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Creative Destruction and Built Environment Heritage in Makhanda, South Africa

ABSTRACT

Heritage conservation is recognised as an important component of sustainable development but is often considered a lower priority compared to other development imperatives, and societal issues. The prioritization of economic and urban development threatens urban heritage through a process known as creative destruction. This research uses the concept of creative destruction to explore the interplay between market forces and urban planning and management practices on the heritage conservation of the city of Makhanda in South Africa. Makhanda has a rich and varied cultural heritage landscape, including many individual buildings and streetscapes. A qualitative approach, including semi-structured key informant interviews and secondary sources was employed. The study found that municipal dysfunction and other urban management challenges result in difficulty in enforcing legislation and policy, and thereby threatens heritage conservation. The fates of three buildings within the historic urban fabric of the city are explored in terms of the impacts of neoliberal urbanism occurring within this context. The research contends that for heritage management to be successful, there needs to be a balanced approach through improvements in stakeholder relationships, governance, institutional capacity, knowledge sharing and community involvement in decision-making processes.

Keywords: built environment, built heritage resources, creative destruction, Makhanda, South Africa

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INTRODUCTION

Recognition of the significance of cultural heritage in global sustainability agendas has acknowledged it as a contributor to the uniqueness of cities and in enhancing their competitiveness in an increasingly globalized world (Guzmán et al., 2017). The United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) provide specific mention of the importance on cultural heritage conservation and conservation in SDGs 11 and 8 which acknowledge its importance in cities, to communities, and its latent potential as an economic good (Xiao et al., 2018). SDG 11.4 specifically emphasizes preserving and protecting cultural heritage, which is valued for its historical, sociological, and anthropological significance and is seen as a facilitator of sustainable development (Xiao et al., 2018). One of the most obvious ways in which heritage can be linked to economic development is through heritage tourism (Pentz & Albert, 2023; van der Merwe, 2013). This is certainly the case in the context of less developed economies where mass tourism is unattainable and authenticity can be commodified (Pentz & Albert, 2023). Governments have, therefore, leveraged the significance of cultural heritage to gain a competitive edge in a world that is becoming more and more globalized, but using it to spur economic growth must assure its sustainability and continuity (van der Merwe, 2013). Despite being a critical component of urban, social, and economic processes, heritage conservation practice within urban environments faces significant challenges (Lesh, 2020). Heritage conservation is often considered a lower priority compared to societal issues such as the development of infrastructure and the economy, alleviating poverty and unemployment within underdeveloped regions (Chirikure, 2013; Srinivas, 2020). As such, the conservation of historic urban environments is a matter of universal urgency and a critical challenge to cultural heritage conservation practice.

It was only as recently as the second half of the 20th Century that international recognition was afforded to heritage management through the proliferation of charters like the Venice and Burra Charters (Taylor, 2002). The story of South African heritage management began in 1905 with the formation of the South African National Society, which was concerned with the conservation of colonial heritage (Manetsi, 2017). It was in 1911 and 1923 that the first legislative instruments for the protection of South African heritage were developed in the form of the Bushman Relics Protection Act and the Natural and Historical Monuments Act, respectively (Manetsi, 2017). The 1923 Act established the first official entity to manage heritage, the Historical Monuments Commission (Manetsi, 2017). The focus of this Act and subsequent Acts of the apartheid period was the culture and history of the white minority and predominantly built environment heritage (Manetsi, 2017).

In contemporary South Africa, the Constitution acknowledges the significance of preserving and protecting heritage in Sections 15, 30 and 31 (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). The White Paper on Arts and Culture (1996), the National Heritage Resources Act (1999), and the National Heritage Councils Act (2001) defined the role of government in protecting heritage resources (Department of Arts, Culture, Science, 1996; National Heritage Resources Act, 25 of 1999, 1999; Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA), 16 of 2013, 2013). The South African Heritage Resources Authority (SAHRA) was established as the national body responsible for the protecting and managing, facilitating the auditing and registering heritage resources (National Heritage

Resources Act, 25 of 1999, 1999). A three-tiered heritage management structure was subsequently formed that also extended authority to Provincial Heritage Resources Authorities (PHRAs) and local municipalities (Corsane, 2004). In response to this, the Eastern Cape Provincial Heritage Resources Authority (ECPHRA) was established (Eastern Cape Provincial Heritage Resources Authority, 2022). These Acts and agencies represent a significant transformative and democratic shift in heritage resource management in the country (Corsane, 2004). The definition of heritage was expanded to include both tangible and intangible forms, and heritage became more inclusive of diverse communities and cultures (Corsane, 2004).

Built environment heritage, which is the focus of this study, includes both individual structures as well as groups of them in what is known as a streetscape or townscape. Individual structures can be valued for their architecture or design, for their historical significance and for their contribution to the milieu of an area in its entirety. This milieu can form a townscape or streetscape and is created through a collection of buildings and other structures in the built environment (Cullen, 1961). Built environment heritage, therefore, is valued not just for its constituent parts, but for its contribution to the visual harmony and cultural significance produced by the composition and place-making (Baumann, 1997; Zancheti et al., 2009). It is for this reason heritage practitioners have two mechanisms with which to acknowledge and protect the value of the built environment: through the designation of the heritage value of individual features or collective features in a conservation area (Baumann, 1997).

Despite recognition for the value of built environment heritage in its various forms, Yang et al., (2019) and Lesh (2020) argue that heritage conservation practice is often contested, and various groups, including practitioners, legislators, developers, and civil society members, have conflicting notions of heritage, value, and spaces themselves. This creates a situation where, while the role of cultural heritage as a driver of economic and social growth is acknowledged, research shows that world heritage assets are vulnerable to aggressive development and management flaws (ICOMOS, 2005). Pressure from developers, limited resources, increasing urban populations, and governments struggling to fulfil their mandated responsibilities can all threaten heritage resources (Ebbe, 2009). In South Africa, research reveals that places like Clydesdale in Pretoria (Donaldson, 2001), the Bo-Kaap in Cape Town (Donaldson et al., 2013), the Vredefort Dome in Parys (Puren & Jordaan, 2014), and Die Weides, Mostertsdrift and Dennesig in Stellenbosch (Buchanan & Donaldson, 2021; Kruger & Donaldson, 2021), have had their heritage resources and place identity threatened by the limited protection provided for these assets in the face of urban development processes. On the other hand, to great an emphasis on the heritage of the built environment, can lead to an imbalance with regard to economic growth and development. For instance, the city of Pécs in Hungary faces the dilemma of heritage protection driving certain forms of business and economic opportunity away from the historic city centre (Csapó et al., 2010). For instance, heritage conservation efforts led to the diverting of traffic away from the city centre and rising rental costs which drove many large businesses to relocate to modern malls that suited their operating requirements better (Csapó et al., 2010). This process threatened to change Pécs' city centre from a 'living centre to a monument-city' (Csapó et al., 2010, p. 4).

Capitalism and neoliberal forces can affect urban landscapes in changing the economic structures of cities and thereby affecting the buildings, morphology, and place identity that make up the urban fabric. Jane Jacobs, in her seminal work, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (Jacobs, 1961), insightfully illustrates the tensions that exist amongst neoliberal planning, places and communities. Batty (2007) reflects on these urban processes and argues that we too often focus our attention on the exogenous changes to the city rather than the endogenous ones. Changes to the economic structures of cities and to their morphology are perhaps more stark and noticeable than the quiet changes within the city as it renews and reinvents itself (Batty, 2007). Developers continuously renew, repurpose, destroy, and regenerate buildings or neighbourhoods within the city for financial benefits or to fit new economic demands (Baeton, 2020; Batty, 2007). These changes may involve cosmetic changes to buildings or a complete rebuilding process, but both are driven by speculation and a reinvention of capital in the hopes of generating profit (Batty, 2007). For example, the Northeast region of England used to be the heartland of industries such as coal mining and shipbuilding, which were abandoned or shifted elsewhere because of the post-industrial changes to Britain's economy and the global capitalist system as a whole. Those people employed in industry lost their jobs, and former industrial buildings and landscapes were sold cheaply for reinvention and regeneration purposes (Penrose, 2017). Likewise the London Docklands on the Isle of Dogs alongside the Thames was sold to developers and became Canary Wharf, which is now the financial district of the city (Penrose, 2017). The changes to these areas illustrate how broader economic shifts cause the decline of one activity and create an opportunity to generate profit through changes to communities and the urban landscape and buildings they inhabit (Penrose, 2017). It must be stated, however, that while the post-industrial shift is at the centre of this change, government policymaking in the form of the privatization of state assets, public-private investment frameworks, and changing planning systems, work behind the scenes to enable both the destructive and creative processes (Penrose, 2017). This is an example of neoliberal planning that is articulated in its "most iconic form, the Urban Development Project, and its most iconic form of organization, the public-private partnership (PPP)" (Baeton, 2020).

This process of urban change is best understood as creative destruction and it occurs when capitalists, driven by profit-seeking, reinvent goods, services and places to meet markets' needs (Mitchell & de Waal, 2009; Penrose, 2017). The concept of creative destruction, initially formulated by Joseph Schumpeter in the mid-twentieth century, describes the economic transformation that occurs when older inventions and technologies are replaced by new ones alongside the destruction of current economic structures and the creation of new ones (Harvey, 2006). According to Avrami (2020), creative destruction in the context of heritage and conservation includes processes such as destroying old structures to make room for new construction, reusing historic structures for contemporary purposes, restoring historic structures to their original condition, and developing innovative cultural institutions that go against conventional ideologies of heritage. These instances illustrate how heritage may be created, reimagined, and destroyed through the creative destruction process, and how the conservation and interpretation of heritage are ongoing processes. Creative destruction, like that seen in the North East of England and in the London Docklands, is criticized for its seemingly anti-heritage and anti-community stance (Penrose, 2017). It brings modern visuals while destroying historical urban

landscapes and memories of the past (Penrose, 2017). Baeten (2017, p. 109) highlights some injustices that come with this creative destruction, including „writing away certain neighbourhoods, places, buildings, historical events, memories, and individuals”.

The process of creative destruction was documented in the South Durban region by Scott (2003), who explored modernist planning, zoning, and the collaboration between industrial capitalists and urban planners in the creation of the vast industrial area in the region. This is the only South African case study that explores creative destruction and urban planning or development, and it does so in within the context modernist planning and racialised context of South African cities in the twentieth century (Scott, 2003). As well as contributing to the conversation about creative destruction in the South African context, therefore, the present research is an outlier in terms of its pairing of this theoretical framework and heritage conservation in the country. As such it seeks to stimulate further research and discourse around urban planning, creative destruction, and heritage.

It is both possible and preferable for planning to achieve a balance between urban development projects and heritage conservation (Ebbe, 2009; Gültekin & Uçar, 2011). To achieve this, heritage needs to be conceptualised as a resource or asset and, therefore, as a support to economic growth and urban renewal projects (Ebbe, 2009). In fact, to an increasing degree, local, regional, and national development policies conceptualise cultural heritage a critical asset in socioeconomic growth (Murzyn-Kupisz, 2012). Murzyn-Kupisz (2012) discusses the socioeconomic advantages related to cultural heritage at various scales, where these advantages may be direct (job possibilities created via the provision of heritage services) or indirect (tourism multipliers and real estate). These effects can be extensive and benefit both the economy and local community. They can improve living standards and quality of life, support the knowledge economy by serving as education resources, improve urban regeneration processes, and boost local branding and image (Murzyn-Kupisz, 2012).

As such, it is critical to understand how urban planning and heritage are affected by the changes brought by creative destruction in urban environments. The present research seeks to understand the interplay between the urban planning, neoliberal forces and built environment heritage in Makhanda, a small city in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. Makhanda (formerly Grahamstown) is the largest urban settlement and administrative centre of the Makana Local Municipality. The city was established as a British military garrison in 1812 and later became home to the 1820 settlers. The city grew rapidly and its economic influence grew alongside it and by the 1830s it was the second largest settlement in the Cape Colony with an economy to match (de Moor & Lubke, 2021). Changes to the transport routes that bypassed the city, political marginalisation within the Cape Colony and the relative economic marginalisation of the local economy meant that by the end of the 18th Century its economic influence has dwindled (de Moor & Lubke, 2021). The final nails in the economic coffin was the establishment of the diamond and goldfields in the 1860s and 1880s, respectively (de Moor & Lubke, 2021). The contemporary economy of the city is dominated by the High Court and supporting legal sector, and tourism and education scenes (Hoefnagels et al., 2022). The tourism scene, as argued by Hoefnagels et al. (2022), is partially dependent on the historic place identity and built environment heritage of the city.

Makhanda has a rich heritage resource base, with more than 70 resources recognised at the provincial level for their significance. The vast majority of these provincial heritage resources are buildings from the settler/Georgian, Victorian, and Edwardian periods and adhere to the dominant architectural styles of these periods (Radford, 1989a, 1989b). They are thus classified as built environment heritage resources. These are the listed built environment heritage resources, but many more buildings from these periods contribute to the historic townscapes of the city and are architecturally representative of these periods in themselves. Radford's four reports divided buildings into three categories according to importance in this study (Radford, 1989a, 1989b, 1989c, 1990). Buildings in category A are those with exceptional architectural value and are unreplaceable. Category B buildings have some architectural merit, and Category C structures add to the city's character. At the end of the study, there were 760 buildings listed, 49 of which were designated as National (now Provincial) Monuments, 57 fell under Category A, 319 under Category B, and 335 under Category C. Notable streetscapes and concentrations of significant buildings are found across the city (Radford, 1990). The areas of Church Square (Figure 1) and Artificer's Square (Figure 2) represent commercial/civic Victorian and settler-Georgian residential areas, respectively (Radford, 1990) and will be briefly described here. They illustrate major nodes with high concentrations of listed and important buildings (Categories A-C) as well as conserved streetscapes and, therefore, exemplify two key examples of the built environment heritage of the city. While the occupants of the buildings have changed over time, no significant departure from their original use as commercial/civic and residential areas has occurred.

Church Square is located along the middle section of the city's High Street and being triangular in shape, has three sides. The Cathedral on one edge of the square is an imposing neogothic stone building and an array of ornate, double-storey Victorian buildings with roofs forming a covered walkway flank the southern edge (Figure 1a, 1c, 1e). On the northern edge of the street (Figure 1b, 1d, 1f) is the neogothic City Hall and a mixture of Georgian and Victorian buildings. The High Street is broad and the vertical and horizontal scale of space is befitting of the city centre of a thriving colonial city. In contrast, the buildings in Artificer's square are humbler single and double-storey settler cottages. They were inhabited by British artisans in the 1820s and were initially single-storey two-roomed houses, which expanded with household needs and a healthy cashflow (Reynolds & Reynolds, 1974). A sash window on each side of a central doorway gives them their Georgian simplicity and symmetry. The two streets (Cross and Bartholomew) that form the intersection at the centre of the square are joined by the splayed boundary walls to the properties at each corner in such a way that the square is actually in the form of an octagon (Figure 2a, 2b, 2d) (Radford, 1990). The narrow streets, treeless and hard-edged (Radford, 1990) are preserved with the wagon stones on each corner and the cobblestone gutters along each side.

On the advice of Denis Radford, the architect who was commissioned to conduct a survey of the built environment heritage in the late 1980s, a Conservation Area was demarcated within the central area of the city (Radford, 1989a). This area comprises the highest spatial concentration of provincial heritage resources and other significant buildings and contains the streetscapes of the Church and Artificer's Squares (Figure 3). It also contains schools, residential buildings, religious buildings and

the city's commercial centre, clustered around the historic High Street from which the whole settlement was planned in 1814 (Irvine, 2021).

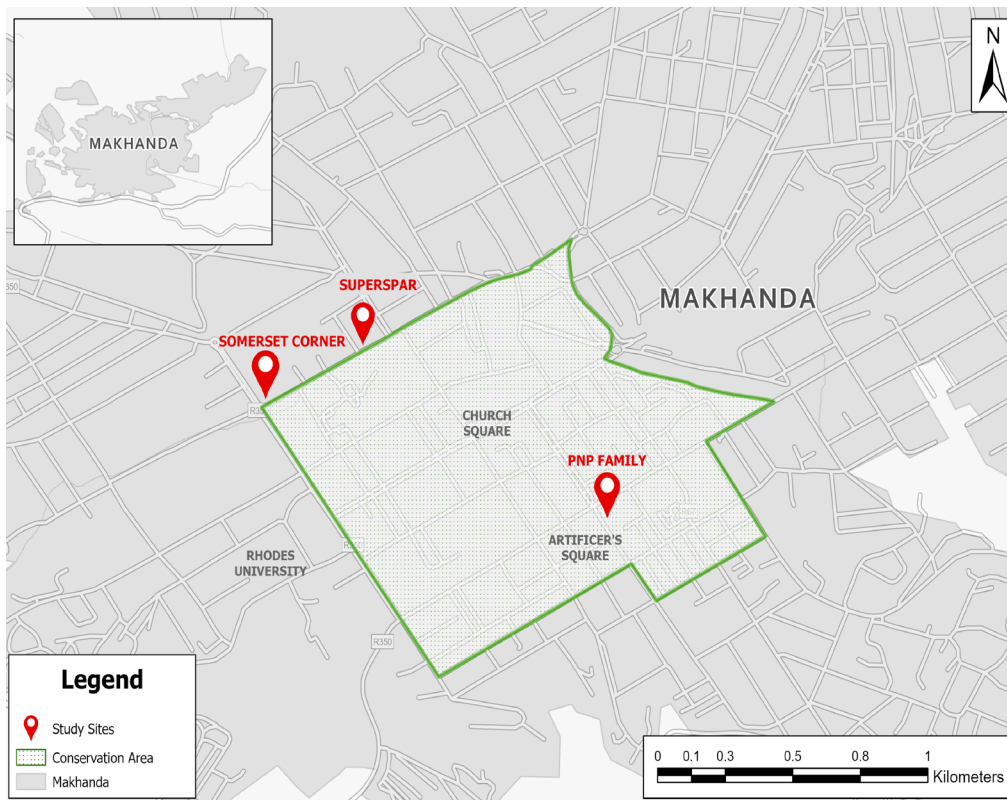
Figure 1. Church Square



Figure 2. Artificer's Square



Figure 3. Map showing the Conservation Area



Historically, heritage conservation priorities in the city and municipality were high, as seen through various policies and by-laws, the designation of a conservation area, the commissioning of the Radford Reports and provincial heritage resource proclamations. The first National Monument in the city was declared in 1936 and the most recent was declared almost 30 years ago in 1999. At its height, the heritage conservation movement involved the activities of Historic Grahamstown, which included the restoration of several residential properties in Artificer's Square (Reynolds & Reynolds, 1974). Alongside this conservation activity was the recognition of the built environment heritage as a contributor to the tourism product of the city, which is still the case today (Hoefnagels et al., 2022). The city and the management of its built environment heritage is under threat, however. Ineffective local government threatens the daily functioning of the city, heritage conservation and the tourism scene that depends on it (Hoefnagels et al., 2022; Irvine, 2021). This case study aims to explore the heritage conservation activities within the city in light of this municipal dysfunction. It does so with particular reference to the process of creative destruction and the fate of three buildings that fell within the Conservation Area.

METHODS

A qualitative research approach was selected for this study. Semi-structured interviews and various secondary sources were selected as data collection methods. Semi-structured interviews conducted with key informants sought to understand the interplay between urban planning and management,

neoliberal forces, and local heritage resources. The researchers focused the analysis on the challenges faced in heritage management, competing narratives between heritage and development as well as understanding how urban planning practice affects local heritage conservation. Various secondary data sources, including government policy documents, reports, research publications, books and newspaper articles were collected as supplementary information.

Research participants involved in this study were selected using a combination of snowball and purposive sampling. To achieve the aim of this study, there was a need to get various perspectives on the challenges in urban planning and management processes and how these heritage conservation within the Makhanda context. As such, key informants included real estate agents, business owners, representatives from local organisations, academic scholars, local drafting technicians, town planners and municipal officials. A total of 11 interviews were conducted and they lasted between 0.5 and 1.75 hours in duration with all interviewees consenting to the recording of the interviews. The interview data were transcribed using the above recordings. The transcripts were then analysed using thematic analysis to explore emerging themes as it related to the research and finally produce a conceptual framework aimed at understanding the local heritage management context.

RESULTS

Heritage Resource Management in Makhanda

As mentioned above, this research aims to understand the threat of creative destruction to built environment heritage in Makhanda. In order to properly contextualise this threat, it is first necessary to delve into the functionality of the heritage resource management in the city. Following this, the fates of three buildings that fall within the Conservation Area in the city will be explored.

Two organisational levels of heritage resource management exist within the city of Makhanda. The first is at the provincial level with the Eastern Cape Provincial Heritage Resources Authority (ECPHRA) and the second is at the local government level within Makana Local Municipality and its structures.

At the provincial level, the PHRAs oversee the protection of Grade II heritage resources and ensure adherence to legislation to the sixty-year rule, the informal name of the Section 34 of NHRA (Donaldson, 2005). The sixty-year rule means that changes to any building of more than sixty years in age need to be approved by the relevant PHRA. The excerpt below highlight the ECPHRA's mandate (Eastern Cape Provincial Heritage Resources Authority, 2022):

ECPHRA is responsible for the management of various types of heritage resources that abound in the province. As a responsible heritage authority, its mandate includes but not limited to identification, documentation, and assessment of heritage resources, developing policies and conservation plans, and maintaining essential national standards for the management of heritage resources.

ECPHRA has been mired by issues and controversy. For instance, in an article in the Daily Dispatch in 2021, it was reported that two designated geological heritage sites containing fossils from the

Cretaceous period (146–64 million years ago) were untraceable (Ndaliso, 2021). The sites had been gazetted in 1958 and formed significant natural heritage in the Eastern Cape (Ndaliso, 2021). A scientist from the East London museum had try to locate the sites using the coordinates recorded for the sites, but could not find any signage or signifier of these sites (Ndaliso, 2021). It was clear that no management of the sites had occurred as they could not be located and the area had become overgrown and informal housing had developed in the area (Ndaliso, 2021). The scientist noted that there was no hope for the rehabilitation of the sites under these circumstances (Ndaliso, 2021). In response, the ECPHRA insisted that they did not know of the existence of the sites, which were not listed on their register of heritage resources in the region (Ndaliso, 2021). This is a case that is indicative of the failure of heritage resource management locally – a worst-case scenario that has resulted from flawed information and management systems.

Connected to this failure, the capacity of the ECPHRA to fulfil their mandated responsibilities also needs to be called into question. The organisation reportedly has only three full-time employees who need to manage an extensive list of varied heritage resources (Hartle, 2021b). It was also reported in 2021 that the finance manager of ECPHRA, one of the three employees, had been fired after an independent disciplinary hearing, but was still seen to be employed at the organisation (Hartle, 2021b). She had been accused of misappropriating funds and equipment and a refusal to submit reports, including those relating to permit applications. In addition, in April 2021, it was reported that the Manager of the organisation had been suspended. These capacity issues are certainly enough to prevent the full functioning of an organisation. This has an undoubtable impact on the ability of the ECPHRA to process applications, including delays in issuing permits for development (Hartle, 2021a).

In an article by Hartle (2021a) for the Daily Dispatch, sources are reported to have said that the ECPHRA was dysfunctional, had failed to declare new heritage sites, had done no heritage assessments and grading, and had conducted no competence assessments of local authorities within their region. In addition, they had undergone no competence assessment from the South African Heritage Resources Authority (Hartle, 2021a). Furthermore, they had no detailed register of permits they had issued meaning that they could not deal with appeals or objections (Hartle, 2021a). According to Hartle (2021a) handover report to the new Council for the ECPHRA in 2020 said: “apart from the submission of an annual report to the MEC, very few aspects of ECPHRA’s mandate are effectively and consistently attended to, due to inadequate resources and staff provided to ECPHRA, and the lack of real support by DSRAC”.

On the municipal level, heritage management is a complex issue that requires a discussion of both the structures in place to protect heritage resources as well as the context of municipal dysfunction. Within the local municipality, three mechanisms exist to protect built environment heritage. First, the Aesthetics Committee was established to act as the approval committee for local development. This committee is appointed as an advisory committee of the Council and comprises city councilors, officials, and community members, including businesses. The Aesthetics Committee is responsible for approving changes to the built environment at the municipal level. Second, the designation and development of the Conservation Area (Grahamstown : Revision of Scheme Regulations, 1998). Changes to buildings within the Conservation Area, whether they are listed buildings or not, are

required to apply for approval from the Makana Municipality Aesthetics Committee, which would then refer the matter to the Eastern Cape Provincial Heritage Resources Authority (ECPHRA) who would decide whether to approve or disapprove the application (Grahamstown : Revision of Scheme Regulations, 1998). These changes include those to existing buildings deemed to have historical or aesthetic significance, the building line and the façades of buildings within this area (Grahamstown : Revision of Scheme Regulations, 1998). The provisions, therefore, seek to protect individual buildings as well as the streetscape or townscape. Third, heritage conservation was prioritised through the development of local by-laws for outdoor advertising, and signage effectively regulated the signage and outdoor advertising in the city. The by-law regulated the applications, charges, general considerations for approval, amendments and conditions for approval, and considerations for specific signs, control areas, and commercially sponsored signs that must be submitted (Makana Municipality: Outdoor Advertising and Signage By-Law, 2007). This was pivotal for heritage conservation, specifically at the façade level. The Aesthetics Committee is also tasked with receiving and approving application for new signage.

However, many of these initiatives today are diminished by a lack of information, governance issue, poor communication, and limited oversight by the local municipality. The 2021/2022 Integrated Development Plan (Makana Local Municipality, 2021) and 2013 Spatial Development Framework (Makana Local Municipality, 2013) documents refer to heritage conservation and resource use but this has not been realised and local heritage is threatened. In addition to the above failures Makana has further failed in enforcing regulations for heritage management as per the NHRA with developers taking advantage of the limited oversight. This has led to the circumventing of the necessary processes in permit applications and Heritage Impact Assessments by property owners and developers.

As discussed by Irvine (2021) and Hoefnagels et al. (2022), Makana Local municipality has been mired by dysfunction. In 2021, Makana Municipality received a score of 43% on News24's Out of Order rating, which highlighted the governance and service delivery issues that plague the municipality (News24, 2021). The rating subsequently found that R78.7 million of Makana's operational budget of R471.5 million was deemed as money utilised ineffectively (News24, 2021). Multiple interventions have attempted to deal with these issues and have included appeals at multiple government levels where the local municipality was subsequently placed under provincial administration under Section 139(1)(b) of the South African Constitution (Irvine, 2021). As a result, the community's confidence in the local government has diminished with some residents resorting halting rate payments further exacerbating service delivery and infrastructure management (Hoefnagels et al., 2022). The poor participation of the community in developing the IDP development process and the low voter turnout of 44,18% in Makana for the 2021 Local Municipal Elections are undoubtedly examples of this lack of confidence and collaboration (Hoefnagels et al., 2022).

According to Grocott's Mail (2022), the municipality was described as a toxic setting in the Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA) report published following a site visit in 2022. Within the report issues indicated include irregular expenditure, inconsistencies in audit opinions, concerns over overtime expenditure which had resulted in unaffordable salary payments, and the Financial Recovery Plan (FRP) not permeating the whole institution with Provincial Treasury's rec-

ommendations not being adhered to (Grocott's Mail, 2022). The municipality also has severe internal technical capacity deficiencies, which have led to a heavy reliance on external service providers. COGTA's report further emphasized the repeated findings against the municipality indicate a need for serious intervention as the consequences substantially harm local citizens (Grocott's Mail, 2022). Additionally, the report further established that the municipality's water, sanitation, roads, and infrastructure issues were unlikely to be resolved without a sufficient injection of funds. However, in a municipality with a history of instability within its administrative and political leadership means there had been no leadership and governance tone set from the top. Concerns arose on whether any funds received for projects in the municipality would be utilized appropriately to improve local conditions and tackle local challenges (Grocott's Mail, 2022).

A majority of respondents in this study noted high levels of municipal dysfunction ranging from failing to provide essential services, lack of enforcement, poor public works, employee attitude, housing services, and building and signage enforcement. In addition to the general issues of dysfunction outlined here, there are many challenges more specific to heritage management that were highlighted within key informant interviews. These include a lack of oversight and accountability, a lack of capacity and coordination, a lack of communication and information sharing, and enforcement of regulations and the efficacy of the Aesthetics Committee. These factors will be discussed below.

Oversight and Accountability

The first challenge identified was a lack of oversight and accountability. A respondent from the Makana Residents Association (MRA) highlighted issues relating to the management and conservation of heritage resources (S. Price-Smith, personal communication, February 25, 2022). While detailing the role and responsibilities of the local government in driving heritage management; however, due to poor municipal oversight and a functional municipal council, very little can be done to ensure sustainability and continuity in work in the heritage landscape of Makhanda.

Furthermore, respondents explained that those in power need to be held accountable. Local government is mandated to ensure that these services are provided and should be held responsible for any failure to perform. Unfortunately, complacency within the local community to these failures has resulted in these local government members failing to do their jobs.

We must hold these people accountable...Our community is not loud enough, not noisy enough, and we don't make it matter enough. And that is our job really, is to try and make people more aware that it doesn't have to be this way... You might have just gotten [so] accustomed to the dysfunctionality that it's become like a sense of normalcy (R. Gaybba, personal communication, February 12, 2022).

One of the issues related to this lack of accountability is the absence of an active community-based heritage organisation that can lend their expertise to the issue of heritage conservation and act as a community watchdog with regards to heritage issues.

Capacity and Coordination

The second challenge that was identified was a lack of capacity and coordination issues. Interviews specifically highlighted the combination multiple portfolios into one directorate or division. The Makana Municipality Tourism and SMME Coordinator highlighted that under the Local Economic Development Directorate, SMME, Trade, and Investment were one portfolio and Tourism and Heritage Development another (V. Douse, personal communication, May 13, 2022). However, in recent times they were now a single portfolio under the directorate. This made it highly challenging to manage all fields within this broadened portfolio. Additionally, the lumping together of these varied fields widens the scope of responsibilities, with personnel having limited skills given the widened scope.

One of the critical challenges we have is that a clear role needs to be developed for both the LED office and portfolio for heritage development and management.... because presently, the scope of the portfolio is too vast and results in capacity issues (V. Douse, personal communication, May 13, 2022).

Among the capacity issues were problems ranging from employees working in silos and information was not disseminated effectively within municipal departments. This results in both a lack of continuity in the event of employee changes and poor handover due to a widespread cooperation issue. Dysfunctionalities in some directorates or divisions within the municipality were highlighted as barriers for the effective functioning of the whole organisation by a representative of the Makana Business Forum (R. Gaybba, personal communication, February 12, 2022) and a former Makana Municipality Engineering & Town Planning Technologist (M. Behrens, personal communication, May 12, 2022).

M. Behrens (personal communication, May 12, 2022) stated that personnel within the municipality lacked skill and work ethic and included, uninformed, disinterested, and uninspired personnel. While this was not of the whole organization, it was clear that often any interaction would be met with some negativity. Furthermore, within the interviews it was noted that communication with the community was primarily poor at the various levels within the municipality. Due to this, community members have been discouraged from engaging in discussions due to a lack of trust.

Communication and access to information

The third challenge that was highlighted in interviews was communication and access to information. This includes a lack of access to heritage publications such as the Radford Reports and other historic documentation necessary for management of the Conservation Area. This is highly problematic and surprisingly given that it was the municipal council who commissioned these reports. It was also highlighted that the local municipality received limited feedback on local research including projects investigating heritage, tourism, SMME and urban development. Key informants and Makana Municipality mentioned the lack of an accurate and up-to-date heritage resource inventory as one of the biggest challenges in addressing issues with heritage management. This was also one of the

critical areas of weakness highlighted by the IDP (Makana Local Municipality, 2021, p. 235): *"A Heritage Resources Management Plan and Inventory has not been prepared by the Municipality, and maintenance of heritage resources is lacking in general. The provisions of the National Heritage Resources are not complied with"*.

Enforcement of Regulations

The fourth and final challenge relates to the enforcement of regulations and the efficacy of the Aesthetics Committee. Respondents noted failures within the Aesthetics Committee and poor enforcement of regulations when asked to provide examples of cases where this municipal failure could be seen. In terms of the enforcement of regulations in general, it is interesting to note that the Makana Spatial Development Framework (SDF) does not mention or depict the Conservation Area despite highlighting the value of local built environment heritage and the need for its conservation (Makana Local Municipality, 2013). In addition, within the two most recent Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) the Conservation Area is likewise conspicuously absent (Makana Local Municipality, 2021, 2023).

A former draftsman for the municipality, B. Krige (personal communication, May 9, 2022) also noted significant issues with signage in Makhanda relating to the lack of enforcement in signage guidelines with businesses doing whatever they pleased because the building inspector is not carrying out their role.

In discussions on the Aesthetics Committee, key informants gave mixed reactions. While some recognised the role played by specific individuals in ensuring the abiding of guidelines, there were still areas of concern. One such problem mentioned was the infrequency of meetings by the committee, which went from meeting at least once a month discussing ten to fourteen items to now only meeting when deemed necessary (B. Krige, personal communication, May 9, 2022). This is problematic as this affects both the enforcement capacity of the committee and causes delays for local developers and homeowners seeking the committee's approval for applications. This also causes delays with sending applications to the ECPHRA for approval. One respondent highlighted the committee was not representative both demographically and in skill level with the biggest concern being the committee needing members genuinely interested in aesthetics, not seat fillers, to fill a quota. In essence, the committee is summed up best by a representative from the Makana Business Forum (R. Gaybba, personal communication, February 12, 2022): *"The Aesthetics Committee, in my view, is dysfunctional in Makana Municipality. It's not well-resourced. It's a body with no teeth"*.

Creative Destruction and Heritage Management

Three case studies are explored here to illustrate some of the threats to buildings in the Conservation Area. Together, they illustrate the ineffective application of the heritage conservation apparatus that exists at the level of the ECPHRA and the local municipality. In addition, a lack of communication between sections within the municipality and between ECPHRA and the Aesthetics Committee is

shown to be an issue. A lack of oversight by these organisations during demolition and construction activities, and the absence of any serious repercussions for infringement of the heritage management policies in place, means that developers can circumvent the processes and procedures involved with very little risk.

The first case study is that of a house located at the corner of African and Somerset Streets (2A Somerset Street), which was demolished in March 2009 for the development of apartment buildings (Figure 4). The building was an example of Victorian architecture that contributed to the streetscape in Somerset and African Streets (Grocott's Mail, 2009). This case study highlights the effects of the local studentification process outlined by Irvine (2021) and how this threatens the conservation of local heritage. Local studentification at this time amounted to high density developments in the CBD area (Irvine, 2021), which is located alongside Rhodes University and within the Conservation Area. The University's student population was expanding and developers saw an opportunity to generate profit for purpose-built student accommodation (PBSA) (Irvine, 2021). Planners in the municipality encouraged this densification in order to contain and formalise student rental properties within the city centre (Irvine, 2021). The permit for the demolition of property was approved because the property was zoned as 'General Residential' (Grocott's Mail, 2009). However, this permit needed further consideration as the house was located within the conservation area and as such should have been referred to various authorities such as the Aesthetics Committee where permission to demolish would be then granted by the Eastern Cape Heritage Resources Agency (ECPHRA) (Grocott's Mail, 2009). The Historical Society made several objections on the basis of the building's age and its contribution to the streetscape (Grocott's Mail, 2009). Unfortunately, the house was torn down before necessary procedures could take place (Grocott's Mail, 2009). The demolition occurred during a weekend before the objections could be properly dealt with (Grocott's Mail, 2009). As pointed out by the Grocott's Mail (2009), the apartment block that replaced the original building is not sympathetic to the surrounding Victorian streetscape (Figure 4). The destruction of this property marked the first of many publicised cases of failures in the protection of Makhanda's built environment heritage. In this case, the correct procedures were not followed, and regulations were applied haphazardly, ignoring the designation of the Conservation Area. The developers went ahead with the demolition knowing full well that there would be few real consequences for them. In fact, the article in the (Irvine, 2021). Grocott's Mail (2009) pointed out that the fine from ECPHRA for such an infringement was a mere R300 000, which is little deterrent when compared with the potential profits.

The second case is that of the SuperSPAR development on African Street (Figure 5). The store development was the source of a contentious legal battle between the municipality and developers that lasted several years within the development and urban management sector (Macgregor, 2015). This is due to the upgrading of the previous store that primarily catered for smaller everyday convenience products with a massive 1000m² SuperSPAR allowing for more bulk purchases (Macgregor, 2015). For this to occur, the historic property on Rose Street would need to be joined with the existing SPAR and Tops (Figure 5–6). The property known as the 'Lisagelly House' was originally built around the 1860s (Macgregor, 2015). It was used as a British army officers' mess and later converted into a guest house until its partial demolition in 2015 (Macgregor, 2015).

Figure 4. Somerset Corner



Part of the development plan involved incorporating the historic cottage on the adjacent property as a liquor outlet, with the façade left as close to the original as possible (Macgregor, 2015). However, the digging of a trench during the construction phase of the store led to the collapse of a large section of the back wall (Figure 6) and an order to stop construction was put in place while further investigation took place (Macgregor, 2015). The circumstances were seen as suspicious, with ECPHRA raising questions as to “why a two-metre long, two-metre deep trench had been dug along one side of the building to take samples while smaller holes had been dug elsewhere” (Macgregor, 2015). However, nothing came of the investigation despite these concerns. The façade of the historic property remains and forms part of the liquor outlet of the SuperSPAR, but the building is considerably altered from its original form with a massive warehouse jutting out of the same back wall which collapsed under suspicious circumstances. This case study illustrates a lack of oversight in the redevelopment process, which allows for changes to the plans to be made by the developer under the guise of unforeseen problems within construction.

The third case is that of the development of a historic property at 68 Bathurst Street into a Pick n Pay supermarket, which also fell within the city’s Conservation Area. Local residents questioned the legitimacy of the construction projects taking place there in the first place and how the permit was approved (Grocott’s Mail, 2018). Only the façade of the building had been retained in the demolition and development process (Figure 7–8). The structure was identified as being a Georgian building that appeared on the 1824 map of the city and, therefore, approval needed to be granted by the ECPHRA (Grocott’s Mail, 2018). The biggest concern within the community was that the approval was granted by the ECPHRA without the knowledge of the Aesthetics Committee meaning that local approval mechanisms were not adhered to and consultation had not taken place (Grocott’s Mail, 2018).

Figure 5. SuperSPAR in African Street



Figure 6. SuperSPAR construction illustrating damage to the historic property in Rose Street



Source: Macgregor, 2015

In addition, the heritage report or first phase Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) was not attached to the information sent to Aesthetics Committee (Grocott's Mail, 2018). This was seen by local stakeholders as concerning because it limited the ability to ensure that checks and balances were in place with regard to the application and the demolition (Grocott's Mail, 2018). Makana Municipality's town planners and the ECPHRA were reported by Grocott's Mail (2018) to claim that they are resolved to put stronger processes in place to balance the competing values of conservation and development. They also recognized the need to develop better channels of communication (Grocott's Mail, 2018).

Figure 7. Assessment of construction of the historic property at 68 Bathurst Street



Source: Grocott's Mail, 2018

Figure 8: PnP Family Makana and surrounds



CONCLUSIONS

If one views Makhanda's built environment heritage through the lens of creative destruction, we see two economic forces at play that roughly correspond to boom-and-bust cycles. The city of Makhanda grew rapidly in its early years, both in its economic influence and in terms of the size of the urban settlement. This initial urban growth was stimulated by the economic prosperity of the town, which functioned as an important trading centre. Capital was thus a creative force that shaped the urban fabric and its individual buildings. The grandiose Victorian buildings in Church Square are testament to this force as are the humbler cottages of the artisans in Artificer's Square. The continued existence of these buildings and streetscapes are due to the economic downturn that the town suffered towards the end of the 19th Century. In essence, no large economic shifts were driving urban change during this period and this lack of economic dynamism preserved buildings from the preceding era through a lack of impetus for great creative destruction. The heritage conservation efforts within the city in the 20th century further assisted in the conservation of this historic urban fabric. The inventory of important buildings and streetscapes compiled by Radford in the late 1980s, the establishment of the local Aesthetics Committee and the Conservation Area within Makhanda were efforts to bolster conservation activities.

Then, at the turn of this century, economic forces like that of studentification and commercial growth in the form of supermarket infiltration stimulated an economic environment for creative destruction. As illustrated within the case studies, local government also started to lose their grip on urban management during this period. Issues like a lack of oversight and accountability, a lack of capacity and coordination, a lack of communication and information sharing, and enforcement of regulations and the efficacy of the Aesthetics Committee all threaten the effective management of local heritage resources. On the provincial level, the ECPHRA's capacity and functionality has also been brought into question. Without effective oversight and capacity, government structures were thereby rendered incapable of engaging in the exercise of balancing the demands of heritage conservation and neoliberal forces in the form of creative destruction. This means that the door is opened for uncontrolled development and the city runs the risk of losing important built environment heritage both at the scale of the individual building and the streetscape. This is not just a risk with large and commercial developments, but on the level of the individual, privately-owned residential property. Changes to these properties are often less noticeable than the creative destruction enacted by large developers, but they still form a threat to the built environment heritage.

In order to tackle these challenges, it will be necessary to address the general issue of municipal dysfunction in the Makana Local Municipality. However, some more specific interventions are needed. The capacity, functioning and accountability of the ECPHRA and the municipal structures involved in heritage conservation need to be tackled. This will necessitate greater communication within these structures and with local stakeholders and enhanced powers to punish those who attempt to circumvent planning processes. It will also mean that access to information about the city's heritage resources must be ensured and, more specifically, an up-to-date inventory of these resources must be created and maintained. This flow of information must not just be in the hands of practitioners,

but with local stakeholders whose buy-in and participation in heritage conservation matters should be sought, valued, and fostered.

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