SOUTH AFRICAN HERITAGE RESOURCES AGENCY
111 Harrington Street, Cape Town, 8001 P.O. Box 4637, Cape Town, 8000
Tel: (021) 4624502  Fax: (021) 4624509
Website:  WWW.SAHRA.ORG.ZA

LIVING HERITAGE CHAPTER

POLICY AND GUIDELINE PRINCIPLES FOR MANAGEMENT
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PREAMBLE

Attention to living heritage is of paramount importance for the reconstruction and development process in South Africa. Means must be found to enable song, dance, story-telling and oral history to be permanently recorded and conserved in the formal heritage structure (White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage: 1996).

This policy is primarily informed by the National Heritage Resources Act of 1999, under which legislation the South African Heritage Resources Agency is established. This draft is also based on other heritage legislation and best practices in the world. It is also inspired by academic research and debate, social consultation and participation from a wide range of stakeholders.

The policy acknowledges the historical imbalance pertaining to the marginalisation and exclusion of living heritage from the mainstream of heritage resource management. In the spirit of social cohesion, redress, reconciliation, respect, tolerance, equity, representation and transformation, this policy marks the first step towards safeguarding our living heritage for the benefit of the present and future generations.
ABBREVIATIONS

AIA – Archaeological Impact Assessment
ARIPO – The African Regional Intellectual Property Office
CMP – Conservation Management Plan
DAC – Department of Arts and Culture
EIA – Environmental Impact Assessment
HIA – Heritage Impact Assessment
ICOM - International Council on Museums
ICOMOS – International Council on Monuments and Sites
IK – Indigenous Knowledge
IKS – Indigenous Knowledge System
INCP - International Network on Cultural Policy
IP – Intellectual Property
IPR – Intellectual Property Rights
NGO – Non Governmental Organisation
NHC – National Heritage Council
NHCA – National Heritage Council Act 1999
NHRA – National Heritage Resources Act 1999
PHRA – Provincial Heritage Resource Authority
SAHRA – South African Heritage Resources Agency
SAOTA - Southern African Oral Tradition Association
SIA – Social Impact Assessment
TRIPS – Trade Related Intellectual Property
UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific, Cultural Organization
WTO – World Trade Organisation
WIPO – World Intellectual Property Organisation
DEFINITION OF TERMS

Heritage Resource
According to the National Heritage Resources Act (1999), the term refers to any place or object of cultural significance. However, in broad terms, it refers to both intangible and tangible forms of heritage resources deemed to be of cultural significance.

Living Heritage
There are many possible definitions to living heritage, however all seem to relate to an intangible resource. Hence the term intangible heritage, sometimes referred to as intangible cultural heritage or non-material or non-physical form of heritage resource. According to the National Heritage Resources Act 1999, living heritage means the intangible aspects of inherited culture, and may include: Cultural Tradition; Oral History; Performance; Ritual; Popular Memory; Skills and Techniques; Indigenous Knowledge Systems; and the Holistic approach to Nature, Society and Social Relationships.

The UNESCO definition on Intangible Cultural Heritage acknowledges language within the domain of oral traditions. In terms of the UNESCO convention (2003) intangible heritage is defined as the practice, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural space associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognized as part of their cultural heritage. Article 2.2 of the Convention presents five key domains in which intangible heritage is manifested: Oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage; Performing arts; Social practices, rituals and festive events; Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; Traditional craftsmanship.
Most often the terms living heritage and intangible heritage are used interchangeably and there is no clear distinction in their definitions.

Tangible Heritage
Unlike intangible or living heritage, tangible heritage refer to the material heritage or physical heritage such as objects and sites or places of cultural significance.

Cultural Significance
According to the NHRA it means aesthetic, architectural, historical, scientific, social, spiritual, linguistic or technological value or significance. In broad terms cultural significance is synonymous with heritage significance and cultural heritage value. Its purpose is to help in identifying and assessing the attributes which make a place or object of value to us and to our society. Its definition may change as a result of the continuing history of the place, depending on the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and objects. Also given the understanding that cultural significance may change as a result of new information (Australian Burra Charter). Acknowledging the term has a range of meanings and
values for different communities and individuals. The definition of Cultural Significance by indigenous groups or local communities may differ vastly from that of non-indigenous groups, such as Westerners and Europeans perceptions and understanding of cultural significance. Indigenous knowledge system may be useful in providing a non–European definition of cultural significance that represents the values and aspirations of indigenous communities.

**Heritage Management**
In this document the term, ‘heritage management’, refers to the identification, protection, conservation, research, recording, documentation, dissemination, revitalisation, and promotion of heritage resources based on the best practices and world standards of management, yet relevant to the local context of South Africa. Heritage management is sometimes used interchangeable with the term safeguarding.

**Safeguarding**
Refers to the management of heritage resources, both tangible and intangible heritage. According to the UNESCO Convention on Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage, the term was used in reference to measures aimed at ensuring the viability of the intangible cultural heritage, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage (UNESCO General Conference; 2003).

**Indigenous Knowledge System**
The Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) developed and maintained by South Africa’s indigenous peoples pervades the lives and the belief systems of a large proportion of the country’s population. Such indigenous knowledge manifests itself in areas ranging from cultural and religious ceremonies to agricultural practices and health interventions. Indigenous knowledge (IK) is generally used synonymously with traditional and local knowledge to differentiate the knowledge developed by and within distinctive indigenous communities from the international knowledge system generated through universities, government research centres and private industry, sometimes incorrectly called the Western knowledge system (IKS Policy; 2004).

**Community**
It is a highly contested and politicised term. In this document the term ‘community’ is used to refer to a group of people who live in a common geographical area and sometimes share the same cultural interests, values, beliefs, norms, traditions, experiences, background and history, even if people reside in different locations.

**Practicing community**
The term ‘practicing community’ refers to a group of people who still continue practicing or observing their culture, traditions, knowledge systems, and other aspects of living heritage in relation to a site of cultural significance, heritage objects or intangibles per se.
Living Human Treasures
These are persons who possess to a very high degree the knowledge and skills required for performing or creating specific elements of the intangible cultural heritage that the Member States have selected as a testimony to their living cultural traditions and to the creative genius of groups, communities and individuals present in their territory.
Introduction

Access to, participation in, and enjoyment of the arts, cultural expression, and the preservation of one’s heritage are basic human rights; they are not luxuries, nor are they privileges as we have generally been led to believe. (White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage: 1996)

The official recognition of living heritage is a great accomplishment in the South African heritage fraternity. In broad terms the field of heritage has been noted to be fragmented and skewed in a manner that does not reflect the true demography and diverse experience of South African people, particularly those who have been oppressed over the centuries. Decades of conservation concentrated largely on tangible heritage such as colonial monuments, statues and architecture while intangible heritage in the form of indigenous knowledge system, oral tradition, folklore, popular memory and many others were left out and not included in heritage resources management. Integrating living heritage into the ambit of heritage resource management serves as a commitment towards making a meaningful contribution to the transformation of the heritage sector and redress to the past imbalances in heritage resources management. In this regard living heritage constitute an integral part of ongoing developments in the management of heritage resources in South Africa.

Living heritage accrue value, meaning and context to heritage resources. As such it enriches people’s lives, often providing a deep and inspirational sense of connection to community and heritage resources, to the past and to lived experiences. Most importantly living heritage represents knowledge and information sustained through memory and transmitted orally or by practice from one generation to the next. This means by its nature it is a fragile resource often vulnerable and susceptible to dissipation if not adequately managed in a way consistent with its cultural value, essence and conservation needs. There is an urgent need to prevent further losses, as heritage is irreplaceable, non-renewable and the need to conserve it for posterity is extremely important.

Safeguarding of living heritage should not be undertaken for its own sake, as an end in itself, but as a tool for achieving the goals and aspirations of relevant peoples and communities and for promoting national, regional and international policy objectives. The way in which a protection system is shaped and defined will depend to a large extend on the principles and objectives it is intended to serve. A key initial step, therefore, of the development of the legal regime for the protection of living heritage is to determine relevant policy objectives and principles.
1. Key Elements of the Policy

1.1 Aims and Objects
This policy takes cognisance of the constitutional provisions enshrined in the NHRA and the mandate of SAHRA. Thereby the management of living heritage underpin the following objectives:

1.1.1 To develop an operational framework for safeguarding living heritage resources;

1.1.2 To advocate for the identification, assessment, promotion and management of heritage resources associated with living heritage;

1.1.3 To promote an integrated and interactive system of management of living heritage;

1.1.4 To foster a sustainable management approach for safeguarding living heritage for the present and future generations;

1.1.5 To promote awareness on the importance of education, research, documentation and recording of living heritage;

1.1.6 To provide a framework for the implementation and strategic plan for safeguarding living heritage;

1.2 Guiding Principles
This Policy is based on the following guiding principles:

1.2.1 Heritage resources have the capacity to promote reconciliation, understanding and respect, and contribute to the development of a unifying South African identity;

1.2.2 Heritage resources form an important part of the history and beliefs of communities and must be managed in a way that acknowledges the right of affected communities to be consulted and to participate in their management;

1.2.3 Effective heritage management:
   a) - must ensure development of the skills and capacity of heritage practitioners and communities involved in heritage resource management;
   
   b) - must make provision for on-going training and education of heritage management workers.

1.2.4 Promote respect for living heritage, and for the dignity, cultural integrity, and philosophical, intellectual and spiritual values of the peoples and communities that conserve and maintain expressions of intangible forms of heritage
resources;

1.2.5 Respect the continuing customary use, development, exchange and transmission of aspects of living heritage resources by, within and between communities;

1.2.6 Living Heritage should be conserved in a way that is respectful of and consistent with the relevant national and international constitutional laws, and without prejudice to specific rights and obligations already established under binding legal instruments, including human rights instruments;

1.2.7 Contribute to the preservation and conservation of the environment in which aspects of living heritage are generated and maintained, for the direct benefit of indigenous people, traditional groups and other cultural communities, and for the benefit of humanity in general;

1.2.8 Acknowledge the importance of Intellectual Property Law for the protection of living heritage and those who embody various aspects of intangible cultural heritage.

2. International and National Trends in Heritage Legislation

In October 2003 the Member States of UNESCO adopted the Convention for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage and this marks a major step at international level for cultural heritage protection. The Convention complements the World Heritage Convention by introducing the protection of intangible components of heritage resources. At national level the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage, the National Heritage Councils Act and the National Heritage Resources Act echo similar sentiments regarding the application of a holistic and sustainable approach to management of intangible heritage. Hence the integration of intangible heritage into the ambit of heritage resource management.


According to the NHRA, the management of heritage resources is limited to sites and objects of cultural significance. Cultural significance also represents intangibles such as social, spiritual, linguistic or technological value or significance. Consistent with the Act SAHRA has a mandate to conserve and manage both sites and objects associated with oral tradition or living heritage.

3.1 Sites associated with Intangible Heritage

In terms of the NHRA, section 27, SAHRA must identify those places with qualities so exceptional that they are of special national significance in terms of the heritage assessment criteria and must investigate the desirability of their declaration as national heritage sites. Section 3 of Act makes provision for the protection of places to which oral traditions are attached or which are associated with living heritage, and such places
must be considered part of the National Estate. These sites include:

a) places, buildings, structures and equipment of cultural significance;
b) historical settlements and townscapes;
c) landscapes and natural features of cultural significance;
d) geological sites of scientific or cultural importance;
e) archaeological and palaeontological sites;
f) graves and burial grounds, including –
   1. ancestral graves
   2. royal graves and graves of traditional leaders;
   3. graves of victims of conflict;
   4. graves of individuals designated by the Minister by notice in the Gazette;
   5. historical graves and cemeteries; and
   6. other human remains which are not covered in terms of the Human Tissue Act, 1983 (Act No.65 of 1983)
g) sites of significance relating to the history of slavery in South Africa.

3.2 Objects associated with Intangible Heritage
The Act, section 3 (b), make provision to the preservation of objects to which oral traditions are attached or which are associated with Living Heritage. Such movable object including:

a) objects recovered from the soil or waters of South Africa such as archaeological and palaeontological objects and material, meteorites and rare geological specimens;
b) ethnographic art and object with cultural significance;
c) military objects imbued with cultural significance;
d) objects of decorative or fine art (artefacts);
e) objects of scientific or technological interest; and
f) book, records, documents, photographic positives and negatives, graphic, film or video material or sound recordings, excluding those that are public records as defined in section 1 (xiv) of the National Archives of South Africa Act, 1996 (Act No.65 of 1983).

4. Assessment of Cultural Significance
The NHRA 1999, section 3, makes provision for heritage resources to be considered part of the national estate if it has cultural significance or other special value because of:

a) its importance in the community, or pattern of South Africa’s history;
b) its possession of uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of South Africa’s natural or cultural heritage;
c) its potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of South
Africa’s natural or cultural heritage;

d) its importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by a community or cultural group;

e) its importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristic valued by a community or cultural group;

f) its importance in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement at a particular period;

g) its strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons;

h) its strong or special association with the life or work of a person, group or organisation of importance in the history of South Africa; and

i) sites of significance relating to the history of slavery in South Africa.

5. Safeguarding Living heritage

It is the policy of SAHRA to protect heritage resources to which living heritage is attached. Safeguarding intangible forms of heritage must be consistent with the best practices and international standards. At the same time the legal instruments for safeguarding must be relevant and comply with the South African context. Article 11 of the UNESCO Convention on safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage make specific provision that each State Party (South Africa included) shall: a) take the necessary measures to ensure the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory; b) identify and define the various elements of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory, with the participation of communities, groups and relevant non-governmental organizations.

5.1 General Guideline Principles for Safeguarding

5.1.1 Social Consultation: according to the NHRA1999, section 5 (4), heritage resources form an important part of the history and beliefs of communities and must be managed in a way that acknowledges the right of affected communities to be consulted and to participate in their management.

5.1.2 Public Participation: in terms of the NHRA, section 5(c), every generation has a moral responsibility to act as trustee of the national heritage for succeeding generations and the state has an obligation to manage heritage resources in the interests of all South Africans. Sufficient mechanisms must be adopted to ensure local communities do participate in decision making and be involved in the process of safeguarding intangible heritage resources. A system of corporative governance must be established with local communities or concerned parties to determine the roles, responsibilities and levels of involvement of each pertaining to safeguarding of living heritage.

5.1.3 Documentation: is necessary to enable the listing of intangible heritage in the heritage register for formal protection. Modes of documentation and recording may include a number of the following media: audio, film, transcription and illustration. The record should be transferable or transmittable and user-friendly
to ensure access and dissemination of information were it is deemed applicable to do so.

5.1.4 **Conservation:** should highlight the desirability for safeguarding living heritage for the present and future generations. Conservation should make provision for communities to continue with the tradition of transmitting knowledge and skills to the present and future generation. Conservation must be consistent with the process of promoting the use and enjoyment of and access to heritage resources, in a way consistent with their cultural significance and conservation needs, set out in section 7 (a) of the NHRA.

5.1.5 **Access:** Access to intangible heritage resource must be negotiated with affected parties/communities and should consider respect of customary practices governing access to specific aspects of such heritage.

5.1.6 **Promotion:** should highlight the importance and benefits associated with safeguarding living heritage. Establish a strategy to promote and encourage public understanding and enjoyment of the national estate and public interest and involvement in the identification, assessment, recording and management of heritage resources (NHRA sec13(e)).

5.1.7 **Public Education:** should highlight the significant role communities can play in safeguarding living heritage and the benefits to be realised from such an undertaking. Educating members of the public is necessary to develop public interest and appreciation of heritage resources.

5.1.8 **Ethical Values:** foster a culture of tolerance, compassion and respect of cultural values and practices of others. Empathise with the experience of others.

6. **Formal Protection**
The proclamation of the Master Pieces of Oral History and Intangible Heritage of Humanity (UNESCO) sets precedent of the official protection of intangible cultural heritage on a global scale. Official protection should provide sufficient measures for the legal and financial protection of intangible heritage and these are as follows -

6.1 **Identification:**
Should consider the role and views of affected parties/communities in identifying aspects of intangible heritage deemed to be of cultural significance and worthy for conservation. The responsible heritage resources authority must facilitate the process of identification of heritage resources that are of national significance in accordance to section 7 and 13 of the NHRA.

6.2 **Assessment of Significance:**
Assessment and evaluation of the cultural significance of heritage resources must comply with the prescribed regulations set out in sections 2(vi),5(7) and 3 of the NHRA.
1999. Communities definition of cultural significance should not be undermined when assessing significance of heritage resources. The process should be a collective effort involving communities concerned, heritage resource authorities and experts.

6.3 Declaration:
According to the NHRA, those heritage resources of South Africa which are of cultural significance or other special value for the present community and for future generations must be considered part of the national estate and fall within the sphere of operations of heritage resources authorities.

i) National Estate - Intangible heritage requires a different management approach and so it applies to the format for listing on national register. A specific criteria for listing of intangible heritage resources must be established and should adhere to the conservation needs of such heritage resource. Listing as part of the National Estate requires communities to provide information to substantiate the origin, meaning, value and ownership of such resource, and a clear statement of significance of the resource. Intangible heritage for consideration for proclamation or declaration should not violate human rights enshrined in the South African Constitution. SAHRA shall maintain and administer the list and information management process for registered heritage resources, including the threatened resources.

ii) Nomination and Grading – Any person may nominate heritage resources associated with living heritage on the bases of the cultural significance relevant to the heritage resource. Nomination forms shall be accompanied by a detailed document that reflects the history, context, originality, use, meaning and value, and statement of significance of the heritage site or object. The nomination for grading shall be considered by the South African Heritage Resources Agency grading committee after which shall be submitted to the SAHRA Council for consideration. (see Heritage Assessment Criteria and Grading in the Act, (s.7). For grading purposes, nomination forms may be obtained from SAHRA or PHRA offices.

6.4 Audit:

i) Record – Provision must be made for formal recording, documentation and survey of components of intangible heritage associated with heritage sites or objects for the purpose of inventory-making. Communities whose heritage resources is being audited are encouraged to participate, especially in assessment and definition of the cultural significance of the heritage resource.

6.5 Heritage Register:

i) Register – In terms of the Act (s.30) a Provincial Heritage Resources Authority must compile and maintain a heritage register listing the heritage resources in the province which it considers to be conservation-worthy in terms of the heritage assessment criteria. Listing of heritage resources in the heritage register assigns legal and financial protection to the affected heritage resource. Heritage resources must be listed in the
inventory in the format and under the categories prescribed by SAHRA, and should be
done by the relevant heritage resources authority (NHRA, section 39(2)).

ii) Inventory – For the purposes of the consolidation and co-ordination of information on
heritage resources, SAHRA must compile and maintain an inventory of the national
estate, which must be in the form of a data base of information on heritage resources
which it considers to be worthy of conservation - section 39(1) of NHRA. Article 12 of
UNESCO convention on safeguarding intangible heritage makes provision to the
following - To ensure identification with a view to safeguarding, each State Party (South
Africa included) shall draw up, in a manner geared to its own situation, one or more
inventories of intangible cultural heritage present in its territory. The inventories should
be regularly updated. A system of inventorying intangible forms of heritage resources
must be established and developed in accordance to the best practices and
international standards. The legal and administrative measures for the protection and
creation of the inventory must be established.

6.6 Promotion:
   i) Raise Awareness – Adopt appropriate mechanism to promote the underlying values
and significance for safeguarding intangible heritage resources for the benefit of the
present and future generations. Also promote the identification of indigenous methods
of safeguarding living heritage. Promote learning based on the protection of heritage
sites and object associated with oral history or living heritage, whose existence is
necessary for expressing aspects of intangible heritage.

6.7 Research and Documentation:
   i) Research – Research initiatives relevant to safeguarding living heritage should be
encouraged and where possible SAHRA should commission such research intervention.
Any research conducted should uphold the necessary ethical codes of research
process and acceptable conduct, that should in no way infringe upon basic human
rights enshrined in the South African Constitution. A multidisciplinary research method
is highly recommended when conducting research on living heritage.

   ii) Documentation – must make provision for formal recording of previously unwritten
or unrecorded components of intangible heritage resource. Living heritage often evolves
and subject to significant change, any change occurring should be documented using
conventional modes of recording. Traditional and Indigenous methods of documentation
are highly encouraged, especially for continuation of skills and knowledge of intangible
aspects of heritage.

6.8 Education and Dissemination:
   i) Education – To ensure effective management of intangible heritage resources the
skills and capacities of people involved in heritage resources management must be
developed; and provision must be made for ongoing education and training. Sufficient
mechanisms must be established for the integration of living heritage into the school
curriculum and tertiary education system.
ii) Dissemination – This should make provision for access to information pertaining to intangible heritage resources. Dissemination of information should be regulated in such a way that ensures dignity and respect for cultural values of affected communities. Public use, collection, distribution and reproduction of intangible forms of heritage resources should ensure adherence to existing legal instruments and Intellectual Property Rights.

7. Other Measures for Protection

7.1 Intellectual Property Rights:
The best practices for safeguarding intangible heritage include considerations of Intellectual Property Laws. However the NHRA makes no provision nor reference to intellectual property rights pertaining to safeguarding of intangible heritage resources and the protection of ownership rights of communities or individuals embodying aspects of intangible heritage. South Africa, through the Department of Trade and Industry, presents a well defined system of intellectual property laws that can be useful for referencing and application. Such laws include: Cultural Property Rights, Patent Law, Copyright and Related Rights, Moral Rights, Trademarks, Industrial Design, Indications of Geographical Origin and Customary Law.

8. Sustainable Management and Conservation
Conservation and management of living heritage must make use of all the knowledge, skills and disciplines which can contribute to the study and care of heritage resources. Living heritage retains its significance through performance or use.

8.1 A Community-based approach to safeguarding intangible heritage is fundamental. Communities have, over the years, developed management strategies to protect their heritage resources. In order to be successful and ethical, any management strategy for intangible heritage must involve and protect concerned communities. It is the policy of SAHRA to assist communities to manage and safeguard intangible heritage, but appropriate consultative and facilitative mechanisms need to be provided for doing so.

8.2 Human Resource Development and Capacity Building:
To ensure that heritage resources are effectively managed, provision must be made for ongoing education and training to enhance capacity and develop competence in heritage resource management.

8.3 Living Human Treasures:
Conservation of intangible heritage resources must recognise persons who embody and practice aspects of such heritage resources. To avoid future loss of knowledge and skills, it is extremely important to encourage bearers of intangible heritage resources to practice and transmit their knowledge and skills to the present and future generations. The elders who, in most instances, possess invaluable information should be encouraged to continue the tradition of transmitting knowledge and transfer of skills to
the younger generation. For this to happen initiatives or opportunities for
tergenerational dialogue or social interaction should be created, promoted and
sustained. The IKS national framework acknowledges that there may be existing
opportunities within the National Qualifications Framework (NQF) for the accreditation of
IK holders.

8.4 Inventory:
The legal and administrative measures for the creation and protection of the inventory
must be established. The inventories should be regularly updated to ensure
sustainability.

8.5 Cooperative Governance:
A collective and cooperative approach involving stakeholders and affected communities
or interested parties is fundamental in conservation and sustainable management of
intangible heritage. These structures should be empowered to provide protection to
intangible heritage resources at different levels.

8.6 Integrated Management Approach:
The NHRA makes provision for an integrated and interactive system of heritage
resources. As such the safeguarding of intangible heritage should compliment and
include consideration of other legal instruments and practices for the protection of
elements of intangible heritage.

8.7 National Heritage Resources Fund (NHRF):
One of the most important elements of the new legislation is the opportunity it will
provide for communities to participate in the identification, conservation and
management of our cultural resources. This financial assistance is provided out of a
fund reserved by SAHRA and is called the National Heritage Resources Fund.
The South African Heritage Resources Agency has established the National Heritage
Resources Fund to provide financial assistance in the form of a grant or a loan to an
approved body or an individual for any project which contributes to the conservation and
protection of South Africa’s heritage resources which form part of the national estate.

9. International Cooperation
South Africa has, over the years, established international cooperation with the following
organisations: UNESCO, ARIPO, INCP, WTO, TRIPS, WIPO, ICOMOS, ICOM and
many others. All of these, in one way or the other, deal with safeguarding intangible
aspects of heritage at various degrees.