its myriad of different formats – was in place long before colonialism.

The Draft National Museum Policy asserted as follows (Western Cape Government, n.d.:22):

> There is a long history in West Africa and Egypt of the protection and conservation of heritage, for example, burial sites. Within South Africa, indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) document heritage primarily in terms of performance and place in praise poems, story-telling, music and healing rituals and places such as altars, where ancestors were invoked and became the locus of memory and genealogy.

This includes UNESCO World Heritage Sites such as the burial places of Khami and Great Zimbabwe, where local communities appoint custodians (usually spirit mediums) to take care of the resting places of their ancestors (Chirikure, Mukwende, & Taruvinga, 2015). The Barotse Cultural Landscape in Zambia is another example that includes Kuomboka and Kufulehla ceremonies – activities that have been taking place on the land for over 200 years, burial sites – places where ancestors are consulted, and the Lealui Royal palace and village; these sites are all maintained by village elders known as indunas (UNESCO, 2017).

This new Africanising definition of museums follows the 'appropriate museology' theory offered by Kreps in the previous chapter. It allows for indigenous curation to be seen as a valid curatorial technique; as Kreps suggests, "in many respects these indigenous museological forms and their functions are analogous to those of Western museology" (Kreps, 2005:3). She offers an example of her research with Kenyan Dayak rice barns (*lumbung)* in which she discovered that family heirlooms were also stored alongside the rice in the barns in an effort of preventative conservation; as the barn's placement and architecture encouraged protection from fire, climate control, and pest management (Kreps, 2005:3).

It is important that South African museums take up the call for transformation, because they have a duty to "all members of society, mirroring the ideals of the South African democracy and places where the West and Africa are reconciled around a common identity" (Kayster, 2010:4). Some of the older and more established museums, while making an effort, are slower to decolonise their organisations. However, there have been many new museums established since democracy, and since the adoption of the White Paper in 1996. These museums – such as the Robben Island Museum, the District Six Museum, the Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum, and the Apartheid Museum – have confronted the traditional model and role of the museum, including questions of inclusivity and exclusion regarding display and histories represented.

3.3.4   THE BIRTH OF THE MUSEUM IN STELLENBOSCH

As Duncan and Wallach (1980:452) point out, "even small cities with claims to civic and cultural importance must have their versions of a universal survey museum" and Stellenbosch is no exception. Although Stellenbosch is a relatively small town, it boasts a number of museums that celebrate its rich and varied history and interests: art, history, house museums, brandy, toys, and cars, to name a few.

The first museum that seems to have been opened in Stellenbosch was a small Africana Museum in the old VOC Kruithuis; a building erected in 1777 for the purpose of storing ammunition. However, Stellenbosch "has always been a peaceful town and not once during its 300 years of existence has it heard the sound of guns fired in war" (Stellenbosch Museum, 2005:n.p.). Therefore, 70 years after its completion, the building was turned into a marketplace and was used to house the town's fire brigade (Stellenbosch Museum, 2005). In May 1942, the short-lived Africana Museum was opened. This building is now part of the Stellenbosch Museum – which also encapsulates the Stellenbosch Village Museum – and houses the museum's collection of military weapons and paraphernalia.

In 1951, the Phillimore Ives Memorial Gallery was established in Grosvenor House (now one of the houses of the Stellenbosch Village Museum). The contents, which were mostly 17th- century paintings, were donated to Stellenbosch's Town Council by the Hon. Mrs Ives, Lady Phillimore of Coppid Hall, England. In 1961, however, South Africa left the British

Commonwealth and, owing to a codicil in the deed of donation, all the items had to be returned to Phillimore's heirs and the gallery was closed (Smuts, 1979:406). In 1962, the Stellenbosch Museum organisation was founded and the museum opened in 1967; a number of museums have since followed.

The Stellenbosch Village Museum was founded during a time when Afrikaner nationalism was popular, and the museum was interested in becoming a repository for the history and culture of Stellenbosch – which is inextricably connected to this movement and also has deep colonial roots. The museum is comprised of four historic houses that represent four distinct periods during Stellenbosch's early colonial history. This is achieved through the display of authentic material objects of the periods and information provided by costumed docents. The museum's entrance building, the Lubbe-Building, holds an exhibition titled "The People of Stellenbosch" that provides information on the pre-colonial and colonial history of Stellenbosch and also contains an interactive timeline of Stellenbosch's history spanning 1679 to 2000 (Stellenbosch Village Museum, 2017). The museum is comprised of the Schreuderhuis, Blettermanhuis, Grosvenor House, and Berghuis; all of which are briefly described.

The Schreduerhuis (1709) was built by Sebastian Schröder, a German, and is the oldest documented townhouse in South Africa, as it appears on the first known drawing of the town in 1710 (Stellenbosch Village Museum, 2017). Vos and Boshoff (1988:2) compliment the house in their archaeological and archaeotectural investigation as being a valuable material asset of colonial South African history and assert that it is "representative of the early vernacular architectural tradition that has for all practical reasons disappeared from the urban landscape". The house depicts the period spanning 1690 to 1720 and contains a special exhibition on the fire history of Stellenbosch.

The Blettermanhuis (1798) was built by Hendrik Lodewyk Bletterman, a VOC landdrost (magistrate) of Stellenbosch and depicts Stellenbosch between 1750 and 1780 as experienced by the white upper class of this period. The Stellenbosch Village Museum's brochure describes the Blettermanhuis as "a typical 18th century Cape house with six gables and a H-shaped ground plan" (Stellenbosch Village Museum, 2017:n.p.). This house

contains a small special exhibition on the slave history of Stellenbosch.

The Grosvenor House (1803) was built by Christian Ludolph Neething in 1782. The museum's brochure declares that the house is "one of the most outstanding examples of a two-storied, flat-roofed patrician townhouse, of which there must have been a considerable number in Stellenbosch and Cape Town" (Stellenbosch Village Museum, 2017:n.p.). It depicts the period 1800 to 1830 and contains two special exhibitions; one on objects donated to the museum and another on a photographic history of early Stellenbosch.

The Berghuis (1850) was lived in by Olof Marthinus Bergh and his family during the mid-1800s. While it started with an exterior that was similar to Blettermanhuis, during the 19th century it was modified to its current appearance (Stellenbosch Village Museum, 2017:n.p.). It is ornately decorated in the style of the period spanning 1840 to 1870 and does not include a special exhibition.

The vast majority of the accredited museums in Stellenbosch sit within the main part of the town, in Stellenbosch Central. More than that, they all ascribe to the Western model of the museum in both content and character. The University has a successful visual arts department, a gallery, and a universal survey museum that each hold numerous exhibitions throughout the year. The town boasts many art galleries and there is a large public art initiative, too, with sculptures found all over town following a rotating exhibition schedule.

The Kayamandi Creative District House Museum is a museum initiative that has been formed by and is run by local community members. It is comprised of a handful of houses in the Kayamandi community that have been transformed into house museum spaces. What is special about this museum is that the houses have not been musealised in the traditional sense but, rather, the houses are still lived in by the homeowners-turned-docents. Visitors are invited inside the homes to glimpse the life of Kayamandi inhabitants through the material museum landscape and also through stories and information provided by the tour guide and homeowner docents. Along with general information on the community, each homeowner docent presents a themed story to the visitor: traditional

Xhosa cooking, male initiation, childhood in Kayamandi, and religious life in Kayamandi.

Kayamandi also has an arts and culture scene; in addition to the alternative museum of the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum, there are many township tours, cultural homestays, the Ghetto Art Gallery – a gallery started by a Kayamandi resident to provide exhibition space for township artists, and Film School Africa – where children learn how to become cinematographers and produce short films. In addition, Kayamandi holds an annual Arts and Culture Festival to promote the "variety and tradition of all performing arts and sport" within the Kayamandi community (Kayamandi Arts and Culture Festival, n.d.).

3.4   CONCLUSION

This chapter offered an overview of the historical context of place (South Africa, Stellenbosch, and Kayamandi) and space (museums globally, in Africa, South Africa, and Stellenbosch) as a foundation for the understanding of the semiotic landscapes of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum. In their Draft National Museums Policy publication, the South African Department of Arts and Culture put forth this vision for the future of the heritage sector in the country: "A people accepting of who they were, comfortable with who they are and proud of who they are becoming. A country united in diversity. A nation proud of its heritage" (Western Cape Government, n.d.:3).

While it has been established that Africans were practising musealising traditions long before the colonists arrived, museums in their traditional, modern format were introduced to South Africa through its European colonial settlers. Therefore, older museums within the country intrinsically follow a more traditional, Western approach. In an attempt to counteract this legacy of colonialism – which is tied up in the legacy of racial injustice – and to nurture the history and culture of those who were previously marginalised, the "need for an authentic African approach to museums is urgent, and will require unique creativity if museums are to be able to claim a right to exist" (Hall, 1995:176). Since democracy – and since Hall made the previous statement – great strides have been taken to attempt uniquely African models of museums (such as the aforesaid Robben Island Museum, the

District Six Museum, the Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum, the Apartheid Museum, and now the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum initiative.)

In 2013, South African Museum Association (SAMA, 2013:1) presented the following South African definition of a museum in their newly ratified constitution:

> Museums are dynamic and accountable public institutions which both shape and manifest the consciousness, identities and understanding of communities and individuals in relation to their natural, historical and cultural environments through collection, documentation, conservation, research and education programmes that are responsive to the needs of society.

South African museums endeavour to provide the tools for all citizens to "gain a realistic sense of their own identity and cultural heritage, and live together in a truly multiracial society" (Hall, 1995:176). House museums can provide a comfortable setting in which to learn about and share one's own identity and cultural heritage and also the identity and cultural heritage of others. A home – in whatever form it might take – is universal and as such it provides a reference point from which visitors may interpret and understand themselves and one another.

Figure 3.1: Stellenbosch Village Museum houses: Schreuderhuis, Blettermanhuis, Grosvenor House, and Berghuis

Figure 3.2: Kayamandi Creative District House Museum houses: traditional Xhosa cooking, male initiation, childhood in Kayamandi, and religious life in Kayamandi (Source: Google Maps)

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1   INTRODUCTION

The study presents a comparative analysis of the semiotic landscapes of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum – two house museum models situated within Stellenbosch, South Africa. Utilising the theory of social semiotics along with that of museology and curatorship, the study sought to discover what the similarities and discrepancies between the semiotic landscapes of these two different house museums – one following a predominantly traditional model of a house museum and the other a more modern, 'new museum' theory-aligned house museum model – reveal about the broader historical and cultural context wherein they exist. It investigated to what extent the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum are appropriate museum models in a post-apartheid context.

It is helpful to restate the main question and aim investigated in this study. The research question was: "What does a comparative analysis of the semiotic landscapes of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum reveal about the broader historical and sociocultural contexts wherein each exist?" The aim was to ascertain to what extent the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum are appropriate house museum models in a post-apartheid, Stellenbosch context. This chapter outlines the design, sampling, data-collection methods, the capturing of data, ethical considerations, and the methods for data analysis employed to achieve the goals of this research.

4.2   DESIGN OF THE STUDY

The following sections offer a discussion of the research approach, paradigm, and design utilised for the investigation of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum.

4.2.1 RESEARCH APPROACH AND PARADIGM

The research was conducted using a qualitative approach within an interpretive paradigm. For Guba and Lincoln, a paradigm "represents a *worldview* that defines, for its holder, the nature of the 'world,' the individual's place in it, and the range of possible relationships to that world and its parts" (1994:107). A paradigm provides a framework within which individuals understand themselves and the world around them, or by which a researcher understands and analyses the data collected during a study.

In an interpretive paradigm, researchers believe that reality is socially constructed by humans and is not just 'out there', that it is "both dependent on and the creation of human beings" (Phothongsunan, 2010:1). This paradigm holds that there is no one single reality – as is the case with a positivist paradigm – but, rather, that there are many different realities created by humans in response to their surroundings. This type of paradigm is suited for a case study design, as with the current study, and is discussed further in this chapter.

Using a qualitative approach within an interpretive paradigm requires analysis of the social construction of data and an awareness of the various ways the narratives produced can be understood, (mis)interpreted, or biased (Klein & Meyers, 1999). Individuals have pre-existing meanings and biases that influence their behaviour and observations (Ezzy, 2002:6) and, with this in mind, qualitative researchers – by studying things in their natural environments – seek to explore how people perceive and make sense of their reality (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005:3; Phothongsunan, 2010:1). The term 'interpretive' indicates that the researcher interprets the data collected in accordance with the meanings assigned to it by the participants themselves (Gerring, 2007:214). The term 'qualitative' can be defined in the negative, as in qualitative data are that which are not quantifiable or do not depend on numbers or statistics. Instead, it emphasises the "socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005:10).

4.2.2   RESEARCH DESIGN

The research data were gained through a comparative case study design. This approach involves an investigation into the similarities and discrepancies between at least two cases of a similar nature (Goodrick, 2014:1). Miller and Salkind (2002:163) consider a qualitative case study approach as a comprehensive analysis that considers a case (or cases) "through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information and rich context".

Yin (1989, cited in Remenyi, 2012:2) describes a case study as follows:

> A case study may be defined as an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident, and in which multiple sources of evidence are used.

The term 'case' is used to refer to the phenomenon (unit) under study (Gerring, 2007:19). Therefore, the phenomena (cases) investigated in the study were the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum. The advantage of a case study design is that a researcher can observe and analyse each case from many different perspectives and factors, allowing for the researcher to focus "on understanding the dynamics present within single settings" (Eisenhardt, 1989:534). The complexity of this design allows for the use of "'thick description' rather than statistics in case oriented studies [and reflects] a greater affinity for interpretivist metatheory" (Lor, 2011:10).

The context of the case study was analysed in a material, historical, cultural, and institutional way (Denscombe, 2007:61–62). Although the two organisations under investigation are disparate in almost every way Golding and Modest (2013:3) recognise "…the potential role for museums in developing social cohesion [through] working with similarities while acknowledging and respecting differences".. While contained in the geographic footprint of the larger Stellenbosch area, they are physically positioned in two different locations – affluent Stellenbosch Central and the previously disadvantaged Kayamandi township. The material, cultural, and historical characteristics of these organisations are very different and are in accordance with the material, cultural, and

historical makeup of the places within which they are situated. Institutionally they are a similar organisation, but represent different types of a house museum model.

4.3   SAMPLE SELECTION AND DATA COLLECTION

The research sample consisted of 61 individuals. This included the management, staff, docents, and homeowner docents of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum, who were interviewed at their respective museum sites. In addition, interviews with Kayamandi community members were utislised for this research and they were conducted at a place of easiest convenience for the participant (i.e. their home, business, etc.). A handful of visitors to the Stellenbosch Village Museum were also interviewed at the museum. Data collection took place in Kayamandi from February to September 2015 and at the Stellenbosch Village Museum in 2016 to 2017. Moreover, data were collected from documents archived in a few different places, namely the Stellenbosch Village Museum Library located at the Erfturthuis in Stellenbosch and through online sources.

In a qualitative study, data are collected from a number of different sources, which include (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005:3–4) "personal experience; introspection; life story; interview; artifacts; cultural texts and productions; observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals' lives". Data for this case study were collected in most of the above ways, and are explained here.

Personal experience was gained by immersion into the communities, through having long periods of interaction with both the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum, and by speaking to the management, staff, docents, homeowner docents, and guides involved with each. Introspection was practised by keeping notes on my personal thoughts and feelings on both the cultural and historic context of the study and also on the responses of the participants. In regard to 'life story', all participants were given the opportunity to share their own personal histories and this allowed for a deeper understanding of their responses. The 'life story' of each of the organisations involved in the study was also considered through interviews and documents. Interviews were conducted with management, staff, docents, homeowner

docents, and guides involved with the Stellenbosch Village Museum and Kayamandi Creative District House Museum. The study considered the tangible and intangible aspects of each of the house museums and their collections as artefacts. Cultural texts and productions, understood through Geertz's metaphor of "culture as text" (Hoffman, 2009:417), meant that for me, a privileged white South African woman, the cultural texts and productions of Stellenbosch Central were very familiar. In contrast, to understand the cultural texts and productions of Kayamandi, eight months were spent in 2015 continuously visiting the community, speaking with residents, interacting with Kayamandi Creative District House Museum members, and even staying overnight. Lastly, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts were collected through interactions with interviewees and key community figures, observations of daily life in Stellenbosch Central and Kayamandi and at both the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum, and relevant document analysis.

This data were helpful in creating a historical and cultural context for my research through which to better analyse the data. More specifically, data were collected through individual semi-structured interviews, workshops, field visits (with resulting field notes), e-mail interviews/correspondence, and document analysis (videos, newspaper clippings, organisational newsletters, reports, brochures, promotional information, and websites and social media accounts associated with the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum). This data collection is laid out in Table 4.1.

The interviews were conducted in two stages: The first stage took place in Kayamandi in 2015 and the second stage at the Stellenbosch Village Museum between 2016 and 2017. The reason for this was because the data collection in Kayamandi was part of a larger project funded by the National Research Foundation titled *Rewriting the history of the arts in Stellenbosch: Critical citizenship in community engagement*. For this project upwards of 40 key members of the Kayamandi community were interviewed in regard to their involvement with arts and culture in the township. Eight different categories of arts and culture were identified within the Kayamandi context: visual art, performance art, community history, fashion and body, sports and games, food, landscape, and museum (which consisted of the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum). The ultimate end goal

of this entire project is to turn the interviews, pictures, and visual and audio recordings collected into an open-access digital archive that will include all of the 'ten little towns' that constitute Stellenbosch – Stellenbosch Central and the nine previously disadvantaged communities by which it is surrounded. The aim of the archive is to document the previously undocumented art and culture that was – and is – happening in Stellenbosch's surrounding communities and, through this, to assist cross-cultural understanding and involvement by highlighting some of what all of the communities have to offer.

The interviewing and observation of Kayamandi residents greatly assisted this study, as there is very little written and published about Kayamandi. Spending an extended period in the community enhanced not only my perspective and understanding of the community, but had the added benefit of Kayamandi residents becoming familiar and comfortable with the presence of the researchers – the study was undertaken by two researchers, me and a fellow doctoral candidate. Moreover, the data-collection process was aided by a key, trusted member of the Kayamandi community who generously facilitated introductions between researchers and interviewees and sometimes provided translations from Xhosa into English (and vice versa). As outsiders in the community, an inside contact is essential in aiming to attain the trust of interviewees and increases their willingness to participate in the research. This experience was an essential part of the study process, as it provided invaluable insight into historical and cultural matters within Kayamandi – an area and community about which I was previously uneducated.

History played a very important role in this study. Therefore, a great deal of desktop research occurred for both the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum. Document analysis was integral to the study in order to understand the context and background of each organisation and community. As mentioned, there are only a handful of written sources on the history of Kayamandi and even less on the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum, as it was only established in 2015. In contrast, there is an overwhelming amount of information on the history of Stellenbosch and detailed documentation (through newspaper clippings and the museum's own newsletter, the *Stellenbossiana*) of the Stellenbosch Village Museum, which is now in

its 55th year. This study is grounded in archival texts and the homes and their collections as material evidence of history and culture and the semiotic landscapes they form.

Table 4.1 offers an overview of the data-collection techniques employed, the organisation for which they were used, the time the data were collected or published, and the ID coding used (or whether the data was uncoded). The table is ordered by organisation, first the Stellenbosch Village Museum and then the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum. The ID coding is straightforward: the acronym SVM is indicative of the Stellenbosch Village Museum, 'KCD' indicates the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum, and 'KCM' stands for Kayamandi Community Member; the numbering is arbitrary and is only used to differentiate interviewees. All of the documents analysed were left uncoded, except for the videos analysed for the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum, as these were a mixture of personal videos and published videos – where the published videos also included interviewees, therefore the use of the ID coding was continued in order to keep their identity anonymous.

Table 4.1: Data collection: Techniques, organisation, time of collection or publication, and ID coding

	Technique	Organisation	Time of collection or publication	ID coding
1	Five individual semi-structured interviews	Stellenbosch Village Museum	June–July 2017	SVM2 – 6
2	Two e-mail interviews and correspondence	Stellenbosch Village Museum	June–July 2017	SVM1
3	Ten visitor interviews	Stellenbosch Village Museum	September 2017	SVM7-16
4	Document analysis – newspaper clippings	Stellenbosch Village Museum	1959–2012	Uncoded
5	Document analysis – organisational newsletters	Stellenbosch Village Museum	1977–2002	Uncoded

6	Document analysis – archaeological and archaeotectural investigation reports	Stellenbosch Village Museum	1988, 1990, 1991, 1999, 2001	Uncoded
7	Document analysis – Stellenbosch Village Museum website (www.stelmus.co.za)	Stellenbosch Village Museum	Website is trademarked 2005	Uncoded
8	Document analysis – Stellenbosch Village Museum brochures (2)	Stellenbosch Village Museum	Undated and 2017	Uncoded
9	Researcher field notes	Stellenbosch Village Museum and Kayamandi Creative District House Museum	2015–2017	Uncoded
10	Nine individual semi-structured interviews	Kayamandi Creative District House Museum	June 2015 – June 2017	KCD1 – 8 KCD12
11	Three workshops	Kayamandi Creative District House Museum	April 2015 – July 2015	KCD1 – 5 KCD8 KCD12
12	Nine document analyses – videos	Kayamandi Creative District House Museum	2010–2015	KCD1 – 3 KCD8 – 11 KCD14
13	One focus group discussion	Kayamandi Creative District House Museum	16 July 2015	KCD1-12
14	Eleven planning meetings	Kayamandi Creative District House Museum	February – September 2015	KCD1 & 12
15	Individual interviews with Kayamandi community members	Kayamandi Community Members	February – September 2015	KCM1- 36
16	Document analysis – websites	Kayamandi Creative	2015–2017	Uncoded

and online promotional information (www.Kcd.mobi, Quicket, Kayamandi Creative District Facebook page, maboneng.com)	District House Museum		

4.4   CAPTURING DATA AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Participant data were captured through e-mails, written notes, photography, and visual and audio recordings on an iPhone. The information was scanned and copied to my password-protected laptop and stored on a Google Drive folder. The physical information was kept in a locked drawer of my home desk. The participants were allowed to access the information at any time on request. The information will be erased five years after the submission date of the dissertation – as per the requirement of the Research Ethics Committee: Human Research (Humanoria) of Stellenbosch University.

After being briefed about the study, a signed consent form was obtained from those participating in the research, with the knowledge that participation was voluntary. The participants consented to my taking and using photographs of them, but not to having their comments linked to their names. Therefore, to protect the identities of the interviewees, their names are not revealed and they are instead referred to using an ID code. The information that was obtained in connection with this study remained confidential and will be disclosed only with the participants' permission or as required by law. Confidentiality has been maintained according to each participant's wishes. Ethical clearance for this research project was obtained from the Research Ethics Committee: Human Research (Humanoria) of Stellenbosch University, in which the committee deemed the study low risk to the research subjects involved.

4.5   DATA ANALYSIS

Inductive qualitative content analysis was used for this study. As explained by Bowen (2009:31), content analysis is the organisation of data into themes corresponding to the research question(s). Thomas (2006:238) describes the main objective of this type of

analysis as an approach that allows "research findings to emerge from the frequent, dominant, or significant themes inherent in raw data". This means that researchers allow the findings to be driven by close readings of the raw data and not from prior theories or expectations (Thomas, 2006:239). Strauss and Corbin (1998:12, cited in Thomas, 2006:238) assert that the researcher considers the study and allows the theory to develop from the collected data. Following this idea, themes (or categories) were identified after repeated readings and interpretations of the qualitative data. Using inductive qualitative content analysis, the data were processed and organised into these themes, namely democratising museum practices and decolonising museum landscapes.

In using the guideline coding process in inductive qualitative content analysis supplied by Thomas (2006) as adapted from Cresswell (2002) (see Figure 4.1), the raw data were first prepared and organised into a common format. The data were then read in detail, the text was divided into information segments as they related to the objectives of the study and then organised into categories, and, after this, the categories were reduced and refined until the key themes and relevant sub-themes emerged (see Chapter 5). The coding categories were created according to the theoretical perspectives underlined in Chapter 2 (social semiotics along with museology and curatorship) and the contextualisation of the study offered in Chapter 3.

The Coding Process in Inductive Analysis

Initial reading of text data	Identify specific text segments related to objectives	Label the segments of text to create categories	Reduce overlap and redundancy among the categories	Create a model incorporating most important categories
Many pages of text	Many segments of text	30 to 40 categories	15 to 20 categories	3 to 8 categories

Source: Adapted from Creswell (2002, p. 266, Figure 9.4) by permission of Pearson Education, Inc. (© 2002, Upper Saddle River, NJ).
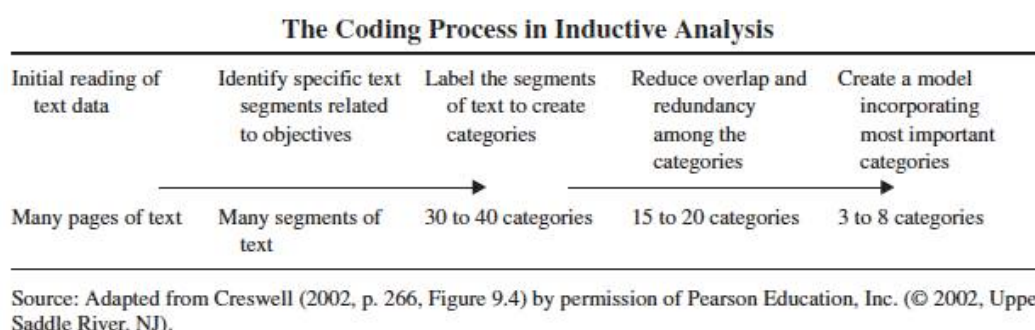
Figure 4.1: Coding process in inductive qualitative content analysis (Thomas, 2006:242)

Document analysis also played a large part in this study. This analysis is "a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents – both printed and electronic (computer-based and Internet-transmitted) material" (Bowen, 2009:27). Much like the interviews, the documents were likewise scrutinised through inductive content analysis into major themes and categories. Document analysis is particularly important and beneficial for qualitative case study analysis, as they are "intensive studies producing rich descriptions of a single phenomenon, event, organization, or program" (Bowen, 2009: 29). Within this study, document analysis assisted with historical and cross-cultural research, as recommended by Bowen (2009:29). Bowen provides five functions of document and archival material: It offers background and context; it can generate questions to ask an interviewee; it provides supplementary research data; it can track change and development within cases; and it can verify findings or corroborate evidence (Bowen, 2009:30).

During the analysis process, collected data – transcribed individual interviews, e-mail correspondence and interviews, field notes, and transcriptions from the archived documents – were read again, and, where applicable, audio and video recordings were listened to and re-watched. After the first reading, themes began to emerge and the data were resorted into these themes. Through a second reading, the main themes were refined and sub-themes were developed and all relevant data were collated into these final themes and sub-themes. In order to better facilitate a comparative analysis, the same main themes were decided upon for both the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum: democratising museum practices and decolonising museum landscapes.

4.6 VALIDITY AND TRUSTWORTHINESS

As qualitative data are often criticised for being 'soft data', Lincoln and Guba (1985:294–301) provide four criteria by which a researcher can measure validity and trustworthiness of qualitative data: credibility (internal validity), transferability (external validity), dependability (reliability), and conformability (objectivity). The soundness of this study is described using these terms supplied by Lincoln and Guba as a guideline.

Credibility was strengthened through triangulation, which is the process by which "the researcher [attempts] to see the situation through a number of different lenses" (Remenyi, 2012:95). Remenyi (2012:84–85) offers two points of triangulation: that of informant triangulation (where the researcher gathers data from people in different levels of the organisation) and data source triangulation (where the researcher gathers data from different sources). In this regard, informant triangulation occurred through the interviewing of participants in all levels of both the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum: the management, staff, and those acting as docents and guides. Data source triangulation occurred through the collection of data from many different material sources. In this particular study, data were collected through personal interviews, e-mail interview and correspondence, observational field notes, and document analysis (videos, newspaper clippings, organisational newsletters – *Stellenbossiana*, websites and social media, and archeological and archaeotectural reports). The data collected using these different techniques were constantly compared against one another in order to "verify findings or corroborate evidence" (Bowen, 2009:30). Eisenhardt (1989:538) suggests that "the triangulation made possible by multiple data collection methods provides stronger substantiation of constructs and hypotheses".

Transferability – the degree to which the study can be generalised or transferred to another context – was achieved using 'thick description'. According to Holloway and Brown (2012:20), "thick description involves detailed and rich descriptions of the actions, behaviors, and words of people, including processes, intentions, and feelings. It involves a portrayal of individuals and groups in their settings and cultural context". Thick description was achieved in a number of different ways: through the contexualisation of both case studies in a historical and cultural context; through the presentation of interviews with the management, staff, and docents of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum; and through document analysis, which (especially in the case of the Stellenbosch Village Museum) offered insight into the objectives and perceptions throughout the formation and history of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum. This all provided understanding of the various ways that management, staff, and docents all consider the same situation, thereby

supporting the "extent to which the conclusions drawn are transferable to other times, settings, situations, and people" (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006:n.p.).

Dependability was achieved by collecting data from multiple sources and types of evidence. The multiple sources were individuals from several aspects of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum – management, staff, docents, and guides – and the multiple types of evidence included the aforementioned data collection (namely individual personal interviews, e-mail interview and correspondence, observational field notes, and document analysis). Dependability was also accomplished by conducting a research audit, which is described by Thomas (2006:244) as "comparing the data with the research findings and interpretations".

According to Cohen and Crabtree (2006:n.p.), confirmability is related to the "degree of neutrality or the extent to which the findings of a study are shaped by the respondents and not researcher bias, motivation, or interest". In order to combat bias, interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim to reflect the accuracy of interviewee sentiments and a close reading of the transcripts was undertaken. An academic peer was asked to independently review the data and analysis in order to verify the results and alleviate individual bias. In addition, the above-mentioned triangulation of data sources helped to alleviate the potential biases that may exist in the study (see Bowen, 2009:28), as interviews were compared with accounts in the documents analysed.

In regard to the data collected in Kayamandi, a predominantly black and Xhosa community, it is important to note that the researcher is a white, privileged, South African woman who lives in very different circumstances to those interviewed and, therefore, the discussions and findings offered in Chapter 5 are influenced by these factors. As previously mentioned, the research in Kayamandi was assisted by a member of the Kayamandi community who acted as facilitator and translator; this contact was integral in helping with the collection of data, selection of participants, interviews, translations, and interpretation of the data. It is essential to acknowledge that research and researchers are inherently biased, but that through critical analysis and discussion, a researcher can reflect on his or her own biases and understand (and hopefully minimise) their implications. Document analysis, too, could

assist with the issue of bias, as documents are "'unobtrusive' and 'non-reactive,' [which means that] they are [to a larger extent] unaffected by the research process" (Bowen, 2009:31).

It is also important to note that the management, staff, and docents of the Stellenbosch Village Museum have a very different relationship with their respective museum than the management, staff, and homeowner docents of the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum have with theirs. This is due, in part, to historic and cultural circumstances, but also because the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum is a living, modern-day museum model. The objects and artefacts both *of* the house and *within* the house are simultaneously physical possessions of the homeowners and also personal mementos of their own life and culture. This is in contrast to those working and running the Stellenbosch Village Museum, where the museum's collection is perhaps only tangentially personal; those working at the museum are not opening up their personal homes – their private spaces – and are not putting themselves on display.

4.7   CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed the research design and methodology employed during the research. A case study research design was undertaken using a qualitative approach and in an interpretive paradigm. Comparative analysis was used to organise the data into the prevailing themes, which are discussed in Chapter 5 (democratising museum practices and decolonising museum landscapes). Gagnon (2010:2–3) believes that "[t]he main advantages of case research are that it can produce an in-depth analysis of phenomena in context, support the development of historical perspectives and guarantee high internal validity". The data were analysed without a prior framework being applied to it, which allowed for the free emergence of themes and categories during the reading and coding stages. The following chapter presents and discusses these findings.

Figure 4.2: Stellenbosch Central, downtown

Figure 4.3: The township of Kayamandi, the Lokasie

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

5.1   INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents and discusses the findings of the case studies undertaken at the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum. The findings are first shared under two main themes: democratising museum practices and decolonising museum landscapes. These two sections provide a comparative analysis of the similarities and discrepancies of each of the two museums in question. Subsequently, in Section 5.3, the findings are discussed together, as these two themes are interrelated. This section considers the evidence according to the relevant theoretical perspectives laid out in Chapter 2 and the contextual factors of a post-colonial and post-apartheid Stellenbosch offered in Chapter 3.

The findings in the first theme, democratising museum practices, investigates the two different museological models predominantly presented by the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum: that of traditional museology and new museology, respectively. They were analysed in reference to Table 5.1, which is an overview of the differences and similarities between a traditional museum and a new/sociomuseological museum model.

Table 5.1: Schematic representation of the traditional and 'new' museum models (Adapted from: Hauenschild, 1988)

TRADITIONAL MUSEUM	'NEW' MUSEUM
1. Objective:	**1. Objectives:**
Preserving and protecting a given material heritage	Coping with everyday life
	Social development
2. Basic principle:	**2. Basic principles:**
Protection of the objects	- Extensive, radical public orientation
	- Territoriality
3. Structure and organisation:	**3. Structure and organisation:**
- Institutionalisation	- Little institutionalisation

- Government financing	- Financing through local resources
- Central museum building	- Decentralisation
- Professional staff	- Participation
- Hierarchical structure	- Teamwork based on equal rights
4. Approach:	**4. Approach:**
Subject: extract from reality (objects placed in museums)	Subject: complex reality
	Interdisciplinarity
- Discipline-oriented restrictiveness	- Theme orientation
- Orientation to the object	- Linking the past to the present and future
- Orientation to the past	- Cooperating with local/regional organisations
5. Responsibilities:	**5. Responsibilities:**
- Collection	- Collection
- Documentation	- Documentation
- Research	- Research
- Conservation	- Conservation
- Mediation	- Mediation
	- Continuing education
	- Evaluation

The findings in the second theme, decolonising museum landscapes, were examined in reference to Keisteri's (1990, cited in Abrahamsson, 1999:53) multi-level model for the concept of landscapes, as presented in Chapter 2 (under Section 2.2.4). This model proposes three levels on which individuals create and interpret semiotic landscapes: material landscape, which is the actual, physical landscape as seen by the viewer; underlying processes, which is made up of both the processes that shape a landscape and the multimodal way that a viewer reads and understands the landscape; and the experience of landscape, which is the emotional and intangible reaction of the viewer to the landscape (Abrahamsson, 1999). The first two levels – material landscape and underlying processes – are considered here, with 'experience of landscape' presented

along with 'underlying processes'. In addition, this section contains perspectives revealed by the management, staff, and docents of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum regarding the pride that they feel in participating in their respective museums and also on feelings of concern.

The findings presented in these two themes are discussed in Section 5.3 in reference to the theoretical and contextual perspectives addressed in chapters 2 and 3 especially, as they pertain to the democratisation and decolonisation of the museums' practices and landscapes. Therefore, this section also considers the South African government's Draft National Museum Policy Framework (referenced in Chapter 3), which endeavours to challenge museums into "Africanising their museum practice and exploring revolutionary and evolutionary notions" (Western Cape Government, n.d.:48). This section discusses how this framework is currently (or can be) used by the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kaymandi Creative District House Museum to create a more inclusive landscape for post-apartheid Stellenbosch as a whole.

It is significant to note that the findings and discussions are led by my own semiotically informed perspective; one that is undoubtedly influenced by my experiences as a white, privileged woman whose familial roots are embedded in the colonial history of South Africa – and of Stellenbosch itself. Moreover, although I am a born South African and spent my first four years here, I lived outside of the country for 22 years (four years in England and 18 in the USA) before returning back to South Africa in 2013. Consequently, my perspectives are a mixture of my own journey in understanding my relationship with South Africa – of discovering South Africa as a place where I visit, a place where I am from, a place where I live, a place that is home.

5.2   PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

The Stellenbosch Village Museum is a well-established organisation, founded on 23 March 1962. Therefore, much data for this case study were collected through document analysis, which "is particularly applicable to qualitative case studies – intensive studies producing rich descriptions of a single phenomenon, event, organization, or program" (Bowen, 2009:29). These documents were supplemented with individual interviews undertaken in

2017 at the Stellenbosch Village Museum and my own observational findings.

The Kayamandi Creative District House Museum was launched in 2014. Data for this case study were collected through the semi-structured individual interviews with management, staff, and homeowner docents involved in the museum. These interviews were supplemented with document analysis – namely of advertisement and promotional materials for the museum – and my own observational findings. The data were collected in the period spanning February to September 2015.

The coding scheme described in Table 4.1 is used in order to anonymously report comments from those interviewed. The quotations were transcribed verbatim from recordings made during the semi-structured interviews and were only corrected or edited where meaning or sentence structure was affected. Excerpts from articles that were written in Afrikaans were translated into English and noted in order to afford a more seamless reading experience. Photographs are provided throughout this chapter so as to assist in the reader's understanding of the two house museums.

In order to better facilitate a comparative analysis of the similarities and discrepancies between the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum, the findings are presented consecutively under the themes. As mentioned in Chapter 1, within this dissertation the Stellenbosch Village Museum is always spoken about first, as it is mostly representative of traditional museology, and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum is spoken about subsequently, as it is mostly representative of new museology – the challenge to tradition. Therefore, one must understand traditional museology in order to recognise where new museology stems from and why. This is especially relevant in a Stellenbosch context, as we strive for democratisation and decolonisation within the museum sector in order to assist transformation and inclusivity in the representation of previously marginalised communities.

5.2.1 DEMOCRATISING MUSEUM PRACTICES

This section provides data on the two different museological models generally exhibited by the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum:

traditional museology and new museology, respectively. The main points of these two museum models were presented in Table 5.1 and are discussed here according to objectives and basic principle, structure and organisation, approach, and responsibilities. The information was analysed through a social semiotic and museological and curatorial lens, and is so presented here.

Democratising museum practices calls for a redressing of historical and sociocultural representation in South Africa's museums. It acknowledges the inequality of representation and participation of previously disadvantaged sociocultural groups (black, coloured, and Indian) within the museum sector. Democratising encourages multivocality in a museum's space, programming, curation, exhibitions, management, etc. (Moore, 1997) in order to provide local communities with the opportunity to be a part of the creation of exhibitions about their history and culture and to also be pivotal in the dissemination of these narratives.

As presented in Chapter 2 and Table 5.1, traditional museology is a static, object-oriented field with focus on a hierarchical museum structure (Bennett, 1995). Conversely, new museology is dynamic and concerned with including the community in its practices and thereby widening access (and information) to knowledge; i.e. democratising the museum through appropriate museology (Kreps, 2008). The social role of the museum is becoming increasingly popular, as new museology confronts the fallibility of traditional museology and, instead, calls for greater communal participation in all aspects of the museum. This section lays the foundation for the argument that democratising museum practice, by allowing local communities to have both a say in museum exhibitions and access to their own cultural narratives, is beneficial to fostering an inclusive history of a town with a multitude of histories.

5.2.1.1 OBJECTIVES AND BASIC PRINCIPLE

Stellenbosch Village Museum

The mission statement is a written mode of communication that highlights the outright aim and purpose of the museum; it is the museum's beating heart (AAM, 2012). As mentioned in its mission statement, the objectives and basic principles of the Stellenbosch Village

Museum focus on "collecting, preserving and exhibiting articles of local historical interest" (Stellenbosch Village Museum, 2017:n.p.). Traditional museology is concerned with a past that is communicated through the preservation and protection of material heritage – where the objects tell the story. The mission further states that the museum aims to present the "rich and varied heritage of 'the colony of Stellenbosch' … and its subsequent development" (Stellenbosch Village Museum, 2017:n.p.). For this museum, the houses and their contents are of utmost importance, as it is through them that the narrative of white, colonial Stellenbosch is told. Therefore, the Stellenbosch Village Museum is dedicated to the preservation and protection of this material cultural heritage.

In 1962, the *Eikestadnuus*[25] boasted that a "museum truly worthy of Stellenbosch and its unique character" (Liebenberg, 1962) had been established. A 1979 article in the *Stellenbossiana*[26] indicated that the purpose of the museum "is to illustrate three centuries of domestic culture at Stellenbosch in a lively and original way" (Stellenbosch Open-Air Museum, 1979:3). A newspaper article described the Stellenbosch Village Museum as aiming to "reflect changes in domestic life and taste in different periods of the area's history" (Ducks not dust, 1987:n.p.). A subsequent newspaper article claimed that the museum would provide *"*a continuous living record of how domestic life developed and changed since Simon van der Stel founded this beautiful town" (Robin, M, 1988:n.p.). The museum's own brochure explained the museum as follows: "The visitor can thus walk from one period house to the next and see how furniture design, fashions, in fact, domestic taste in general changed over the years" (Stellenbosch Village Museum, n.d.:n.p). These comments indicate that the museum is representative of Stellenbosch's history. However, it is only representative of the early history and culture of a specific segment of the town's population.

Kayamandi Creative District House Museum

While there is no one, cohesive mission statement for the Kaymandi Creative District House Museum, from the promotional material reviewed a synthesised mission statement can be created:

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[25] *Eikestadnuus* is Stellenbosch's local Afrikaans newspaper.
[26] *Stellenbossiana* is the Stellenbosch Village Museum's own newsletter*.*

The Kayamandi Creative District was established to encourage cross-cultural exchange through the collection, preservation, and exhibition within local homes of Kayamandi's tangible and intangible local history and culture. The Kayamandi Creative District is committed to social and economic upliftment through the promotion of a unique and authentic experience of the rich culture and history of the Kayamandi community.

The museum believes that in providing a platform for tourists and locals to share and discuss, the Kayamandi community will benefit not only monetarily but also socially. Tourists will benefit socially as well, as they are enriched with the knowledge of another life, history and culture.

The Kayamandi Creative District House Museum is concerned with the everyday life and social development of its participants, as it focuses on the social and economic upliftment of both its contributors and the Kayamandi community. Promotional documents describe this aspect of the museum as follows: "Job creation is an essential part of uplifting communities in South Africa. KCD offers community members the unique opportunity to generate income through their own creativity of their community (Quicket, 2015). Other promotional documents advocate that "KCD is a community based social enterprise that is owned and managed by local entrepreneurs that have been previously disadvantaged" (Kayamandi Creative District, 2015).

The Kayamandi Creative District House Museum is publicly oriented, as it strives to foster cross-cultural exchange between the Kayamandi community and those who visit the museum: "… people from the community, the city and further abroad exchanging stories and ideas, foods, training, history and culture" (Quicket, 2014). In addition, it is stated that "[t]his is the social tourism model … [that] offer[s] a unique experience and products for locals and tourists whilst meeting the primary objective of driving traffic/visitors & business to Kayamandi" (Quicket, 2014). The use of the word 'tourism' affirms the public orientation of the museum, as it is tourism that drives the museum's efficiency and reach. The museum expresses its territoriality by being situated in the community that it represents. House museums are fundamentally territorial, as they are museums *in situ* – they are

surrounded by their context – and are, therefore, focused on the history, culture, and society of the community that they inhabit.

KCD9 asserted that the aim of the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum is to assist healthy township tourism because:

> *So, the reality is: There's not enough happening in the township. Here you see people and they just, they just walk past. They take a picture* [makes sound of picture being taken]. *You know? Play with the kids; give them a sweet. That's not – that's, like, zoo, you know? Like, that's wrong … Then I go, right? That's the worst thing you could ever do to anybody.*

He further said:

> *We want to turn townships into towns, you know? Because we are tired of townships completely and this is our way to try with the arts to get rid of the 'ship' of the town and just have a really cool living area.*

5.2.1.2 STRUCTURE AND ORGANISATION

Stellenbosch Village Museum

The Stellenbosch Village Museum follows a traditional organisational structure with government funding, a central museum building, and a professional staff under a hierarchical structure. It is institutionalised in the sense that it is an accredited and acknowledged museum. SVM1 outlined this:

> *The Stellenbosch Museum is accredited and is subsidised by the Department Cultural Affairs & Sport … The museum manager is appointed by Provincial government. A board of trustees[27] is appointed by the Minister, who is responsible, in cooperation with the museum manager, for the finances and policies of the museum … The museum is*

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[27] The board of trustees is comprised of ten individuals from within the Stellenbosch municipal area. All were either born or went to school or university in Stellenbosch, and now live in the area. They are from varying backgrounds: chartered accountants, a novelist, a former Stellenbosch council member, a Stellenbosch University lecturer, former school principals, former and present Stellenbosch Museum employees, an architect, and an attorney.

curated by the museum manager. All final decisions regarding exhibitions and collections are taken by the board of trustees. The Department [of] Cultural Affairs and Sport [has] a Research and Technical component who assist museums with professional assistance and advise.

The Stellenbosch Village Museum's buildings are now owned by a trust that is run by the board of trustees:

In 1993 the Erfenistrust was established and all the buildings which belongs to the Stellenbosch Museum [were] transferred to this trust. The trust owns 11 buildings. Some of the buildings are leased on a permanent basis and the income is used to fund the maintenance costs of the buildings currently used as museums. (SVM1)

In addition, the Stellenbosch Village Museum has a 'Friends of the Museum' member's group. SVM1 explained the group:

The museum has a Friends of the Museum[28] with a total of 235 members. The committee of the Friends of the Museum is active and is hosting regular fundraising events during the year. These funds are used for special projects, e.g. last year three settees were upholstered and currently the museum is repairing the clocks in Blettermanhuis, Grosvenor House and O.M. Berghhuis.

Kayamandi Creative District House Museum

The Kayamandi Creative District House Museum is loosely institutionalised. It does not follow the traditional model of a house museum, which is one where a house has been completely musealised and frozen in time, but, rather, it presents a new take on a house museum model where the houses that comprise the museum are still lived in. In contrast to the Stellenbosch Village Museum, the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum is not an accredited museum as yet, and does not have a traditional organisational structure.

The museum was started with and is financed through local resources, namely the Stellenbosch Entrepreneur and Enterprise Development (SEED) and the Municipality of Stellenbosch. The relationship is described as such: "The Kayamandi Creative District in

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[28] The Friends of the museum is comprised of various members of the Stellenbosch community.

collaboration with Stellenbosch Municipality and SEED aims to nurture the creative energy of this community as part of social upliftment" (Kayamandi Creative District, 2015). These two organisations supplied the museum with its initial start-up capital, but subsequently it relies mostly on the funds earned from tours to cover costs and to provide income for its participants.

The museum is decentralised, as there is no main building, but rather four houses comprise the one museum. It is also decentralised in the respect that it is locally managed, it is "[h]osted by the community of Kayamandi" (Quicket, 2015), and not an overarching organisational and governmental body. While SEED provided funding to start the Kayamanadi Creative District House Museum and assisted with management of the early stages, the project was handed over entirely to the project manager, KCD1 (who is from and still resides in Kayamandi), so that the museum rests entirely in the hands of the community. Promotional material confirmed this: "KCD is an authentic local experience … that is 100% OWNED BY THE COMMUNITY! All proceeds go to the people you meet, the voices you hear, the creators of the food you eat" (Facebook: Kayamandi Creative District, 2017). The owning of the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum by the community indicates that the community participates in, is integral to and benefits from the museum.

5.2.1.3 APPROACH

Stellenbosch Village Museum

The Stellenbosch Village Museum is object-oriented with care for authenticity. In this respect, the home itself, the collection within and the gardens outside are all considered objects and are all utilised to create a narrative about the past. An article in the *Eikestadnuus* affirmed the idea that the approach of the Stellenbosch Village Museum is to travel back in time, to a presumed idyllic era of the town's history:

> Stellenboschers can happily dream about such a street block where you are transported back in time, where house and garden and vehicle tell their own story about a certain time, where little chickens scratch and little ducks waddle in the garden (Hele straatblok as opelugmuseum, 1978) [Translated from Afrikaans].

A number of visitors commented on the ability of the museum to transport them back in time, for instance: *"It was a unique experience. A delightful travel through time to discover the early days of Stellenbosch"* (SVM10) and *"like stepping back in time"* (SVM8).

Excavations and archaeological digs have been carried out at a number of these sites, and the findings have helped the museum develop a more rounded picture of the lives of the houses' inhabitants. For example, during a dig at the Bletterman house in the 1980s "cobblestone paving was located for the first time, indicating some kind of courtyard south of the Bletterman outbuilding or slave quarters" (Vos, 1990:2). In his archaeotectural and archaeological investigations, Vos (1990:4) reported, "From documentary sources it is clear that a number of slaves were housed on the premises". He stated, "From the inventory of [Bletterman's] wife's deceased estate (1826) we learn that he owned at least 15 slaves. The historical evidence therefore indicates that the outbuilding could have served as quarters for the slaves" (1990:14).

After Bletterman's death, the house was used as offices and a courtroom (Vos, 1990:14) until, "[t]o comply with governor Somerset's proclamation (18.3.1823) that all slave children should attend school for at least 3 days a week … Bletterman's property [was acquired] and … the slave quarters [converted] into a slave school" (Vos, 1990:17). From 1825 to 1832 the school was run by a missionary, Erasmus Smit, who was employed to "instruct slave children between the ages of 3–10 years for the full course of the day" (Vos, 1990:18). It was briefly used as a hospital during the 1839 smallpox epidemic, and was then reverted back into a school until 1879 (Vos, 1990:21–23). From 1898 the building was used as a police station until it was purchased by the Stellenbosch Village Museum in 1979 (Vos, 1990:29).

While all of these previous lives of the Bletterman house and complex are known to the museum, they are not really made public knowledge. There is scarce mention of the role of slaves in the lives of the Blettermans at that time. There is, however, a relatively new exhibition at the house that – through lengthy text and a handful of artefacts – discusses slavery. SVM2 described the exhibition:

> *There's now, there's now, ja, in house number two there used to be – there's still a slave exhibition, but it was from slaves all over the world. But now it's more closer. It's now a slave exhibition on Stellenbosch's slaves and surrounding.*

It seems that the broad focus of the original slavery exhibition was narrowed down to the Stellenbosch area.

Kayamandi Creative District House Museum

As opposed to the orientation of the Stellenbosch Village Museum to objects and the past, the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum is focused, rather, on themes that link the past to the present and future. This provides the museum with a complex reality, as it is not fixated on one set narrative, but rather on one that provides understanding of many aspects of the life and culture of the Kayamandi Community.

The Kayamandi Creative District House Museum is concentrated on different themes shared by the homeowner docents of the four different houses. KCD12 indicated, *"KCD will comprise houses each with a theme. These themes will be portrayed in different mediums"*. KCD2's theme revolves around traditional Xhosa cooking, KCD3 is a storyteller and shares her experiences about growing up in Kayamandi (in the very house tourists visit), KCD4's theme is centred on his recent experience of going through male initiation, and KCD5 speaks of his family's involvement in the religious sector of Kayamandi and his interest in the performing arts. These are all topics that link age-old Xhosa traditions with their practices in the modern-day world. Again, the museum is focused on cross-cultural exchange and this, too, assists with the linking of the past to the present and future.

In line with the objective of community and individual economic upliftment, *"[o]ut of each of these themes we will develop a range of experiences and creative products for sale to visitors"* (KCD12)*.* Items that are relevant to each homeowner docent's theme were developed as souvenirs of the tours for the homeowners to sell in order to generate additional income. This includes a recipe book for KCD2, whose theme is traditional Xhosa cooking, and postcards for KCD3, who spoke about life growing up in Kayamandi and offered family photos as visual aids. KCD12 asserted that the tours were for visitors to

Kayamandi to *"experience them* [the homeowner docents] *and their home"*.

The Kayamandi Creative District House Museum cooperates with a number of local organisations – as mentioned, the museum was started by SEED and the Stellenbosch Municipality. It also encourages local Kayamandi initiatives. For example, the museum's project manager, KCD1, also owns his own tour company and acts as the tour guide for the museum, ushering visitors around to the houses and discussing the history of and any other pertinent information about Kayamandi. In addition, KCD2 benefits from her relationship with the museum, as she runs a local catering business that provides meals for the tours. She also operates a local homestay for volunteers working in the community and other guests.

5.2.1.4 RESPONSIBILITIES

Stellenbosch Village Museum

The Stellenbosch Village Museum's mission statement outlines the museum's responsibilities. It reads in full:

> The Stellenbosch Village Museum was established with the purpose of collecting, preserving and exhibiting articles of local historical interest. It is our aim to provide as clear a picture as possible of the rich and varied heritage of 'the colony of Stellenbosch,' which was founded by Governor Simon van der Stel in 1679, and its subsequent development (Stellenbosch Village Museum, 2017:n.p.).

The museum collects, documents, researches, conserves (and preserves) and mediates the past material and intangible heritage of Stellenbosch's colonial past. These tasks again affirm the object orientation of the museum and its focus on the past history of colonial Stellenbosch.

The biggest objects that the museum collects, documents, researches, conserves, and mediates are the four historic houses in its possession. The houses were collected over the course of roughly two decades. They were documented and researched as indicated in the above section referencing the archaeological excavations that were carried out in a

number of the houses (reports of which were published in 1988, 1990, 1991, 1999, and 2001). In fact,

> The Stellenbosch Museum was also the first museum in South Africa to appoint a full-time historical archaeologist on its staff and it is astounding to discover what a wealth of historical material is still buried under the soil of Stellenbosch (A.P. Lubbe-Gebou geopen, 1982:2).

Along with the discoveries uncovered in the archaeological sites, great efforts were made in the conservation and restoration of authentic aspects of the houses. This includes the faux-marble wall paint in the large downstairs room of the Grosvenor House – as SVM3 revealed: *"The marble was redone by a young student from Germany in the early 1900s"*. Through their permanent and special exhibitions and the narratives provided by the docents, the museum mediates a message of Stellenbosch's colonial history and culture.

The museum has amassed a collection of authentic, period-appropriate material objects with which to fill the houses. These have either been bought by or donated to the museum. Often in the case of local history museums, donations of the same or similar objects are received in abundance and it becomes difficult to display them all adequately. When this happens, they can be extracted from reality and exhibited in other ways, such as an exhibition in Grosvenor House explained by SVM4,

> *Then we have a collector's items room. A lot of things that has been collected and sent, donated to the museum [have] actually been placed [here]. So, anything that you think you could have found [during these periods] you'll actually see in there.*

These objects are exhibited in a separate room by theme – cameras, shaving tools, toys, etc. There is a lack of exhibitionary material, as there are no wall texts or labels explaining the items. This sort of display decontextualises the uses of these objects, as they are removed from their place in everyday life and condensed into displays on shelves.

Grosvenor House also includes a special exhibition titled "Stellenbosch: A Photo Heritage"

in the large upstairs family room and it is comprised of a collection of photographs of old Stellenbosch. The text for this exhibition explains:

> The present exhibition revives a tradition started forty years ago in this room by Dr Hans Fransen, first Head of the Stellenbosch Museum. Using pictures obtained locally and from the Cape Archives, he mounted an extensive display which for many years served as a stimulating visual introduction to the architectural heritage of the town and district.

This photo heritage portrays photographs from Stellenbosch Central and excludes images of the surrounding communities.

In the Lubbe-Building, which serves as the museum's entrance building, there is an exhibition titled "The People of Stellenbosch". SVM1 commented on this: "*A new exhibition was installed at the Lubbe-Building in 2015 which depicts the pre-colonial history, information on the founder of Stellenbosch as well as an interactive timeline of the people of Stellenbosch from 1679 to the year 2000".* This interactive timeline is comprised of 76 points and includes entries such as: (1) Establishment of Stellenbosch (1769); (10) Bletterman slaves are free (1826); (21) Development of Die Vlakte as a coloured residential area (1860); (33) First mosque (Masjid) erected (1897); (38) Cycling becomes popular (1900); (46) Electricity in Stellenbosch (1913); (57) Kayamandi (1941); (64) Establishment of Stellenbosch Wine Route (1971); and (75) University of Stellenbosch satellite, Sunsat-1, is launched.

The exhibition attempts to present an overview of varied events that occurred in Stellenbosch. However, it is something that can easily be overlooked by visitors who either do not care to or do not have time to watch a 45-minute timeline of Stellenbosch's history. In addition, it can be conceived of as tedious, as *"this is too slow for me"* (SVM11) and *"Pretty bland stuff, isn't it?"* (SVM12) were two responses to the video.

Kayamandi Creative District House Museum

In a traditional house museum model, the museum's collection is comprised of the house and its contents. In following new museology, an important 'thing' that the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum collects is the oral history and narratives provided by the homeowner docents. The responsibilities of the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum (collection, documentation, research, conservation, mediation, continuing education, and evaluation) all serve to promote the upliftment of its participants and the community in which they live. Moreover, the museum aims to foster cross-cultural understanding, and in that way to provide an inclusive history of the greater Stellenbosch area.

The museum is not a formal, accredited museum; therefore, there is no formal documentation procedures or research activities regarding the houses and the tour experience. However, there are numerous videos, photographs, and interview recordings of the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum that were collected as part of this research project, which forms part of the larger RHAS project, which was mentioned in Chapter 1. The RHAS project aims to create an open platform digital archive of the arts and culture of Kayamandi. Another initiative called the Kayamandi Oral History Project is also operating in Kayamandi, where oral histories are being collected and compiled from various members of the community by community members.

The aspect of the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum that relates to conservation is in the preservation and promotion of oral history and of traditional Xhosa culture. The museum mediates this through conducting tours that "showcase what Kayamandi has to offer" (Quicket, 2014). As mentioned, these oral histories and traditional Xhosa cultural activities can, ideally, be incorporated into the digital archival platform that forms part of the RHAS project and they will be preserved in that way.

The museum provides continuing education for its homeowner docents through workshops and meetings. In addition, SEED provides counselling for its homeowner docents on small businesses, as it believes that all these houses are entrepreneurial enterprises. The museum's evaluation system relies on the homeowner docents and the Kayamandi

community to comment on the narratives that the museum provides and the influence of tourism on the community.

The following section presents findings regarding the decolonisation of the Stellenbosch Village Museum the Kayamandi Creative Districts House Museum landscapes.

5.2.2   DECOLONISING MUSEUM LANDSCAPES

The landscapes of both the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative Districts House Museum are built upon the three interdependent levels provided by Keisteri (1990, cited in Abrahamsson, 1999:53): material landscape, underlying processes, and experience of the landscape. As Hodge and Kress (1988) theorise, the signs that we use to create our understanding of the semiotic landscape are *made* – and remade – instead of being static and fixed. Therefore, the codes and modes that are part of each level are constantly being changed and rewritten and, therefore, these three levels work together to create a multi-modal social semiotic *situational* reading of the landscape of each museum.

The findings are presented in conjunction with Keisteri's model. Material landscape encompasses the physical, tangible aspects of the landscape as seen by a viewer; underlying processes encompass the semiotic modes and codes (factors and references) both supplied by the museum and brought along by the viewer that shape the way that the viewer sees and understands the landscape; and experience of landscape is the emotional reaction of the viewer to the landscape. For the purpose of this research, I have combined the underlying processes and experience of the landscape. Therefore, the structure of this section is as follows: material landscape with its subthemes of the museum's architecture, layout, and gardens; furniture and household articles; and costumes; underlying processes and experience of landscape, which focuses on the sociopolitical, cultural, and economic factors that shape the landscape; and perspectives of the management, staff, and (homeowner) docents of each museum are included in regard to their feelings of pride and concern.

This section presents the findings regarding the creation of the landscapes of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum and it

forms the framework for arguing the importance of decolonising these landscapes. Decolonising is about representation, in terms of *what* is represented, *how* it is represented, and *by whom* it is represented. It urges that Africa be placed at the centre of knowledge production about Africa and African communities (Mbembe, 2015). Decolonising allows for innovative, appropriate ways to emerge in respect to the presentation of local community history and culture in museums (or museum-like places) through multivocality in all aspects of the museum's life (Chaterera & Nyawo, 2013:217; Moore, 1997).

5.2.2.1 MATERIAL LANDSCAPE

The material landscapes of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum were analysed through an investigation into each museum's architecture, layout, and gardens; furniture and household articles; and costumes. The presentation of the visual landscape is important for both museums in strengthening the semiotic codes and modes that each presents to its viewers.

5.2.2.1.1 ARCHITECTURE, LAYOUT, AND GARDENS

Stellenbosch Village Museum

The architecture of all of the houses involved in the Stellenbosch Village Museum varies slightly and, in this way, each becomes a semiotic code that references the period in which it was constructed and for which class of inhabitant. Every house was built for a middle-class or wealthy individual and this is represented by the grandeur of the buildings and the collections that they hold.

In receiving visitors, each house's docent articulates the architectural characteristics of the house, what distinguishes it from the other houses, and the layout of the house is explained. The Schreuderhuis is referred to as the oldest dwelling in Stellenbosch:

> *You are currently standing in the oldest dated townhouse in South Africa – house dates back [to] 1709. Although, I must tell you that, um, there are farmhouse that is* [sic] *a little bit older than this one. But, for a house that was built in the town, it is the oldest dated one …* (SVM2)

One enters through the kitchen in this house and is greeted by the docent, who explains the house, *"So, inside you will find the dining room and there's bedrooms as well. That is where you'd enter the house as well, from the street side. Ok, this is just the backdoors"* (SVM2). In addition, *"[f]or storage, the attics would have been used …"* and *"And, then, on this side … it used to be a stable because they would keep animals near the kitchens for heat"* (SVM2). These cues are used to assist the visitor in imagining what it would have been like to enter the house in 1709 and the spatial layout that was common in that period.

The Blettermanhuis was described by the docent, SVM3, as such,

> *This house was built in 1789. This is a Cape Dutch style house.[29] Mr Bletterman was a magistrate of Stellenbosch. He and his wife had no children and they slept separately. So, at the back on the left-hand side, that was … his room. And, he also used it as office. And that* [pointing to a room to the left] *was the kitchen. And this* [indicating the room we are in] *is the dining room. And, then, opposite the men's room was the lady's room, and she entertained her friends there. And, then,* [indicating a door to the right] *we've got also slave exhibition room. And this* [pointing to a room to the right] *was the guest room.*

The labelling of the house as following a Cape Dutch style immediately elevates its importance, as it indicates that the Blettermanhuis was built according to an accepted and admired architectural style. The brochure explains further that the house is "a typical 18th century Cape house with six gables and an H-shaped ground plan". While the use of the word 'typical' denotes the ubiquity of the style at that time, the grandeur of the house is still indicative of the owner's wealth.

The Grosvenor House was described by SVM4:

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[29] Cape Dutch is an architectural style that developed from the modification of the European style of houses introduced by the colonists. The houses are usually T, H, or U-shaped in layout and fitted with a number of gables (KrugerRoos Architects, 1997).

This house was built 1782 and was rebuilt 1803 … So, you have painted ceilings, which is different to the other houses. You have marble painted walls – and you will actually find an original piece over here [indicates an untouched portion of the wall]. *This is the original piece … So, you'll find the dining room over there in that corner. Just opposite it, you will actually find the kitchen. Upstairs, all the bedrooms, and then we have a room similar to this one* [the entrance hall].

A newspaper article commented on the house's importance, as it "is the only example in Stellenbosch of an early double-storey townhouse, with a flat roof" (Stander, 1988:n.p.) [translated from Afrikaans]. In this house, the division between family and visitor spaces is made evident because of the natural separation that the second story provides.

SVM5 explained the Berghuis as follows:

This house was built in 1850 … As you see the difference in this house from the other houses … the wooden floor, as you come in this house you will see there's a corridor, unlike the other houses. And, as you go on, as well, you will also see the fireplaces. This is the living room, and this is the study room [points to the two front rooms]. *In the corner, on the right-hand side, it's a kitchen … The door you pass when you go to the kitchen, it's a dining room. When you visit upstairs, you will see the bedrooms, the nursery …*

Again, the division between common and private areas is provided by the addition of a second story, and visitors are relegated to the rooms at the front of the house.

In the quest for authenticity, the Stellenbosch Village Museum has recreated the gardens of each of the houses as they would have been during their respective periods. The museum's brochure indicates that "the shrubs, fruit trees, herbs and flowers selected for each garden are those that were popular for medicinal, culinary, or decorative purposes in Stellenbosch during the particular period" (Stellenbosch Village Museum, n.d.). SVM2 affirmed this:

All the herbs that you see, it comes from the gardens outside because [it] is more or less laid out like it would have looked like … But, they would have of their gardens [sic]

where they would have the herb garden and then the fruit and veg gardens as well.

SVM2 described why these items would be hanging in the rafters of the Schreuderhuis:

They would have used it for medicine and for cooking and then herbs would also be a way of absorbing smells inside … And then also a way of keeping flies and insects away from the open meat that was hanging in the kitchens as well.

In addition to the faithfulness of the garden layout, the museum also includes some livestock that would have been present during the specified period. The garden of the Blettermanhuis contains a chicken coop and the Grosvenor House contains turkeys and ducks. As explained by SVM4:

So, we have an English garden at the back … Ok, so, let's say the plants and live animals that we have, that would have been the period of time which would have held those animals. Like, the chickens. So, in that period of time [the Blettermanhuis] *would have had their own chicken stock. And, in this one, we have turkeys and ducks. So, this period of time we'd have turkey and ducks inside of your garden because you had a garden, which is more English than that one which just has a few herbs and so forth.*

Figure 5.1: Schreuderhuis garden

Kayamandi Creative District House Museum

All of the houses involved in the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum are one-storey brick buildings that were constructed as family dwellings in the early days of Kayamandi's history. The initial homes in Kayamandi were built according to three types: two- and three-roomed housing for families and three-roomed housing for single men (Rock, 2011:35). As these houses are situated in one of the oldest parts of Kayamandi – the Location[30] – they each have gardens, which is not an amenity afforded to all Kayamandi residences. These gardens are neatly laid out with packed dirt instead of grass and mostly greenery and shrubs. A reason for this less verdant garden could be because it uses little water and is, therefore, less of a hassle and inexpensive.

In addition, many of the gardens also contain special plants. KCD3 indicated that in her garden there were medicinal plants that have specific uses in Xhosa culture. She explained:

> *And we believe that you don't have to go drink tablets. If you go outside in the lawn you see this …*[indicates medicinal plants growing in the garden] *… You see that one? It's for flu. You burn it … and then you put some honey, and then you drink it. It's nice for flu.*

The inclusion of these plants in the garden, and her referencing of them, add a level of understanding for outsiders about cultural practices and the community's preservation of these practices. It could also reflect the financial situation of the homeowner, as modern medicine is expensive.

In KCD2's house, guests are welcomed into the formal living room, kitchen, and dining room areas – where she serves freshly made bread and homemade ginger beer (if not a full meal, depending on tour bookings). In the houses of KCD3 and KCD4, visitors are welcomed into the sitting room area, which is the room directly as one enters the front door. In KCD5's home, guests enter into the joined dining room and sitting room areas.

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[30] 'The Location' (or *Lokasie* in Afrikaans) is the historical heart of Kayamandi. During apartheid, 'locations' referred to where marginalised settlements were developed.

A few homeowners implied the importance of their houses. KCD2 said:

> *The house … belongs to my father-in-law … Ja, this is the second house. The house, my house is right down there but this house we changed, me and my cousin, because there was a house … a, a fight … we had a fight with this house. And the house, she, she, got the house from her grandmother. So, because of that, and then, she asked me to change*.

This exchange indicates that these houses are usually passed down generationally.

The house in which KCD3 lives with her children is owned – and also lived in – by her parents. In describing it she alluded to the time her father spent on Robben Island:

> *And I always inform them* (visitors) *that I live in the green house because my father wanted to paint it very dark inside and I said "Uh uh, daddy I can't". It was too much, because he has his own history about that.*

In speaking about his house, KCD4 mentioned who lived in the house with him: "*It's my mom and my uncle and my two siblings*" – his older brother, with whom he went on initiation, and his younger sister, who's hand he held throughout the interview. At one time, KCD5's house served as a church for his grandparents, who were the bishops. He said: "*This house was a church … Outside there was a hut … people usually come here to get healed and – spiritually, physically, mentally, emotionally – and people will leave this house healed*". Ultimately, the head bishop "*said they must stop having church in the house, it was a calling to build a new church*". So, the house eventually ceased being used as a church.

Figure 5.2: Interior of KCD5's home

5.2.2.1.2 FURNITURE AND HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES

Stellenbosch Village Museum

As previously discussed, the Stellenbosch Village Museum follows traditional museological practices and is object- and past-oriented. Therefore, the houses have been decorated using furniture and household articles that would have been prevalent during the specific period and for the specific class they represent. While many of these objects are not original to the house and family depicted, they are nevertheless instrumental in the representation of the period as chosen by the museum. It is in this way that these objects assist in transporting visitors back in time and in their creation of meaning within each of the houses.

During a discussion about the size of the furniture in the Schruederhuis, SVM2 explained:

> With this table as well, you can see it's not the average size of a table. The height actually, of an average size. But, as I said, with the cow dung floors, there was a lot of moisture. And in the winter times, probably, and so, what happened, come summertime the wood actually started to rot because it was standing in water and in moisture. So, instead of chucking it away, they just cut off the rotten bits. And that is why the furniture looks so small as well. But, I must say, um, that if you look at the entrances of the doors ... they were quite small because of their nutrition not being …

So, ja, that is why you will find the furniture so small.

She also singled out an interesting object:

And the interesting thing about this; what you see here [picks up a wooden claw-like object]. *They would call it a 'meat claw' because it looks like a claw. And they would hook their meat up here to make biltong with. But, interestingly, if I turn it around* [turns the object around], *it's actually the root of our Protea – our national flower … This is the root of that bush, chopped off and sharpened, and that's what they used to make their biltong with. And interesting about this particular meat claw, it was found inside the house when they started with the renovations of the house. So, it's quite a unique piece that we've got.*

These two quotes demonstrate the economical nature of the early settlers.

SVM5, too, pointed out the material objects that demonstrated the social and economic status of the family who lived in the Berghuis: *"We have the wallpaper, the animal trophies, the period photos … the first kitchen with a stove inside … and a first shower that they have at that time".* These are objects that denote the family's wealth and their ability to have free time in which to form a hobby – such as hunting. The display of wealth is evident in this house, as it is lavishly decorated with material goods that act as semiotic codes to the family's social status and to the town (and family's) colonial history; such as the Dutch-style portrait paintings of family members hanging on the walls and the display of a wooden ship – which harkens back to the days when the VOC used Cape Town as an outpost during their sea trade with Asia.

Figure 5.3: A bedroom in the Schreuiderhuis
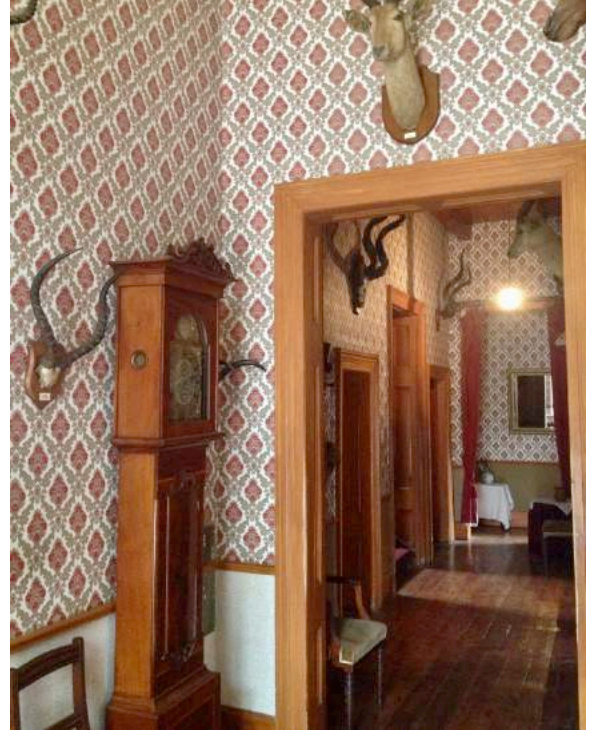
Figure 5.4: Berghuis entry and passageway with wallpaper and animal trophies

Kayamandi Creative District House Museum

KCD2 specifically spoke about the importance of the furniture in her house, which is one of the oldest (if not the oldest) houses in the area, as the street it sits on is named after her father-in-law, Swartbooi Street. She explained the history of some of her furniture and other treasured possessions:

> *This one, that one* [pointing at furniture] *that's my mother's. This one. And that one is mine ... I bought that one when OK[31] started to come in Kayamandi, I bought it myself ... And the other stuff is my mother's. This one, my daughter bought this one for me – the late one. The chairs, yes. But, this one is also part of my mothe r's set. ... I'm still, I'm still using my mother's dishes – some dishes, some cutlery. I still got my mother's cutlery when I had some ... I'm using that. Ja, ja, this is also antique. My mother used to work for a young lady who was not ... she was not married. She had no children.*

KCD2 inherited a great deal of furniture, cutlery, and homeware from her mother, who

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[31] OK is a furniture and home goods store.

inherited it from a woman for whom she worked. KCD2 cherishes these items and commented that her children will inherit them from her one day and that she hopes they also appreciate them and use them instead of selling them:

> *I wish they can just keep it because I said to them they mustn't sell these things. Ja, they mustn't sell it … Because now, I found out when you go to the shops – second-hand shops – when you go down to Dorp Street,[32] you get some shops there, second-hand shops selling these things. More especially I'm talking about the cutlery – very expensive. But it's second-hand! Only because it's antique …*

Perhaps her mention of the antique qualities of some of her furniture and household objects is her way of commenting on her own wealth; that as a previously disadvantaged person she possesses material objects of both monetary and nostalgic worth.

The houses of KCD2 and KCD5 are somewhat more ornately decorated than that of KCD3 and KCD4, with KCD2's house being the most ornate. As she indicated, this is mostly because of the furniture and objects that she inherited from her mother. The furniture that she described in the above passage is covered in plastic and white crochet doilies lie over the backs of the couch and chairs and cover the coffee table. There are some interesting European-esque pieces, such as two wooden cabinets with bas-relief panels that seem to depict a biblical story, a clock held up by two women who might depict some mythological deities, and a large wooden model ship (made by KCD2's granddaughter) that recalls those used by the VOC in the 17th century. These seemingly colonial pieces create a juxtaposition not only in their very inclusion in a house in Kayamandi, but also in contrast to the other more 'African'-looking pieces, such as the carved wooden deer, buffalo, and elephant and the animal skin pillows on the couches.

KCD5's house also has large wooden furniture in his dining and sitting rooms, the shelves of which are filled with family photographs and other ornaments – such as large ceramic turkeys and tigers (which are interesting, as these are not animals normally found in South Africa, although, these ceramic turkeys recall the real turkeys cooped up in the gardens of

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[32] Dorp Street is a main road in Stellenbosch Central that has a number of second-hand and antique shops.

the Grosvenor House at the Stellenbosch Village Museum). KCD3 & KCD4's sitting rooms are more sparsely decorated than that of KCD2 and KCD5. Like KCD5, KCD3 also has family photos displayed around the sitting room.

Figure 5.5: Sitting room in the house of KCD2

Figure 5.6: Sitting room in the house of KCD4

5.2.2.1.3 COSTUMES

Stellenbosch Village Museum

To facilitate the visitor's imaging of each house and period, all of the houses are equipped with a docent who is dressed in a period specific costume: "*So, this is what the ladies would have dressed like* [gestures to own outfit], *you will see the costume change as you go onto our next houses as well*" (SVM2); "*this is what they would have worn then*" (SVM5). The docents all wear bonnets and long dresses – often with aprons covering the front skirts. The ladies of the older houses wear solid coloured shirts and skirts, while the docent in Berghuis wears a checkered shirt; perhaps indicating that, along with the wallpaper on the walls, people in this period were able to access more intricate fabrics.

This is a common practice of many historical house museums, as the addition of an appropriately costumed docent creates a visual reference for visitors to understand the fashions of the day. The docent assumes the role of the homeowner who welcomes visitors into their homes and speaks with authority about the house, its collection, and its inhabitants; "*in their own unique way the ladies tell the stories of the houses*" (SVM6). This

all works together to create the feeling that one is visiting this lady's home, you are being welcomed into her house and given a tour.

Figure 5.7: A costumed docent, Schreuiderhuis

Figure 5.8: A costumed docent, Berghuis

Kayamandi Creative District House Museum

The homeowner docents are not required to wear any specific uniforms or costumes. However, during some of the tours for the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum, KCD3 wears her traditional Xhosa dress. She recounted an amusing anecdote about how some tourists dress compared with her traditional dress:

> *You see how they dress sometimes, the tourists, you go like* [makes surprised facial expression' *"Wooooo ... I can see right through your dress, Sarah! Your linen is very light".* *You see, because they're from another country and they don't dress like us. And then when I'm dressing with my culture they're like "Wooo! Is it not heavy?" I say "Sometimes. But let it not rain, because when it rains I have to drag it"* [mimics lifting up her dress with her hands]. *You see different roles, the smiles, the happiness, the way the open up with you.*

Engaging with tourists enabled KCD3 to understand that people from different countries and cultures dress differently, and that in showing off and speaking about her cultural dress, she is opening an avenue of conversation with her visitors that stimulates cross-cultural exchange.

KCD4 had just returned from initiation and therefore, in following traditional cultural practices, he has to wear a specific outfit. He spoke about this tradition:

> *And you can see what, what I'm wearing?* [indicates outfit] *It's a, during the, the last century this means a lot to the Xhosa people because these are a part of the community … The people who started this tradition, this, like, big initiation … Then we are wearing this. This, like, shows the dignity. Like, I can call them boys because they haven't done the initiation … So, that's what it means to wear this: to show them that we are man now.*

The traditional outfit that he indicates that he is wearing consists of long trousers, a long-sleeved shirt, a jacket, and a hat, which has to be worn for three to six months regardless of *"[w]hether it's hot or not"* (KCD4). The outfit is a visual representation of a Xhosa man's participation in rituals that have been practised for centuries.

Figure 5.9: KCD2 in traditional dress during a tour

Figure 5.10: KCD4 in his initation outfit

5.2.2.2 UNDERLYING PROCESSES

The underlying processes form the framework with which the viewer decodes and deconstructs the material landscape in order to create the full experience of the landscape of the museum. The semiotic tools that visitors use to decode the material landscape are both provided by the museum and are inherent within the visitor. The main themes by which the underlying processes are investigated are the geographic, social, cultural, and historical factors that influence and are influenced by the reading of the landscape. These factors – or modes and codes – are read by viewers in conjunction with their own knowledge and personal biases and affect viewers' impression – their emotional experience – of the landscape and their understanding of the narrative as presented by the museum.

Stellenbosch Village Museum

In terms of the Stellenbosch Village Museum's geographic location, it is situated in the centre of Stellenbosch Central, which is a very busy and tourist-dense area. It is accessible from various hotels and guesthouses, restaurants, shops, and other commercial enterprises and the distance between the houses is easily walkable. In the period spanning April 2016 to March 2017, visitors to the Stellenbosch Village Museum totalled 40 724 (Stellenbosch Museum, 2017). Visitorship at the Stellenbosch Village Museum is driven mainly by foreign tourists; SVM6 commented on this: *"February and March are big months for visitors; they are mostly foreign"*. One reason for the museum's high visitorship rates can be attributed to Stellenbosch's seat in the heart of the winelands, and, as a picturesque town, many tourists either stay in or travel through Stellenbosch on their way to the surrounding wine farms. The comfortable location of the Stellenbosch Village Museum in a populated tourist-friendly area of town undoubtedly enhances its visitorship rates.

Much of the architecture of downtown Stellenbosch has been influenced by the town's colonial roots. Many of the museum's visitors are European: *"Most of the overseas visitors are from Germany, France and United Kingdom"* (SVM1). Therefore, the popularity of the museum with European tourists is potentially assisted by their interest in their own history. It is understandable that the majority of visitors to the Stellenbosch Village Museum are European, because "[t]angible history has a fascinating appeal" (Vos, 2002:9) and people

desire to understand their own history and identity. However, one white visitor did comment, *"As a visitor, I found it to be an interesting depiction of a certain time period but it certainly doesn't tell a full story of Stellenbosch"* (SVM9).

This is noteworthy to consider in juxtaposition with this quote from SVM2: *"Ja, but if you look at colour, our people wouldn't come here, cause I mean this is mostly white history. And I think that needs to be changed"*. SVM2 here touches on the issue of inclusivity, which is discussed further in another section. However, with this comment she acknowledges that the museum mostly ignores the historical and sociocultural contributions of black, coloured and Indian histories to Stellenbosch; thereby making the museum uninteresting, or exclusionary, to a whole potential segment of visitors.

One major historical and sociocultural aspect that is touched upon in the museum, but is only mentioned in a very superficial way, is the role of slaves in colonial Stellenbosch. For instance, SVM2 discussed the narrative she uses when taking schoolchildren around the museum. Upon seeing the Blettermanhuis she says to them,

> *"Do you like this house?" 'Cause, 'cause it's beautiful, it's nicer and the furniture's bigger. And then you'd get somebody, someone would say, "Oh, I would like to live here". And then I will tell them how things used to change, where the slaves come in, where people now no longer had to do their own chores 'cause if you can own a slave, if you have money you can buy yourself a slave, you can just sit back and have coffee and tea and the whole time and the slaves had to do all the stuff.*

Slaves are mentioned here as an excuse for why the colonists could afford leisure-time activities. SVM1 spoke about the language that she uses in describing the museum to the children, how she formulated an experience of the museum landscape for them:

> *I tell them "Right, we gonna go time traveling!" Because you need to make it exciting for them … and so that they can actually use their imagination and go travel with me on this whole things. That you don't tell them this boring … No, you actually bring them with you. Ja, that's usually what I do. And then from here I will tell them inside, "This is how*

we used to sleep"… Ja, you just incorporate all the history but you make it into a story
and then, boy, we get to house number two and I tell like "[gasp] Look what happened!
We jumped 80 years in time. Ja, that's just how I incorporate this whole thing. Ja, telling
them, but actually being, like time travel and we jump from the one century to the next.

She uses linguistic and other social semiotic cues to transport the children back in time, to make them feel as though they are part of the period in question.

Figure 5.11: Slave constructed furniture in the Blettermanhuis

Kayamandi Creative District House Museum

This section also includes the stories and narratives that are provided by the homeowner docent, as they are stories about the geographical, social, historical, and cultural aspects of Kayamandi and the community that resides there. These stories are some of the most important aspects of the museum's collection and together with the tangible collection (of the house and its contents) the intangible, oral history and culture of Kayamandi as provided by the homeowner docents help to form a more rounded reading of the museum's landscape.

The houses included in the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum are all located in an

area of Kayamandi called 'The Location' – the oldest part of Kayamandi. As KCD1 explained: *"This is where Kayamandi started. This is the centre of Kayamandi … And so my route starts here, from here. And then we're introducing and telling the history of Kayamandi: what it used to be and what is it right now".* Therefore, only homes accessible by foot in this area were chosen: *"And … I chose the homes because we wanted to use the centre area. So, the homes they need to be close to one another.*

KCD1 spoke about home life in Kayamandi:

> *Me and my older brother, we stayed with our father and then our grandmother raised us … And so I used to call my grandmother, 'mother'. Um, most of us were raised by, like, that". … "She played a role, a big role for my life, you know? Because I call her 'mama', you know? She wasn't that grandmother for me. I realised when I was older, 'oh you have your own mother, this is not your mother … this is your father's mother'.*

He spoke candidly about his childhood:

> *Ja, it was not a really nice or happy life that I grow up, you know, in. I was … after my grandmother passed away; I think it was very hard for me and my brother… I grew up with no shoes, no food. … Sometimes it was hard to depend on your family members because they've got their own kids.*

He also spoke about how his upbringing encouraged his work today – both in tourism and working with children:

> *But until now, life was so difficult. It's very hard to be part of it. That's why I always like to help others and also love to work with kids. Because, you know, some of them – most of them in Kayamandi – we grow up with single mothers. You know, it's not, it's not, um, how can I put this? To, to have a father figure, you know, every time next to you … [we were] always with raised by a mother…*

It seems that his lack of a father figure in his life had inspired him to try to offer that to other children; to be a good male figure for them to look up to. He has a son of his own and

he said *"I do everything for him, you know? Make sure everything is ok for him, because I do it also for me, as well, just close that childhood of mine".*

KCD1 also touched on the social responsibilities (with roots in historical inequalities) of helping to support the family once a child has reached adulthood:

> *Ok, I'm not trying to be racist or what, but most of us, we didn't raise having all that. So, for us, you know, once you become older you need to ... bring something. Because the young kids, you finishing all the kids' food … So, you need to find something else that you ... also supporting … We don't move out … Like, you guys when you're 18 you're moving out… Ja, we need to stay and support your mama and everything … Now is the time to bring back.*

This comment indicates that grown children feel the need to contribute in some way or to share in the responsibilities of the family, which explains why so many adult children are financially supporting and still living in the same houses as their parents.[33]

Kayamandi is a predominantly Xhosa community, with many inhabitants having roots in the Eastern Cape. KCD5 spoke of an aspect of Xhosa culture: *"That's the whole belief of – maybe [of a] black person, I can say it? Of a Xhosa person. Usually we believe our names play a role in our lives".* He explained that his own name *"means 'add' ... it's something 'addition'... So, I added a number to this whole family ... and um, everything I do, basically it involves around [that]".* KCD1 also spoke about the meaning of his name during the interview: *"[My name] means 'happy'"* and how thinking about what made him happy led him to pursue his dream of being a tour guide and working with children.

KCD12 stated that the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum *"contextualises the history of the country through real stories … Not textbook knowledge. It's storytelling from generation to generation".* It is with this in mind that the homeowner docents were asked to construct stories that focuses on Xhosa culture or life in Kayamandi to share with visitors

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[33] This is a phenomenon called Black Tax, where individuals help to financially support their immediate and extended family.

to the museum. KCD2's theme focuses on traditional Xhosa food, about which she said, "*I learn[t] it from my mother… I'm making my own traditional dishes here".* She explained the food that she typically cooks:

> *Ok, I'm making chicken … I roast it in the oven. I even make some stews. And, … I make some pumpkin … it's called umxhaxha … I put some corn in my pumpkin … And then, I made some chakalaka. And then, I made some morogo … Morogo is the spinach. It's some potato that I made it a little bit spicy. And I make stywe pap … And I make ginger beer. And I make amagwinya … vetkoek. What else do I make? Let me see … I can make steam bread as well. I can make roosterkoek as well … That's what I'm doing.* [34]

KCD2 also touched on how she came to Kayamandi:

> *So, then, I came to Stellenbosch and I stayed here with my aunt who was a, a resident of Stellenbosch, Kayamandi. And it was difficult, but not like in Cape Town. It was not like in Cape Town. And she got me a, she was working for … an old lady. And then she takes me, too, with her, so that I could give her a hand with this old lady's place. … I get … to work for a career man who has a restaurant here in Stellenbosch, and I work there. And then, I met my husband. I got married … And, while I was here, because my father-in-law was a big friend of the superintendent of Kayamandi, Mr Pietersen. Ja, and then he check with him. Because of that I could get a pass here. We were very big friends because he was a good friend. He was helping the people that are coming to Stellenbosch …*

As one of the older homeowners, her story encompasses the difficulties of life under apartheid.

KCD3's theme emphasises her talent as storyteller; she speaks of her family's history and her own childhood in Kayamandi. She recounts games that she would play with her friends as children:

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[34] *Umxhaxha* is mashed pumpkin with corn. *Chakalaka* is a spicy mixed-vegetable relish. *Morogo* is spinach and potato. *Stywe pap* (Afrikaans) is a firm porridge made from ground maize. *Amagwinya* (or *vetkoek* in Afrikaans) is fried dough bread.

Here in the … what is this place, um? Is Smarties, Smarties.[35] This used to be a field, so, there was a lot of clay there. So, we used to go take some and then you make it nice and wet with a bucket of water. So, when it rained you see … a stream there by the street there was water … there so we put our hands there then we make tables, small chairs, we make our own proper chairs and … small cuppies and saucers. Even though it goes skew it doesn't matter. But once it's dry it stays maybe three days and breaks… But, but for the time it's nice. We play and then it's done …

While the focus of her stories is on the nostalgia of how she grew up in Kayamandi, they also imply how Kayamandi's physical landscape has changed over the years – with areas that were once open fields now transformed into a neighbourhood.

As mentioned, KCD4 had just returned from initiation and, therefore, his story is about the general happenings of initiation. About the longstanding Xhosa tradition he said:

Ok. So, when, when you went to initiation. ...when you are a teenager – like about 19 to 20 – you are allowed to go to initiation. And you see, that's where they taught you about life. Like, the things that you … face when you become a man, like, everything … they make you to grow up, like, you understand the life, neh? So, like, we can have responsibilities in life. … Ja, it's what we are learning there …

KCD5's story is centred on his interest in the performing arts and music making and also his family's history of starting a church in their own home under the guidance of his grandparents: *"My grandmother, grandfather were lady bishop and the bishop … of this church … My grandmom was a prophetess".*

KCD3 offered this about sharing information with the tourists who visited her house: *"We would bond with people and … we would like to visit their homes as well. Because of the way we communicate with them…".* Speaking with visitors about their different lives and living situations stimulated her interest in learning about other cultures. She further said, *"You see that's, that's the one thing that makes me, because if you don't communicate with*

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[35] Smarties is another area of Kayamandi that at the time KCD3 was growing up was an open field, but now housing has expanded to the area.

people you never grow. You never know anything … yeah, that's why I like talking and talking". KCD9 highlighted the hopes for cross-cultural exchange: *"And you are coming from a rich house – or wherever – there in the wine farm or overseas, but when you come in this door, the whole thing changes. You'll change. You're going to become a child of those houses".*

Figure 5.12: KCD2 preparing traditional Xhosa food

5.2.2.3 PERSPECTIVES: PRIDE

The members of both the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum express feelings of pride in participating in their respective museums (albeit in different ways), as will be evidenced in this section.

Stellenbosch Village Museum

Although their own cultural history may not be featured at the Stellenbosch Village Museum, the docents all found that working at the museum is a rewarding experience. SVM2 voiced her feelings:

> *Ja, I'm enjoying it … I love my job, probably because I love people. That's my thing. It's because I love people and I love history … we need people – like you as well, you say you study museums* [indicating the interviewer]. *We need people to be ambassadors for history. You understand? So, that's how I see myself.*

SVM2 was very passionate about history and about how to get children interested in history: *"Ja, that's the domino effect ... So that's what we need, we need ambassadors for history. In order to spark this whole … thing that we want out of it".*

SVM3 said, *"I like to work here at the museum … it's nice to work here. It is very, very nice".* She indicated that since working at the Stellenbosch Village Museum she has become interested in history, *"So, it's very interesting for me now".* SVM4 said, *"… but history, I like history, yes".* And, *"But ja, this place is quite interesting, though".* She indicated why she enjoyed her position as a docent:

> *Anything that has to do with people – I'm a people person. I like talking – like you just realised. Anything to do with people … I learn a lot, like from you* [indicates the interviewer]. *I learn a lot from people, basically … and when I'm at work, I enjoy myself.*

SVM5 said, *"But I like it, too, the museum. I like it".* She indicated the length of time she had been working at the Stellenbosch Village Museum: *"It's two years now … Ja, I'm enjoying it".* In the following short exchange she pointed out why she enjoyed working at the museum (where 'I' is interviewer):

I: *Ok, and you like working in the museum?*

SVM5: Oh, I like – very much.

I: *The history? Or meeting people? What is your favourite?*

           SVM5: Both – history and meeting people … Ja, it's very interesting. And it's so lovely to meet different people.

Kayamandi Creative District House Museum

Many of the interviewees indicated that they are excited and proud to participate in the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum. They spoke about the perceived benefits of being involved in the initiative. KCD9 indicated why a project such as the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum was positive:

So, it's not like, I think going into the township and sort of going by with a camera. Like it's a zoo or something. And you really get to meet people and you really get to experience the proud, the proudness of each family inside the township.

It creates a respectful interaction between the visitor and the community. KCD10 stated, "*The positive things are happening when there are people from outside getting involved in our community*".

KCD1 indicated that although he inherited financial difficulties when the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum was handed over to him from SEED, he was proud and happy about the project going forward. He said, *"I'm happy. 100%. I'm like, "Woohoo"… But it's, it's been left broke. There's no funds, but it's ok; I don't have a problem with it".* Being entrusted with such a large project was a source of pride for him

KCD3 commented on her excitement about the project:

And, I'm not playing even a big role, but I'm just, like, loving. I'm giving my love and I'm giving everything that I can to inform people about what's going on in Kayamandi: what we're doing, what we eat, what we don't eat, what we [are] chasing, what we [are] listening.

When asked about where her passion comes from, she said:

The way people give me, kind of, respect gives me passion to talk. If you are coming freely, want me to talk, want me to inform you about something, I like it. I love it, because I know some way, somehow, one day I'll be lost and I want also information from you.

Her comment suggests that she is happy and willing to talk to others, as they treat her with respect and she believes that if she is friendly and open, she will receive the same treatment from her visitors.

Perhaps the greatest benefit of the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum's presence

in the community and the participants' involvement in the project was expressed by KCD3. She indicated that the project was inspiring *ubuntu*[36] in the community. She said, *"I want ubuntu. With KCD ubuntu is growing, trust is growing".* She mentioned that she would like the visitors to know that, for her, the payment was more than monetary:

> *So people can get, like, not knowing, not that we do not get paid, but the payment that we getting is the knowledge. What we [are] learning, that's the best payment. When we greet and meet, that's the best payment. The respect that you receive – Wooooo! – is the best. … It's nice for us to do that but humanity is more important to us than the profit.*

KCD5 seemed to have gained a lot of pride in his involvement with the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum, as he believed KCD1 and KCD9 saw great potential in him; he felt appreciated. He shared some of the things they said to him: *"[KCD9] just liked me, at first sight. Like, 'Oh, I like you'. And [KCD14] was here also. And he talked to me like, 'What's your name? What do you do?'"* Of KCD1 he said, *"And he loved me".* And, *"[KCD1] said to me that – oh! – you see this man, he will take you to places … YOU* [indicating that KCD1 pointed at him] *will take us to places".*

KCD14 indicated that he participated because *"I live here in Kayamandi and I'm an artist. And, so, I wanted to show other people what is important to have. A positive self-esteem. To believe in themselves. To, to be comfortable with who they are".* He was happy to participate in the project because it would benefit his community with its positive message of confidence and self-worth.

5.2.2.4 PERSPECTIVES: CONCERN

This section presents the causes of concern for the management, staff, docents, and homeowner docents of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum. The individuals involved with the Stellenbosch Village Museum were concerned about the lack of inclusivity in the museum's landscape and narrative.

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[36] Archbishop Desmond Tutu offered the following explanations for 'ubuntu': "It speaks of the very essence of being human … It is to say 'My humanity is caught up, is inextricably bound up, in yours' … We say 'A person is a person through other people'" (1999:31).

Those involved in the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum expressed concern about the involvement of tourism in their community, and their past concerns about interacting with people from outside their social, cultural, and racial backgrounds.

Stellenbosch Village Museum

As discussed, the Stellenbosch Village Museum endeavours to present four different domestic scenes that encompass four different periods of early Stellenbosch – from 1709 to 1850. This is accomplished by authentically exhibiting the architecture, interior, and fashions of each period, as SVM7, a visitor to the museum, concurred: *"Very authentic experience, beautifully portraying the home lives of people during the early days of settlement"*. However, there are concerns inherent in this type of narrative. SVM1 revealed, *"If we could, I think we will re-visit the idea of house museums because of the restrictions it causes"*. She elaborated:

> *Being a house museum, it restricts in a great extent, what may be exhibited in the house. Depicting a certain period and the history of the persons who used to live in the house, make it difficult to include all inhabitants of Stellenbosch.*

The supposed benefit of a historic house museum is that it can accurately recreate a past time. However, a drawback of a traditional house museum is that it can also be static and fail to encompass what the past means for the present (and future) and to create an inclusive history. SVM1 mentioned her desire that *"[t]he exhibitions should include the history of all the inhabitants of Stellenbosch. I would love to include the establishment and history of Khayamandi in our exhibitions"*. However, she asserted *"If anything important is excluded from the exhibitions in the houses, we make up for it with the presentations the guides in the houses give regarding the history of the house and time"*.

SVM2 agreed that the Stellenbosch Village Museum advocated colonial history. She also addressed the lack of inclusivity:

> *[I]n a way we also feel … not having our own people's history, like, exhibited, it actually … We feel that our own history needs to be more, because, you know, our people used to live here – my grandfather was living in Die Vlakte, they grew up here. I mean, and*

now, today, you're only seeing colonial history but not seeing a part of where the coloured community also has an influence

She commented on the coloured living areas that used to exist in Stellenbosch:

I started to research the local history of Stellenbosch. Like, where places use to be and what it used to look like and such. And, and, it's quite interesting … if you come to Crozier Street, that would also be houses of our coloured people and our coloured neighbourhoods situated there. And, and if you come to, I think those houses [are] still standing there where, where the old … where Roman's is, Roman's Pizza? That whole street, that all belonged to coloured people. And those little white houses that's still standing in Ryneveld, on that side, that used to be all for my people. Ja, so, you can actually walk a whole tour showing … our kids where coloured people used to live. Maybe that will spark their … interest in Stellenbosch and its history?

When asked if she thought that the Stellenbosch Village Museum would ever try to exhibit an inclusive history of Stellenbosch, or if it would exhibit history from all of the sociocultural groups that make up Stellenbosch, SVM2 said:

We are actually hoping, hoping for that … So, we are a step closer to getting there an exhibition … exhibiting our local history. … I feel if there's gonna be a place where our coloured people can go and get to read about your history or your ancestors and stuff, then that would spark, that would spark people to get … into gear, to go and search for your history. Like, now, there's nothing. There's nothing, there's nothing.

She consistently advocated that providing a place for all races to access their own history would create a spark in people to further research and become more familiar with their personal and cultural histories. She indicated that she saw a lack in interest for two reasons: one, that there are few places for black, coloured, and Indian people to access their history, and, two, because of the quality of the history being taught in schools – that there should be a greater focus on local, cultural history. About this issue she said:

You need first to get interested in history so that you can learn further. … that's why many of our kids aren't interested in history. You'll see that, they'll get bored with history. It's not something close to them … So, that needs to change … That's what I'm saying, it's really so important if we can just get our kids to really … get that spark in history. But it's not going to work if you teach a child from Stellenbosch the history of Jan van Riebeeck. It's not going to work, you see?

SVM2 championed for the teaching of all history:

Maybe, ja, you did, you did get bad people – but even in today's world you get bad people. So, what? It happened. It happened; that is in the past, we need to look forward, understand? In order to go forward you need to look back and really get what happened here.

She offered:

And I think that if you look at a political side to it, if we can get that, that somehow, that each and every one of us are connected to each other in some way, being it small stuff, but each and every one of us are connected in some way, then probably this whole ... it will get better.

SVM2 concluded: *"So, and today … our museum is beautiful; it's one of the most, most beautiful museums in the world. But not actually having the real history … represented for our own people"*.

SVM4 offered thoughts on learning about colonial history: *"If those things didn't happen then today would have been different. So, for me to say I wish it never was that way would be quite idiotic".* She further said:

It's true, there's no way that you can actually … stop telling people … stories of what used to happen … don't just say, keep away that part of history, or it's not good for people to hear that. Yes, it's hurtful, but then we can actually get past the hurt if it's so hurtful. I'm not saying turn a blind eye or anything, but just, 'deal with it!'

Kayamandi Creative District House Museum

The Kayamandi Creative District House Museum seeks to be a vehicle for economic growth and cross-cultural exchange through the opening up of local homes to visitors interested in learning about the social, cultural, historical and economic factors that influence the Kayamandi community today (and these issues can be translated to a larger South African context). It is important that healthy heritage tourism develops from these encounters, as the participants involved in this museum and community expressed their concerns regarding tourism.

KCD2, who also runs a catering company and makes traditional Xhosa meals for tour groups, shared a story about her anxiety before receiving her very first tourist group many years ago:

> *And we, at school or at church we had … a hymn, I can call it a hymn because it's … a church something. … when we sing it, there was … something that says … a black and a white should pray together. So, to us as children, we just acting like the song – just singing the song. We couldn't think that one day we'll have some white people coming – I'm sorry to mention but it is the truth. Coming to our places. I remember the first people who come to my place. I was so sick. I get afraid. Now how am I going to touch this person? How I'm going to do this? And I'm going to my cousin and I said, "No, I'm not going to take the people". And she said, "No, you can't do that. You said yes. So, your yes must be yes". And she gave me some, two aspirins. She said to me, "Take this; and with a lot of water. Then you are going to be alright". And really when they come I didn't have that shaky, neh? I just keep myself like* [mimics being calm]*, but there was that little something. But anyway, they were so nice and from that day, gone are the days of being afraid, you know? They're all welcome.*

KCD2's story demonstrates the lingering effects of apartheid and the understandings and relationships that can be fostered and rebuilt through cross-cultural exchanges.

KCD1 participated in an exchange programme that took him to Brazil for a year. When asked about how he perceived the differences between communities in Brazil compared to Kayamandi, he offered:

That was another thing because for me to learn, to see. Because, I thought Brazil: they've got many things that compare, like, South Africa, you know? They are not poor like South Africa. But in the end … when I was there, I find out that South Africa it's – now even in the communities, in the townships – we are more richer than them… Ja, they are really poor there. I was, like, so shocked. You know? But the other thing which I … felt so related with was the culture, you know? The music, you know? You love music, dancing … the focus is home as well …

His exposure to another country and their culture and way of life allowed him to reflect on his own life and on Kayamandi; it gave him a different perspective. It affected his 'experience of' the Kayamandi community landscape, which allowed for him to augment his personal definition of Kayamandi and his definition of himself.

KCM1 touched on his reasoning for why people from Stellenbosch Central or foreigners are hesitant about visiting Kayamandi: *"People from town, some of them are scared to come to Kayamandi. Or some tourists, most of them they just come to Stellenbosch they don't come to Kayamandi".* He alluded to some of the stigma still associated with townships and township life. KCD4, who had moved to Kayamandi roughly five years prior to the interview, said this about the community:

It's nice to me here. Because it can create some jobs to the people that stay here because there are many tourists visiting, because places like AmaZink here. So, it can give, it can create job opportunities for the people that stay here in Kayamandi … So … like places like Khayelitsha,[37] they scared to enter there because there some violence and … this is a cool place, neh? … Ja, it's little bit safer. [Visitors] can feel comfortable here … Oh, and there's a lot of crime there in Khayelitsha … More violent there in Khayelitsha. People are stabbing each other. They are more rough there.

He indicated, *"Ja, I'm happy here".* He recognised the opportunities that were possible in Kayamandi, as it was a safer, more tourist-friendly space.

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[37] Khayelitsha is a large township outside of Cape Town.

KCM2 stated some of his concerns about tourism in Kayamandi (the tours and homes he referred to are not specifically the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum; he spoke in general about tourism):

> *I think where tourism into Kayamandi – and into any township – can be bad is … when … the people that go aren't properly .. prepared. And, and, I think you need to … have a proper briefing session before you go in – foreigners or South Africans … Where they have to be prepared is the shock when they see the poverty and the bad living conditions. And then, how do you express that shock? Because it's just people that live there, it's their homes, and the moment your home becomes a curiosity – an object of curiosity – it's demeaning, and it shouldn't be like that. So, if someone walks in and says "Oh my God!" or something, it's demeaning … For any rich guy, it's probably miles away from where he lives, miles away from what he would want to live in, … so that's the best some people can do … I think tours can be good if it's proper. But the problem with tours is that people don't have often have time ... So, it can be very meaningful ... I would like to see meaningful tourism happen in Kayamandi ... because people are different, in one house they would say, "Gee I'm so glad the tourists came and it was wonderful" and his brother would say, "What the hell they doing here?" We could easily fall into traps where we want to find a general answer, but often it's very personal …*

His comment about tourists seeing homes as objects of curiosity is pertinent to the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum because that is an intrinsic aspect of a house museum. His comments also call to attention the differences in opinion about tourism that can be found within one household.

KCM2 suggests that tourism to Kayamandi could be beneficial for all involved if the tours were meaningful and not demeaning to the community. KCD1 explained that the community was initially weary about the idea of the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum and he spoke about the work he had to do in order to convince them:

> *I think at the beginning … the people they didn't understand – "Why do you want to open [a] gallery to someone's house?"… So, I had to… do many workshops and training these people, and tell them, and understanding … so they can see.*

In addition, a museum is a foreign concept to people in Kayamandi. KCD8 indicated that many Xhosa people do not understand it – and what they are trying to accomplish with the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum – because *"it's a white thing. Not something that people do in a township!"* and also *"They didn't know what a gallery was, they didn't know what innovation houses looked like in the township. Because those are things in town"*. KCD8 revealed *"because they think a gallery is for white people. So, why would there be one so close to the township?"*

KCD1 offered this example of the difficulties that they had to overcome when asking homeowners to be involved in the project:

> *So, I invited them, but the problem was that … in our family …we* [indicates himself, the two female researchers, and a bystander]. *Let's say we are four of us. We are brothers and sisters. Two of us would say, "Yes, we want this to happen". And then the other two would say, "No. Why we want to bring white people in our home?" So, that was another problem for them. So, some of them decided to back out and said, "Ok, we don't want to be a part of it". But we didn't force anyone.*

KCD9 spoke about introducing participants to a gallery/museum space: *"Sometimes people, the first time they went into a gallery was when the gallery came into their house. … So, that was a big thing. And it's a high, big raise of curiosity"*.

KCD9 indicated that the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum was positive for the community:

> *And homeowners get so excited when they realise the young people of the township are starting to utilise their own space to do something that's respectable, that's humble, and makes people … want to come to the township where they stay and where they live.*

KCD8 spoke about the Kayamandi community's reaction to the tourism brought about during the launches of the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum: *"When it's here and white people come visit here people become amazed and happy about that at the same time … they were amazed by what was happening, they were experiencing it for the first time"*.

5.3 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The two themes presented in this chapter – democratising museum practices and decolonising museum landscapes – are discussed together in this section, as these ideas form a symbiotic relationship: When museum practices democratise, the museum landscape is able to decolonise, and vice versa. These themes emerged from a close reading of the data, during which I realised that the way a museum presents itself and its narrative is greatly dependent on the museological practices in place and the landscape that the museum has created. It became evident that democratisation and decolonisation are the two main issues when investigating the extent of the relevance of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum in a post-apartheid context. Therefore, these themes were chosen in order to express the ways that each museum exhibits or fails to exhibit democratising and decolonising behaviours.

Democratising museum practices works to situate the Stellenbosch Village Museum mainly in the traditional museology category and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum mainly in the new and appropriate museology category. While the objective and basic principle of traditional museology are to preserve and protect material heritage, new museology is concerned with the people at its core – the social and economic development of the specific community in which it is situated. Decolonising museum landscapes advocates for museums to transform and present more inclusive histories of various sociocultural groups in potentially different and innovative ways.

In applying semiotics to the reading of the linguistic codes present in the mission statement, many articles, and the museum's own brochure, it seems that the Stellenbosch Village Museum is an inclusive space about Stellenbosch and its people. Comments such as

'local historical interest', 'rich and varied heritage', 'three centuries of domestic culture', 'area's history', and 'continuous living record of how domestic life developed and changed' are used to describe the museum. However, in utilising social semiotics, which is replete with many multimodal resources, a visit to the museum clarifies this history as singular and biased; there is clear inclusion and exclusion with coloniality still in place (Maldonado-Torres, 2016). Another exclusionary aspect is the museum's website, which is written in a mixture of English and Afrikaans, some pages of which are only accessible in Afrikaans. One such page is specifically for the Friends of the Museum, which caters to information about museum membership. In offering this page only in Afrikaans, this excludes a whole segment of the greater Stellenbosch community who neither speak nor understand the language. This also includes some white South Africans whose history and culture might be represented in the museum.

In using Grumet's (1981, cited in Le Grange, 2016:7) definition of the explicit, hidden, and null curriculum supplied in Chapter 2 (by which we understand 'curriculum' to mean 'narrative' in this context), the Stellenbosch Village Museum's explicit narrative is of the history of colonial Stellenbosch; the hidden narrative is that, in reality, the history presented is an exclusionary representation that serves to perpetuate the fallible idea that Stellenbosch has been a harmonious town throughout the ages; and the null narrative is that the offered history silences the many black, coloured, and Indian histories that played – and still play – a role in creating Stellenbosch throughout the ages. As one visitor commented:

> *It's a pity that there wasn't more of an attempt to include any depictions of the lives of non-European inhabitants of Stellenbosch during that time – they certainly worked and lived in those houses as well. I wouldn't argue that the museum is under any obligation to tell that story, but it should be made clear to visitors that it only presents on side of that story.* (SVM14)

This visitor recognises that the explicit narrative of the Stellenbosch Village Museum is biased towards one story and that the museum should be more transparent.

Conversely, the synthesised mission statement and the promotional materials of the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum demonstrate its democratising, decolonising, and sociomuseological orientation. The house museum is described as 'job creation', 'uplifting communities', 'unique opportunity to generate income', 'community based social enterprise', 'local entrepreneurs', 'social tourism model', etc. These comments semiotically indicate by and for whom the house museum is and why it has been created. The museum is transparent about its orientation towards tourism and its goal of driving economy into Kayamandi. In this way, the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum attempts to turn the narrative towards the community in an appropriate way, in order to recognise the 'null' nature of their voices in the whiteness (Green et al., 2007:390) of Stellenbosch and to try to allow their narrative to become more 'explicit' (Le Grange, 2016).

The official nature of the Stellenbosch Village Museum's organisational structure acts as a semiotic code to visitors. It presents itself as a knowledgeable authority on Stellenbosch and its history and is therefore considered trustworthy. The museum receives government funding and accreditation, and government is instrumental in the appointment of those who run and work at the museum. Therefore, the museum follows in a long line of museums that "have been associated with the social/political agendas of one group or another" (Crooke, 2007:109). The museum is not only aided by government, but was founded by white, Afrikaners during apartheid (Kriel, 2010) and, therefore, this is the history and culture that the museum was built upon and is still perpetuating.

This is in line with traditional museology, which follows Foucault's theory that museums are institutions of knowledge and power (Bennett 1995:59). The traditional museum has been in existence for so long that many visitors still trust the museum to hold only the truth; they believe it to be an unquestionable expert. This follows Hall (1973) and Chandler's (2002) theories that culture naturalises codes because we have allowed for museums to universally stand for 'something' – knowledge and power – and are, therefore, wary to confront this code, the museum, and the narratives that it provides. The sense of authenticity embodied by historical sites provides museums with an academic authority to teach a particular historical narrative to its visitors (explicit, hidden, and null). However, new museology provides an alternative to this ideal.

Mbembe (2015:6) advocates that the naturalised 'economy of symbols' must be challenged and redefined, as they are carriers of coloniality and whiteness, especially in South African institutions. The Kayamandi Creative District House Museum attempts to do this, as it presents an atypical model of a house museum (in form, structure, and organisation) and it places responsibility on the community for representation and management; to recentre the focus from Eurocentric to Afrocentric (Mbembe, 2015:16). Although the museum was initially started with capital from the Stellenbosch Municipality and SEED, it is now no longer associated with the local government and is not influenced by politics in that way. However, it is still somewhat connected with SEED, which, although a non-governmental agency, is an outside body, and it can be assumed that this contact has left behind some biases. No museum is free of bias, but it is anticipated that through democratic museum practices this imbalance can be rectified. In addition, cross-cultural exchange can provide a more inclusive museum experience for both the homeowner docent and the visitor.

The Stellenbosch Village Museum's approach is to present a narrative through the material culture associated with each house and the era and family that they respectively represent. This narrative is provided by each house's docent who has limited agency in their creation, as it was revealed that there is no one script for docents to follow. SVM4 explained:

> *You'll get a brochure like you have right there. Then we'll get something that has more information … And then you'll go to the [other docents]. So, you go to them and you'll tell them "Look here, I know this and this and this. What else could you tell me?"… So, the things that I've just told you were told onto me as well.*

Therefore, the narratives are not formed solely by one person, as is traditional (usually the curator), but they are a product of a few different voices: the museum manager (the curator), the board of trustees, and also the docents themselves. This means that there is an eye towards the democratisation of the museum's narrative, as there is no one authoritative voice and the docents have the ability to modify their own story. Yet, it is still influenced by the material provided to them and the greater narrative of the museum as decided upon by the board of trustees.

SVM1 stated that she believes the message of the museum – its overriding narrative – to be: *"Stellenbosch is an interesting town with rich history where people from different backgrounds could live together even in the earliest times of Simon van der Stel"*. This statement is problematic because, as the study reveals, the Stellenbosch Village Museum presents a mostly exclusionary narrative about the colonial white middle to upper class of early Stellenbosch. There is little to no mention of the contributions of black, coloured, or Indian histories to the formation of the town.

Moreover, there is a lack of discussion about the contribution of these races to some of the very houses in the specific period depicted – significantly, the Blettermanhuis, where there is evidence that the family owned a number of slaves. The house holds a small slavery exhibition but it only offers a general view of slavery instead of specifically considering the slaves that lived and worked in the house. Further, the presence of slaves in early Stellenbosch is mentioned more as a foil to the activities of the colonists. They are spoken about, not in order to highlight the atrocities of slavery, but to emphasise the wealth of the family (as only the wealthy could afford to buy a slave) and how carefree the colonists could be – even forming hobbies – when they had slaves to do their chores for them. This speaks to the coloniality still in existence in Stellenbosch and its museums. In relegating such an important aspect of history, the museum succeeds in deeming unimportant the stories of many classes and races of people who formed part of the fabric of daily life in early Stellenbosch.

The present is, of course, heavily influenced by the past and oftentimes change is difficult; it can therefore be challenging to ascribe a new narrative to an object or a space that has presented one biased life story for so long. This is evidenced in the quest for transformation and Africanisation in institutions of higher learning throughout South Africa that have given rise to movements such as Rhodes Must Fall and Fees Must Fall (referenced in Chapter 1). As Hooper-Greenhill suggests, "the interpretation of objects and collections in the past affects how they are deployed today. Knowledge is both cultural and historical, involving history and tradition" (2000:19). South African museums (institutions of knowledge and power) should recognise the problematic ways that their objects and

collections were interpreted in the past in order to transform and allow for an inclusive, modern South African knowledge base.

The Kayamandi Creative District House Museum is a modern-day response to the many traditional museums found throughout South Africa; vestiges of colonialism that still mostly uphold colonial narratives. The Kayamandi Creative District House Museum was formed this decade about a living history and culture and in lived-in houses; therefore, it is a modern house museum with a modern perspective and is not frozen in time. The new museological model of the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum, with its emphasis on people and on the presentation of themes through storytelling, promotes healthy heritage tourism, as it *involves* the community in the construction of their personal narrative and it is the community itself who shares the narrative – it refocuses the explicit, hidden, and null narratives (Le Grange, 2016) of the previously disadvantaged. This museum speaks of today, while also addressing the past and looking towards the future, as it offers stories about growing up in Kayamandi, traditional Xhosa practices and food, and how these stories and traditions are incorporated into modern society.

Keisteri's (1990, cited in Abrahamsson, 1999:53) model affirms that landscapes are created and understood in a multimodal, social semiotic way that is formed through the marriage of the three interrelated levels of material landscape, underlying processes, and experience of landscape. The model demonstrates that landscape is constructed through visual, aural, and oral, tangible and intangible means and understood through the utilisation of many multimodal underlying processes. Ignoring the teaching and discussion of these factors affects the references – the underlying processes – that people use to encode and decode landscapes. Viewers read a landscape in relation to themselves and themselves in relation to a landscape. Therefore, excluding histories influences the way in which people consider their definition of the landscape and also their definition of themselves (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010).

The material landscapes of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum were considered in relation to the architecture, layout, and garden, furniture and household articles, and costumes present at the museums. Architecture

represents "[o]ur built heritage, architectural site of memory, addresses in tangible form the cultural past, the colonial condition and legacy, and our invention of an architectural historical past" (Hirsch, 2002:84). This colonial architectural past is evident in each of the different styles of houses of the Stellenbosch Village Museum; European-style houses that were adapted for colonial use. The cultural architectural past is also evident in the houses of the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum, as they were built for marginalised people during the apartheid era and stand in contrast to the colonial, European-style buildings common in Stellenbosch Central. Mbembe's 'economy of symbols' (2015:16) is inclusive of architecture (and gardens), because it is a semiotic reference and a tangible link to the past. The outside architecture and gardens of the house semiotically assist in the viewer's production of an identity for the house's owner and the narrative that the house will contain.

Lefebvre's production of space (1990) is utilised in the consideration of the way that the docents and homeowner docents describe the layout of the houses. In the case of the Stellenbosch Village Museum, the layout is defined by the activities for which they would have been used, and that classify them as either private or public spaces. For example, the public areas were concentrated either in the front of the house or downstairs, while, conversely, the private areas were at the back of the house or upstairs. In addition, the Blettermanhuis is described by the docent in terms of the divisions of space according to gender that was common during that era, where men and women occupied separate spaces of the house according to societal custom. Discussing the cultural codes prevalent at the time creates context for visitors to understand the relationship between space and bodies in a domestic setting (Chandler, 2002:150). This separation was also aided by status, as only wealthy people could afford a house that would provide ample space to practise this custom. As discussed, while there were slaves and servants present in some of the houses during these different periods, in no way does the museum or do the docents indicate what spaces they would have occupied. The role of these people in the daily life of the family – and of Stellenbosch – is an excluded history. Conversely, the homeowner docents of the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum do not divulge what the layout of their house is, as the stories and recollections that they provide are not contingent on the house's layout.

Gardens are also important reference points for meaning making. Three of the houses of the Stellenbosch Village Museum include authentically replicated gardens. The Blettermanhuis and the Grosvenor House both have more formal gardens with the addition of some livestock. The garden of the Schreuderhuis was important in providing the settlers with fruits, vegetables, and medicinal plants and herbs. Some of these things were found hanging in the rafters for ease of use and otherwise, as explained by SVM2 – cooking, smell absorption, mosquito repellent, and medicinal. Similarly, some of the gardens of the houses in the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum also include plants with utilitarian purposes, such as the plant KCD3 indicated that was useful for flu treatment. However, most of the gardens of these homes do not contain much greenery and are instead comprised of neatly packed dirt. The gardens provide visitors to both museums with additional levels of cultural and socioeconomic understanding about the homeowners. In visiting the Stellenbosch Village Museum, one realises that the gardens become successively bigger and nicer and produce food in addition to growing flowers, which speaks to the wealth of the homeowner, as tending a garden is an expensive endeavour. In viewing the gardens of the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum it is evident that they are not a prime recipient of the homeowner's finances and are managed at low cost and effort.

The furniture and household articles contained in the houses of both museums provide the material culture relevant to understanding the people and cultures at hand; viewers utilise material culture to make meaning (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). The Stellenbosch Village Museum uses the material culture of early Stellenbosch to produce its narrative and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum uses the material culture of modern-day Kayamandi to create a backdrop for the sharing of stories by the homeowner docents. As Hooper-Greenhill (2000) suggests, objects make visual statements about the narrative of the museum and, therefore, the narrative of what is being depicted. Material objects are semiotic tools with which one can analyse landscapes and cultures.

In the act of accessioning objects into a museum's collection, the objects are researched, documented, recorded, and classified. It is with the outcome of these actions that meaning

is affixed to an object. In traditional museology, an object is normally only able (or allowed) to carry one story, and all its other life histories are relegated (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000; Pearce, 1990). In Grosvenor House, SVM4 pointed out a piano: *"Over here you will find an upright piano, which is only one of six in the whole world"*. The piano signals that the family was prosperous enough to afford a piano – and such a rare one no less, and it denotes that people in this era or social class had the time to take lessons and to play the piano – but *why* this is possible is not discussed. Likewise, in the Bletterman house, the oversized wooden furniture found in most of the rooms is demonstrative of the wealth of Mr Bletterman. However, it does not speak to the toil of the slaves who had to construct the furniture for their white master. In addition, the porcelain from China that is displayed in the cabinets is, again, a status symbol, as it indicates that the Blettermans could afford imported items; however, no emphasis is placed on the part of their life story that involves their creation in Asia and journey by ship to South Africa, nor is their actual function recognised – they have become decorative objects instead of fulfilling a utilitarian role.

As mentioned in the findings section, KCD2 specifically spoke about objects in her house. Hooper-Greenhill describes objects as signs of cultural memory (2000:111) and often this is coupled with nostalgia. For KCD2 her furniture and household articles represent her late mother and her late daughter – the givers of the objects. Many of these objects were first owned by her mother's employer who willed them to her when she died. It is interesting to consider that in addition to nostalgia, perhaps KCD2 appreciates these pieces because of what Lopez describes as an aspiration to whiteness (2005). This is possibly present because whiteness is sometimes seen as the norm and the aspiration could be in regard to the desire of the pleasures and privileges that come along with whiteness.

KCD2's house also provides a juxtaposition between European and African furniture and household goods. This can be seen as a commentary on the complexities of the South African landscape, where one can find traditional African material objects in seeming harmony alongside vestiges from the colonial era. In KCD2's case, this again could reference the display of her possible aspirational whiteness and wealth alongside her traditional history and culture. The questioning of European articles in an 'African' house begs to ask the reverse question about the inclusion of African articles in European houses.

This could be because white people want to seem assimilated, or appreciative of African-produced objects; it is perhaps a subtle recognition of their own whiteness; or, it could ultimately be cultural appropriation.

The docents of the Stellenbosch Village Museum all wear period-specific clothing to facilitate the idea that the visitor has travelled back in time. The homeowner docents of the Kaymandi Creative District House Museum are not required to wear their traditional outfits – as that is not what they wear in their everyday life. However, KCD3 sometimes wears her traditional dress and KCD4 was wearing his initiation outfit at the time of data collection. The wearing of special outfits in both museums enhances the voyeuristic (Vagnone & Ryan, 2016) aspect of the house museum, as the visitor is more fully afforded a glance into the private lives of the early settlers and of Kayamandi residents, respectively. In addition, referencing the different styles of dress allows for the visitor to reflect on the way that we dress today in comparison to colonial times and Xhosa traditional culture. This then adds layers to the semiotic references with which visitors can make meaning within each of the museums.

I assumed many different roles when I worked at Wilton House Museum, some of which necessitated that I, too, had to dress in period-specific clothes for certain activities (as both a docent and a school group leader). Dressing in these outfits was at first strange, as the petticoats and bonnets were so different from my normal, modern-day wardrobe. However, once the initial discomfort wore off, the outfit helped to mentally situate me within the period that I was speaking about and pretending to be from. Visitors and children would often comment on the costumes as a way to understand the similarities and differences between the present and the past. I came to understand that by wearing this period-appropriate outfit, I was helping to provide a conduit through which visitors were transported through time and could better place themselves within in the specific era that the house was exhibiting.

Visitors' own history and culture affect the way that they do and can read the semiotic references provided by the museum. Greider and Garkovich (1994) suggest that a viewer's understanding of a landscape is a reflection of how a person defines him- or herself, and

therefore landscapes are continuously reconstructed because people are constantly changing the ways that they define themselves. In accordance with social semiotic theory, the reading of a museum landscape is a situational activity – not every visitor interprets the landscape in a similar way, and visitors can develop a different reading of the museum with each revisit. The Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum both offer underlying geographic, social, cultural, and historical processes for visitors, but visitors also bring their own underlying geographic, social, cultural, and historical processes along with them.

Individuals' reading of a landscape can be influenced by their own personal geographic location – where their 'home' is, where they come from, and how they define themselves. They read this in relation to the similarities and differences between their home landscape and that of Stellenbosch and Kayamandi. This is referenced in one visitor's comment about the Stellenbosch Village Museum: *"As an American, it really reminded me of Colonial Williamsburg. And I appreciated the fascinating insights it provides about the Cape: some of the hardships and the daily activities"* (SVM16). This visitor experienced similarities between the museum and another museum with which he was familiar, a popular outdoor living-history museum[38] in the USA that also depicts colonial 18th-century life. His association of the Stellenbosch Village Museum with Colonial Williamsburg potentially influenced his reading of the museum's landscape and narrative.

Stellenbosch as a formal town was laid out in 1685 utilising a European guideline for town planning. The original town of Stellenbosch was classified as a white area and all other communities were relegated to the outskirts of the town. Kayamandi was officially established in 1941, just before the formal institutionalisation of apartheid. Consequently, it was still popular thought to racially divide living spaces – something that would become law a few years later. As Lefebvre theorises, "social relations also are spatial relations" (1990:131) and this is no more apparent than in the geographic layout of the town of Stellenbosch. Recalling McCann's (1999) use of Lefebvre to highlight the ways in which a city can be divided according to exclusion – of race, gender, etc. – one can demonstrate the

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[38] Living-history museums represent a past time through authentic recreations of homes, tools, dress, etc. brought to life by interpreters.

way in which Stellenbosch was laid out in this fashion, too. Kayamandi is physically located on the outskirts of Stellenbosch Central; the two museums in question are roughly three and a half kilometres from each other. Its physical location also economically separates Kayamandi from the commercial hub of the town and its distance makes it difficult for the community and individuals to easily participate in these capitalistic sectors. This spatial arrangement reproduces the colonial dominance.

Stellenbosch Central is a popular tourism spot and the Stellenbosch Village Museum receives tens of thousands of visitors a year – mostly European. This speaks to the coloniality of Stellenbosch and the Stellenbosch Village Museum because, as SVM2 indicated, the museum perpetuates white history and is not inclusive of information regarding black, coloured, or Indian people. The museum is located within the middle of Stellenbosch Central; in the colonial heart of the town, which, as discussed, contributes to the ease of visiting the museum, as it is well located. The Kayamandi Creative District House Museum is, likewise, located in the heart of the community, in the Location. KCD1 indicated that the idea behind the choosing of the Location was threefold: first, because this area was from where Kayamandi originated and is, therefore, the historical heart of Kayamandi, with the oldest houses; second, because the houses were all within walking distance of one another, which made more sense for the flow of the tour and less strenuous for the visitor to walk; third, because this area was potentially the most tourist-friendly, as it is close to both entrances of Kayamandi and is also in the same area where AmaZink – a once popular venue and dinner theatre for tourists and locals alike – is located.

The situation of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District within the communities where they originated adds to their narrative and bolsters their ability to uniquely tell their history and share the culture in which they originated; as SVM6 stated, *"Our museum is unique because the buildings are on the original spots; the first house is the oldest in Stellenbosch"*. The neighbourhood surrounding the houses becomes semiotic signs of the life, history, and culture of the houses, the families that live(d) inside, and the community itself. The architecture of Stellenbosch Central is heavily influenced by its colonial roots and, therefore, the houses that form the Stellenbosch Village Museum

still look at home in their original spots. The architecture of the town – and the authentically replicated gardens – helps to locate each of the museum's houses within the specific periods chosen. The location of the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum inside of the community greatly adds to its museum landscape and narrative. In order to arrive at the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum, a vibrant area of Kayamandi is passed through – formal and informal housing, churches, and chisa nyama[39] spots line one side of the street, the taxi rank is always bustling, dogs roam freely, and children are often playing nearby – and this can all add to a visitor's understanding of the community.

Like the Stellenbosch Village Museum, the majority of visitors to the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum are foreign tourists. KCD6 posited the draw of tourism to Kayamandi: *"It will be quite a cultural experience to just come into Kayamandi … A real Afrocentric experience. As opposed to a fake one. Or a … European African experience. Which, Stellenbosch is very much …"* Here she comments on the European-ness of Stellenbosch Central, the colonial aspects of the town, in contrast to the much more real 'African' experience obtainable with a trip into Kayamandi; which could be a geographical, social, historical, and cultural experience that is very different from the visitor's own background. This comments on the voyeuristic nature of the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum experience and on the tourist's gaze on the landscape. This gaze is best experienced through contrast (Urry, 2002:3) and Kayamandi is likely a different landscape than that with which a European tourist is familiar (or even some white, coloured, and Indian South Africans).

The gaze of the tourist (Urry, 2002) is recognised by the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum, as it aims to encourage healthy heritage tourism. As KCD9 indicated, so often the heritage tourism that townships experience is based on positioning the community on view as an object of curiosity, as a *"zoo"* that tourists visit to snap photographs of themselves giving sweets to children (KCD9). He faulted traditional tourism with turning townships and their communities into spectacles and voyeuristic experiences (cf. Vagnone & Ryan, 2016). The museum endeavours to encourage healthy tourism to the Kayamandi community and

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[39] These are local barbeque restaurants.

to foster cross-cultural exchanges that will benefit the community and tourist alike, *"So, … KCD is not only about [the museum], it's about exchanging our visions"* (KCD3). The Kayamandi Creative District House Museum positions Kayamandi in the centre of its own narrative and allows the community to represent itself by redefining the narrative of the township (Mbembe, 2015).

The Kayamandi Creative District House Museum presents the history, culture, and society of Kayamandi. Its focus is, therefore, very specific: Kayamandi and Xhosa culture. Consequently, similarly to the Stellenbosch Village Museum, it can be seen to provide an exclusionary narrative. These narratives cover sociopolitical, economic, and cultural factors that stem from whiteness, colonialism, apartheid, and symbolic racism: personal histories (growing up in Kayamandi), cultural traditions (Xhosa cooking, initiation), as well as children being raised by grandmothers because of working parents, adults feeling responsible to contribute towards 'Black Tax' (where they work to help financially support their immediate and extended families), and the cycles of responsibility and poverty. However, the biases and exclusive histories presented in the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum can be justified because of the past exclusions placed upon the histories and culture of the previously disadvantaged – dating all the way back to 1652 when Jan van Riebeeck landed in South African and colonialism began to permeate through the country.

This response is in line with the theory of social justice as developed by Fraser (2007), and translated to the museum context by Fleming (2010:1): that everyone has the right to benefit from the museum in some fashion, that everyone's culture and history should be represented in the museum, and that everyone has the right to access a museum. New museology is about democratising and decolonising and, thereby, allowing communities to have a say in the representations of themselves and their culture within museums (Marstine, 2006). As Crooke asserts, "the idea of having the history of a group of people on display in a public space is valued" (2005:140). This is something that SVM2 comments on, to repeat: *"I feel if there's gonna be a place where our coloured people can go and get to read about your history or your ancestors and stuff, then that would … spark people … to go and search for your history"* (SVM2). She urges the teaching and exhibiting of local histories in order to create a spark in people to want to learn more about and, consequently, be

proud of their own history and culture. In a South African context, this means that local communities might make 'exclusive' museums about their local history and culture but this can be considered in accordance with social justice as it begins to balance the inequality of representation in other museums.

Both KCD1 and KCD5 mentioned the importance of names in Xhosa culture. Their names, meaning 'happy' and 'addition', are references for them in making life decisions and they define themselves in relation to their names. In the same way, names of organisations are important, because semiotics demonstrates that words are linguistic codes that signify to the receiver the particular meaning with which they are encoded (Chandler, 2002). In calling itself the Stellenbosch Village Museum, the museum falsely indicates that the museum is inclusively about Stellenbosch as a whole. Yet, as discussed, the museum is mostly about Stellenbosch Central and its white, colonial heritage. This at once foregrounds and backgrounds the perceived important history and culture of Stellenbosch. Conversely, the name of the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum centres it within 'Kayamandi' – a smaller township of Stellenbosch – instead of in 'Stellenbosch'. This, therefore, allows for it to have a narrower focus on its local community's history and culture.

The docents at the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the homeowner docents at the Kayamandi Creative District all expressed feelings of pride in regard to their involvement with their respective museums. However, under investigation of the data collected, it seems as though this pride is perhaps differently representative. Those at the Stellenbosch Village Museum indicated that their involvement with the museum has sparked their interest in history and it also brings them enjoyment and self-confidence to interact with so many visitors who are interested in what they have to say and the story that they developed about the house. However, these docents are all black or coloured ladies who work in a place that preserves and promotes the narrative of white, colonial Stellenbosch, which is not inclusive of their own personal history, culture, and community. While they might seem to be at home in these houses today, their role in colonial Stellenbosch would have been quite different.

All of the Stellenbosch Village Museum docents told me, the interviewer, variations of 'I like my job'. Yet, they might not have been completely honest with me about their feelings because as an interviewer it could be perceived that I was in position of power, which was potentially intensified as I am white. In addition, they may have been protecting their job, as they might have considered me a threat and were wary about their comments getting back to the museum's management. Undoubtedly, their feelings of pride regarding their participation in the museum are complex and perhaps something of which they are not even aware because of the pervasive nature of whiteness (Lopez, 2005) and symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1991).

Each of the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum participants expressed their passion for interacting with visitors to their homes and that it was *"nice to see people being friendly and us being friendly"* (KCD3). The opportunity to share and detail their own and their community's stories to interested – and interesting – visitors is a source of pride for them. KCD3 spoke of her enjoyment in participation because, as she says *"It's nice to host the Gallery Tour, because what makes it was meet and greet and then when you meet people then you vibe".* The quote emphasises the social nature of the museum, and the capacity to have a cross-cultural exchange "is critical to … social well-being, it is also necessary to understand culture in the broadest sense, beyond its tangible manifestations" (Kreps, 2008:38); culture is more than material, it includes intangible aspects such as interpersonal interactions between people.

The interaction between homeowner docents and visitors enables the homeowner docents to realise the importance and interestingness of history – and more specifically of their own histories. KCD3 indicated that the presence of visitors to the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum even altered her feelings about her own house: *"Even though my house is not that huge, but ohhhhh! When they are here it's a double story house, serious".* She gained pride in being able to share herself, her culture, and community with other people and to receive respect in return.

The comments of pride in participation from the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum homeowner docents demonstrate that they perceive an increase in self-respect

and self-esteem because they feel that they are doing something good. This increase is in accordance with Sandell's (1998:411) comments about the potential ability of social inclusion within the museum to positively impact "the wider causes and symptoms of social exclusion". The homeowner docents are sharing their history and culture and are receiving validation from visitors that it is worthy and interesting. This references Fleming's (2010) thoughts on social justice in museums because being integral in providing a representation of themselves is beneficial to the homeowner docents and the community. This could also be a complex issue that encompasses aspirational whiteness (Lopez, 2005); however, even though the homeowner docents are sharing their own Xhosa history and culture they are looking for affirmation in their visitors – who are predominantly white.

Feelings of concern also became prevalent during interviews with individuals from both museums. Those at the Stellenbosch Village Museum voiced concern about the museum's lack of inclusivity and those at the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum expressed the reservations of the community in regard to inviting white people into their homes and of introducing a 'white' organisation such as a museum into the community. In addition, they spoke of concerns regarding healthy heritage tourism.

The exclusive nature of the Stellenbosch Village Museum is a cause of concern for some of the management, staff, and docents. SVM1 indicated that the model of a house museum is restrictive in the narrative that it allows a museum to tell. The prevailing thought is that house museums are static time capsules, representing a bygone era or memorialising an event, person, time, etc. However, while the physical and material collection of the house museum is difficult to amend, the narrative is not so immutable, because objects can be considered through another perspective, research can be undertaken, and narratives can be rewritten to encourage inclusivity.

SVM2 voiced concerns about the fact that her own race's history and culture were not displayed in the Stellenbosch Village Museum (or really in Stellenbosch in general) and that the absence of the appropriate local history (especially in school curriculum) was a detriment to people, as it failed to *"spark that interest in history"* (SVM2). Her hope of a new, inclusive exhibition being installed in the museum is indicative of her understanding

that "museums are culturally generative; they construct frameworks for social understanding" (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000:20); that without a place where everyone can learn something about his or her own history and culture, the prevailing narrative will be that of Stellenbosch's white colonial, apartheid, and post-apartheid histories; coloniality, whiteness, and symbolic racism will prevail.

While those at the Stellenbosch Village Museum feel that the lack of inclusivity discourages their own people from visiting the museum, those at the Kayamandi Creative Disctrict House Museum feel that the lack of community knowledge or understanding about what a museum is acts as a hindrance to their visiting the museum. Both of these concerns are understandable, as these sorts of institutions are "still cast mainly in established Western moulds, reflecting white perceptions and white interests. Consequently, they continue to seem irrelevant and even offensive to a large part of the population" (Gore, 2004:46). Often during the interview process the perceived notion of the museum as a white institution was mentioned as a deterrent or cause of confusion for Kayamandi community members about the establishment of the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum. This is why it is imperative to involve community members in the construction of narratives regarding their own history and culture and, in addition, why it is essential to consider non-traditional forms of museums.

Democratising museum practices and decolonising museum landscapes place the onus of sharing history, culture, etc. in the hands of the community. The following exchange highlights why it is important for the community to be involved in this process. Here KCD1 speaks about what drew him to working in the tourism industry (where 'I' is the interviewer):

> KCD1: *The time I was at school we used to dance. So, they used to bring students at the Kayamandi high school – but now it's called Makupula – and, so, we used to perform for them. And then … they were always asking us for stories about Kayamandi, "What's happening", you know? So, I thought, "Hey! Why don't I share my stories, you know? To some, someone outside?" … Because media sometimes will be saying, "Oh because something*

> *happened in Johannesburg then [it] will be happening in Cape Town".*
>
> I: *Ja, like 'all the townships are the same'.*
>
> KCD1: *… So, I wanted to make them, to feel that, like, home … So, for me it was nicer to make them feel at home here in Kayamandi.*

Here he indicates the stigma attached to townships, as the media portrays them as homogenous entities. KCD1's realisation that people were curious about his life and the life of those in Kayamandi encouraged him to speak about Kayamandi – to provide an insider's perspective – and to tell and show visitors what Kayamandi is really like. This is one reason why he became involved in the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum, as it affords the community the platform for sharing their own history and culture *themselves*, instead of through outside sources, and through a non-traditional platform that caters to the community's needs and interests.

Similar to KCD1's concerns about people without proper information forming skewed perspectives about Kayamandi, SVM2's main concern is that the inhabitants of Stellenbosch are not aware of and do not take pride in their history. She said, *"And what actually … makes me a bit, not, I wouldn't say angry, I would say emotional, is that people in Stellenbosch don't get the value of our town, they don't know the value of our history".* In providing avenues to decolonise museums – either to remodel existing or create new museums – communities will be able to decide and tell the stories that they find most important to their collective history, culture, and society. This power of inclusivity and exclusivity is inherent in museums of all kinds. Bordieu and Darbel (1969, cited in Duncan & Wallach, 1980:457) observe: "Even in their smallest details … museums reveal their real function, which is to reinforce among some people the feeling of belonging and among others the feeling of exclusion". For museums to be relevant post-apartheid institutions it is important for them to recognise their influence over the rhetoric of inclusivity and exclusivity, because an inheritance received from our apartheid past is the separation of communities from their own local history and culture (Coombes, 2003).

Institutions of knowledge and power (museums) need to be encouraged to place Africa at the core of its epistemology; to allow Africa to define and create narratives about itself,

and in this way transformation will be encouraged (Mbembe, 2015). The proposed implementation of the South African government's Draft National Museum Policy Framework is important, as it considers non-traditional ways to transform South African museums into more inclusive historical and cultural institutions and begins to free them from being "haunted by the legacies of their colonial history" (Gore, 2004:46). The South African government implores museums to consider themselves "as places of memory for our ancestors, spaces in which to claim history, places of discussion and places where communities and curators can animate objects through research and display" (Western Cape Government, n.d.:23).

Democratising and decolonising in a museological context recall the suggestions supplied by this Draft National Museum Policy Framework. Specifically, in accordance with new and sociomuseological practices, it promotes innovative ways to expand on traditional museology in order to create more suitable and inclusive museums. These include ideas that fall under the following points, as stated in Chapter 3:

- Museums without walls
- Museums without objects, and where 'collections' consist of memories, stories, performances, rites and rituals – activities that may be constantly evolving and are allowed to do so
- Museums that communicate in indigenous languages and from indigenous perspectives
- Democratising curation and design
- 'Collecting' and conserving objects and practices *in situ*
- Finding alternative forms of preservation and memorialisation, particularly in ways that maximise the transfer of value to beneficiary communities while minimising the cost to communities
- Embracing the economic value of heritage and growing a heritage economy that creates jobs and wealth (Western Cape Government, n.d.:48).

'Museums without walls' supports that museums can encompass much more than a building and its objects, but can also incorporate the outside community and its environment – for instance through guided tours of neighbourhoods or street art tours.

This makes it possible for communities that cannot afford a museum (either financially or spatially) to still be able to contribute to the representation of their own history and culture. This point can also refer to either digitising a museum or to creating a museum that only exists virtually, with no physical space. This allows for the democratic dissemination of information, as individuals are able to access this knowledge from anywhere at any time. In addition, if the museum participates in an open-source digital archive (such as the RHAS project), it could create a space that allows for everyone to contribute, thereby allowing a variety of different voices to be heard (Greider & Garkovich, 1994).

'Museums without objects' with intangible collections allows for a greater representation of history and culture because for many indigenous communities, oral history and storytelling are so vital to their identities (Whiteduck, 2013). Through the representation of different 'memories, stories, performances, rites, and rituals' alternative practices can allow marginalised voices to speak and could counter the dominant narratives inherent in coloniality. These various activities "are not only agentic and individual but they are communal sharings that bind communities together spiritually and relationally" (Whiteduck, 2013:V) – they help to provide an avenue for the building of individual and community identities.

In encouraging museums to 'communicate in indigenous languages and from indigenous perspectives', the policy recognises that African indigenous knowledge systems were ignored during apartheid. Therefore, it is important to allow these systems to be acknowledged and practised. In this way, they could be used to educate society about the variety of indigenous perspectives in the South African sociocultural landscape in order to enhance understanding and appreciation between cultures with the aim of fostering decoloniality.

'Democratising curation and design' calls for the inclusion of previously marginalised communities in the construction of their own representation in museums through involvement in curation and exhibition design. In accordance with new museology, power is transferred from one curator into the hands of many in order to allow for the use of

various voices and perspectives. Empowering communities to have control over their own history and culture enables the decolonising of museums (Marstine, 2006:5). Democratising curation and design allows for the recentering of the museum from Western constructs onto Africa (Mbembe, 2015).

'In situ' museological practices promotes museological activities to take place where the tangible and intangible history and culture in question are located. This encourages the democratisation and decolonisation of museum practices, as this *in situ* location is within a community, and the community is responsible for deciding why and how to perform this endeavour. Sometimes *in situ* museological practices are the only plausible option, for instance in the preservation of Khoisan rock art, as removing it from its *in situ* location would greatly affect its contextualisation. *In situ* musological practices can also include the 'collecting' or documenting of landscapes and other tangible and intangible markers of history and culture for communities.

The subsequent point, that of 'finding alternative forms of preservation and memorialisation', acknowledges that there is no one way in which to practise museology. As Kreps argues, appropriate museology (2008) and indigenous curation (2005) need to be considered in concert with the community and not just on behalf of the community. This is a methodology that takes local sociocultural and socioeconomic conditions into account (Kreps, 2008:23), as it focuses on the practices that will be of most benefit at the least cost to the community.

The last point rests on healthy and profitable heritage tourism that creates employment and promotes economic growth within the community. This echoes MINOM's Declaration of Quebec (1984) and the Rio Declaration (2013), which both encourage the role of the museum in social, economic, and political transformation as they believe that museums should be concerned with improving the lives of the communities that they serve (Assunção dos Santos, 2010:6); this is something with which South African museums should likewise be concerned. Tourism also promotes cross-cultural exchange and this can, subsequently, enhance both an individual's and a community's perception of their own identity in relation to other cultures and societies.

The Stellenbosch Village Museum attempts to align with these points in two ways. The first is that it is a museum *in situ*, as house museums are inherently *in situ*. They are located in the place where they were originally, and potentially will always be, located. Their history is tied to the place that they occupy and the community by which they are surrounded. The Stellenbosch Village Museum also has an eye towards democratising its curation, as the exhibitions are all approved by a board of trustees (many voices instead of one) and the docents have some agency over the narrative that they present to visitors.

These suggestions are taken to heart in the construction and practices of the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum. The curation and design of the museum is democratised and is done so through an indigenous perspective. As KCD1 explained: *"we don't want to make a changing* [sic] *everything and making it nice and shiny, no, no, no, no"* – each homeowner docent is free to decorate their home as they please and they each choose the themes that they wish to speak about. While there are of course material objects – the homes and their contents – the museum's actual collection consists of the memories and stories of the homeowner docents and these collections are done *in situ*, which maximises the potential value of the experience and minimises the overhead costs of upkeep for the museum. The Kayamandi Creative District House Museum is concerned about the upliftment of its participants and the community around them through conscious heritage tourism.

The construction of the landscape of the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum is as much about creating and offering semiotic codes for visitors to understand the many different aspects of Kayamandi and its inhabitants as it is about supplying the Kayamandi community with the tools to better understand themselves. The museum is important in identifying "[h]ow communities use their material culture to construct a shared heritage, forge a group identity, define belonging to the community, and build community capacities" (Crooke, 2007:21). When individuals and communities are able to see representations of themselves in a museum, it could add to the way that they identify themselves.

The museum has traditionally been a place from which the marginalised, previously disadvantaged groups of South Africa have been excluded – both in representation and in access. The Kayamandi Creative District House Museum is a way for the community to take ownership of their representation within a museum, as it allows for the homeowner docents to share what they feel is important about themselves, their history, and culture with local and foreign tourists and also other community members. It can be a place where the community learns about itself and develops pride and confidence, because "[a]s long as a tangible link exists between people and their past, there remains hope for a more just and dignified present and future" (Balachandran, 2016). Stellenbosch's (and South Africa's) museums need to be conscious about the histories that they are preserving, conserving, and promoting, and this can be done through the democratisation of museum practices and the decolonisation of museum landscapes.

5.4   CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter has presented a comparative analysis of the similarities and differences between the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum. The main themes identified in this chapter address democratising museum practices and decolonising museum landscapes, specifically in regard to social semiotics and museology and curatorship. Museums cannot be apathetic in the quest for the transformation of institutions of knowledge and power. Appropriate post-apartheid museological practices and landscapes are essential in providing previously disadvantaged people with access to their own histories and cultures. The democratisation and decolonisation of museums, by providing equal representation, could ideally lead to the fostering of inclusivity, lessening of racism, and cross-cultural understanding between various sociocultural communities.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This research sought to ascertain the similarities and differences between the semiotic landscapes of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum. In addition, it investigated the extent of the appropriateness of both museum models in a post-apartheid South African context. This chapter first presents the factual and then the conceptual conclusions and implications of the research. The contribution of this research to the field of museology and curatorship is discussed and, lastly, a critique of the research is considered along with the possibilities for further research.

The data in this comparative case study were collected through 61 individual semi-structured interviews with management, staff, docents, and homeowner docents of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum and also with Kayamandi community members and a handful of visitors to the Stellenbosch Village Museum. Additional data were collected through document analysis, field notes/observations, workshops, a focus group discussion , and planning meetings. A qualitative approach within an interpretive paradigm was used along with inductive content analysis.

Since South Africa achieved democracy in 1994, the institutions of knowledge and power – of which the museum is one – have been slow to democratise and decolonise. The recent protests on university campuses across the country – beginning with the Rhodes Must Fall movement in 2015 discussed in Chapter 1 – have brought these issues once again to the forefront of public consciousness and earnest discussions towards transformation are taking place in the higher education sector (i.e. task teams are being formed and conferences, colloquiums, summits, etc. are being held). It is imperative that museums enter into this dialogue as they, too, are considered to be authorities on knowledge production and repositories of the country's history and culture. The lack of democratisation and decolonisation is regarded as a barrier to fostering an inclusive production of history and culture in Stellenbosch's house museums, namely the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum.

Consequently, it is important to explore avenues through which museums can appropriately democratise and decolonise to promote an inclusive South African definition of history and culture. The research was done in order to explore the ways in which the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum embody (or can embody) this call for transformation.

The galvanisation of groups such as Rhodes Must Fall and Fees Must Fall on South African university campuses speaks to the symbolic racism that is still occurring in the country 23 years after democracy. Protesting and other manifestations of anger, grief, frustration, etc. are responses to this symbolic racism; to the marginalisation and discrimination still felt by countless South Africans in many spaces, especially those of knowledge and power – i.e. the university and places of history and culture (museums). This is why democratisation and decolonisation are such important mandates for South African museums. If South Africa is to transform, we must have a better understanding of who we are as a people, as a unified South African citizenry, because "what we have at stake is not only the recognition of the validity of our knowledge, but the sustenance of indigenous epistemologies" (Brooks, 2008:235, cited in Whiteduck, 2013:87). Only once we as South Africans understand one another – and ourselves – will we be able to work towards inclusivity, democracy, and decolonisation, and museums can be vital in this effort.

6.2   CONCLUSIONS DRAWN FROM THE FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS

First the factual and then the conceptual conclusions and implications of the study are discussed in this section.

6.2.1   FACTUAL CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In answering the primary question of what a comparative analysis of the semiotic landscapes of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and Kayamandi Creative District House Museum reveals about the broader historical and sociocultural contexts wherein they both exist, it seems that the two museums present divergent semiotic landscapes to their viewers through the use of traditional museology and new museology, respectively. As discussed, the Stellenbosch Village Museum promotes a mostly exclusionary narrative about white, colonial Stellenbosch (from roughly 1680 to 1870), whereas the Kayamandi

Creative District House Museum promotes a narrative (which is also exclusionary to some extent and socially justified under the current circumstances, as discussed in Chapter 5) about modern-day Kayamandi and the histories and cultures of its predominantly Xhosa inhabitants. These narratives are communicated through many multimodal semiotic factors (Kress, 2010), such as the houses themselves and the material objects that they contain (most important in the Stellenbosch Village Museum), the information and stories provided by the docents and homeowner docents (most important for the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum), and the location of both museums *in situ* in the communities that they represent (or claim to represent).

The Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum embody two very different types of the house museum model. The Stellenbosch Village Museum mostly follows a typical house museum model, where the houses are musealised to represent a particular time, and it shares a rather fixed narrative. In addition, the museum's exhibitions rarely change, which further enhances this static narrative. The Kayamandi Creative District House Museum, in contrast, is a very atypical house museum model. The houses neither belong to the museum nor are they musealised; instead, they continue to be lived in by the homeowner docents who open their homes more as spaces of conversation and cross-cultural exchange rather than exhibitionary spaces.

The key findings indicate that there is still much to do in regard to the democratisation and decolonisation of Stellenbosch's museological practices and museum landscape. Data show that there is a need for a more inclusive representation of black, coloured, and Indian historical and cultural contributions to the creation of Stellenbosch through the ages; this is something that is lacking in the Stellenbosch Village Museum and, therefore, can be considered as lacking in a visitor's understanding of Stellenbosch. In contrast, the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum advocates for inclusivity in representation and, moreover, for cross-cultural exchange that benefits both visitor and community.

Participant reaction to involvement in both of these museums was positive. Both the docents of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the homeowner docents of the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum felt pride in their involvement; they all enjoyed

engaging with visitors to their respective museums. Stellenbosch Village Museum docents indicated that their work at the museum catalysed an interest in history for them, with some even becoming more interested in their own (excluded) histories (such as SVM2). Participants in the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum indicated that they felt pride in being allowed to share stories about their own history, culture, and community and to have meaningful interactions with visitors to their homes.

During the interviews many participants indicated that individuals who are black or coloured still regard museums as a place that is only for white people. SVM2 spoke about her concern that 'her people' would not visit the Stellenbosch Village Museum because it does not provide information about their own history and culture. This was echoed by SVM5, who mentioned that people in her community did not even know about the Stellenbosch Village Museum; its existence was unimportant to them and irrelevant to their lives. KCD1 indicated that many community members were doubtful about the establishment of the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum because they believed that a museum is an exclusionary place for white people and their heritage. This is demonstrative of two things: firstly, that there could be an initiative to educate people about the purpose of a museum (especially of a new museologically aligned museum) – that it should be for and about everyone so that all have a space in the museum; and secondly, that the lack of inclusive history represented in museums acts as a barrier for local communities to find information about their own history and culture, and therefore, can affect their definition of themselves (Crooke, 2007). This has the potential to be remedied through the establishment of appropriate local museums that are considerate of the community they are about and in which they are located (Kreps, 2008); this is what the Kayamandi Creative District is offering.

Participant reactions from the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum regarding their feelings of tourism to Kayamandi and to their houses were initially that of concern. However, they soon realised that they gained pride and self-confidence in their interactions with tourists and some were even inspired to seek enrolment in tourism courses at the local college (KCD5 and KCD6). The positive perceptions voiced by the homeowner docents about participating in a museum – something that many previously

disadvantaged individuals consider a white institution (Gore, 2004) – in an effort towards healthy heritage tourism advocate for a wider discourse about how this (or other new museological models) can be further established in local communities to the benefit of the community.

As mentioned, my research initially focused on Kayamandi and documenting the arts and culture that was happening there as part of the larger National Research Fund project, *Rewriting the history of the arts in Stellenbosch* (RHAS), which included recording the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum. Prior to my involvement in the RHAS project I had never before been into a township; it was something I had only viewed from the outside, through the car window. My perceptions of townships were formed through the news, articles, books, and movies and, to be honest, I was initially anxious about entering into Kayamandi. Like KCD1 indicated in his explanation of why he became involved in tourism, the media had biased my opinion. However, not once did I feel unsure or unsafe in the community. The interactions and experiences that I had there allowed me to form a much different, first-hand perception of not only the richness of life there, but also of the deeper underlying social dynamics at play within Kayamandi and also in the broader Stellenbosch context.

I had initially visited the Stellenbosch Village Museum as a teenager and only revisited it in conjunction with this research project – roughly ten years later. This revisit only occurred after my time in Kayamandi and the contrasts between the two museums and their representations of history and culture were immediately present. This perhaps underlines the importance of providing museums or exhibition spaces where different histories and cultures are presented, especially those that reside so close to each other. This sort of display can work towards an understanding of the differences between the sociocultural groups of Stellenbosch.

I initially felt sympathetic towards the narrative of the Stellenbosch Village Museum because I identified with it; it is my history and culture that the museum represents. However, during the investigation I realised the implications of the museum's narrative to the wider Stellenbosch context. The narrative is very exclusive and does not account for

the many black, coloured, and Indian narratives that contributed – and still contribute – to the construction of the whole of Stellenbosch. The lack of these narratives within the Stellenbosch Village Museum – within a museum that sits in the middle of the town and bears the town's name in its title – deems a whole host of histories unimportant. This may affect an outsider's perception of Stellenbosch and, almost more importantly, may affect Stellenbosch's perceptions of itself; not seeing one's own culture and history depicted in a place of power and authority can be detrimental to a person's construction of his or her own identity.

Museums have been slow to answer the call for transformation and it might seem that democratising and decolonising are difficult tasks. However, the research shows the need for the representation of an inclusive history and culture of previously disadvantaged communities in Stellenbosch's (and South Africa's) museums; the consequences of ignoring this can be harmful, as they could continue to perpetuate the previous narratives of oppression and marginalisation. The benefit of this inclusivity could create an environment where individuals and communities are able to cultivate a regard for their personal histories and cultures and thereby work towards the creation of an inclusive Stellenbosch history constructed by all of its citizens.

Museums such as the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum work to legitimate the histories and cultures of previously marginalised sociocultural groups. This is done not only for the benefit of the visitor to these museums, but also for the communities themselves – and, in a broader sense, for the country itself. Due to South Africa's divided past, it is unfortunately true that many of us are not even familiar with our neighbouring suburbs and the communities that reside a few kilometres away. These museums can be integral in working towards balancing the scales of social justice through representation and lessening the implications of symbolic racism still prevalent in the country after apartheid.

6.2.2   CONCEPTUAL CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Museums such as the Louvre and The British Museum were created in order for a nation to educate its public and also to promote nationalism and support for the government (Bennett, 1995). It is significant to note that museums are still seen as sites of authority

(Knell et al., 2007:276) and, therefore, it is imperative that all histories and cultures find truthful representations of themselves within these institutions. It is the museum's duty to the members of the society that they serve to reflect the values of a democratic South Africa (Kayster, 2010:4). The responsibility of museums to foster democratisation and decolonisation of their power and knowledge is crucial in addressing the lack of inclusive histories and cultures represented in museums (Marstine, 2006). This lack is potentially damaging to an outsider's perspective of the community and also to a community's perspective of themselves and their own individual identities. This is why it is crucial for the community to be involved in creating inclusive representations of themselves within museums. The way that museums address (or fail to address) diverse histories and cultures has an effect on a community's creation of identity *for* and *about* themselves. As discussed, it is almost impossible to create museum content without some sort of bias, but it is important to equip visitors with the knowledge that they can challenge the museum's narrative.

The traditional museological paradigm can be seen an obstacle to addressing the lack of inclusive history and culture available to the surrounding communities of Stellenbosch Central. The research argues that the new museum model provided by the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum could help to foster the democratising and decolonising of Stellenbosch's museum practices and landscape. The benefit is that this could create an environment that may assist in improving communities' regard for their personal histories and cultures and thereby begin to create an inclusive Stellenbosch history written by all citizens (Hall, 1995:176). This could achieve the appeal of the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage (Department of Arts and Culture, 1996:n.p.) to museums discussed in Chapter 1: that institutions of arts and culture must take up the call of transformation in order to "achieve the vision embodied in our commitment to human dignity, the achievement of equality, and advancement of human rights and freedoms".

Positive and negative aspects were revealed in regard to the traditional and new museological house museum models as represented by the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum. One could be tempted to say that there is no place for traditional museology in a post-apartheid South African context;

however, that would be dismissive, as the narratives provided by traditional museology are not immutable; they are able to be modified through the consultation of different perspectives or the introduction of different, inclusive exhibitions. It is also not to say that new museology is the only way forward for South African museums, but it is highly suggested as a way to incorporate appropriate museological practices (Kreps, 2008) in museums in order to create equal representation (Fleming, 2010) for previously marginalised communities.

The significant lack of inclusive museological institutions in Stellenbosch that share the histories and cultures of all of its communities has an effect on the identities of the broader historical and cultural contexts – that of Stellenbosch but also of South Africa. In order to address this deficit, it is possible that the government – or local municipalities – need to have a greater hand in helping existing museums address this issue and to assist in the establishment of new local community museums. This is something that has been done in larger cities, such as with the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg, the District Six Museum in Cape Town, and the Historical 1860 Indian Museum in Durban, which were all established in the spirit of inclusivity in order to share the histories and cultures of the previously disadvantaged. Supplementary funds could be designated towards not only appropriate new museums (community museums, eco-museums, etc.), but also towards new research regarding the previous lives of houses and sites (for instance those of the Stellenbosch Village Museum) and also towards new and innovative exhibitionary initiatives.

As discussed, during my time in Richmond, Virginia, I worked at Wilton House Museum, which had been the homestead of a former tobacco plantation. Wilton follows a traditional house museum model, as the house is a static time capsule of the mid-18th century and visitors are led through the house by a costumed docent. While Wilton adheres to traditional museology in many ways, it also includes aspects of new museology. The house has an open room on the upstairs landing that serves as an exhibition space – the layout is similar to that of Blettermanhuis. This is not only used by the museum curator to execute exhibitions related to the house, but the museum has also partnered with a museum studies programme at a local university and allows for students to curate exhibitions within

the space. An open space with rotating exhibitions curated by the museum, students, and community members is perhaps something that the Stellenbosch Village Museum can investigate for implementation, as it has the potential of inviting different and interesting perspectives into the museum's landscape.

In addition, while house museum exhibitions are often fixed, narratives can be dynamic. It is not imperative that they conform to the static nature of the traditional house museum. For example, all the exhibitions could remain the same in the Stellenbosch Village Museum, but the narratives could be told through the eyes of the slaves and servants who worked in the houses instead of from the perspective of the house's well-to-do family; or it could be told from a modern-day perspective that is inclusive of all races that contribute to the demographic of Stellenbosch.

The study reinforced the notion that visiting museums is not a common activity across racial groups, as many still find that museums are arbitrators of whiteness (Lopez, 2005) and coloniality (Maldonado-Torres, 2016). The culture of visiting a museum must therefore be attended to, as this activity has been complicated by South Africa's history (as indicated in previous chapters) and the overall Western domination of the museum, which has left many feeling marginalised and oppressed by this institution (McGee, 2006; Simpson, 2006). Consequently, the visiting of museums (especially new, local community museums that advocate inclusive narratives) should be encouraged for all races in order to attempt to redefine the discourses of difference and division between these various sociocultural groups (McGee, 2006).

The possible implication of a white museologist entering into a different sociocultural community and implementing a specific museum model could be that the hierarchy of charity and elitism against the needs of the previously disadvantaged and the continuation of power relations remain. If new museological initiatives are to be implemented within communities, it must be made clear that the community is in control of the project; that it is they *for* and *by* whom the museum is created (Kreps, 2008; Mbembe, 2015) and that it serves the larger purpose of educating outsiders and locals alike about the important and interesting history and culture contained within the community. This can lead to a country

that is more aware of the contributions of all its citizens to the benefit of society as a whole.

I had initially situated the context of the study mostly through a museological and curatorial lens. However, after examining the data for this study, I realised that it lies so deeply in understanding the efforts of democratisation and decolonisation in the quest for transformation – both of institutions and of the way that we as South Africans create meaning for and about ourselves (about other people, things, or landscapes). Within a South African context, museological institutions cannot be separated from the need for democratisation and decolonisation, which can lead to the broader goal of transformation. Museums need to acknowledge their role in social transformation in a post-apartheid context, and this can be done through appropriate museological methods that advocate for inclusivity and the redefinition of discourses between various sociocultural groups with different – but also convergent – histories (Assunção dos Santos, 2010). Therefore, I adjusted my conceptual lens to reflect the necessity of inclusivity through democratisation and decolonisation in the museum's practices and landscapes; through which transformation can occur to the benefit of the broader South African historical and sociocultural landscape. The barriers to museological transformation could be overcome through appropriate museological outputs that are democratised and decolonised and inclusive of local communities and their history and culture (Kreps, 2008).

6.3   FURTHER RESEARCH

Future research projects could implement the general house museum model used by the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum into another (or all) of the nine surrounding communities of Stellenbosch – such as Cloetesville or Idas Valley, which are both predominantly coloured and Afrikaans speaking communities. It is important that other communities respond to the call for the creation of their own museums (in whatever format they chose) so that *they* are able to tell *their* stories in *their* community. This could also include the opening up of more affluent homes in Stellenbosch Central as additional places of memory and storytelling, which could encourage further understanding between Stellenbosch's sociocultural groups. These additional museums or museological innitiatives could form a network of Stellenbosch museums that together endeavour to tell a more

rounded narrative of the accomplishments and contributions of all of the town's communities in the construction of Stellenbosch's past, present, and future.

In addition, both the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum – and whatever other community museums that follow – could participate in projects that aim to digitise the collections that they hold (such as in the aforementioned RHAS project). By digitising, knowledge is democratised, as public access to the collections is widened. By facilitating the introduction of the offerings of the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum to tourists through a digital display, the Stellenbosch Village Museum could work towards balancing the exclusive narrative that the museum provides, as it would inclusively recognise the contributions of other races to Stellenbosch's history. The recordings of stories and documentation of the visual and material histories and culture from the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum can be exhibited at the Stellenbosch Village Museum (and also at the tourism information office in Stellenbosch Central) in the hopes of encouraging visitors to visit both museums and, consequently, foster integration. The Kayamandi Creative District House Museum could therefore make a more concerted effort towards the documentation of the narratives that the houses and homeowner docents provide.

New ways of thinking about museums and museology and curatorship need to be explored by existing – and new – South African museums in order to achieve democratisation and decolonisation in the museum. Exhibition-creation projects or workshops (both within existing museums and as new museums) that involve community input could be a way to teach the community about the power of perspective, exhibitions, and museum narratives. As the study indicated, the homeowner docents who are involved in the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum greatly benefit from their involvement, as they feel that they receive respect and this contributes to their feelings about themselves and their history and culture – an augmentation in their self-esteem and self-confidence. Therefore, more meaningful projects such as this can work towards equal representation of South African history and culture in museums or museum-like places and, by providing representation, communities could be better equipped to overcome coloniality, whiteness, and symbolic racism.

The South African government's Draft National Museum Policy Framework (Western Cape Government, n.d.) serves as a valuable source for how South African museums can amend their current policies or for how new museums can be formed in order to foster appropriate museological practices (Kreps, 2008). However, the implementation of these suggestions is much more complex and deserves future dedicated research; this includes considerate community interaction, reflection on the part of museum professionals and community members, dialogue between these two groups, etc. to ascertain the right model for the community in question. Outreach work should also be undertaken in order to modify perceptions of the museum in previously disadvantaged communities; to demonstrate that the museum is no longer only a place for the perpetuation of white histories and cultures, but that it is striving for inclusivity through democratisation and decolonisation.

Specifically, the Stellenbosch Village Museum could make greater strides in incorporating the community into the museum; the museum could benefit from focus group discussions that ask the community to provide perspectives and evaluations on existing and new exhibitions. The museum can rethink its environment through the incorporation of more diverse elements into its architecture and gardening. However, this could be difficult, as the buildings themselves are protected by a historic trust; but, community focus group discussions could, again, assist in brainstorming ways in which the museum can be more visually inviting and not such an exclusive and imposing presence. The museum can initiate events where local communities are able to perform their oral histories, stories, traditions, rituals, etc. inside the museum and its complex as a way of confronting colonialism and the biased history the museum provides. It could also, to reiterate, reframe its narrative through another perspective, include new and different inclusive exhibitions, and include aspects of the RHAS digital archiving of Kayamandi in exhibitions to promote tourism to the community outside of central Stellenbosch.

In referencing the policy (and as discussed in Chapter 5), the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum is a better embodiment of a museum that answers the policy's call for transformation. The museum, although it has houses with walls, also incorporates the

community and environment – they form part of the museum's landscape; it constitutes oral histories, traditions, and rituals (it focuses less on the object); it communicates from indigenous perspectives; it democratises curation and design, as it involves the community and the homeowner docents; its activities take place *in situ*; it alternatively preserves and memorialises history and culture through stories and narratives, thereby minimising costs to the community; and its ultimate goal is the cross-cultural exchange for the advancement of socioeconomic status. However, there is still more room for improvement. The museum can incorporate more houses where more histories and stories are told that cover a wider variety of Kayamandi knowledge. For instance, the RHAS project included a woman who is a *sangoma* (a traditional healer), older members of the community who recounted the beginnings of Kayamandi, and women who create traditional clothing and beadwork – all of these people can be incorporated into the museum's landscape in order to provide a more rounded perception of the community.

In their discussion of the importance of storytelling and oral history to indigenous peoples, Sium and Ritskes (2013:V) offer this quote by Ben Orki, an African novelist, "people are as healthy and confident as the stories they tell themselves. Sick storytellers can make their nations sick. And sick nations make for sick storytellers". This can be translated to the South African museum landscape, as museums are storytellers that provide narratives to their visitors and their community about history and culture. If exclusive, colonial, and white museum narratives continue to be perpetuated by South African museums, they become the 'sick storytellers' to which Orki refers, who make the nation sick, and a 'sick nation' then perpetuates the cycle of promoting the 'sick story'. This is why new, appropriate, sociomuseological institutions – such as the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum – need to be considered for South Africa in order to break this cycle and incorporate all histories and cultures into the museum to be able to tell healthy stories that could foster a healthy nation.

6.4 CRITIQUE OF THE RESEARCH

A critique of my study could be that if focuses mostly on theoretical aspects of museological and curatorial transformation in the South African context. I did not seek to provide a practical framework, as every case is different. The ways in which an existing

institution can experience democratisation and decolonisation – or the establishment of a new democratic and decolonised museum – need to be individually understood on a theoretical and practical level in order to create an appropriate outcome.

My research was not exhaustive; it focused mainly on the management, staff, and (homeowner) docents of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum and did not give much weight to the perceptions of visitors to each of the museums. This is in part because it would have required many more interviews from multiple perspectives (local, national, various sociocultural groups, international, etc.) in order to aptly give justice to all of the different voices of visitors to both museums. It was also partly because I was interested in capturing the perspectives of those who work in the museums towards their respective museum and in understanding the narratives that the museums themselves were espousing. Therefore, further in-depth research could be undertaken to collect visitor responses in order to ascertain their perspectives of the semiotic landscapes created by each of the museums.

It is very possible that different results could have been obtained had a black, coloured, or Indian researcher conducted this study. Although the Stellenbosch Village Museum is a museum mostly about white, colonial Stellenbosch, all of those whom I interviewed from there were black and coloured individuals. They may, therefore, be more comfortable expressing themselves to a researcher of the same or similar backgrounds or even perhaps if I had conducted the interviews in Afrikaans or Xhosa (depending on their home language). Likewise, Kayamandi is a predominantly black, Xhosa community and while I had the help and support of a community member (KCD1) to facilitate interviews, it is possible that a researcher of the same or similar background would have received different responses from the participants. It could, therefore, be beneficial for researchers of similar backgrounds to catalyse future projects within these other communities. In another way, the power relationship between interviewer and interviewee could have played a part in participant responses regarding their willingness to openly share with the researcher.

6.5   CONCLUDING REMARKS

The main aim of this study was to ascertain to what extent the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum are appropriate house museum models in a post-apartheid South African context. These investigations revealed that the use of traditional museological practices (as mostly embodied by the Stellenbosch Village Museum) add to the various deficiencies in inclusivity regarding the history and culture of the greater town of Stellenbosch. Conversely, the use of new museological practices (as mostly embodied by the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum) attempts to address this lack, as the black, Xhosa history and culture it represents offer a balance to the white, colonial history of the town. The study offers the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum as a potential new museological model that could assist in reducing differences and divisions in Stellenbosch's sociocultural divide through the cross-cultural exchange of history and culture *by* and *in* the very community that the museum represents. This study therefore aimed to contribute to the research field of museology and curatorship in a post-colonial and post-apartheid Stellenbosch context with the expansion of the dialogue on museological transformation through democratisation and decolonisation.

Figure 6.1: View of Stellenbosch from Kayamandi

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APPENDIX A

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY
CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Investigating the semiotic landscape of the house museum in Stellenbosch, South Africa

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Gera de Villiers, PhD candidate at the Department of Visual Arts at Stellenbosch University. The results of this study will contribute to Ms. de Villiers' doctoral dissertation. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because of your in-depth knowledge of the the Stellenbosch Village Museum and/or the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum, and I consider you to be a valuable source of information regarding the specific museum and the history and culture of Stellenbosch and/or Kayamandi.

1.   PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The thesis presents a comparative analysis of the semiotic landscapes of the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum and the Stellenbosch Village Museum – two house museum organisations within Stellenbosch, South Africa. Utilising the theory of social semiotics along with that of museology and curatorship, it investigates what the two museums reveal about the broader historical and cultural context wherein each exist. The thesis seeks to discover what the similarities and discrepancies between the semiotic landscapes of these two different house museums – one following a mostly traditional model of a house museum and the other, a more modern, new museological house museum model – reveal about the historical and cultural contexts of Stellenbosch and Kayamandi. In addition, it investigates the appropriateness of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum as house museum models in a post-apartheid, Stellenbosch context.

2.   PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study, we would ask you to do the following:

   i.   You will be asked to allow the researcher to document your perceptions on and reactions to various aspects of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and/or the Kayamandi Creative District House Museum.
   ii.   You may choose to keep your contribution anonymous, or to take credit. These contributions will only be informing the researcher's doctoral dissertation and will not be accessible to the general public.
   iii.   Once the study is finished, the researcher can present the findings of the research to all of the participants of the study, in either exhibition or presentation format. The PhD thesis could also be made available to those interested.

iv.   Based on agreement the interview will be recorded with either video or audio equipment. Should there be grievances against such a recording, written notes will be taken.

3.   POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

This study has been designed to avoid inconvenience, discomfort and risk to all research participants. Participation in this study is entirely voluntary and should you experience for whatever reason any discomfort, you will be able to withdraw your participation.

4.   POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

Although participants will not directly benefit from this study, the research project aims could foster cross-cultural exchange that positively impacts sociocultural relationships between

5.   PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

No payment or gift will be awarded for participation in this study.

6.   CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Confidentiality will be maintained according to your wishes. Should you wish for your contributions to remain anonymous and for your identity to be protected, your name or visual identity will not appear anywhere in the published (digital- or paper-based) materials. Otherwise all contributions will be given due credit. In cases where copyright is applicable, due reference and credit will be given in full.

All contributions from interviews (including but not limited to audio, film, photographic documentations and notes) will be kept in a locked cupboard in the researcher's office. No other person except the researcher herself will have access to these materials. Should you wish to access the recorded materials or notes, you will be given full access to the relevant recordings to edit or re-record as you wish.

Should a translator be necessary, he or she will be asked to sign a confidentiality agreement. He or she will also conduct the translation as closely as possible, to be sure to communicate your message directly and without elaboration.

The results of this study will be reported in a PhD thesis at the University of Stellenbosch, and will remain the copyright of the University of Stellenbosch. All confidentiality wishes will be honoured in the publication of the PhD thesis and visual archive. Should the researcher use this study in any further publications, confidentiality wishes will again be honoured in full.

7.   PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions that you do not want to answer and still remain in the study. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so; for example if you neglect to attend agreed upon focus group sessions.

8.   IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Gera de Villiers (researcher) at 072 697 3129 or gera.devilliers@gmail.com at any time. You may also contact Elmarie Costandius (research supervisor) at 021 808 3503 or elmarie@sun.ac.za.

9.   RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact Ms Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] at the Division for Research Development.

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH SUBJECT OR LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE

The information above was described to me by Gera de Villiers in English and I am in command of this language or it was satisfactorily translated to me. I was given the opportunity to ask questions and these questions were answered to my satisfaction.

I hereby consent voluntarily to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

_____

Name of Subject/Participant

_____

Name of Legal Representative (if applicable)

_____   _____

Signature of Subject/Participant or Legal Representative   Date

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

I declare that I explained the information given in this document to _____ [*name of the subject/participant*] and/or [his/her] representative _____ [*name of the representative].* [*H*e/she] was encouraged and given ample time to ask me any questions. This conversation was conducted in English and [*no translator was used/this conversation was translated into* _____ by _____].

_____   _____

Signature of Investigator   Date

APPENDIX B

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY
CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Rewriting history of the arts in Stellenbosch: Critical citizenship in community engagement

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Elsa Vogts and Gera de Villiers, PhD candidates at the Department of Visual Arts at Stellenbosch University. The results of this study will contribute to the doctoral dissertations of Ms Vogts and Ms De Villiers. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because of your in-depth knowledge of Kayamandi and its heritage, and we consider you to be a valuable source of information regarding the arts and culture of Kayamandi.

1.   PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study will aim to construct a visual document of the arts and culture of the Kayamandi community, with the objective of making the archive available to learners, students and the general public, both to learn about arts and culture in the community and to preserve its cultural heritage.

2.   PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study, the researchers would ask you to do the following:

Documentation of cultural objects, stories and performances from July – October 2015

i.   You will be asked to allow the researchers to document with photographic or film equipment the cultural objects, stories or performances identified by you as a relevant aspect of Kayamandi arts and culture. This documentation would only take a few minutes, based on the object being documented.
ii.   Should you feel uncomfortable with a photograph or video taken of you, we would like to document the object, story or performance through writing.
iii.   You may choose to remain anonymous during this process or to take credit by allowing us to cite your name with your contribution.
iv.   You may also choose your contribution to be excluded from the publicly accessible archive.
v.   Once the study has been completed, the researchers will present the visual archive to all of the participants of the study, in either exhibition or presentation format.

3.   POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

This study has been designed to avoid inconvenience, discomfort and risk to all research participants. Participation in this study is entirely voluntary and should you experience any discomfort for whatever reason, you will be able to withdraw your participation.

4.   POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

Although participants will not directly benefit from this study, the research project will upon its conclusion provide a valuable archive of information about arts and culture, which will serve as a beneficial educational and heritage resource for the Kayamandi community.

5.   PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

No payment or gift will be awarded for participation in this study.

6.   CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Confidentiality will be maintained according to your wishes. Should you wish your contributions to remain anonymous and your identity to be protected, your name or visual identity will not appear anywhere in the published (digital- or paper-based) materials. Otherwise all contributions will be given due credit. In cases where copyright is applicable, due reference and credit will be given in full.

Should a translator be necessary, he or she will conduct the translation as closely as possible, to be sure to communicate your message directly and without elaboration.

The results of this study will be reported in two PhD dissertations at Stellenbosch University, and will remain the copyright of Stellenbosch University. The resulting visual archive will also be presented to all the participants in the study in the format of either a presentation or exhibition, should they be interested.

7.   PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You may choose whether to participate in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer while remaining in the study.

8.   IDENTIFICATION OF RESEARCHERS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Elsa Vogts at 082 550 0975 or elsavogts@gmail.com or Gera de Villiers at 072 697 3129 or gera.devilliers@gmail.com at any time. You may also contact the research supervisor, Elmarie Costandius, at elmarie@sun.ac.za or 021 808 3503.

9.   RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and stop participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact Ms. Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] at the Division for Research Development.

The information above was explained to me by Elsa Vogts and/or Gera de Villiers in Afrikaans/English and I am in command of the relevant language or it was satisfactorily translated to me. I was given the opportunity to ask questions and these questions were answered to my satisfaction.

I hereby consent voluntarily to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

_____

Name of Subject/Participant

_____   _____

Signature of Subject/Participant or Legal Representative   Date

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCHER

I declare that I explained the information given in this document to _____ and/or his/her representative _____. He/she was encouraged and given ample time to ask me any questions. This conversation was conducted in Afrikaans/English/Xhosa and no translator was used/this conversation was translated into English by _____.

_____   _____

Signature of Researcher   Date